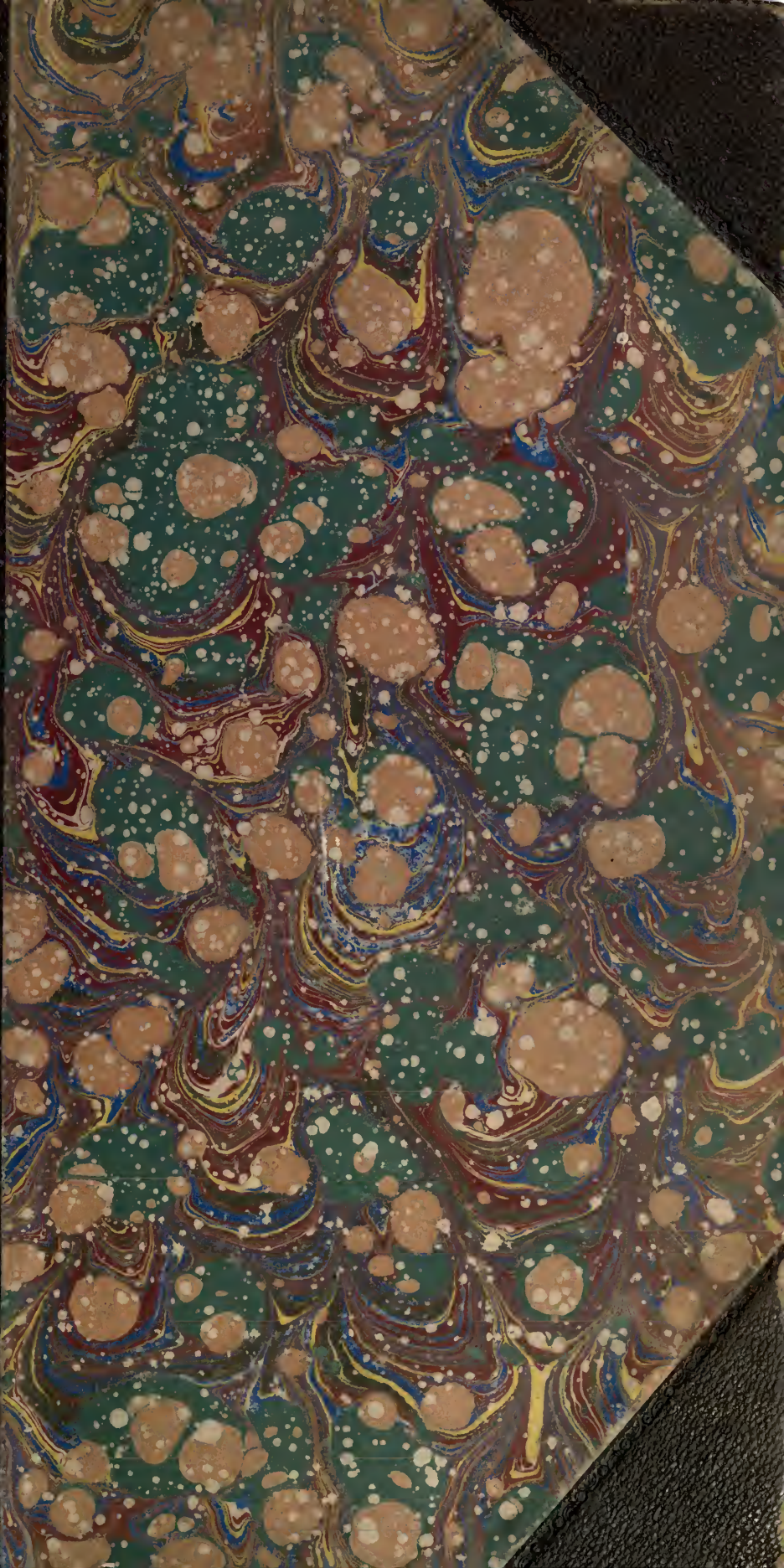
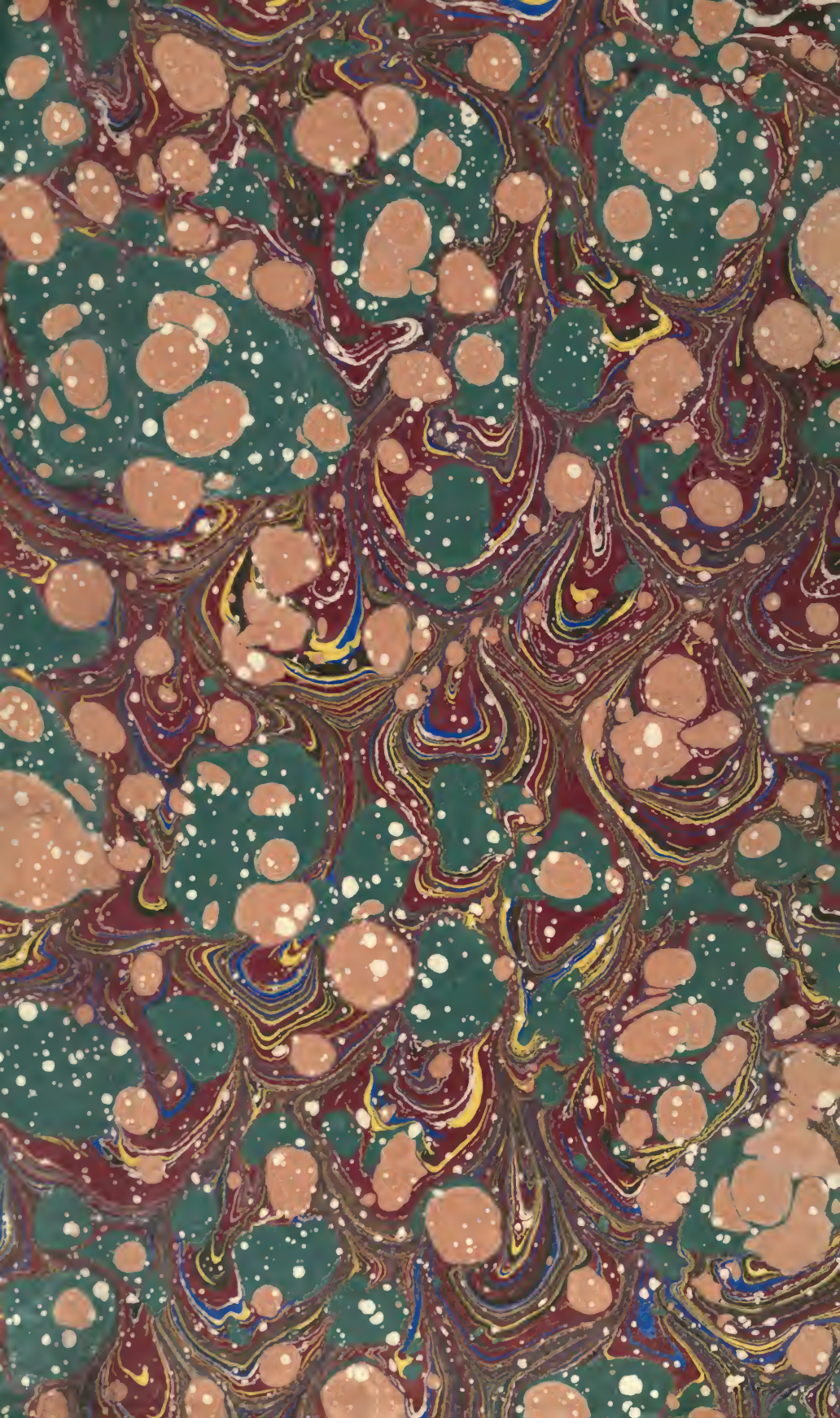


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Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873.

HISTORY,

ESSAYS, ORATIONS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

OF THE

SIXTH GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE,

Held in New York, October 2-12, 1873.

EDITED BY

REV. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D.,

AND

REV. S. IRENÆUS PRIME, D.D.



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P R E F A C E .

THE Executive Committee of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, in making arrangements for the Sixth General Conference, confided the preparation of the Programme and the selection of writers and speakers to a special committee, consisting of the following named persons :

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| REV. WILLIAM ADAMS, D.D., | REV. S. I. PRIME, D.D., |
| REV. THOMAS D. ANDERSON, D.D., | REV. G. W. SAMSON, D.D., |
| REV. G. R. CROOKS, D.D., | REV. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., |
| REV. JOHN HALL, D.D., | REV. NOAH HUNT SCHENCK, D.D., |
| REV. JAMES M'COSE, D.D., LL.D., | REV. H. B. SMITH, D.D., |
| REV. E. A. WASHBURN, D.D. | |

The Committee on the Programme having, with protracted deliberation, matured the plan of the Conference and chosen the themes to be discussed, sought the men best fitted in their judgment to treat these subjects, for the defense and advancement of evangelical truth.

About one hundred men, from various parts of the world, eminent for learning, ability, and worth, holding high rank in theology, philosophy, science, and literature, were thus brought together, with the richest fruits of their labors, and animated by a common impulse to contribute each his part to the power and usefulness of the great Conference. The result was far beyond the expectations of the Committee. These essays and orations, discussing almost every important theological, religious, and moral question of the age, were eagerly listened to from morning till night, for ten consecutive days, by thousands of sympathizing hearers in this city, during a season of financial distress, and then were multiplied, through secular and religious periodicals, among millions of readers.

It is safe to say that the utterances of a religious assembly were never received with more profound respect by so great a number of attentive minds. It was, therefore, an immediate duty to gather into a permanent volume the productions of the Conference. To this end the Committee on the Programme confided the preparation of this volume to the General Secretary of the Conference, Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D.D., and to the Honorary and Acting Corresponding Secretary of the United States Alliance, Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D. To the former was committed "the charge of the general arrangement and typographical character of the volume, the preface, historical sketch, and general index;" and to the latter "the charge of the papers delivered before the Conference, their classification, and all the details pertaining to their introduction into the volume." This devolved on Dr. Schaff the labor of translating papers from foreign languages, revising them all, and the greatest care in sec-

ing them accurately through the press. In some cases it was necessary to send the proofs across the ocean, and then to reset the essays, to embody the numerous alterations made by the authors. The editorial labor performed in making these repeated revisions has been immense. No one can comprehend the skill and patient toil involved except those who are acquainted with the work, and the Programme Committee desire to put on record here their appreciation of this great and gratuitous service.

The papers contained in this volume give, however, but a faint idea of the character and spirit of the Conference. Its principal charm was the personal intercourse of Christian brethren from all parts of the world, and the secret of its power and success, we believe, was the presence of the Holy Spirit from the opening social reception in New York to the sublime close in Washington, when delegates from every clime made the Rotunda of the National Capitol resound with the praise of Christ, and joined with one voice and heart in professing the Apostles' Creed, repeating the Lord's Prayer, and singing the doxology. The Spirit of God alone could subdue all human passions and discords—national, sectional, sectarian, and personal—and make them tributary to the universal harmony. He alone could impart such devotional fervor and intense enthusiasm as thrilled the crowded assemblies from day to day. Under His blessed influence, the Conference was truly a communion of saints, a foretaste and pledge of a higher and better union, which the same Spirit will bring about in his own good time.

The blessing of this Conference is seen in the general encouragement of faith, hope, and zeal in the Master's service. The delegates from abroad have carried it home and disseminated it in their respective fields of labor. The echo of its quickening power comes back to us, in reports of public meetings in the capitals of Europe, in published discourses, and private letters—all overflowing with gratitude to God for what the delegates had seen and heard in those memorable days of October. Christians of the Old and the New World, separated by the ocean, feel now as never before the concentrated power of evangelical Protestantism, and the inestimable value of mutual sympathy and willingness to learn from each other, and to work and pray for each other. May God hasten the fulfillment of the prophecy of the one flock and one Shepherd!

The Committee wish to express their acknowledgments to the Recording Secretaries, Rev. Messrs. H. B. Chapin and S. W. Crittenden, for their assistance in the preparation of this volume. Great credit is due to the Publishers for the patience, enterprise, and liberality which they have shown in bringing out the volume at their own risk, without expense to the Alliance. And with earnest desires for its wide and permanent usefulness, it is sent forth to the members and friends of the Evangelical Alliance throughout the world.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

SIXTH GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

Held, New York, October 2-12, 1873.

IN the month of August, 1867, the Fifth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance was held in the city of Amsterdam, Holland. At that meeting a request was presented by the Evangelical Alliance of the United States of America that the next General Conference might be held in the city of New York.

At an informal meeting of Delegates to that Conference it was suggested that the United States Alliance should enter into correspondence with the various branches throughout the world, with a view to the acceptance of the invitation, should it be found practicable and desirable.

The General Conferences had been held at intervals of four or five years; and as it was not expected that a very large number of members would cross the ocean to attend a meeting in America, it was the decided opinion of European members that the New York Conference should be held within two or three years after the one at Amsterdam, and that another should be convened in Europe at the usual time. As the result of correspondence, it was determined to hold the Conference in New York, in September, 1869, and an invitation was issued accordingly. At request of the British Organization, the time was changed to September, 1870.

The Alliance in the United States began to make preparations for this Conference in the year 1868, and in the summer of the year following the Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., was deputed to visit the several Alliances in Europe, and to extend a personal invitation to men of learning and ability

who were in sympathy with the Alliance to attend the Conference. On November 4, 1869, the United States Alliance met with a large assembly of clergymen of the city of New York and neighboring towns, and a great number of laymen, in the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street, to hear the report of Dr. Schaff, who had recently returned from his journey in Europe.

His report was in the highest degree encouraging, and the resolution was adopted to go forward with the preparations.

More than \$10,000 were subscribed on the spot toward the expenses of the Conference.

A committee, to whom was confided the Programme for the Conference, having arranged the subjects which it was considered important to discuss, selected from various countries the men who were believed to be best qualified in their respective departments of thought and labor to make valuable contributions to the Conference.

These gentlemen were consulted, and the programme was completed. Arrangements were also made for the entertainment of the members by Christian families in the city. In the beginning of the month of August it was confidently expected that in a few weeks the Conference would be assembled. And when the war between France and Germany began to threaten the successful consummation of the desired plans, the Executive Committee decided not to postpone the Conference in any event. But telegrams and letters from France, Germany, Switzerland, and England came, stating that a full representation of their members would be impossible, and from some no representatives could be expected.

August 5, 1870, the Committee, with great reluctance, resolved to postpone the Conference, "at least for the present year, and until such time as the providence of God shall open the way for its successful convocation."

A few delegates from foreign lands had arrived in this country before the postponement, and others arrived soon after, to the number of twenty-six, representing Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Italy, Hungary, Turkey, South America, and Tasmania. A public greeting was given to these brethren by the United States Alliance in the Young Men's Christian Association Building, on Friday evening, September 23, 1870. Among those present from abroad were the Rev. James Davis, Secretary of the British Alliance; the Rev. Joseph Angus, D.D., and the Rev. Thomas Aveling, of London; the Rev. R. Koenig, of Pesth, Hungary; the Rev. Dr. Revel, of Florence, Italy; the Rev. J. G. Bliss, of Constantinople; and the Rev. J. Ketley, of Demerara, South America. The presence of these and other

brethren, from such widely separated portions of the world, furnished an indication of the interest that had been awakened in the expected Conference throughout Christendom, and served to deepen the regret at its postponement. And on the following Sunday evening, when a public meeting in the interest of the Alliance was held in the Association Building, addressed by the Rev. James Davis, of London, and others, the crowded audience that filled the spacious hall to overflowing, and the numbers who were obliged to leave for want of room, showed how deeply the community were interested in the Conference that had been deferred.

RESUMPTION OF PREPARATIONS.

In the spring of 1872, it was decided, after correspondence with the other branches of the Alliance, to hold the Conference from the 2d to the 12th of October, 1873. During the summer of 1872, Dr. Schaff again visited Europe, to confer with distinguished gentlemen whose presence was especially desired, and earnest preparations were resumed at home. The disappointment incident to the postponement in 1870 rendered it difficult to arouse in the public mind the enthusiasm that had existed at that time. But the committee labored with all the more ardor. Sub-committees were formed, on the Programme, on Finance, on Preliminary Meetings, on arrangements for Entertaining Delegates, Music, etc., etc. Public meetings were held in a number of churches of different denominations, with the view to increase the interest of the community in the Conference. Pastors cheerfully pledged themselves to raise contributions from their congregations.

While the work of preparation was thus going on, favors were shown to the committee, which greatly assisted them in their arduous endeavors. The Young Men's Christian Association renewed the generous offer that they had made in 1870, of the gratuitous and exclusive use of their spacious building for the Conference during its ten days' session. The Trustees of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street, of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, directly opposite, and of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, corner of Madison Avenue and Twenty-fourth Street, kindly placed these edifices at the disposal of the Conference. Steinway Hall and the large Hall of the Cooper Union were also tendered to the Conference for such occasional use as might be desired, free of charge. Offers of hospitality flowed in, sufficient to meet the demand, many families returning from their summer sojourn in the country earlier than usual to entertain their guests, and others furnishing the means for entertainment at hotels, while most of our leading hotels offered to receive delegates at greatly reduced rates. Nor should the valua-

ble aid rendered by the press be overlooked. Not only the religious weeklies, but the principal secular daily papers in New York, as well as many newspapers throughout the land, contained editorial notices of the Conference that served greatly to enhance the public interest.

SOCIAL REUNION.

On Thursday evening, October 2d, the "Social Reunion of Members and Invited Guests" took place in the Association Building, which was suitably arranged for the occasion. The walls of the reception-room and parlors were hung with paintings of the artists whose studios are in the building, and the lecture-room and library were used as refreshment-rooms.

Admission to the building was only by tickets, which had been distributed, in addition to members of the Conference, to pastors of contributing churches, to families entertaining delegates, and to other friends of the Alliance, so far as the capacity of the building admitted. Nearly every Christian nation was represented; heathen nations had their representatives in the persons of missionaries of the Cross; and distant India sent one of her own natives, no longer an idolater, but a worshiper of the true God, and a member of the household of faith. All branches of the one Evangelical Church were represented by clergymen and laymen, distinguished by various peculiarities, yet rejoicing to feel that they were one in Christ Jesus.

After an hour of delightful social intercourse, the audience-room was thrown open. The great throng moved toward the doors in solid array. Soon every seat was filled, and every inch of available standing-room was occupied. Half of the ground-floor was reserved for the use of the delegates, and on the platform were seated the President and many of the other officers of the United States Alliance, and such of the delegates as were to take part in the services of the evening.

It is not often that one is permitted to gaze upon such a sight as was then presented. The hall itself was tastefully decorated. The platform was carpeted, and adorned with evergreens, flowers, and plants. In the centre of the wall behind the platform were the initials and motto of the Alliance, with the date of its organization and the date of the present Conference:

E. A.

Unum Corpus Sumus in Christo.

1846.

1873.

Just below this was the motto, also descriptive of the principles of the Alliance, "IN NECESSARIIS UNITAS; IN DUBIIS LIBERTAS; IN OMNIBUS CARITAS." Around these mottoes the names of the eminent Reformers and Theologians, Luther, Calvin, Wycliffe, Edwards, Knox, Bunyan, and Wesley, were arranged. On the balcony was the Greek name of the fish, ἸΧΘΥΣ, the mystic emblem of the faith of the early Christians in the days of their persecution, containing, as it does, the initial letters of the words in which they confessed Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as their Saviour, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ.

From the ceiling above the platform the flag of the Union was gracefully festooned, to which was appended the shield containing our National Motto, "E Pluribus Unum"—a motto equally appropriate to the united Christian body under whose auspices the festivities of the evening were celebrated. On either side of the American flag, completing the drapery, were the flags of Great Britain, France, and Germany.

At the other end of the hall, on the front of the gallery, were the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, applied by Christ to himself in the last chapter of Revelation, ΑΩ. Around the entire gallery were hung the flags of the various nations alternating with that of the United States.

The Hon. William E. Dodge, President of the United States Alliance, took the chair, and the exercises were commenced with singing the hymn,

"From all who dwell below the skies,
Let the Creator's praise arise;
Let the Redeemer's name be sung
Through every land, by every tongue."

The hymn was sung to the familiar tune of "Old Hundred," the grand organ accompanying, and the entire audience rising and joining in this act of praise. The Rev. C. Dallas Marston, M.A., of London, then led the audience in the Lord's Prayer.

The Rev. William Adams, D.D., LL.D., of New York, delivered an address of welcome to the members of the Conference, which is to be found on page 65 of this volume. Responses followed from a number of distinguished foreign delegates.

Lord Alfred Churchill, of London, after reading a letter of greeting, addressed by the Council of the British Alliance to the United States Alliance (see page 719 of Appendix I, to this volume), expressed his great pleasure in accepting the hospitality of American Christians, and his belief that the influence of this Conference, in which Christians in his own country were so much interested, would be felt all over the civilized world. He closed with

assuring the meeting of the good-will of all classes of Christians in Great Britain toward America, its churches and its people.

The Rev. John Stoughton, D.D., of London, said that as he was entering the hall a gentleman whispered in his ear, "This, sir, is the grandest meeting that has been held for ages. It beats the Ecumenical Council at Rome!" He believed the gentleman was correct, as Americans generally are when they express their opinions. The Council at Rome was nothing but a gathering of the members of a single Church, and that the most sectarian Church in the world; whereas this Conference has representatives from various branches of the Christian Church, all of them distinguished more or less by the true spirit of catholicity.

He had come to this country with all the feelings of an Englishman, but he had been so overwhelmed with kindness that, though here only a month, he felt one-half American already. He saw in the hall the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack peacefully folded together, and as he looked upon the audience he felt that henceforth a war between England and America would be an impossibility. As a Christian he was prepared to join hands with all in waving the banner that bears upon its folds the simple cross. He hoped great things from the Conference, and prayed that peace and union might attend it from the beginning to the end.

Rev. George Fisch, D.D., of Paris, felt that he was enjoying a foretaste of heaven. It was a blessing to be where there were no boundaries, no nationalities, but an alliance that embraced us all. He hoped that the Conference would be of great benefit to evangelical Christians in France, and that the American Republic, which was dear to the French people, would teach them that a republic, if it is to stand firm, must be built upon the ground of personal conscience and personal faith in God.

Rev. Franck Coulin, D.D., of Geneva, Switzerland, sincerely wished that there was but one language on earth as well as in heaven. He had long wished to visit America, the classic land of religious liberty, but he could never have anticipated the warm welcome that awaited him here. Some people said the Evangelical Alliance was not practical, but he felt that the present meeting was enough to disprove such a charge. Whitefield once preached on Christian unity, from the text, "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." So he would know all Christians, not as sectarians, but as disciples of Christ. He was sure that all who were gathered at this meeting, though representing different branches of the Christian family, were unanimous in desiring the success of the Conference.

Professor I. A. Dorner, D.D., of the University of Berlin, said that evan-

gical America had invited evangelical Europe to this Conference, and that this invitation was appreciated by his own countrymen, as well as by all others to whom it had been extended. Some of the most distinguished friends of the Alliance in Germany were not here. The Rev. Dr. Hoffmann, of Berlin, a man of great influence in Germany, expected to attend, but had recently been called to his heavenly rest. The learned Professor Tischendorff, of Leipsic, would have made one of our number, but he had been suddenly seized with a severe illness that rendered it impossible for him to come. The interests of the Alliance were dear to all, and he felt that the true idea of a Christian Church would be vivified by such a meeting as this, and the bonds of Christian brotherhood strengthened.

Professor Theodore Christlieb, D.D., of the University of Bonn, Prussia, in addressing the audience in the English language, felt like young David when he tried to march in the armor of Saul! At the Council of Ephesus, held 1400 years ago, the following greeting was given: "Brethren, I greet you in the name of Mary, the Mother of God, because through her you have been brought safely over the ocean." Coming from the land of the Reformation, he would greet the Conference, not in the name of Mary, but in the name of the blessed Saviour, who had brought them safely together. In behalf of his brethren, he thanked the United States Alliance for the reception given them. Germans were not much accustomed to flatter, but he must say that the welcome here had exceeded those at former meetings of the Alliance, and would make it very difficult for any European nation to invite the Alliance for some time to come. The German delegates would learn much from their visit to the United States. They had already seen something of its institutions, its usages, and its customs, and would carry home impressions that would be of great benefit to them. Germany had for ages been a country of spiritual troubles, but he felt confident that Protestantism, resting on the basis of truth and liberty, would ever be invincible against all forms of human error. There were times—and this was one of them—when Germans could, in a sense, forget that they were Germans, and shake hands with their French brethren (offering his hand to the Rev. Dr. Fisch, of Paris). The fathers of our faith were already one before the Throne, and their children should be one. He hoped that German Christians, as well as all others, would be strengthened by this Conference, and that Protestantism would go forth as a thoroughly united and truly Ecu-
menical power, until the world was brought to the feet of Jesus.

Rev. M. Cohen Stuart, D.D., of Rotterdam, regretted that he was the only delegate present from Holland. But though alone, he was followed by the prayers of the friends who had sent him, and who would gladly have come

themselves, had it been possible for them to do so. Though he had been in this country but three weeks, he already felt quite at home. He was glad to see the American and the Dutch flags twined around the hall, to see in these flags the same identical colors, *red, white, and blue*, and to meet with so many good Dutch names and warm Dutch hearts here. He hoped it would be our constant prayer that the Evangelical Alliance might be led and sanctified by the Holy Spirit, so as to promote, according to its high calling, the kingdom of truth and of love.

The Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of Bombay, India, a converted high-caste Brahmin, and a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, said that his appearance at the Conference gave the lie to the assertion, sometimes made, that the missionary enterprise had been a failure. India had indeed been dead, but a resurrection was taking place in that country, and he hoped that it would soon be felt through the whole length and breadth of the land. He had come to the Conference with the greatest expectations, not merely because he believed in the power of sympathy, but because he believed in the eternal verities of the Bible. His countrymen were unfortunately divided by caste—originally four, there were now some four hundred castes—but he hoped to see them eventually united; and this would be effected by carrying out the objects that the Evangelical Alliance had in view. He had been told; before leaving home, that he would find castes in Christian lands, but, on his return, he should tell his countrymen that the differences among Christians were slight, and their unity was substantial; that they were one in the grand, essential, eternal truths of salvation. If we could all go forth from these meetings determined to present Christ to the world, the effect would be so great that neither skeptics nor heathen could resist it.

Charles Reed, Esq., M.P., of London, was the last speaker. He was gratified that the key-note had been so well struck in Dr. Adams's address of welcome. He had noticed that every other speaker had expressed the same brotherly kindness. He had attended many meetings in his own country, but had never found a better feeling in an audience than he saw exhibited in the gathering of to-night. As a layman he was glad to be upon the same platform with so many distinguished clergymen. There had been times when councils such as this had been called together, and none but the clergy allowed to take part in them. It was a blessed thing that the Evangelical Alliance opened the avenue through which the clergy and their flocks might pass together.

All the addresses, of which the above brief abstract gives but an imperfect idea, breathed a spirit of kindness and brotherhood that banished every

prejudice of nationality or creed, and welded the hearts of the immense audience together as the heart of one man; and when Professor Christlieb, in the course of his address, turned to the Rev. Dr. Fisch, of Paris, and these two brethren, from countries that have so recently been engaged in deadly conflict, clasped each other's hands, the enthusiasm of the audience knew no bounds, and, rising to their feet, they caused cheer after cheer to echo and re-echo through the hall.

And when the Hindoo, Sheshādri, clad in Oriental costume, with snow-white turban and flowing robe, in classic English and with earnest utterance, spoke of himself as an example of the success of missions, and expressed his sympathy with the Alliance, and his hopes for the future of his country, the hearts of the audience were again filled with the deepest emotion.

After two hours of rich enjoyment, the exercises of the evening closed with the benediction by the Rev. Noah Hunt Schenck, D.D., of Brooklyn.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE.

At ten o'clock on Friday morning, October 3, the Conference met in Steinway Hall for formal organization and the transaction of business. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity, even the aisles being filled with interested spectators. The large platform and the seats in front of it were occupied by delegates and invited guests.

The Hon. William E. Dodge presided, and, before proceeding to business, a half-hour was spent in devotional services. The audience united in singing the doxology,

“Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,
Praise Him, all creatures here below;
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host,
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”

The venerable Professor Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D., of Princeton, New Jersey, offered prayer in these words:

“Come, Holy Spirit, come! Descend in all Thy plenitude of grace. Come as the Spirit of reverence and love. Aid us, O God, in the discharge of the duties on which we are about to enter. We have assembled here from almost all parts of the world. We have come to confess Thee before men; to avow our faith that God is, and that He is the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the World. We are here to acknowledge that the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob is our God. We are here to confess Christ as God manifest in the flesh, and as our only and all-sufficient Saviour, who for us sinners died upon the cross, to reconcile us unto God, and to make expiation for the sins of men; and who, having died for our offenses, has risen again for our justification. We acknowledge Him as now seated at

the right hand of the Majesty on high, all power in heaven and on earth having been committed to His hands. Thanks be to God, thanks be to God, that He has put on us, unworthy as we are, the honor to make this confession, and to bear this testimony to God and to His Son. O God, look down from heaven upon us. Shed abroad in our hearts the Holy Spirit, that we may be truly one in Christ Jesus.

“O Thou blessed Spirit of the living God, without whom the universe were dead, Thou art the source of all life, of all holiness, of all power. O Thou perfect Spirit, Thou precious gift of God, come, we pray, and dwell in every heart, and touch every lip. We invoke the blessing of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost on this Evangelical Alliance. We spread abroad our banner, in the sight of all men, with the confession which Thou hast put into our lips — the confession of all Christendom. We confess God the Father to be our Father; Jesus Christ, His Son, to be our Saviour; the Holy Ghost to be our Sanctifier; and His Word to be the infallible rule of faith and practice. Grant, O Lord, that wherever human words are uttered, this confession may be the language of every heart. And to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be glory, now and evermore. Amen.”

The Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., of Westminster, London, read the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, after which the Very Rev. R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, repeated the Apostles' Creed, the audience rising and uniting in the recital:

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. He descended into hell; the third day He arose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting. Amen.

Prayer was then offered by the Rev. Matteo Prochet, of Genoa, Italy, and the whole Assembly joined in singing the hymn,

“All hail the power of Jesus' name.”

At the close of these services, the Hon. William E. Dodge, of New York, spoke as follows:

“FELLOW-CHRISTIANS, MEMBERS, AND DELEGATES,—It becomes my pleasant duty, as President of the United States Evangelical Alliance, to call the Conference to order, that the necessary steps may be taken for permanent organization.

“In response to our invitation, you have come from different parts of the world, to attend this General Conference in a land to many of you new and strange. In the name of the United States Alliance, I extend to you again this morning a cordial welcome to our shores, our homes, and our hearts. We trust that the separation from beloved friends and from pressing duties, with all the discomforts of travel, may find some compensation in the joys of a Christian fellowship that only such an occasion can afford, and in the new and riper views of Christian obligation and privilege that such discussions as are now before us promise to unfold.

“To those who have crossed the ocean for the first time, there will also be an opportunity to become more intimately acquainted with the life and features of the New World. You will find here vast numbers from your own lands, who have come to adopt this as a home for themselves and their children. You will learn something of the form of civil government that distinguishes this from other countries. You will notice the various religious organizations, seeking no support from the State, but only demanding protection in the full enjoyment of religious liberty. You will perhaps be astonished at the growth and prosperity that have been attained in so short a time. The population of this city in which we are convened has, within the life of men present with us here to-day, grown from 70,000 to about 1,000,000, while the population of the United States has in the same time increased from 6,000,000 to 40,000,000.

“Americans who travel abroad gaze with interest upon the growth of centuries—ancient cathedrals, castles, and cities of historic fame; here we can only point you to what has been accomplished chiefly during a single century. We hope that many of you may visit our Western States, cross our inland seas, and witness for yourselves the marvelous changes in progress there.

“We meet as Christian brethren, and, laying aside for the time the distinctions that separate us into sects and parties, we rejoice to greet one another as children of a common Father, assembled to deliberate on the mighty concerns of his kingdom, and to consider how we can best promote the great principles that bind us and all true believers together. The topics to be discussed are most timely and important, and we trust that the conclusions reached will fully vindicate the wisdom of convening such a body of men.

“Permit me to remind you that the calling of this Conference, composed of representatives of almost every land, and well-nigh every department of Christian thought and activity, has awakened wide interest in our own country, and, I doubt not, in other lands. The eyes of God and of men are watching us. Let us enter upon our duties with a deep sense of our entire

dependence on that wisdom which is from above, and with earnest prayer that the Divine Spirit may guide all our deliberations. Animated with such feelings, and blessed with such aid, it can not be that we shall separate without carrying away thoughts and purposes that shall redound to the glory of God and the welfare of our fellow-men.

“Years hence it may be one of the happiest memories we shall cherish that we were permitted to take even an humble part in the proceedings of this Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. May it do much toward preparing the way for the relief of those still persecuted for righteousness' sake in various portions of the globe; may it give an impulse to the growth of religious liberty everywhere; may it bind together Christians of every name more closely, and also help forward the growing sentiment in favor of arbitration in the settlement of international difficulties, and lift up among all people a victorious standard in the face of modern skepticism, rationalism, the claims of the Papacy, and every other false system.

“Let me add that such arrangements as were in our power have been made for the comfort and convenience of the delegates during their stay among us. Again giving you a hearty welcome in the name of the United States Alliance, I request the Conference now to proceed to a more formal organization.”

After the delivery of this address, the list of delegates to the Conference was presented, showing a membership of 516, including regularly accredited delegates from the various Branches of the Alliance throughout the world, and gentlemen admitted to the floor of the Conference by invitation of the United States Alliance. Of the delegates, there were 75 from Great Britain, 9 from France, 12 from Germany, 6 from Switzerland, 2 from Belgium, 1 from Holland, 2 from Spain, 1 from Italy, 1 from Greece, 2 from Turkey, 1 from Prussia, and 4 from India, making a total of 116 from the Eastern Hemisphere. From the different Branches of the Alliance in the British Provinces of North America, including the Bermuda Islands, the West Indies, and Prince Edward Island, there were 56, and from the United States Alliance and its Branches there were 294 delegates. Among the members by invitation were missionaries from Burmah, Siam, China, Ceylon, India, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and South Africa, so that nearly every portion of the inhabited world was represented.

The reading of the roll, owing to its great length, was dispensed with, and on motion of the Rev. G. R. Crooks, D.D., of New York, the Conference proceeded to the election of officers. Ex-President Theodore D. Woolsey, D.D.,

LL.D., of New Haven, Connecticut, was unanimously chosen President of the Conference, supported by Vice-presidents; and Secretaries, General, Honorary, and Recording, were elected. The complete roll of the officers and members of the Conference may be found on page 755 of this volume.

The Rev. Dr. Woolsey, on taking the chair, addressed the Conference as follows:

“CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—We are met here to-day because we believe in the Communion of Saints. We believe that man in his nature has aspirations, has a sense of want, has a need of redemption, and is one in all his races. We believe, also, that God is one, and that in all the various unfoldings of Christian life there is one Christian character: the spirit of love to God and love to man, resting on Jesus Christ our Lord, in the hope of redemption through Him. We can say, ‘Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father; to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.’ And as in all ages of the past, from the age of the apostles down to our time, in every land, and under every form of worship which had access through Christ to the Father, there has been communion of the saints; we believe in one great universal Church, that has lasted through all time until now, and that is to last until the end of all things.

“And thus, to quote from Bishop Coxe,

‘Oh! where are kings and empires now
Of old that went and came?
But, Lord, thy Church is praying yet,
A thousand years the same.’

“Notwithstanding the inefficacy of prayer has been demonstrated by science (!), the Church goes on praying still, all the same; and as long as there are Christians in the world they will pray instinctively, in spite of all logical conclusions.

“Thus, too, we believe in the diffusiveness of the Gospel. I heard last night of a friend now here (Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri) being converted from natural pantheism to an intelligent and cordial belief in Christ, and so I was reminded that ‘Many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.’ This Gospel has spread on every side, with equal power of self-diffusion through all lands. Think what a change it has made in our continent! A German antiquary says that in Cæsar’s time a squirrel could jump, from tree to tree, from the Rhine to the Elbe. So, two hundred and fifty years ago, an almost unbroken forest stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, roamed over

by a few Pagans. Now in these United States more than 60,000 Protestant churches attest to the diffusive energy of the Gospel.

“And this Gospel makes everywhere the same appeals to the conscience that it has done in times past. Not many months ago a young Japanese called upon me and said, ‘I am a Christian, and I have received an appointment from my Government. Now I want to know, inasmuch as my Government may order me to do something inconsistent with the profession of a Christian life, what am I to do?’ I told him, of course, that he was to obey God before men, but that, if he maintained his Christian life, every thing would be clear to him at the time. The same problem is coming up before the enlightened Japanese conscience as before ours. It is the same everywhere.

“But in the present age, while the social and the missionary triumphs of the Church have been great, the assaults and attacks upon Christianity have been almost equally great and formidable. And, now, what is to be the effect? Is it not to bind us together as Christians, and make us forget our differences? And while we value the discipline and the recollections handed down to us from our fathers more than those of others, will not these assaults of the adversaries of our faith make all the regiments of the army of God move together as one united band?

“Gentlemen, I need not repeat the welcome already given to you. Yet, as your President, I may once more say to you that we welcome you all. We welcome the Lutheran; we welcome the children of free, heroic Switzerland, and the representatives of France, the much suffering and glorious Church of France; we welcome those from all other parts of Europe, and those who have come like first-fruits from the Eastern lands; and, with almost English hearts beating within us, we welcome our friends from England, Scotland, and Ireland, of every name who are here.”

At the conclusion of President Woolsey’s address, the Rev. T. D. Anderson, D.D., of New York, moved the following rules of order, which were adopted:

First. The proceedings of the Conference shall be conducted according to the rules and regulations governing parliamentary bodies.

Second. A committee on the daily Programme shall be appointed, to whom shall be referred, without debate, the papers, and overtures, and other matters submitted for the consideration of the Conference.

Third. As the object of the Conference is a comparison of views and free discussion, and not legislation, no resolutions committing the Conference to special measures will be entertained.

Fourth. No member shall be allowed to speak more than once on the same subject without the unanimous consent of the Conference.

On motion of the Rev. Noah Hunt Schenck, D.D., of Brooklyn, Rev. James Davis of London, Rev. M. Cohen Stuart, D.D., of Rotterdam, Holland, and Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D.D., of New York, were appointed a committee on credentials of delegates not yet presented, with power to complete the roll.

The Very Rev. R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, then read a letter addressed to him, before leaving home, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the request that he would read it before the General Conference. This interesting letter, in which the Archbishop expresses his sympathy with the Alliance, and his prayer for God's blessing on the Conference, is published on page 720 of Appendix I. to this volume.

The Conference being now fully organized for business, the first topic specified in the printed programme was taken up, viz. :

“REPORTS ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN VARIOUS CHRISTIAN COUNTRIES.”

The Rev. Matteo Prochet, of Genoa, delivered an address on the “State of Religion in Italy,” and the Rev. Leopold Witte, of Cöthen, Prussia, read, in part, a paper on “Evangelical Theology in Germany,” prepared by Professor A. Tholuck, D.D., of the University of Halle.

THE DAILY LUNCH.

From Steinway Hall, the members of the Conference, at one o'clock, repaired to the Young Men's Christian Association Building, where a collation had been prepared. And on each succeeding day of the Conference, between the morning and afternoon sessions, refreshments were served in the lecture-room and library of the building, free of expense to the delegates; and entertainment was in this way furnished to about 800 persons daily, including members of the Conference, distinguished visitors, and others.

CONTINUATION OF THE FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Conference resumed its sessions, in Association Hall. The hall was densely crowded, the members of the Conference occupying the whole front half of the main floor, which was permanently reserved for their use. President Woolsey took the chair. Addresses on the “State of Religion” in their respective countries were delivered by the following gentlemen : Rev. M. Cohen Stuart, D.D., Holland ; Rev. H.

Krummacher, Germany; Rev. Eugene Reichel, Switzerland; Rev. Fritz Fliedner, Spain; Rev. M. D. Kalopothakes, M.D., Greece; Rev. Leonard Anet, Belgium; and Rev. Leopold Witte concluded the reading of Dr. Tholuck's paper, which had been interrupted in the morning by the adjournment.

Dr. Schaff gave a brief account of his interview the past summer with his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, who requested and authorized him to present to the Conference his cordial greeting, and the assurance of his warm sympathy with the Alliance. [See Appendix I, p. 721.]

Before the adjournment, the Hon. George H. Stuart, in the name of the Philadelphia Branch of the United States Alliance, of which he is President, extended to the Conference an invitation to visit Philadelphia in a body on Monday, October 13; at the same time announcing that the Pennsylvania Railroad had generously offered to place a special train gratuitously at the disposal of the Conference for this visit. President McCosh invited the delegates to stop a couple of hours at Princeton, on their way to Philadelphia. These invitations were cordially accepted.

In view of the interest taken in the proceedings of the Conference, and the impossibility of accommodating in a single audience-room the numbers who desired to attend, notice was given that there would be two meetings in the evening, one at Association Hall, and the other at St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street. The benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton.

At half-past seven o'clock in the evening the Conference re-assembled in Association Hall, where an address was delivered by the Rev. Auguste Decoppet, B.D., of Paris, on "The Position of the Protestant Religion in France," followed by a few remarks on the same topic by the Rev. George Fisch, D.D., of Paris. The Rev. John Stoughton, D.D., of London, read a paper on "The Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Relations of America to England," and the exercises of the evening were concluded with a brief address by the Rev. J. C. Brown, LL.D., of Berwick, England, on the "State of Evangelical Religion in Russia," in which country a portion of his life has been spent. The benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. William Patton, D.D., of New Haven, Conn.

The meeting held on the same evening in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church was attended by a large and interested audience, many of the members of the Conference being also present. Lord Alfred S. Churchill, of London, one of the Vice-presidents of the Conference, occupied the chair. A hymn was sung, and prayer was offered by the Rev. G. W. Weldon, M.A., of London. The chairman, after a few appropriate remarks, announced as

the topic of the evening, "The Evangelical Alliance: its Objects, and its Influence in promoting Christian Union and Religious Liberty," and introduced, as the first speaker, the Rev. James Davis, of London, Secretary of the British Evangelical Alliance.

Mr. Davis, instead of reading the paper prepared by him on this topic, which appears in this volume, delivered a popular address on the objects and aims of the Alliance, and was followed by the Rev. J. S. Russell, of London, on the same subject. Addresses were also delivered by the Dean of Canterbury and the Rev. Mr. Weldon. Professor Charles A. Aiken, D.D., of Princeton, New Jersey, then read a letter written by the late Rev. Merle d'Aubigné, D.D., of Geneva, Switzerland, and addressed to the "President and Members of the Ecumenical Council of Evangelical Christians at New York." This letter was intended for the proposed Conference of 1870, and, after the death of its distinguished author, was sent by his widow, to be read at the Conference of 1873. It may be found on page 717 of Appendix I.

At the close of these exercises, the doxology was sung, and the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Richard Smyth, D.D., of Londonderry, Ireland.

THE DAILY PRAYER-MEETING.

The business sessions of Saturday, October 4, were preceded by a devotional meeting at the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, commencing at nine o'clock A.M., and continued for three-quarters of an hour. The church was well filled, and the services, consisting for the most part of prayer and praise, were characterized by great solemnity. The Rev. Dr. Adams, pastor of the church, conducted the meeting, and the congregation were led in prayer by the Rev. J. C. Harrison, of London, the Dean of Canterbury, the Rev. C. Dallas Marston, of London, and the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of Bombay, India.

This devotional service was held at the same place and hour on each succeeding day of the Conference; and as brethren of different names, and from various quarters of the world, bowed together before the common mercy-seat, the feeling of every heart was, "Lord, it is good for us to be here." It was a service that drew heart to heart, and all hearts to Christ, and was a fitting preparation for the duties of each day.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND DAY.

At ten o'clock A.M. the Conference assembled in Association Hall, President Woolsey in the chair. As on the previous day, the hall was thronged

to its utmost capacity, and hundreds were unable to gain admittance. The exercises were commenced with prayer in the French language by the Rev. Franck Coulin, D.D., of Geneva, Switzerland, and the President was about to introduce the first speaker, when a note was handed to him stating that the multitude who were unable to enter the already over-crowded hall desired that another meeting should be organized in one of the neighboring churches. Arrangements were made upon the spot for the opening of the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, in which meetings were held both morning and afternoon.

The general topic of the day was

“CHRISTIAN UNION,”

and the first speaker at Association Hall was Professor Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D., of Princeton, New Jersey, who delivered an address on “The Unity of the Church based on Personal Union with Christ.” It had been expected that Bishop Matthew Simpson, D.D., of Philadelphia, would address the Conference on the same topic, but illness compelled him, at the last hour, to decline the service, much to the regret of all. His place, however, was ably filled by the Rev. G. R. Crooks, D.D., of New York. The Rev. Eliphalet Nott Potter, D.D., President of Union College, Schenectady, New York, and the Rev. C. Dallas Marston, M.A., of London, presented papers on “The Communion of Saints: Modes of its Promotion and Manifestation.” The Very Rev. R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury, spoke on “Christian Union consistent with Denominational Distinctions.”

At the afternoon session the Right Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, D.D., of Gambier, Ohio, treated the same topic, prefacing his address with a fitting allusion to the catholic spirit of the late Bishop M'Ilvaine, of Ohio, who during his lifetime had cherished and manifested the deepest interest in the Evangelical Alliance. The Rev. W. Noël, of Berlin, then delivered an address, in the German language, on the “Influence of the Evangelical Alliance in promoting the Spirit of Christian Union;” and was followed by the Rev. Emile F. Cook, B.A., of Paris, on “The Evangelical Alliance in France,” and the Rev. F. W. Conrad, D.D., of Philadelphia, on “Interchange of Pulpits.” The exercises were then concluded with the benediction, in French and English, by the Rev. Dr. Coulin, of Geneva, Switzerland.

At the meeting in the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Alexis Caswell, D.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, presided in the morning, and the Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in the afternoon. At the morning session prayer was offered by the Rev. David Malclise, D.D., of New York; after which the Rev. Mr. Marston and the Rev.

Dr. Conrad read the papers subsequently read by them in Association Hall; the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri gave an affecting account of his conversion to Christianity and of his mission work in India; and the Rev. Fritz Fliedner, of Madrid, spoke on the subject of "Evangelization in Spain." The benediction by Rev. Mr. Sheshādri concluded the exercises.

At the afternoon session, after prayer by the Rev. William Ormiston, D.D., of New York; Bishop Bedell and the Rev. Mr. Cook read the papers presented by them in Association Hall; the Rev. H. Wilkes, D.D., LL.D., of Montreal, delivered an impromptu address on the "State of Religion in Canada;" and the Rev. H. Krummacher spoke of "Inner Missions in Germany," and afterward pronounced the benediction, in the German language.

SUNDAY SERVICES.

On Sunday, October 5, the pulpits of very many of the evangelical churches of New York and vicinity were occupied by members of the Conference, who were heard by large and attentive audiences.

In the evening two public meetings were held, commencing at half-past seven o'clock: the one in the Academy of Music, and the other in Steinway Hall. Long before the doors of these edifices were opened, throngs of people blocked the sidewalks, and extended even to the middle of the streets in front; and at the opening of the doors the pressure was so great that many in despair gave up all effort to enter. Both buildings were soon packed to their utmost capacity, and at least 8000 persons, probably, were present at the two meetings, while hundreds were unable to gain admittance.

At the Academy of Music, the Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, presided. The exercises of the evening were commenced with the singing of the hymn, "Come, thou Almighty King," after which the Dean of Canterbury read the 143d Psalm, and led the assembly in prayer. The chairman, Mr. Brunot, after a few appropriate remarks, introduced, in succession, the following speakers: Rev. Robert Knox, D.D., of Belfast, Ireland; Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of Bombay, India; Rev. Franck Coulin, D.D., of Geneva, Switzerland, who spoke in French; Rev. Moses D. Hoge, D.D., of Richmond, Virginia; Rev. W. H. Fremantle, of London; Rev. W. F. Stevenson, of Dublin, Ireland; Rev. T. Lorriaux, B.D., of Paris; Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., of London; General Clinton B. Fisk, of St. Louis, Missouri; and Charles Reed, Esq., M.P., of London. During the progress of the meeting two hymns were sung, and the exercises were closed with the doxology, and the benediction by the venerable Samuel H. Cox, D.D., of New York.

At Steinway Hall, the Hon. Nathan Bishop, LL.D., of New York, pre-

sided; and after the singing of the hymn, "All hail the power of Jesus' name," prayer was offered, and the following speakers were successively introduced: Rev. Richard Smyth, D.D., of Londonderry, Ireland; Rev. Professor Stanley Leathes, of King's College, London; Rev. L. C. Berkéley, of Lurgan, Ireland; the Dean of Canterbury; Hugh Miller, M.D., of Bloomfield, Scotland; Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of India; and Hon. George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia. Several hymns were sung between the addresses; and at the close of the meeting the Rev. Professor J. F. Astié, of Lausanne, Switzerland, offered prayer, and the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. H. Krummacher, of Brandenburg, Germany.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH DAY.

On Monday, October 6, the Conference held two sectional meetings, the attendance at both of which showed not only that there was no abatement in the interest with which the public regarded the proceedings of the Conference, but that this interest was increasing in intensity.

The general topic of the day was

"CHRISTIANITY AND ITS ANTAGONISMS."

The First Section, which met in Association Hall, morning and afternoon, discussing it in its Theological bearings; and the Second Section, which met in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, morning and afternoon, discussing it from a Philosophical point of view.

At Association Hall, President Woolsey took the chair at ten o'clock, and called upon Bishop Campbell, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, to lead in prayer.

Before the business of the day was commenced, the General Secretary of the Conference read a communication from the American Bible Society, offering to each foreign delegate to the Conference, as a souvenir of his visit to this country, a copy of one of the editions of the Bible published by the society; also, an invitation from the Managers of the American Institute to the delegates to visit their Exhibition gratuitously. The Rev. O. H. Tiffany, D.D., of Washington, D.C., invited the delegates to visit the Capital of the United States, as the guests of the Metropolitan Branch of the United States Alliance, after their visit to Philadelphia. The General Secretary announced that through the kindness of Mr. Alexander Stuart, of the house of R. L. & A. Stuart, carriages would be at the door of Association Building on Wednesday, at two o'clock P.M., for such of the European delegates as desired to visit Greenwood Cemetery and Prospect Park, in Brooklyn. After the applause that greeted these invitations had

subsided, the delivery of the papers announced in the programme of the day was begun.

The Rev. Professor Stanley Leathes, of King's College, London, and Professor Theodore Christlieb, D.D., of the University of Bonn, Prussia, read papers on the "Best Methods of counteracting Modern Infidelity;" and President W. F. Warren, D.D., of the University of Boston, Massachusetts, on "American Infidelity; its Factors and Phases."

At the afternoon session, the Rev. E. A. Washburn, D.D., of New York, and Professor Paul Zimmermann, D.D., of Leipsic, Germany, read papers on "Reason and Faith;" Professor Felix Bovet, of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, read a paper, in the French language, on "Christianity and the Gospel;" and the Rev. M. Cohen Stuart, D.D., of Rotterdam, read a paper prepared for the Conference by Professor J. J. Van Oosterzee, D.D., of the University of Utrecht, Holland, on "The Gospel History and Modern Criticism." A paper prepared by the Rev. John Cairns, D.D., of Berwick, England, on "The Causes of, and Best Methods of counteracting Modern Infidelity," was presented: owing to want of time, it was not read, but is printed in this volume. The meeting was closed with the benediction by President Potter, of Union College, New York.

At St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Alexis Caswell, D.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, occupied the chair. The proceedings were opened with prayer by President S. G. Brown, D.D., of Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. Papers were read by President James M'Cosh, D.D., LL.D., of the College of New Jersey, on "The Religious Aspects of the Doctrine of Development;" by Principal Dawson, LL.D., of McGill College, Montreal, on "Primitive Man and Revelation;" and by Professor C. P. Krauth, D.D., of Philadelphia, on "The Strength and Weakness of Idealism."

Dr. M'Cosh's paper was followed by an interesting and animated discussion, in which Rev. G. W. Weldon, M.A., of London, Rev. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, and Rev. Dr. J. C. Brown, of Berwick, England, took part; and Professor Guyot, of Princeton, followed Dr. Dawson's paper with some remarks.

In the afternoon, papers were read by Professor Arnold Henry Guyot, LL.D., of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, on "Cosmogony and the Bible;" by President J. W. Nevin, D.D., of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on "Christianity and Humanity;" and by Professor Edmund Spiess, Ph.D., of the University of Jena, Germany, on "The Comparative Study of Religions."

As in the morning, interesting discussions followed the reading of the papers, in which President M'Cosh, of Princeton, Principal Dawson, of Montreal, Rev. Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, Rev. Alexander Burnett, of Aber-

deen, Rev. Joseph Edkins, of China, and President Anderson, of Rochester, New York, took part. The session was closed with prayer and the benediction by the Rev. J. F. Stearns, D.D., of Newark, New Jersey.

At half-past seven o'clock in the evening, a French meeting was held in Association Hall. The weather through the day had been unpleasant—it was the only inclement day during the entire sessions of the Conference—and the rain at night threatened to interfere seriously with the gathering of our French brethren. But the hall was well filled. Professor Felix Bovet, of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, was called to preside, and, after addresses of welcome by the Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., of New York, in the English language, and Professor Elie Charlier, of New York, in the French language, interesting addresses were made in French by Professor Bovet, by the Rev. A. Decoppet, and the Rev. Dr. Fisch, of Paris; by the Rev. M. Le-lièvre, of Nîmes; by the Rev. C. Boegner, of Strasbourg; by the Rev. L. Anet and the Rev. E. Rochedieu, of Brussels; and by Professor Pronier and the Rev. Dr. Coulin, of Geneva.

The key-note of the meeting was struck by the Rev. Dr. Schaff, in his opening address of welcome, which was as follows:

“MR. CHAIRMAN, DEAR FRIENDS, AND BRETHREN,—In compliance with the request of your Committee of Arrangements, I have the honor and pleasure to open your proceedings, and to extend to you all, in behalf of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, a cordial welcome to our churches, our homes, and our hearts. We deeply regret the unavoidable absence of Guillaume Monod, Pressensé, Bersier, Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, Babut, and Godet, who are, however, present with us in spirit and prayer, and who charged me with their best wishes for the Conference. We appreciate your presence all the more since it has been very difficult for you to leave your post of duty. No delegation is better entitled to our affectionate regard and sympathy than the delegation from “la belle France,” and my own native Switzerland.

“As Americans, we can never forget the debt of gratitude we owe to France for her efficient aid in achieving our national independence; and your Lafayette is one of our household words, in inseparable union with the name of him who is “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.” Nor are we less indebted to Switzerland for giving us such statesmen as Gallatin, and such scholars as Agassiz and Guyot, and the model of a republic that rests on popular self-government, and combines the advantages of national sovereignty and State independence, or of a centralized and confederate government.

“As Protestants we shall always remember that France, in the person of John Calvin, gave to the world the foremost theologian, legislator, and disciplinarian of the Reformation, and in the Huguenots a race of Christian heroes, who, like the Puritan Fathers of New England, sacrificed every thing to their sacred convictions, and became the benefactors of every Protestant country. We boast of the Huguenot blood that flows in the veins of many of the first families in America. Coming to our own times, the writings of your Guizot, Monod, Merle d’Aubigné, Pressensé, Godet, Vinet, are as much appreciated among us as in their native land, and may be found in the libraries of scholars and working men from New York to San Francisco. The Protestant Church of France has been like a burning bush in the wilderness, and stands to this day a living monument of God’s protecting care and the unconquerable power of truth; it is miraculously preserved, after centuries of persecution, for a better future.

“It has been my good fortune in early life to be brought in personal contact with your Vinet—the Protestant Pascal; with Merle d’Aubigné—the historian of the Reformation, whose widow intrusted to me his testamentary words to this Conference; with the saintly Adolph Monod, in whose society I spent several of the most delightful days of my life; with Godet, the commentator on St. John and St. Luke, who was my most intimate friend when we studied in the University; with Guyot, who is now our own, like his friend and fellow-townsmen Agassiz; and with yourself, Mr. Chairman, who gave us such a charming book on your pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In this intercourse I formed the early conviction that the natural charms of the French character, when sanctified by divine grace, constitute one of the noblest types of a Christian gentleman.

“In the providence of God, France has recently passed through a furnace of affliction. But this is only a passing cloud:

“Behind a frowning Providence,
God hides a smiling face.”

In the life of nations as well as individuals the deepest humiliation is sometimes the richest blessing in disguise. Already has France astonished the world with a proof of her recuperative energy and inexhaustible material resources. Let us hope that she will soon astonish the Church by a moral and spiritual regeneration, and outshine the glory of bloody victories by the nobler and more enduring glory of general education, self-governing liberty, and the pure religion of the Gospel of peace.”

In the addresses grateful allusion was made to the warm sympathy existing between the United States and the French-speaking countries of Eu-

rope, and the earnest hope was expressed by more than one speaker that France might follow in the footsteps of this Western Republic, in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty and spiritual light.

A well-attended meeting of our Welsh population was also held on this evening, at the Welsh Presbyterian Church, in Thirteenth Street, at which the Rev. H. Powell, pastor of the church, presided; and addresses were delivered by the Rev. John Evans, of Liverpool, and by several resident clergymen of Welsh parentage.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH DAY.

On Tuesday, October 7, so many meetings of the Conference were held simultaneously as to greatly embarrass those who wished to hear certain speakers, but who found it impossible to be in several places at the same time. Sectional meetings were held in Association Hall, morning, afternoon, and evening; in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, morning and evening; in the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, in the afternoon; and in the Broadway Tabernacle in the evening; and a children's meeting was held in the Church of the Disciples, corner of Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street, in the afternoon.

The general topic of the day was

“CHRISTIAN LIFE.”

At the morning session of the First Section in Association Hall, President Woolsey in the chair, the blessing of God was invoked by the Rev. J. C. Harrison, of London.

An invitation was presented from the Erie Railway, offering a free excursion to all of the delegates to Niagara Falls and back. A communication was read from his Honor the Mayor of New York, inviting the members of the Conference, in the name of the authorities of the city, to visit the Public Institutions of New York. This invitation was unanimously extended by the Common Council, in response to the following message from the Mayor:

Mayor's Office, New York, October 6, 1873.

To the Honorable the Common Council.

GENTLEMEN,—The Evangelical Alliance, composed of delegates from various Christian bodies throughout the world, is now holding a Conference in this city. The assembly includes gentlemen from Canada, Europe, and other foreign countries, who occupy positions of honor and responsibility, and are eminent at home and abroad for learning, piety, and active benevolence.

Among the subjects in which they will naturally feel a deep interest, and

which will occupy their attention, is our method of dealing with the large class of the unfortunate and the criminal among us; and, as many of these gentlemen visit our city for the first, and perhaps for the last time, it seems proper that the people of this city, through their representatives, should extend to them an invitation to visit our justly celebrated institutions, and acquaint themselves, as far as possible, with their practical operations.

As many of these delegates come from nationalities in which a large proportion of our own citizens were reared, it is much to be desired that they should not return to their firesides with any existing prejudices against our form of government, but with pleasant memories, and increased respect and esteem for the land which is now the home of their fellow-countrymen, and with which the portion of the world they represent is so closely identified by social and commercial ties.

(Signed)

W. F. HAVEMEYER.

On motion of the Rev. C. Dallas Marston, M.A., of London, a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Common Council of New York, and to the Erie Railway Company, was unanimously passed.

The Conference then proceeded with its business, and papers were read by the Rev. William Arnot, of Edinburgh, on "The Relation between Doctrine and Life;" and by the Rev. Richard Fuller, D.D., of Baltimore, Maryland, and the Rev. William Nast, D.D., of Cincinnati, Ohio, on "Personal Religion: its Aids and Hinderances."

It was not the intention to hold a meeting in Association Hall in the afternoon; but, as the overflow of people from the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, where a sectional meeting was to be held, drifted into the hall and completely filled it, a meeting was improvised; at which the Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D., of London, and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn, delivered, substantially, the addresses afterward delivered by them in the Madison Square Church, on "The Pulpit of the Age;" and the Rev. John Hall, D.D., of New York, being suddenly called on, spoke on the same subject.

At the evening session, after prayer by the Rev. William Patton, D.D., of New Haven, papers were read by the Rev. J. C. Harrison, of London, and Rev. Professor W. S. Plumer, D.D., of the Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina, on "Family Religion;" by the Rev. W. W. Patton, D.D., of Chicago, Illinois, on "Revivals of Religion: how to make them Productive of Permanent Good;" and by President M. B. Anderson, LL.D., of the University of Rochester, New York, on "The Right Use of Wealth."

At the meeting of the Second Section, in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal

Church, at ten o'clock A.M., the Rev. Alexis Caswell, D.D., of Providence, Rhode Island, presided, and the exercises were commenced with prayer by the Rev. E. E. Jenkins, D.D., of London. Papers were read by the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., of the Wesleyan Training School, Westminster, London, on "Secular and Religious Education;" and by President Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D., of Yale College, New Haven, Connecticut, on "Modern Literature in its Relation to Christianity." The paper of Dr. Rigg called forth a spirited discussion, in which President Potter, of Union College, President M'Cosh, of Princeton College, and James Girdlestone, Esq., and J. Carwell Williams, Esq., of London, took part.

At the meeting of this section in the evening, Hon. William E. Dodge, of New York, presided; and prayer was offered by the Rev. J. C. Brown, LL.D., of Berwick, England. A paper was read by the Rev. A. L. Simpson, D.D., of Derby, England, on "Modern Literature and Christianity;" after which remarks were made on the same topic by the Rev. William Ormiston, D.D., of New York, the Rev. Dr. Rigg, of London, and the Rev. Robert Crook, LL.D., of Belfast. The first topic of the morning session, "Secular and Religious Education," was then resumed, and the discussion of it was continued by the Rev. E. O. Haven, D.D., the Rev. William Ormiston, D.D., and the Hon. William E. Dodge, of New York; the Rev. F. W. Conrad, D.D., of Philadelphia; the Rev. Dr. Rigg, of London; President S. G. Brown, D.D., of Hamilton College, New York; and the Rev. L. E. Berkeley, of Lurgan, Ireland. The exercises were closed with the benediction by the Rev. Mr. Berkeley.

The Third Section met in Madison Square Presbyterian Church, at two o'clock in the afternoon. The galleries were occupied by students of theological seminaries in New York and vicinity, and the whole church was filled to its utmost capacity. President Woolsey introduced Charles Reed, Esq., M.P., of London, as chairman, who, after a brief address, announced as the topic of the afternoon "The Pulpit of the Age." Addresses were delivered by the Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D., of London; Professor D. P. Kidder, D.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey; and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn. After the singing of the doxology, the audience was dismissed with the benediction by the Rev. Mr. Beecher.

At the meeting for children, held at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the Church of the Disciples, corner of Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street, the Rev. George H. Hepworth, pastor of the church, conducted the devotional exercises; and an address was delivered by the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of India. The large church was well filled with an audience composed partly of children and partly of adults, all equally interested in the

remarkable man whom God has raised from idolatry to be a teacher of Christians in a Christian land.

The Fourth Section met in the Broadway Tabernacle, at half-past seven o'clock in the evening, Charles Reed, Esq., M.P., of London, in the chair. After an anthem, beautifully rendered by the choir of the church, the Rev. A. T. Pierson, of Detroit, Michigan, led in prayer. The topic of the evening was "Sunday-schools," and addresses were delivered by the Rev. Richard Newton, D.D., of Philadelphia, the Rev. Nathaniel Weiss, of Paris, the Rev. J. H. Vincent, D.D., of New York, and Charles Reed, Esq., M.P., of London. This meeting was especially attractive to those who are actively engaged in Sunday-school work, and they were present in large numbers. Not only was every seat in the church occupied, but the aisles and passages were crowded with those whose interest in the addresses led them to stand during the whole of the long service.

Thus the eight meetings of the day closed, sending to their homes thousands of hearers with hearts stimulated to seek for higher attainments in that "Christian Life" which had been the theme of the day.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH DAY.

On Wednesday, October 8, three sectional meetings were held: the first at Association Hall; the second at St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church; and the third at the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church. These meetings were confined to the morning, the afternoon being left free for the ride to Greenwood Cemetery and Prospect Park, and the evening for a reception and public meeting at the Academy of Music, in Brooklyn.

The general topic of the day was

"ROMANISM AND PROTESTANTISM."

At Association Hall the exercises were commenced with prayer by Professor W. S. Plumer, D.D., of Columbia, South Carolina.

The Rev. Dr. Prime, General Secretary, presented messages of greeting to the Conference, sent by the Ministerial Association of Columbus, Ohio, and by the Young Men's Christian Association of Maine, then in convention at Auburn, Maine. Papers were then read by Professor I. A. Dorner, D.D., of the University of Berlin, and Professor Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D., LL.D., of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, on "The Infallibilism of the Vatican Council, and Nominal Protestantism;" by the Rev. George Fisch, D.D., of Paris, on "The Present State of Popery in France;" and by the Rev. Leopold Witte, of Cöthen, Prussia, on "Ultramontanism and the Four Prussian Church Laws." The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Fisch, of Paris.

At the meeting of the Second Section, in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, Lord Alfred S. Churchill, of London, presided; and prayer was offered by the Rev. W. H. Fremantle, of London. Papers were read by Professor W. Krafft, D.D., of the University of Bonn, Prussia, on "The Vatican Council and the Old Catholic Movement;" by the Rev. Professor C. Pronier, of the Free Church Theological Seminary, Geneva, on "Roman Catholicism in Switzerland since the Proclamation of the Syllabus;" and by the Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., of Brooklyn, New York, on "The Appeal of Romanism to Educated Protestants."

Rev. Dr. Schaff, after some introductory remarks, read a paper from the Old Catholic Congress, recently held at Constance, signed by Bishop Reinkens and others, and addressed to the General Conference, and a letter from Père Hyacinthe, of Geneva, to the members of the Evangelical Alliance. These letters are in this volume. The session was closed with the benediction by the Rev. W. Ives Budington, D.D., of Brooklyn, New York.

At the meeting of the Third Section, in the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, Hon. William A. Buckingham, ex-Governor of Connecticut, occupied the chair. Prayer was offered, in the French language, by the Rev. Dr. Coulin, of Geneva, after which the programme was as follows: "Roman and Reformed Doctrines of Justification contrasted," by Right Rev. George D. Cummins, D.D., of Kentucky; "Protestantism, Romanism, and Modern Civilization," by Professor George P. Fisher, D.D., of Yale College, New Haven, Connecticut; "The Evangelization of France," by the Rev. T. Lorriaux, B.D., of Paris; "How shall Protestant Ministers best meet the Demands of the Present Age?" by the Rev. Franck Coulin, D.D., of Geneva, Switzerland; "Christian Liberty," by President Alvah Hovey, D.D., of the Newton Theological Institution, Massachusetts. The benediction was pronounced by President Hovey.

In the afternoon the foreign delegates visited Greenwood Cemetery and Prospect Park, in Brooklyn. At two o'clock, carriages kindly provided by Mr. Alexander Stuart, of New York, were at the door, and the excursion was highly enjoyed by all who took part in it.

After this pleasant ride, the delegates were taken to the Academy of Music in Brooklyn, and were entertained at dinner with a large number of ladies and gentlemen of Brooklyn.

As multitudes who were in attendance upon the sessions of the Conference could not make the excursion, devotional meetings were held in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, and in the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, commencing at two o'clock. At the former place, the Rev. Mr. Sheshātri preached, and at the latter Rev. Wm. Arnot, both churches being

filled to overflowing, and both audiences greatly edified by the discourses that were delivered.

BROOKLYN MEETING.

At half-past seven o'clock in the evening, the popular meeting that had been arranged for Brooklyn took place in the Academy of Music. The multitudes that attended, and the enthusiasm that was manifested, showed that the citizens of our sister city were not a whit behind those of New York in their appreciation of the Conference. The stage was tastefully draped on the sides and rear with the flags of the various nations represented, and was occupied by the delegates and invited guests. The Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., presided, and opened the meeting with a brief but eloquent address. The hymn, "Come, thou Almighty King," was sung, and the assembly was led in prayer by the Dean of Canterbury. Spirited addresses were made by the Rev. Matteo Prochet, of Italy; Lord Alfred S. Churchill, of London; the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn; the Rev. John Stoughton, D.D., of London; the Rev. George M. Grant, of Nova Scotia; the Rev. John Hall, D.D., of New York; the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of India; and the Rev. C. Stovel, of London. The addresses were all of a popular nature, abounding in humor, but more in serious thoughts that moved the hearts of all who heard; and at a late hour the audience retired, feeling that the evening had been one of rare enjoyment.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH DAY.

On Thursday, October 9, three sectional meetings were held: the first in Association Hall, morning and afternoon; the second in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, morning and afternoon; and the third at the Church of the Disciples, corner of Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street, in the evening.

The general topic of the day was

"CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT."

At Association Hall, the morning session was opened at ten o'clock, as usual, the President in the chair. The exercises were commenced with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Caswell, of Providence, Rhode Island; after which a letter was read conveying to the Conference the greetings of the Congregational Association of Illinois. Papers were then read as follows: "The Church and the Nation," by the Rev. W. H. Fremantle, M.A., of London; "The Relations of Constitution and Government in the United States to Religion," by the Rev. T. D. Woolsey, D.D., LL.D., of New Haven, Connecticut; "The

Sabbath made for Man, and his Consequent Right to Legislation for serving its Ends," by the Rev. Mark Hopkins, D.D., LL.D., of Williamstown, Massachusetts. Opportunity being given for discussion, J. Carwell Williams, Esq., of London, replied to the views of Rev. Mr. Fremantle in favor of an established religion in the State; and W. J. Menzies, Esq., of Edinburgh, supported them.

At the afternoon session, President Hovey, of the Newton Theological Institution, Massachusetts, repeated the paper on "Christian Liberty," previously read by him before another section of the Conference; and James Girdlestone, Esq., of London, delivered an address on "Legislation on Moral Questions." The papers assigned to this section being now finished, volunteer remarks on the general topic of the day were called for, in response to which Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and the Rev. T. P. Stevenson, D.D., of Philadelphia, spoke in favor of the express recognition of God in the written constitutions of Christian governments; and the Rev. G. M. Grant, of Nova Scotia, the Dean of Canterbury, Bishop Simpson, of Philadelphia, and the Rev. David Inglis, D.D., of Brooklyn, spoke on the subject of "Church and State."

At the close of this discussion, the Rev. H. C. McCook, of Philadelphia, gave notice of the arrangements made for the visit of the delegates to Philadelphia, whereupon the Dean of Canterbury moved a vote of thanks, as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—After the announcement just heard, I think the delegates, both American and foreign—I don't consider myself of the foreign party—ought to pass a vote of thanks to the Pennsylvania Railway Company, and to the Committee of Arrangements of the Philadelphia Branch, for the very kind way in which they have made preparations for our pleasure and comfort. I therefore suggest that such a motion be put to vote.

This motion was seconded, and unanimously carried. The meeting closed with the benediction by the Rev. Dr. Forsyth, Chaplain of the West Point Military Academy, New York.

At the meeting of the Second Section, in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. G. R. Crooks, D.D., of New York, presided, and, after the usual devotional exercises, the following papers were read: "The Influence of Christianity on Civil and Religious Liberty," by President W. H. Campbell, D.D., of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey; "Evils of a Union of Church and State," by the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., of Richmond, Virginia; "The Effects of Civil and Religious Liberty on Chris-

tianity," by Professor D. R. Goodwin, D.D., of the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. The exercises were closed with the benediction by Professor Henry B. Smith, D.D., LL.D., of the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

At the afternoon session, the Rev. Alexis Caswell, D.D., of Providence, presided; and prayer was offered by the Rev. S. H. Tyng, Jr., D.D., of New York. Ex-President Hopkins, of Williams College, Massachusetts, repeated the paper on "Sabbath Legislation," read by him in the morning at Association Hall, and a brief discussion followed, after which the meeting was closed with the benediction.

The sectional meeting held in the Church of the Disciples, Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street, convened at half-past seven o'clock in the evening, the Hon. George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, acting as chairman. The large church was completely filled, and hundreds were unable to gain admission. After prayer by the Rev. J. Stanford Holme, D.D., of New York, Rev. Professor J. F. Astié, of the Theological Seminary of the Free Church, Lausanne, Switzerland, read a paper on "The Free Churches on the Continent of Europe." Addresses on the subject of "The Support of the Christian Ministry" were then delivered by the Rev. John Hall, D.D., of New York, the Rev. T. Y. Killen, of Belfast, Ireland, the Rev. L. E. Berkeley, of Lurgan, Ireland, Professor M. W. Jacobus, D.D., of the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pennsylvania, and Bishop Cummins, of Kentucky. The meeting was closed with the benediction by the Rev. George H. Hepworth, of New York.

Professor Christlieb, in reading his paper on "The best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity," before the Conference, on Monday, the 6th inst., had omitted portions of it for want of time. He was requested to repeat it in full, and notice was given that he would comply with this request on Thursday evening, the 9th inst., in the Madison Square Presbyterian Church. Rev. Dr. Adams introduced the speaker, and for two hours and three quarters he held the attention of a vast assembly, and many remained standing during the whole time.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS VISITED.

In addition to the meetings of Thursday, the day was rendered interesting and instructive to a portion of the delegates by a visit to the public institutions of the city, tendered by the municipal authorities. Owing to the pressure of its business, the Conference was unable to adjourn for this excursion; but about one hundred and fifty of the delegates, among them those especially interested in public charities and in prison reform, met the Mayor,

the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, and several members of the Boards of Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen, at the foot of Twenty-sixth Street, East River, at ten o'clock in the morning, and were conveyed by steamboat to Blackwell's, Randall's, Hart's, and Ward's islands. On Blackwell's Island the Penitentiary, Work-house, Insane Asylum, and Hospitals were visited. On Randall's Island the children of the Orphan Asylum were drawn up in line to receive their visitors, and the boys very creditably went through some military exercises with their wooden muskets. Speeches were made to the delegates by three of the inmates of the Asylum—Henry Savage, Thomas Graham, and Emma Gardner. Commissioner Stern also made a brief address, and responses were made by the Rev. G. W. Weldon and the Rev. Thomas W. Aveling of London, and Professor Henry A. Nelson, D.D., of Cincinnati, Ohio. On the school-ship *Mercury*, at Hart's Island, a variety of nautical evolutions were most admirably executed by the boys; and addresses were made by the Mayor, Alderman Vance, and the Rev. Dr. George Fisch, of Paris. On Ward's Island the visitors were conducted through the building originally erected for an inebriate asylum, but now used as an asylum for disabled soldiers. In the large hall of this building dinner was served to the delegates, after which Mayor Havemeyer, the Rev. Matteo Prochet, of Genoa, Professor Felix Bovet, of Neuchatel, and the Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker, of London, made appropriate remarks. The company reached New York, on their return, at about six o'clock in the afternoon, where they found carriages awaiting them on the dock, to convey them to their several places of abode. The courtesy of the municipal authorities, the magnitude of the charities inspected, the admirable condition of the institutions visited, the beauty of the scenery, the scenes and events of the day, made a profound impression upon the delegates.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH DAY.

On Friday, October 10th, four sectional meetings were held: the first, in Association Hall, morning and afternoon; the second, in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, morning and afternoon; the third, in the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, in the morning; and the fourth, in the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, in the afternoon, all of them attended by large and interested audiences.

The general topic of the day was

“CHRISTIAN MISSIONS—FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.”

At the morning session in Association Hall, President Woolsey in the chair, prayer was offered by President Asa D. Smith, D.D., of Dartmouth

Collège, Hanover, New Hampshire; and a paper was read by the Rev. Joseph Angus, D.D., of Regent's Park College, London, on "The Duty of the Churches in Relation to Missions." The Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., of Boston, Massachusetts, presented a paper on "Territorial Divisions of Missionary Fields of Labor, and Missionary Courtesy;" and by Dr. Anderson's request it was read by the Rev. Dr. Clark, one of the secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A paper prepared by the Rev. Dr. Grundemann, of Pottsdam, Germany, on "Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant Missions compared," which was to have been read by Professor Christlieb, was deferred, owing to the late hour at which the translation of it had come to hand. It is published in this volume, among the papers of Friday, October 10. The Rev. Thomas M. Eddy, D.D., of New York, read a paper on "The Obligations of Science, Literature, and Commerce to Christian Missions." An opportunity being given for impromptu remarks, brief speeches on mission work were made by the Rev. Thomas Penrose, of Reading, England; Professor Charles A. Blanchard, of Chicago, Illinois; the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of Bombay, India; and the Rev. J. W. M. Williams, D.D., of Baltimore, Maryland.

The afternoon session was commenced with prayer by the Rev. John Chambers, D.D., of Philadelphia. The Rev. Dr. Schaff presented a paper from Count Andreas von Bernstorff, of Berlin, on "Lay Preaching," which was ordered to be printed in the volume of proceedings. George A. Stuart, Esq., of Philadelphia, delivered an address on "Lay Preaching;" after which H. Thane Miller, Esq., of Cincinnati, Ohio, sang, with touching effect, the hymn, "Tell me the old, old story," the audience joining in the chorus. The Rev. Robert Knox, D.D., of Belfast, Ireland, read a paper on "City Missions in Ireland;" after which brief impromptu addresses on the subject of missions were delivered by Professor Christlieb, of Germany, and the Hon. Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, United States Senator, of Newark, New Jersey. George H. Stuart, Esq., read a letter from the Rev. Alexander Duff, D.D., of Scotland, sending a hearty "God-speed" to the Conference, and expressing his regret at not being able to attend its sessions. The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Cyrus D. Foss, D.D., of New York.

At the meeting of the second section, at ten o'clock A.M., in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, ex-Governor William A. Buckingham, of Connecticut, and United States Senator, presided, and the exercises were commenced with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Forsyth, of West Point. Addresses were delivered by the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of Bombay, India, Hugh Miller, M.D., of Broomfield, Scotland, and the Rev. J. S. Woodside, of Northern India, on "Christianity among the Hindoos," "Obstacles to Mis-

sion Work," and "Women's Work in India;" by Bishop E. De Schweinitz, S.T.D., of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on "Missions among the lowest of the Heathen;" and by the Rev. E. E. Jenkins, D.D., of Southport, England, formerly a missionary to India, upon the general subject of missions in India.

At the afternoon session papers were read and addresses delivered by the Rev. William Murray, of Falmouth, Jamaica, on "Christianity in the West Indies;" by Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and Hon. Nathan Bishop, LL.D., of New York, both connected with the United States Indian Commission, on "Indians in the United States;" and by the Rev. Moses D. Hoge, D.D., of Richmond, Virginia, on "The Mission Field of the South." The meeting was closed with the benediction by the Rev. Dr. Hoge.

At the meeting of the Third Section, in the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, at ten o'clock A.M., the Rev. E. P. Rogers, D.D., of New York, presided; and after prayer by the Rev. Robert Knox, D.D., of Belfast, Ireland, a paper was presented by the Rev. Antonio Carraseo, of Madrid, on "The State of Religion in Spain," which was delivered in Spanish by the author, and translated by the Rev. Fritz Fliedner, also of Madrid. A paper prepared by the Rev. H. H. Jessup, D.D., of Beirut, Syria, on "Missions to the Oriental Churches," was read by the Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, of New York, lately a missionary to Syria. A paper was read by the Rev. L. E. Berkeley, of Lurgan, Ireland, on "Evangelization in Ireland." The Rev. M. Lelièvre, of Nîmes, France, presented a paper on "The Evangelical Home Mission of France," which, at his request, was read by the Rev. Emile Cook, of Paris. The meeting was concluded with the benediction.

The Fourth Section met at two o'clock in the afternoon, in the Madison Square Presbyterian Church. It was addressed wholly by foreign missionaries who were in attendance upon the Conference, each speaker being limited to ten minutes. Addresses were delivered by the Rev. Edwin E. Bliss, of Constantinople; the Rev. B. Labarree, of Persia; the Rev. M. D. Kalopothakes, M.D., of Greece; the Rev. Mr. Thomas, of India; Mr. W. Yorke, of the Dindigal Training-school, Madras, India; the Rev. A. Grout, of South Africa; the Rev. C. H. Carpenter, of British Burmah; and the Rev. Justus Doolittle, of China.

In the evening a German popular meeting was held in Association Hall. The Rev. Dr. Schaff presided; and the meeting was opened with the singing of Luther's grand old hymn, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott." Prayer was offered by the Rev. Edward Dreier, of Neuen Kirchen, Hanover; and

the chairman, after some felicitous remarks, introduced to the audience the following speakers: Professor Dorner, of Berlin; Professor Christlieb, of Bonn; Rev. Paul Zimmermann, of Leipsic; Rev. A. H. M. Held, of New York; and the Rev. George Zahner, D.D., of Ohio. This meeting, which was very fully attended by our German fellow-citizens, was one of great interest, the topics presented by the speakers being the vital questions of German theology and church life, with special reference to the reciprocal relations of Germany and the United States. Before adjourning, it was resolved to hold a similar meeting on Sunday evening at the Cooper Institute, at which opportunity should be given of hearing other speakers.

In the evening an elegant reception was given to the Conference by the Hon. William E. Dodge, President of the United States Alliance. In addition to the members of the Conference, most of the clergy of the city and many invited guests filled the spacious mansion of Mr. Dodge, on Murray Hill, in Madison Avenue. Conversation, music, and refreshments enlivened the evening; and brief speeches were made by the venerable Dr. Cox, the Rev. Mr. Sheshātri, and the Rev. J. C. Harrison, of London. After two or three hours of delightful intercourse, the Rev. Mr. Harrison, by request of Mr. Dodge, offered prayer, and the guests soon after took their departure.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH DAY.

On Saturday, October 11th, the last day of the business sessions of the Conference, three sectional meetings were held: the first, in Association Hall, morning and evening; the second in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, in the morning; and the third in the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, in the morning. In addition to these, a united session of all the sections was held in Association Hall, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The general topic of the day was

"CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORMS."

At the morning session in Association Hall, the President in the chair, the exercises were opened with prayer by Bishop Alfred Lee, D.D., of Delaware. Rev. Dr. Cattell, President of Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, extended to the delegates an invitation to attend, on the 21st of October, the dedication exercises of Pardee Hall, a new building intended for the scientific department of the college, stating also that free railway tickets would be furnished to all who could make it convenient to attend.

The Rev. Henry M. Field, D.D., of New York, invited the foreign delegates to visit Central Park after the adjournment of the Conference in the

afternoon, stating that carriages would be at the door of the hall at that time for their use.

President Eliphalet Nott Potter, D.D., invited the delegates to visit Union College at their convenience.

After a vote of thanks for these courtesies, papers were read by Rev. Professor J. Harris Jones, Ph.D., of Trevecca College, Wales, on "Christianity as a Reforming Power;" by the Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson, of Dublin, Ireland, on "The Working Power of the Church—how best to Utilize it;" and by President W. H. Allen, LL.D., of Girard College, Philadelphia, on "The Labor Question." The reading of Dr. Allen's paper was followed with remarks on the same topic by Professor L. H. Atwater, D.D., LL.D., of Princeton College, New Jersey, and President Woolsey, of New Haven.

At the sectional meeting in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Cyrus D. Foss, D.D., of New York, presided; and after prayer, papers were read by the Rev. Thomas W. Aveling, of London, on "Christian Philanthropy;" and by the Rev. William A. Muhlenberg, D.D., of St. Luke's Hospital, New York, on "The Lord's Supper in Relation to Christian Union." A paper on "The Care of the Sick," prepared by the late Count Agénor de Gasparin, of Geneva, for the Conference of 1870, was read in part by the Rev. Hervey D. Ganse, of New York, and may be found in full in this volume. A few remarks were made on the subject of "Deaconesses," by the Rev. Fritz Fliedner, of Madrid, son of Pastor Fliedner, the founder of the House of Deaconesses at Kaiserwerth, on the Rhine.

At the sectional meeting held in the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., Chancellor of the University of New York, presided, and prayer was offered by the Rev. E. C. Wines, D.D., of New York. Papers were read by Professor Henry A. Nelson, D.D., of Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio, on "Intemperance and its Suppression," by the Rev. E. C. Wines, D.D., LL.D., of New York, Secretary of the National Prison Association, on "Christianity in its Relation to Crime and Criminals;" by the Rev. Elie Robin, B.D., of Paris, on "Industrial Schools as an Agency in the Prevention of Crime;" and by Henry Bergh, Esq., of New York, on "Cruelty to Animals."

It was originally intended to have the important subject of "Young Men's Christian Associations" treated on Tuesday, October 7th, on which day the general topic was "Christian Life." But as it was desirable that opportunity should be given to the members of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, and to young men in general, to be present when this subject was discussed, it was, by request, postponed to Saturday evening, October 11th, as an occasion when a larger number of young men

could conveniently attend. This meeting was, therefore, held subsequently to the formal exercises with which the business of the Conference was closed. Morris K. Jesup, Esq., President of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, and one of the Vice-presidents of the Conference, occupied the chair, and the exercises were commenced with prayer by the Hon. Charles Young, President of the Young Men's Christian Association of Prince Edward Island. A paper on "Young Men's Christian Associations" was read by Cephas Brainerd, Esq., of New York; and addresses were made by the Rev. Thomas W. Aveling, the Rev. John Stoughton, D.D., and George Vigeon, Esq., of London; the Rev. Henry Miller, of Hammersmith, England; the Rev. M. Lelièvre, of Nîmes, France; and the Rev. Dr. Coulin, of Geneva, in the French language, translated by Mr. N. Cyr, of New York; the Rev. Leonard Anet, of Brussels, Belgium; the Hon. George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia; and H. Thane Miller, Esq., of Cincinnati, Ohio, who also sang the hymn, "I love to tell the Story," with organ accompaniment and chorus. The meeting was closed with the benediction by the Rev. Henry Tarrant, of Leeds, England.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the whole Conference met in Association Hall, President Woolsey in the chair, for the formal closing of the business sessions. Two verses were sung of the hymn "Blest be the tie that binds;" and prayer was offered by the Rev. William Arnot, of Edinburgh, Scotland. The Rev. William Adams, D.D., LL.D., of New York, Chairman of the Programme Committee, stated in its behalf that the Committee had spent much time and labor in the arrangement of the papers, and that if there had been any disappointment on the part of those who had presented communications to the Committee, it was the result of causes which the Committee could not control.

The Rev. John Hall, D.D., presented a report from the Programme Committee recommending that various memorials which were placed in the hands of the Committee be printed in the volume of proceedings to be published. These papers so ordered may be found on pages 730-746 of Appendix II.

Lord Alfred S. Churehill read an address from the delegates of Great Britain and Ireland, acknowledging the hospitalities received, and expressing a most grateful appreciation of them. He accompanied this address with a few very happy remarks, and concluded with the prayer that the blessings of God might ever rest upon the American nation.

The Rev. George Fisch, D.D., of Paris, presented a similar address on behalf of the delegates from France, Switzerland, and Belgium, and rejoiced to add that they would return to their homes refreshed and inspirited.

[At this point notice was received that the Fourth Avenue Presbyterian Church was filled with an audience who desired to have speakers sent to them, and accordingly Bishop Cummins, Rev. Dr. Fish, and others, by request, proceeded to the Church to address this second meeting.]

The Rev. Dr. Dorner presented an address of thanks from the German delegates, which was read by the Rev. Leopold Witte, of Cöthen, Prussia, who added that they would give a practical shape to their thanks if the Conference would come to Germany.

The Rev. Anson Green, D.D., of Toronto, in behalf of the Canadian delegates, said that, though Canada was a colony of the British Empire, they claimed the privilege of speaking for themselves, and of saying that the welcome given them had made an impression upon them that would never be forgotten. The Rev. George M. Grant, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, added that, in anticipating their coming, the Canadian delegates did not know but that they might fall between two stools, being recognized as neither "foreign" nor "home" delegates; but the result had proved their fear to be groundless, as the kindness shown them could not have been exceeded.

As these sentiments were uttered the members of the various delegations manifested their hearty approval of them by standing as their several representatives were speaking.

The Rev. William Ormiston, D.D., of New York, moved the following resolution, which he accompanied with appropriate remarks, and which was seconded and carried:

Resolved, That in view of the great and manifold blessings of the Divine Providence vouchsafed to this meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, its members gratefully desire to record a humble expression of devout thankfulness to Almighty God for his goodness, and to commend each other to his care.

The Rev. William Arnot, of Edinburgh, moved the following resolution, which he supported in a brief speech, and which was seconded and adopted:

Resolved, That the General Conference recognizes with great satisfaction the interest which the pastors and churches of the city of New York, Brooklyn, and vicinity have taken in the Evangelical Alliance, which interest appears to pervade the whole country.

The Rev. John Hall, D.D., of New York, replied to this resolution in behalf of the pastors of New York, Brooklyn, and vicinity, thanking the delegates for the acceptable and valuable services rendered by them in ministering to their congregations.

The Rev. J. C. Harrison, of London, moved the thanks of the Conference to the families who had so hospitably entertained the delegates. It was the prayer of all of them that the blessing of God might ever rest upon these homes. The Rev. T. Lorriaux, of Paris, most heartily seconded this motion, and spoke, not only of private hospitality, but also of the gratification received by the delegates in visiting the public institutions of New York, as the guests of the city.

To this resolution, which was unanimously adopted, the Rev. T. D. Anderson, D.D., of New York, responded in behalf of the families who had entertained delegates, and who felt that they had received more than they had bestowed. Had there not been this interchange of social feeling, the Conference would have lacked a most important element of influence, and the delegates would have returned to their homes without the ties of friendship that now unite them to those who have been their hosts.

On motion of Rev. Professor J. Harris Jones, Ph.D., of Wales, the thanks of the delegates were presented to the Young Men's Christian Association of New York, for their hospitalities to the Conference. Morris K. Jesup, Esq., President of the Association, responded to this resolution. He said that the New York Young Men's Christian Association claimed to be an Evangelical Alliance on a small scale. It numbered 4000 young men, banded together for Christian work, irrespective of sect or denomination. It was, therefore, fitting that the Association should entertain such a body as the Evangelical Alliance; and if their building had been as large as their hearts, there would have been ample room for all who desired to attend the Conference.

The Rev. W. Ives Budington, D.D., of Brooklyn, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Alliance are due and are hereby tendered to the Press in this city and elsewhere, which has given to the public, at great expense, reports remarkably full and accurate, of the papers read and of the speeches uttered in this Assembly, and our acknowledgments are also made for the intelligent appreciation so generally shown of the objects and spirit of this Alliance.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Schaff, of New York, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Conference be presented to the proprietors and agents of the several Transatlantic steamship lines who so generously furnished facilities of transportation for the foreign delegates, and to those American railroad companies who so kindly proffered free excursions to both foreign and American delegates, thereby greatly contributing to the success of the Conference and to the gratification of all its members; also to the various institutions that have extended courtesies to the members of the Conference.

The companies, corporations, and institutions included in the above resolution are as follows:

The Cunard, White Star, Anchor, Transatlantic, the Bremen Lloyd, and the Hamburg and New York Ocean Steamship Companies.

The Erie Railway Company; the Pennsylvania Railroad Company; the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad Company; the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad Company; and the Delaware and Lackawanna Railroad Company.

The Mayor and Common Council of New York; the Board of Education of New York; the College of the City of New York; the Managers of the House of Refuge, New York; the Mercantile Library Association of New York; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the Seaman's Friends' Society, New York; the New York Historical Society; the American Institute, New York; and the Newark, New Jersey, Industrial Institute.

On motion of James Girdlestone, Esq., of London, a resolution of thanks was passed to the Committees of the United States Alliance, for the pains taken by them to make the Conference a success; and to the President and other officers of the Conference for the fidelity with which they had discharged their responsible duties.

This resolution was responded to by the Rev. S. Irenæus Prime, D.D., General Secretary of the Conference, and by the Rev. Dr. Woolsey, the President. The remarks of Dr. Prime were as follows:

The labor which has been devolved on the officers of the United States Alliance in making the preparations for, and in conducting the Conference, is known to no one better than to myself. We have anticipated the assembling of this Conference with intense interest and anxiety, and have spent weeks and months and years in perfecting those arrangements which have now their final and, we hope, satisfactory accomplishment.

Twice the time fixed for the Conference was unavoidably postponed, and these disappointments greatly dampened our spirits and discouraged our efforts. But we did the best we could. We sent out our invitation into all the earth, and its remotest parts responded. Those who had the most to do with the preparations are the most sensible of our shortcomings. We know the want of perfect accommodation for each one of the thousands who have pressed at the doors of every house we have opened for our meetings. Gladly would we have taken them all to our assemblies. We have heard complaints from some that they could not have seats secured. And those who had secured seats have complained that they could not always get them. But the throngs have been so great, and so far beyond the ex-

pectation of any one, that some inconvenience must be suffered. How small has that inconvenience been, compared with the honor and privilege and blessing of being permitted to *stand*, even for an hour, in the midst of the greatest and noblest convention of the ministers of Christ that was ever assembled upon this Continent! Its memory will be a joy to us long after we have forgotten the discomforts and toils that have attended it.

There are some laborers in this service to whom thanks are eminently due; they are the several committees, the active working men in them, who have had charge of the buildings, of the hospitality and entertainment of guests, the programme, music, railroad, and finance committees, and others, all of whom have wrought hard and long; and I am here to say that if the arrangements have been such as to warrant your approval, to those indefatigable men your thanks are due. These ushers, whose duties have been arduous and exhausting, are chiefly students in theology, who have gratuitously given their services, that they might contribute to your comfort, while they themselves should now and then get a word of wisdom and knowledge from your lips.

We have all tried to do our duty. Wherein we have failed in temper and courtesies, in the midst of the inevitable difficulties of handling such immense assemblies in so many places at one and the same time, we humbly beg your forgiveness. When our turn comes to have the Conference again, we will avail ourselves of present experience, and do it far better than now.

It is an honor to have been a servant in this glorious Conference. If it had cost the life of any of us, the sacrifice would have been small. But we have all lived, and are stronger, wiser, and we hope better, for the work. From this mount of service and privilege, we shall go down to the Master's work refreshed and quickened, to do and to die where and when we are called.

Rev. Dr. Hall moved a vote of thanks, especially to the venerable President, Dr. Woolsey, for the gentle firmness and graceful dignity with which he had presided. This was enthusiastically adopted, and President Woolsey said:

GENTLEMEN, MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE,—The hour has come to close this meeting, and with it the business sessions of the Conference. In the few moments in which I am to address you, I have to thank the Secretaries for their continual assistance, without which I could have done nothing. I have the pleasure, my fellow-members of the Conference from the United States, in your name, to thank the foreign delegates for the rich in-

struction they have given us, and for having come so far, at no small expense of time, for our good. And I have to thank you all for your great interest in the meetings, and for your readiness to comply with the rules for the observance of order.

And now, gentlemen, what have we gained from our attendance at these meetings? Estimating the papers presented as highly as we may, has not the great gain been a deeper impression of the unity of Christians than we have had before, of the communion of saints throughout the world, an impression that may last through our lives, and may develop within us a higher spirit of true catholicity than we have had hitherto? The remarkable communication from the "Old Catholics" that was presented to us shows that there are those beyond the bounds of "Protestantism" who, although widely differing from us, recognize the same common Saviour, and have a sympathy with us. Suppose, now, a member of the Church of Rome who preserved his connection with the Pope should come to us and say, "I am indeed a Catholic; I can not in conscience break away from the Church of my fathers, but I believe in Christ, and I believe that you love Christ and love the kingdom of Christ in the world; my heart is with you, and I wish to express my sympathy for you," would you not receive him? Would you not, when he said, "I believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as you," call him your brother? [Decided expressions of assent from the members of the Conference.]

Recall to your minds, gentlemen, that time in the ancient Church when a party announced the principle that except the Gentiles were circumcised, and obeyed the law of Moses, they could not be saved.

Among those narrow-minded Christians there were very many good men who would have died for Jesus. There were multitudes who agreed with the apostle Peter—contrary to their own principle, really—when he said, "We believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they." For such Christians, who differ so widely from us, and yet in their Christian life are one with us, we will open the door of our hearts; we will not drive them from our assemblies.

And may I not ask, gentlemen, if this meeting is not fitted to recall to our minds that vast assemblage, that "great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues," who "stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb." Who were these multitudes, arrayed in white robes? They were those who came out of great tribulation, and washed their robes and made them white in the blood of

the Lamb. Shall we not give all diligence to wash our robes, and make them white in the blood of the Lamb, that we may form a part of this great and ever-increasing throng? I wish you all farewell!

The doxology, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," was then sung; the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Anson Green, D.D., of Toronto, Canada; and the Conference, which had been increasing in interest each day of its sessions, and which had awakened a growing enthusiasm in the multitudes who daily attended it, brought its regular business to a close.

After the adjournment the foreign delegates rode to Central Park, in accordance with the invitation of Dr. Field.

While they were absent, the delegates from the United States Alliance and its Branches held a meeting in Association Hall, at which steps were taken to promote the usefulness of the Alliance in this country.

SERVICES OF THE LAST DAY.

On Sunday, October 12th, the last day of the Conference, the delegates filled very many of the pulpits of New York and vicinity, preaching everywhere to crowded congregations with great acceptance.

FAREWELL SERVICES.

The interest that had been rising during the ten days of the Conference reached its height on this last Sunday evening, when FIVE places of meeting were opened, attended by at least 15,000 persons, and yet not furnishing sufficient room for all who desired to be present. Meetings were held from seven to nine o'clock, in Steinway Hall, at which the Rev. T. D. Anderson, D.D., of New York, presided; in Tammany Hall, at which the Hon. George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, presided; and in the Church of the Disciples, corner of Madison Avenue and Forty-fifth Street, at which the Rev. George H. Hepworth, of New York, presided. At all of these meetings interesting farewell addresses were delivered by members of the Conference, and devotional exercises were intermingled. At Cooper Institute a crowded German meeting was held. Dr. Schaff presided; and the large audience listened with the deepest interest to valedictory addresses, in their own language, from Professor Krafft, of Bonn; the Rev. Mr. Noël, of Berlin; the Rev. Mr. Fliedner, of Madrid; and the Rev. Mr. Witte, of Cöthen, Prussia.

The farewell meeting was held in the Academy of Music, commencing at half-past seven o'clock. Tickets of admission were required as on the preceding Sunday evening, and nearly an hour before the commencement of

the exercises the building was densely crowded in every part, and thousands went away unable to gain admission.

The Hon. William F. Havemeyer, Mayor of the City of New York, presided, and introduced the services with a few appropriate remarks. Prayer was offered by Rev. Thomas Armitage, D.D., of New York, and the assembly united in singing the hymn, "Come, thou Almighty King." Prayer was offered by the Rev. George Fisch, D.D., of Paris, who, in closing, repeated the Lord's Prayer, the entire audience, by previous request, joining with him audibly, *each one in his own language*.

The Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., of New York, then introduced in order the following speakers, representing the various delegations from abroad: the Rev. Dr. Cook, of Quebec, Canada; the Rev. Professor J. F. Astié, of Lausanne, Switzerland; the Rev. Emile Cook, B.A., of Paris; the Rev. Matteo Prochet, of Genoa, Italy; the Rev. William Arnot, of Edinburgh, Scotland; the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of Bombay, India; Professor Theodor Christlieb, D.D., of Bonn, Prussia; the Rev. L. E. Berkeley, of Lurgan, Ireland; and the Very Rev. R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.

In all of the addresses there was a spirit of grateful satisfaction with what God had wrought during the Conference; of overflowing affection for the brethren with whom such sweet counsel had been taken; of hearty goodwill to the country whose extent, and resources, and institutions, had been looked upon with wonder and admiration; of sincere sorrow at the partings that must now take place, the more painful because the intercourse had been so pleasing; of earnest desire that the Conference might result in permanent good to the cause of Christ; and of tender interest in the multitudes who are as sheep having no shepherd, knowing not by sweet experience the Lord Jesus Christ and his salvation.

At about ten o'clock the delegates who had been engaged in addressing the other meetings of the evening had reached the Academy, and joined their fellow-members of the Conference on the platform, preparatory to hearing the closing words of farewell. The following hymn was sung, composed for the occasion by the Rev. Hervey D. Ganse, of New York:

By a thousand ways we come,
 A thousand ways we go;
 These in India have their home,
 And these near Alpine snow.
 Islanders of distant seas,
 Dwellers on the Western main,
 Men of Britain and of Greece,
 Of China and of Spain—

We are many, we are *one* ;
 For, by one Spirit led,
 All our paths together run,
 Though o'er the earth they spread.
 Straight to Christ they lead for light ;
 Straight to Christ for sin forgiven ;
 Straight behind him through the fight,
 Then, with Him, straight to heaven.

Merge we then our separate speech,
 To form a common tongue.
 Cease, ye discords, while we reach
 A universal song.
 "Jesus" be the name we sing!
 Help us, Spirit of the Lord,
 And the utmost lands shall ring,
 With the glorious word.

Hark, with shouts the saints on high
 The King of glory crown!
 Roll apart, oh solid sky,
 And pour the anthem down!
 "Hallelujah!" Say, ye men,
 Is it heaven or earth that sings?
 Shout the chorus back again:
 "Our Christ is King of kings."

The Rev. Noah Hunt Schenck, D.D., of Brooklyn, New York, then delivered the farewell address, which may be found on page 707 of this volume. After the singing of two verses of the hymn, "I love thy kingdom, Lord," the Rev. William Adams, D.D., LL.D., of New York, offered the final prayer, imploring the blessing of God on all that had been done by the Conference, and commending the delegates to the divine protection and care.

The doxology was sung,

"To God the Father, God the Son,
 And God the Spirit, three in one,
 Be honor, praise, and glory given
 By all on earth, and all in heaven."

The benediction was pronounced by Bishop E. S. Janes, D.D., of New York, and the members of the Conference separated.

EXCURSION TO PRINCETON AND PHILADELPHIA.

On Monday morning, October 13th, the foreign delegates to the Conference, with a number of invited guests, about 250 in all, visited Princeton and Philadelphia, in accordance with the invitations to which reference has already been made. A special train, composed mostly of palace cars, was placed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company at their disposal, leaving Jersey City at half-past nine o'clock in the morning. The weather, just cool enough for comfort, was bright and clear, the country was beautifully variegated with the changing tints of autumn, giving the delegates from abroad a sight of American scenery in October. The train reached Princeton at about eleven o'clock, and as the procession of visitors, after being received by the Faculties of the College and the Theological Seminary, passed up the avenue that leads from the railroad station, the walk was lined on both sides by the College students who welcomed the members, and astonished some of them, with their "Rocket Cheer." After passing the Theological Seminary, where the students, in double row, stood uncovered in their honor, the delegates proceeded to the Second Presbyterian Church, where a meeting was held for an hour. The floor of the church was filled with the citizens of Princeton, and the galleries with the students of the two institutions. The venerable Dr. Hodge, of the Theological Seminary, presided, and offered the opening prayer, after which brief but pertinent addresses were made by the Dean of Canterbury, the Rev. W. Arnot, of Edinburgh, the Rev. Dr. Rigg, of London, the Rev. Dr. Coulin, of Geneva, in the French language, the Rev. M. Decoppet, of Paris, and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn. The delegates then spent half an hour in inspecting the College buildings, after which they partook of a bountiful collation in the old College library, and returning to the railroad, journeyed to Philadelphia.

On arriving in Philadelphia, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the delegates were conveyed to Independence Hall, the room in which the Declaration of Independence was made by Congress in 1776. Here Judge Pierce, in behalf of the Mayor and Common Council of Philadelphia, welcomed them to the city. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher followed with a brief address of welcome, in the name of the country; and replies were made by the Rev. C. Dallas Marston, of England, the Rev. L. E. Berkeley, of Ireland, the Rev. Matteo Prochet, of Italy, the Rev. George Fisch, of France, and the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, of India. The Dean of Canterbury closed the exercises with prayer. As the delegates passed from the hall, they all looked with interest at the old bell that rang out the tidings, nearly a century ago, that the country was free.

From Independence Hall the delegates were conducted to the Continental Hotel, where, after the Divine blessing by the Rev. Henry A. Boardman, D.D., the oldest pastor in Philadelphia, they partook of a sumptuous dinner, furnished by the Philadelphia Branch of the Alliance.

After this repast was over, the delegates proceeded in a body to Horticultural Hall, in Broad Street, in which a public meeting was to be held in honor of their visit. The hall was appropriately decorated, the walls being hung with floral designs, with the names of Luther, Calvin, Huss, Wycliffe, Zwingle, Knox, and Wesley, in letters of flowers. Across the stage there was a triple arch, formed of evergreens, bearing in floral letters the mottoes, "All one in Christ," and "Let brotherly love continue." The audience present filled the hall to its utmost capacity, and the platform was scarcely adequate to the task imposed upon it of holding all of the delegates who were in attendance.

George H. Stuart, Esq., President of the Philadelphia Branch of the Alliance, presided, and after the singing of the doxology, prayer was offered by the Rev. J. C. Harrison, of London. Mr. Stuart made a few introductory remarks, and was followed by ex-Governor Pollock, who welcomed the members of the Conference in the name of the citizens of Philadelphia, and by Bishop Simpson, who welcomed them in behalf of the churches of Philadelphia. Addresses were then made by the Dean of Canterbury, the Rev. Narāyan Sheshādri, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the Rev. M. Cohen Stuart, of Holland, the Rev. Dr. Fisch and the Rev. Emile Cook, of Paris, the Rev. Emile Rochedieu, of Brussels, the Rev. W. Arnot, of Edinburgh, the Rev. Dr. Ormiston, of New York, and the Rev. T. Y. Killen, of Belfast. These addresses were interspersed with hymns, in the singing of which the audience heartily joined. Although it was after eleven o'clock when the exercises were concluded, the interest continued unabated to the end, and the enthusiasm displayed by the vast audience was fully equal to that which had characterized the series of meetings held in New York.

In addition to the meeting in Horticultural Hall, three others were held, one in the Baptist Church on the opposite corner, another in the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, and the third in the Tabernacle Presbyterian Church, in the immediate neighborhood of the hall, at all of which there were full audiences and interesting addresses.

After the adjournment of these meetings the delegates returned to the Continental Hotel, where arrangements had been made by the Philadelphia Branch of the Alliance for their entertainment over night.

EXCURSION TO WASHINGTON.

On Tuesday morning, October 14th, at nine o'clock, a special train was placed at the disposal of the delegates by the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore, and the Baltimore and Potomac railways, and a reluctant farewell was said to Philadelphia, whose generous hospitality had been so highly enjoyed. At Baltimore the delegates were met by a deputation from Washington, consisting of the Rev. Drs. Sunderland, Gray, Watkins, Williams, and Cleveland, who took them in charge as the guests of the Metropolitan Branch of the United States Alliance. On reaching Washington they were greeted with a peal from the bells of the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, and were conducted to Willard's Hotel, where arrangements had been made by the Metropolitan Alliance for their entertainment while in Washington. Here a cordial welcome to the Capital of the United States was formally extended to them by the Rev. O. H. Tiffany, D.D., acting chairman of the reception committee, and Governor Shepherd tendered them the hospitalities and freedom of the District of Columbia.

PRESENTATION OF THE DELEGATES TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

It had been arranged that the delegates should call upon the President immediately on their arrival in Washington, as a pressing engagement called him from home, and he had delayed his departure a few hours for the sake of this visit. Accordingly they proceeded in a body to the Executive mansion, headed by Governor Shepherd, and Richard Harrington, Esq., Secretary of the District of Columbia. On arriving, they were received by the President and his Cabinet Ministers. Mrs. Grant, and several other ladies, were also present.

The Rev. Dr. Tiffany addressed the President, as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT,—The Evangelical Alliance, which has been in session at New York, was a gathering of Christian men representing the Protestant faith. They came from many lands and uttered the mature thoughts of their Churches; they deliberated on topics of common interest to all Christians, and it is confidently believed that thus great stimulus has been given to Christian scholarship, enthusiasm awakened in Christian work, and the ties of Christian fellowship greatly strengthened. The churches and citizens have extended through the local Metropolitan Branch of the Alliance an invitation to the foreign delegation to visit the National Capital. They have come in response to that invitation, accompanied by many American

friends, and I now have the honor of presenting to the President of the United States and his Cabinet the officers and members of the Evangelical Alliance, but will first invite you to join in an invocation, led by the Dean of Canterbury, to our Heavenly Father.

The Dean of Canterbury offered prayer, invoking the blessing of Heaven on this country, where the Alliance had been so hospitably received, and on its Chief Magistrate, and praying that this visit might lead to peace and good-will among all nations and all men.

President Grant replied to the Rev. Dr. Tiffany's address of introduction with his usual brevity, but his words were to the point. Addressing the delegates, he said, "It affords me very great pleasure to welcome the Evangelical Alliance to the capital of this great nation, which I feel is the freest of nations to work out the problem of your mission."

The delegates were severally introduced to the President and members of the Cabinet by George H. Stuart, Esq., of Philadelphia; and after the ceremony of introduction was over, several brief addresses were made. The delegates then withdrew, pleased with the simplicity of the ceremonies attendant on a Republican court, and gratified at the distinguished attention that had been shown them.

In the evening public meetings were held in the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, the First Presbyterian Church, Trinity Episcopal Church, and the Congregational Church, which were all densely crowded, and at which addresses were delivered by a number of the delegates.

VISIT TO THE CAPITOL AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

At nine o'clock on Wednesday morning the delegates visited the Capitol and the public buildings in Washington. While at the Capitol the rotunda was turned into a temple of praise, the whole body of visitors joining in the singing of the hymn, "All hail the power of Jesus' name;" then proceeding to the East portico, the Rev. E. P. Rogers, D.D., of New York, repeated the Lord's Prayer, and the Rev. C. Dallas Marston, M.A., of London, the Apostles' Creed, in both of which the whole assembly reverently joined with audible voice, after which the doxology was sung, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow."

After visiting the various public buildings, so far as time permitted, the delegates returned to Willard's Hotel, and, at one o'clock, sat down to a banquet given by Governor Shepherd, of the District of Columbia. The Governor, in addressing his guests, spoke as follows:

"I am honored, gentlemen, by your presence as my guests to-day. Al-

though from want of time the entertainment offered you may not be commensurate with the occasion, our welcome is none the less hearty and sincere. Your visit to the seat of government will long be remembered by our people, and if you will take with you as agreeable recollections of Washington as you leave among us of yourselves we will be gratified indeed. We have welcomed you as leaders in the great movement for the regeneration of our race. We will part with you with wishes of God-speed in the noble work which claims the best energies of your great minds and noble hearts. Our regret is that your stay with us is so brief. Our joy is that, though brief your sojourn, you have inspired our people with new zeal in the interests of the Christian Church. Allow me to conclude with this sentiment: 'The Evangelical Alliance; may its results be equal to the grandeur of its conception and the nobleness of its ends.'"

To this address, appropriate responses were made by several of the delegates, and after an hour of happy interchange of thought and feeling, the entertainment was brought to a close.

The delegates left Washington in the afternoon, returning to New York, through Philadelphia, or journeying southward or westward as they preferred.

Many of them went to Niagara Falls, accepting the kind invitation of the Erie Railroad Company to go and return free of expense. A large number had visited the Falls before this invitation was given, the Evangelical Alliance of the United States having offered to defray the cost of the journey by rail to all the delegates from abroad who wished to make the tour.

Having spent as much time in this country as their several duties at home would permit, the delegates from foreign lands returned to their homes, by various lines of ocean steamers, leaving behind them precious memories of their presence and labors. Friendships hallowed by the grace and service of God were formed, to be cherished with tenderness through life, and to be revived and perpetuated in eternity. Impulses were given by their words of power to the cause of truth and righteousness which will never be effaced from the thought of this people. The families which enjoyed their society count it a blessing and an honor to have entertained these angels of the Churches. And the Conference, the largest and perhaps the most important that has been held in modern times, will mark an era in the history of Evangelical Christianity.

ESSAYS, ORATIONS,
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS
OF THE
SIXTH GENERAL CONFERENCE
OF THE
EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

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BY THE REV. WILLIAM ADAMS, D.D., LL.D., NEW YORK.

[*Delivered at the Social Reception, on Thursday Evening, October 2, 1873, in the Young Men's Christian Association Hall.*]

I DEEM it a special pleasure and honor that I have been requested, in the name of the Christian people of this country, to address a few words of welcome to those who have gathered at this Conference, and especially to those from the other side of the sea. Some of you have long been known to many of us as personal friends and correspondents; others have been gratefully known by their works of scholarship and philanthropy. The author of a good book is a true cosmopolite. He is at home in every part of the world. The author of a Christian hymn sung in all the churches of Christendom, the originator of a new and successful scheme of Christian philanthropy, is welcome as a friend wherever there are Christians to worship and to work. Pleasant, indeed, is it to grasp by the hand and look upon the faces of men with whom we have long had unspoken sympathy through the books which lie upon our tables. Coming to us on such an occasion as this, and on such an errand, none of you can be "strangers and foreigners;" all are "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." As such we greet you with cordial affection. We bless you in the name of the Lord, and welcome you most heartily to our country, our churches, our pulpits, and our homes.

This welcoming on the part of Christians in the New World to visitors coming from the Old World marks an advanced epoch in the great drama of human history. The two hemispheres are separated in space by the long and lumbering billows of the Western Ocean, but, as time advances, we see more and more how they are unified in the great plan and purpose of the Almighty. Neither is complete in itself. The Old abides not

alone. It prolongs and perpetuates itself in the New. The New is not a sudden and independent creation, like fabled Delos made to stand still as the theatre of an extemporaneous civilization. It is the growth, expansion, and continuance of the Old. You can not travel on this Western Continent without noticing that European history has notched itself into our very soil, and chronicled its several stages of development in the names of our States, and cities, and towns, and universities. Those who come to us from France will recall and read the history of their native land in names scattered all over this country, from the St. Lawrence known to us in our English pronunciation as Montreal, away through lake and river to St. Louis and New Orleans and Carolina, where the Huguenots left the name of their weak and bigoted king, Charles IX. Those who come to us from Holland, if they miss dike and fog, surely can not feel themselves far from home in this city of New Amsterdam, and on the banks of that river discovered by Dutch enterprise. Germany, if she did not begin her migration so soon as others, is making up for delay in the volume of her population, like that which centuries ago overran the south of Europe, spreading her language and her industry over this vast domain; and we welcome to-day her representatives to this city of New York as the fourth largest German city in the world. As for Great Britain, these household names of States, counties, cities, and colleges—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk, Berkshire, Boston, Cambridge, Plymouth, Dorchester, Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, William and Mary—afford

easy proof that this Western World, with its free governments, its institutions of learning and religion, is but the outgrowth and result of the successive throes, struggles, and revolutions of the old ancestral isle. As the names of parents are given to their children and their children's children, so the names of the martyrs, the patriots, the scholars, the statesmen, the good and the great men of former ages, worthy to be held in everlasting remembrance, are reproduced and perpetuated through the length and the breadth of this New World.

There was a time (we trust it has passed forever) when certain writers, in a spirit of jealousy, distrust, and hate, were accustomed to refer to us as a "raw and recent population," without history or ancestry, as if we were "disgraceful foundlings, blushing at the bend of illegitimacy in our coat armorial." Can children lose their lineage by migration? Do we part with blood, birth-right, or pedigree when we cross the sea? If there be virtue in any patronymic claim, have not we as indefeasible a right in the fame of every patriot, scholar, and philanthropist of the Old World as any who still tread the ancestral acres?

It was the conceit of classic mythology that the Muse of History was the daughter of Jove. The thought thus suggested we put into a better Christian phrase, believing in the unity of God's purpose in Providence. That which we receive from our Bibles has been wrought out in philosophic form by Schlegel and Müller. Look at detached parts of the drama—at the Huguenots of France, exiled, massacred, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; at the Hollanders, harried by Philip of Spain; at the Non-conformists of England during the Five-Mile Act of the Stuarts—and you would be bewildered and depressed, as if there were no equitable Power to protect and reward virtue. But these are only "parts of God's ways." To judge them as if they were independent, insulated, and complete events is as if one gazing on some eddy or back-water in the Mississippi should infer that the mighty river were running upward and backward. Sweep a wider vision, make a

more copious induction, wait and look again, cross the ocean whither the brave exiles betook themselves, and observe the institutions of civil and religious liberty, the churches, the schools, the happy homes, which have sprung up in this New World, and behold the vindication of Divine equity, progress and development in the magnificent plan of Divine Providence. Calvin and Coligny did not join in person the several expeditions to the American coast which they so zealously patronized; but Calvin, Coligny and Knox, Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper and Latimer, as well as the great German Reformers, Luther, Melancthon and Zwingli, are living and working upon our soil to-day. John Hampden, whose society Richard Baxter said would give a charm to the Everlasting Rest of the Saints, ceased not to live when he fell in battle, for the patriot statesman walks abroad in our own land. The "good old cause" for which Algernon Sidney prayed with his latest breath on Tower Hill in London did not perish when that noble martyr was beheaded. We ask you, coming from the Old World, to see and judge for yourselves the result and fruitage of great events, which carry us all back to the cell of Argyll, the scaffold of Russell, the grave of Wickliffe, and the ashes of Huss. It has verily seemed to us that it was not so much we as they that were welcoming you to these shores; that the very air was full of the martyr spirits of the mighty dead, our common ancestry, bidding us, in our blessed brotherhood, to enjoy together the rich results of their faith, prayers, and agonies, in a free religion, a free Bible, a free Church, free schools, a free press, and free souls—a glorious legacy of the past to the present—the seed-corn and the roots beyond the sea in the Old, the harvest and the compensation in the New.

The object of our Conference is neither political nor ecclesiastical. We come not to discuss forms of church organization or government, or any thing which is extrinsic and casual. We meet to manifest and express our Christian unity. Divers are the names which we bear, both as to countries and churches—German, French, Swiss, Dutch, English, Scotch, Irish, Lutheran, Reformed,

Anglican, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Baptist, Independent—but we desire and intend to show that, amidst all this variety of form and circumstances, there is a real unity of faith and life; believing, according to the familiar expression of our common Christian creed, in the “Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints.”

We are living in times when, all over the world, there is a manifest longing for more of fraternal unity. France and Germany have both given us new words expressive of this desire for cosmopolitan unity. Conventions and exhibitions are held in which representatives from all countries meet to compare and interchange ideas and commodities. These are signs which, like the tufts of grass and sprigs of red berries which caught the eye of Columbus from the mast-head of the *Pinta*, betoken the vicinity of land. We may be mistaken in our reckoning; fog-banks may be taken for land; but we know in what direction the land lies, and we must sail onward till we reach it. We pretend not to *create* unity—certainly not by artificial ligatures—but to testify to that which exists already. God is one. The Redemption by Jesus Christ is one. The body of Christ is one. The kingdom of God on earth, for the coming of which all hearts and voices are taught to pray, is presented as an object in the singular number—one, and not many. What is of essential benefit to one church and one nation, in course of time becomes the property of all. You can not fence off the great ocean into private pastures; you can not partition off the firmament into household lots; you can not divide sun, moon, and stars into bits of personal property; you can not play Robinson Crusoeism in the Church of God. No man can appropriate to himself, in an insular spirit, any exclusive right in those great matters to the discussion of which we now welcome you—Christian Faith, Christian Life, Christian Work, Christian Hope, and Christian Destiny. Bigots may misunderstand this, and lend themselves to what is private, local, and exclusive; but there is no such thing as private property in good thoughts, good deeds, and good men. Paul is ours, and Ce-

phas is ours, and Apollos is ours. All the great historic names associated with scholarship, philanthropy, and religion, no matter in what land they were born or in what country they were baptized, are the common property of all Christian believers. All truths, all discoveries, all inventions, all things good and worthy, in due time are as sure to diffuse themselves abroad in every direction, as water to find its level, or the free air of heaven to flow into every open space. By no method can we prevent this if we would. Believing in this great ordinance of God, we welcome you most heartily to the expression and enjoyment of this high Christian unity. It has been said, whether by poetry or science it matters not, that there is a certain point in the upper air in which all the discordant sounds of the earth—the rattle of wheels, the chime of bells, the roll of the drum, the laugh of the child, and the moan of the beggar—meet and blend in perfect harmony. Surely it is something more than a poetic conceit, even the sure word of inspiration, that, when once we are lifted up to a fellowship in Christ Jesus, we meet in a high and heavenly place where “all things are gathered together in one, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in him”—an elevation so high that there is a complete oblivion to all those manifold distinctions of country, race, and name which belong entirely to a lower and heavier atmosphere.

The pleasure of our Conference is subject to abatement. Some whose presence would have graced this occasion are not, for God has taken them. If, as we believe, departed spirits are conscious of what occurs on earth, those beloved friends and brethren are not indifferent to a scene like this—Merle d’Aubigné, Count Gasparin, Dr. Hoffman, Norman McLeod, Dean Alford, Dr. Guthrie, and our own McIlvaine and Schmucker. If it be good and pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity upon the earth, how much better, more fragrant than precious ointment, and sweeter than the dew of Hermon will it be when all who are united to one another through Christ shall be welcomed to his presence by the Lord of Glory! Ancient

philosophy dreamed of a symposium which all the wise and good should enjoy in a fabled Elysium; but inspiration has specified this as one of the elements of Christian blessedness, that we are come to "the spirits of the just made perfect"—"to the General Assembly of the Church of the First-born written in Heaven." Welcoming one another to these Christian assemblies upon the earth; greeting every occasion like this for the expression of Christian confidence and love; beseeching you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that you strive together in your prayers to God; that, coming together with joy by the will of God, we may with you be refreshed, our thoughts run forward with gladness to the time when all true servants of Christ, coming from the East and the West, the North and the South, with their bosoms full of sheaves, shall meet together at the

harvest-home in the end of the world. In the very words of Dean Alford, whose personal presence we miss among us—words which were chanted at his funeral service in Canterbury Cathedral—

"Ten thousand times ten thousand,
 In sparkling raiment bright,
 The armies of the ransomed saints,
 Throng up the steeps of light.
 'Tis finished—all is finished,
 Their fight with Death and Sin:
 Fling open wide the golden gates,
 And let the victors in.

"Oh then what raptured greetings
 On Canaan's happy shore,
 What knitting severed friendships up
 Where partings are no more!"

So it is that our hopes of heaven enter into the welcome we once more give you, in the name of the Lord Jesus and of Christian brotherhood.

I.
REPORTS ON THE STATE OF RELIGION
IN
VARIOUS CHRISTIAN COUNTRIES.

Delivered on Friday, October 3d, 1873.

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ON THE POSITION OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION IN FRANCE, AND PARTICULARLY OF THE NA- TIONAL FRENCH REFORMED CHURCH.

BY THE REV. AUGUSTE DECOPPET, B.D.,

Pastor of the National Reformed Church in Paris.

DEAR BRETHREN,—In the absence of Mr. Bersier, who was to have addressed you upon the state of religion in France, allow me to treat a portion of his subject, inviting your attention to French Protestantism, and particularly to that Reformed Church which I have the honor of representing here.

I have always found that there is some difficulty in speaking of one's own church in the presence of representatives of other churches; for one can not say all the good or all the ill of it that comes to one's mind. One hardly dares to say all the good, lest one should seem to boast; while, on the other hand, the Church is a mother whose infirmities and weaknesses her children would fain leave veiled. I am embarrassed by the conviction that there is much to commend in French Protestantism and the Reformed Church, and that, unfortunately, there is much to lament. I propose to ask you to hear both sides, with the hope that the good will at least counterbalance the evil.

Among the virtues that we readily recognize in our American and English brethren—and their number is by no means small—is the love of facts and figures. We are quite clear that you are thorough positivists in the best sense of the term. Let me then begin with figures.

The Protestant population of France is still but a feeble minority, which holds its own, but does not sensibly increase. Before the late war we numbered about a million. The annexation of Alsace has taken from us 250 communities, numbering some 200,000 members. It also took from us one of our theological faculties, that of Strasburg, deservedly famed for its learning; and thereby weakened considerably Protestant influence in our country.

Our churches are divided into three principal groups—or rather into two families—the Lutherans, half of whom were torn from us by conquest, and the Reformed body. The latter is made up of a mother, whom we must account as already aged, since it dates from the earliest days of the French Reformation, and of several daughters—I speak of the National Church, which is united to the state, and consists of about 630,000 members,

and of several free Churches of different ages and denominations.

These Churches live in excellent harmony. The Evangelical Alliance is no vain word with us, in proof of which I may state that the evangelizing and charitable societies of the various churches work in common. And here, be it said, by-the-way, I see the best means of confirming our common ties. Let us work with one heart in doing God's will on earth—better *work* together than dispute together.

Thus, then, we have union among us. Shall we one day attain to unity? Will the time come when we shall form one sole Protestant French Church? I hope so; for this unity would be very desirable. Let us not delude ourselves; in Catholic countries divisions in Protestantism are a source of weakness to ourselves and a serious obstacle to the evangelization of the peoples of the Latin race, who have a strong tendency toward unity and centralization. We must strive to remedy these divisions wherever possible, bearing in mind that unity was the principal object of the prayer of our Lord for his disciples in all ages: "That they may be one, as we are one" (John xvii., 22). In our day the elements of union among the different members of the great Protestant family are much more important than the causes of division. Our several communities ought not to content themselves with a merely Platonic love; theirs should be a real love which blends them into one body. For is it not the grand aim of the Evangelical Alliance to hasten the day when there shall be one fold under one Shepherd? In France the time is perhaps not very far distant when the various evangelical fractions of Protestantism will form a single church. Already earnest hopes in this direction have been expressed in many quarters, and when the progress of ideas or the natural pressure of events has brought about the separation of church and state, the fusion of which I speak will perhaps be well-nigh accomplished.

Meanwhile, as I have already said, we are laboring together in our country at God's work—and these labors, thanks to God and the aid of our foreign brethren, are not with-

out fruit. Most of our evangelizing societies which were founded at the beginning of this century are not merely still supporting themselves, but are for the most part in a satisfactory state, and developing themselves steadily if not rapidly.

Thus we are "up and doing." It may even be said, without exaggeration, that Protestantism in France possesses wonderful vitality. Yes, the existence of Protestantism in our country, after so many struggles and persecutions, is neither more nor less than a miracle of the faithfulness of God. On an old seal, the device of which has been preserved, the French Church may be seen represented under the image of the burning bush of Moses, with this motto: *Flagror, sed non comburo*—"I burn, but am not consumed." These words sum up the tragical history of our Church. This Church has been essentially militant; she has known better, perhaps, than any other what it is to fight for life. This must not be forgotten in explaining the present position of Protestantism in France. If it has not sensibly increased, if it has not acted powerfully upon the masses, this is to be attributed to the precarious and stormy character which has almost always marked its existence. Conquest is difficult to a society that has to devote all its strength to self-defense. At this very moment Protestantism is greatly cramped in its movements. The liberty of propagandism* has almost always been greatly restricted in France—narrowly limited by chilling and excessive regulations. In our unfortunate country it is not as in free America; it is difficult to stir without authorized permission. Without government authority a lecture can not be given, a place of worship opened, a meeting held, or tracts distributed. Added to this, the Catholic priesthood is very powerful—more so, alas! at the present time than ever, exercising, particularly in small towns and country places, considerable influence upon those in authority. It succeeds in fettering us in a thousand ways. It does all it can to discredit us in the eyes of the nation, attacking us violently from its pulpits, and not hesitating to employ against us the grossest calumnies. Most young Frenchmen are brought up in a holy horror of Protestantism; and traces of this early impression are even found clinging to the minds of men of independent thought—nay, of those whose boast it is that they are free-thinkers. It is not unusual to hear from their lips, or find in their writings the most untrue assertions relative to the history and doctrines of our Church.

Protestant citizens, as such, are generally esteemed and loved. They are found in the first industrial ranks, in the army, in the various walks of science, and even in gov-

ernment posts. But it is not so with Protestantism. It is but a stranger with us—misunderstood, despised. Is this because the French character is hostile to it, or that Protestantism is not suited to France? It would be a great mistake to think so. France is not hostile to Christianity; she ignores it. She is indifferent, superstitious or incredulous, because the Gospel is unknown to her. I am convinced that when we shall have real religious liberty, when we are able to spread broadcast the seeds of evangelical faith, Protestantism will make way in our country far and wide. Already do many serious minds, disgusted with Ultramontanism, turn toward us, and whenever we have an opportunity of addressing a Catholic congregation we are listened to with marked interest and sympathy. France is much better disposed toward the Gospel than is generally imagined. She thirsts after truth, after religion; but what wonder that she rejects that which is offered her, when this religion checks all her liberal aspirations, and treats as accursed whatever she calls progress? And hence it is that, notwithstanding all the pilgrimages and so-called religious manifestations of the present day, provoked by the fanaticism of the priests, the chasm grows deeper and deeper in our country between modern society and Catholicism. But faith comes by hearing, and how shall she hear without preachers?

Protestantism has thus a great mission to fulfill in France, and one to which it is fully alive—that of giving her the Gospel. God has preserved it as if by a miracle, that it may become the salvation of our country. It is the ark that floats upon the troubled waters of infidelity and superstition, and which contains the family from whence a new people shall spring.

In order that this mission may be accomplished, there are two desiderata—religious liberty, and the settling of internal struggles.

Of religious liberty, in the first place. I have already been able to show you how restrained and inadequate this liberty is. When will it be more ample? If our famous "gouvernement de combat" succeeds in re-establishing the legitimate monarchy, we shall not find that it will bear us liberty in the folds of its white flag. If, on the other hand, as we would fain hope, the present political crisis results in establishing the Republic on a firmer basis, an era of liberty may begin in France which we shall be able to turn to account by sowing the good seed of the Gospel in that vast field which has been furrowed by so many and so sad trials.

A new work was founded last year at Nîmes, under the name of the "Mission of the Interior," the object of which is to group together all our forces with an eye to evan-

* An awkward word this: we speak of "making converts," but I see the inconvenience of this expression.

gelizing. This work adapts itself to needs which are so urgent, and is so clearly a Christian duty, that it can not fail to extend itself. Allow me to seize a moment here to explain what I understand, as applied to France and to other Catholic countries, by an "Internal Mission."

This mission, as I conceive it, should be confided to pastors or laymen devoted to this one object, who are gifted with the ability of speaking in public. They would go from town to town and from village to village announcing the Gospel—and this, not in the form of sermons, but by means of meetings, addressing their hearers in plain, popular language, as free as possible from theological technicalities. These meetings should be announced by means of placards and the public press, and held, not in buildings consecrated to religious services, where no one would attend them, but in any convenient concert-hall, assembly-room, or theatre. Whatever attempts of this kind have been recently made have met with signal success. But the seed must be sown broadcast. The Gospel must be published. It must at all costs penetrate beyond the temples in which it has been too closely confined and brought to the doors of the ignorant. But—and I insist strongly upon this point—we must have for this work men who have no other ministry, and who can devote themselves to it alone. Catholicism has its preaching friars. Let Protestantism, too, have its preaching confraternity at last!

The second great task that must be achieved if Protestantism is to take a proper footing in France, is the settling the great internal struggle between faith and Rationalism that has disturbed the National Church for about half a century. So long as this struggle lasts, our Church will not be able to make any important conquests. This struggle, indeed, absorbs the flower of our strength instead of concentrating it in external action, and has, moreover, singularly helped to discredit Protestantism among Catholics. The spectacle of our discords—often violent discords—is far from being edifying, and they furnish the enemies of our Church with a plausible pretext for their assertion that Protestantism leads necessarily to negation, and that it is on the high-road to dissolution.

But no! The crisis through which we are passing is not a dissolution. I will describe its true nature in a few words: it is the effort of a Church which, after having been thrown down, scattered, almost destroyed, is laboring with patient energy to rise again and reconstitute itself consistently with its own laws. Notwithstanding its distresses, this struggle has neither been carried on without dignity nor without utility. It has compelled many minds to shake off their indifference, to concern themselves about re-

ligious questions, and to give a reason for their faith. It has served also to dissipate many illusions by showing what befalls Christianity when its supernatural basis is removed.

This struggle would, doubtless, have had neither the same duration nor the same violence if our Church had not been united to the State; but this union at the date when our Church accepted it at the hands of Napoleon, in 1802, was unavoidable. It was the official recognition of its existence and its rights, the proclamation of liberty of conscience and equality of "communiions." It appeared at the time an immense benefit; and it was so indeed, for it was the reparation of past injustice and the right of citizenship restored to Protestantism. To which we may add that at that epoch the severance of Church and State was an idea that had hardly presented itself to men's minds.

It would require more time than I have at my disposal were I to retrace, however roughly, the history of the present crisis. I will limit myself to describing its position at this moment.

Our Church was deprived of its synods three centuries ago. The last, held at London in 1659, was dissolved by Louis XIV. Our fathers well understood the weight of the blow struck by the great despot at their Church; for Daillé, the president of the synod, protested energetically, declaring that it was absolutely impossible that the Reformed religion could be preserved without holding these assemblies. Later, Napoleon I. restored to our Church its legal existence, but he did not restore its synodical organization, and such was the general lukewarmness that no one claimed it. Our communities were therefore obliged to live apart from one another; they had no means whereby to express their faith in concert, and to form resolutions in common. It was a body without a head, or rather it consisted of scattered members, with no ties except common memories, a common liturgy, and a common administration. Thanks to this disorganization, Rationalism, at first moderate, and still holding in a measure to the supernatural element, and eventually more and more negative, spread itself, unchecked, in certain churches. The law declared, truly enough, that it was the business of the consistories to watch over the maintenance of discipline and of the liturgy; but when these consistories, appointed since 1852 by all the faithful, belonged for the most part to the radical party, this law became a dead letter. Thus was there an end in the Church to all fixed authority whereby to defend her against the innovation of doctrines to which she had hitherto been a stranger: her self-government was gone—she was cut adrift—a vessel without a rudder. Such a state of things

could not have gone on without imperiling the very existence of our Church; and hence those efforts of the evangelical party, for some years past, to obtain from government the right to convoke a general synod.

These efforts have been crowned with success. Thanks to the restorative and liberal government of M. Thiers, we have triumphed over the opposition of our adversaries and obtained a general synod. It met last year at Paris, and its labors, extending over no fewer than twenty-nine sittings, have sent an echo throughout our country and beyond it. Three main questions were the object of its deliberations: 1st. The authority of the synod, and its competence to express the faith of the Church; 2d. The declaration of faith; 3d. The religious conditions to which electors are liable. The majority of the synod settled these questions in a sense at once evangelical and liberal. It restored to the Church her self-government, with order and dignity in the re-establishing of the constitution of its synod. It expressed the faith of the Church in the following declaration: "At the moment when it resumes the series of its synods, interrupted for so many years, the Reformed Church of France experiences, above all things, the need of rendering thanks to God, and of testifying to its love to Jesus Christ, its divine Head, who has sustained and consoled it throughout the course of its trials. She declares that she remains faithful to the principles of faith and liberty upon which she was founded. With her fathers and martyrs in the Confession of la Rochelle, with all the churches of the Reformation in their several symbols, it proclaims the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ the only Son of God, who died for our sins and rose again for our justification. She preserves and maintains, at the foundation of her teaching, her worship and her religion, the great Christian facts represented in her sacraments, celebrated in her religious solemnities, and expressed in her liturgies, particularly in the confession of sins, in the Apostles' Creed, and in the Service of the Holy Communion." Lastly, the majority of the synod decided that no one could be appointed a pastor of the Church if he could not accept the faith, and that no one could become an elector unless he declared "he was from his heart attached to the Protestant Reformed Church of France, and to revealed truth as contained in the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments."

In vain the minority protests against these decisions, and causes agitations in our churches to prevent their being carried into execution. The decisions are an established fact, and carry with them a considerable moral authority. These decisions solemnly attest that the Reformed Church of France desires

to be faithful to its glorious past career, and to the Gospel, that she is not a philosophical school open to all systems, but that she understands her mission to be that of a Christian Church, which rests upon the affirmation of the great supernatural facts which form the historical basis of Christianity.

If, in opposition to our endeavors, and by an abuse of power which would be an act of despotism, the Government were not to accept the decisions of the synod, what would be the course of the evangelical majority which forms the Church? This is the important question that occupies us at this moment, and with regard to which we search to discern what is the will of God. To separate ourselves from the state, leaving our members to group themselves freely according to their religious affinities—this would be the most heroic, but would it be the *wisest* course? I doubt it greatly. Separation of Church and State has made great progress among us for the last twenty years; our last synod freely declared itself in favor of this step, and there are few pastors among us who do not admit that separation is desirable in theory; but its practical realization presents, in France, peculiar difficulties. Our Protestant populations are not yet ripe for this great act of independence and faith, the necessity of which they do not sufficiently understand. If the evangelical pastors were to set the example—and they are often tempted to do so—there is reason to fear that their flocks would not follow them. With an eye to this fear, would it be wise to abandon them, in the official establishment, to the teaching of radical pastors, who would take good care—and we know very well why—not to separate themselves from the state? Would not this be to sacrifice to a theory the spiritual life of our people and the future itself of the Protestant faith? And supposing that the members of our Church unanimously came to a rupture with the state, then Catholicism would remain the one religion officially recognized as the state religion in France—flourishing anew, while the nation would behold Protestantism falling back into that background from which it has emerged after so much toil. The question is, as you see, a very complicated and a very delicate one; and the greater part of the evangelical Christians of our Church, while they long for separation, are convinced that we must await the course of events, and that, although our communities should prepare themselves, it would be imprudent to attempt to bring it about. In my mind, the only possible and desirable solution that presents itself at the present moment, is that the state should recognize two national churches—the evangelical Church, with its synod—the inheritor of the faith and ecclesiastical constitution of our

fathers—and the liberal Church, without any confession of faith, open to no matter what doctrines, and to any systems calling themselves Protestant.

However this may be, the situation at this moment is critical; it is near its turning-point. The second session of the synod will shortly begin; and if the Government should not confirm the acts of the synod of 1872, or should persist in silence thereupon, the evan-

gelical majority will have to come to a solemn determination.

Unite with us, dear brethren, in asking God that this determination may be blessed by heavenly guidance, that it may be at the same time faithful and prudent, and that, under the serious circumstances that will decide the destinies of our beloved Church, the faith, firmness, and wisdom of our fathers may be found again in their children.

THE OTHER PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. GEORGE FISCH, D.D.,

Pastor of the Free Church in Paris.

I MUST first thank the Committee on the Programme for the opportunity which is afforded to me to complete the report on the religious state of France.

There is outside of the Reformed Church another Church, also established and supported by the state; I mean the Lutheran. That Church numbered before the war 300,000 souls, with three different centres: 1. Alsace and Lorraine, where there were 220,000 Lutherans; 2. The Département du Doubs, with 40,000; and 3. Paris, with an equal number. The conquest of Alsace and Lorraine by Germany took away from her the main body, and left only the two other minor centres, separated by a distance of three hundred miles. In the Doubs, in that industrious country of Montbéliard, the Lutheran Church has a great struggle to sustain. It is divided between the Rationalists and the Evangelical party, but the latter one is still advancing. There is a great desire in the people to hear the pure Gospel. The progress made in that line for the last twenty years is most encouraging. In Paris all the pastors and elders are Evangelical, without a single exception. The Lutheran Church is admirably well organized. It supported formerly a large missionary work among the Germans, through the help of the Christians of the country across the Rhine. Since the resources from Germany have been in great part suspended, our Lutheran friends have made noble efforts to keep up these works. Their schools are attended by a great many Roman Catholic children, and have been the means of bringing hundreds of them into the bosom of the Protestant Church.

Let me now speak of the churches which are independent of the state. They are three: the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Free Church. As I belong to the last one, I will speak of the others first.

1. *The Baptists* owe their origin to America. The first spark of life which gave rise to that Church was spread by an American traveler, and now they are supported by the Baptists of the United States. They have a dozen churches in the Département de Pitsine. These are composed almost exclusively of converts from Popery. At a time when other churches were tolerated under

Louis Philippe, and during the first years of the Empire, they had the honor of bearing alone the brunt of persecution. They have opened a new, beautiful church in one of our most fashionable streets of Paris. I am sure that most of the money required for that building came from America, as our dear Baptist brethren are very poor.

2. *The Methodists*. They have labored in France for forty years, and number now 17 circuits, 184 places of worship, a membership of more than 1900, and besides, 90 candidates for admission, and 3800 children in their Sunday-schools. That Church is a model of organization. It has done a great deal of good in the South of France, where the excellent Dr. Cook, whose son is one of our delegates to this Conference, has worked for a long time as an apostle, and had the honor to give his name to all those who were converted at that time. The people of God in the South were called *encookés*. That denomination was prominent from the very beginning of the Evangelical Alliance by its zeal in behalf of Christian Union, and we still sustain to it the most friendly relations.

3. *The Free Church*. It owes its origin to the ecclesiastical movement of 1848. Dr. Frederick Monod left the Established Church on account of its refusal to adopt any confession of faith. He called upon the independent churches already existing in the country to send delegates to Paris, and the Synod held in that city in 1849 elaborated a constitution which is, in our own opinion, the very best we know of. It is the most happy marriage of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. We combine all the advantages which each of these two denominations claims for itself. Congregationalism is based upon an entire freedom of each congregation, and we have it as fully as possible. Presbyterianism is based upon the essential unity of all the congregations forming one body, and we have our Synods and our four Synodical boards for common action. Order and liberty are equally secured in our midst.

The present number of our churches will appear very small in this country. It is only forty-six; but we are growing. This great nation, so small when the Pilgrims landed on your shores, and which now ex-

tends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, should, more than any other, countenance the small things when they are growing, and have as its motto the words of the Scripture, that we must not despise the small beginnings. The salaries of our pastors will also appear very strange in this assembly. We are poor, very poor, and all that we can afford to give to a pastor in a rural district is from three hundred and sixty to four hundred dollars. However, every one of our members, who are for the most part workmen or peasants, gives on an average fifty of our francs a year for the support of God's work.

The Lord has blessed us with precious revivals. One of them has already been continuing for three years, at St. Jean, in a Protestant town seated amidst enchanting scenery in one of the most beautiful valleys of the Avennes. It began in our own Church, and afterward reached the Established Church. You may hear from morning to evening the sweet sound of our hymns in the silk-spinning factories. There were Sundays when both the Established and the Free Church remained open the whole day for prayer, and the prayer-meetings succeeded each other without interruption. And the spirit of brotherly love is so prevalent there that our last Synod, which was held at St. Jean in August, held its session partly in the National Church. What would you think of Trinity Church in this city being offered to the Presbyterian General Assembly for its meetings? Another of our churches, Le Riou, in the Haute Loire, situated at the height of 5000 feet above the sea, has been also visited by a continuous revival, which for these last five years has been bringing hundreds of souls to true repentance.

Many of our churches have been almost entirely brought over from Popery. The most important of this class is the Evangelical Church of Lyons. It was founded by one who was much known and admired in this country—Adolphe Monod, who was decidedly the greatest French preacher of our

age. I had the privilege of being its pastor for fourteen years, and it numbered six hundred communicants, nearly all of whom were converts from Popery. Other churches, at St. Etienne, Roanne, Clermont, etc., are in the same position. The Evangelical Society of France, which, although based on Catholic ground, is under the management of members of the Free Church, works exclusively among Roman Catholics, and sees thousands and thousands of them attending with extreme delight the preaching of salvation.

If we are feeble in point of numbers, we have, nevertheless, within the pale of our churches several of the men who are most conspicuous in France. You must not measure us, you must weigh us. I will speak only of my two colleagues in the same church at Paris—M. Bersier, whose name is so popular for his admirable sermons, and Dr. De Pressensé, who is both a divine and a Christian orator, and who, as member of our National Assembly, is doing great good for our nation. He is equally listened to by the two sides of our Parliament—by the clericals, because he advocates the rights of Christianity; by the Republicans, because he advocates the rights of liberty.

And now, before I conclude, let me enforce the words of my friend, M. Decoppet, who expressed the hope that his Church and ours might soon stand upon the same platform. I am so happy to be free that my love to my brethren who struggle still so nobly in the Established Church makes me heartily desire that they may be soon as free as I am; and if we keep up the Republic, that event may occur sooner than we now anticipate. There is a strong party of Republicans, whose watch-word is, "Separation between Church and State." If they have once the majority in our Government, they will carry it into practice; and then, when perfect religious freedom does prevail in France, what a glorious day for my native country! What an immense work we shall have to do! Help us to it by your prayers.

CHRISTIAN LIFE IN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. HERMANN KRUMMACHER, BRANDENBURG.

[Born at Langenberg, Prussia, March 28, 1828.]

MOST ESTEEMED AND BELOVED BRETHERN IN CHRIST,—I have been called upon by you to give a picture of Christian life in Germany—I suppose in Protestant Germany. For your sake, and for the sake of my country, I wish that a more skillful delineator had been charged with this task. However, as it is conferred on me, I will try to accomplish it as well as I can. I hope your indulgence will cover the defects of my sketch as well as my mismanaging your noble language, and I pray the Lord to forbid that any mischief be done by it.

There are two Germans who bear the epithet “the most German of Germans;” they are both also honored with the name of “father.” One of them is Father Luther, the ice-breaker of German Reformation, the author of our German Bible, the singer of the Protestant triumphal song, “Ein feste burg ist unser Gott”—A secure Fortress is our God. The other is Father Arndt, the Tyrant of the German war of independence, the teacher of German history, the poet of the national song, “What is the German’s Fatherland?”

Of course these two men can not be placed on the same height of historical importance. What is Ernst Moritz Arndt in comparison with Dr. Martin Luther? Nevertheless, it is no mere accident that the German nation calls these two men its most genuine sons, and views in them the type of its own nature, and that it looks up to these men with that reverence which is expressed in the appellation “father.”

This union of the reformer Luther and the patriot Arndt in the popular opinion, corresponds with a rule of action which has hitherto been predominant in the history of the German nation, and which has impressed itself deeply into its life. Namely, the most important epochs of the German development have always been at the same time both religious and national epochs; the religious and the national motives have therein cooperated with one another. I beg you to comprehend this thesis simply as it is meant, viz., positive, not exclusive or comparative: I have solely the task to speak about Germany.

This union of the religious and national causes appears also in each of those two most German of the Germans. Luther, the

church-reformer, has addressed his first and principal writ of reformation to the Christian nobility of the German nation; and immediately in the first lines of it he says, “The distress and oppression which bend down all states of Christendom, especially in Germany, have anon forced me to shriek and to cry, whether God would be pleased to impart his spirit to any one to enable him to re-establish the wretched nation.” Ernst Moritz Arndt, the patriotic poet, has also composed hymns of *faith*, one of which begins:

Ich weiss an wen ich glaube—
I know whom I believe;

and continues:

Das ist das Licht der Hölle,
Das ist der Jesus Christ—
Der Fels, auf dem ich stehe,
Der diamanten ist—

He is the light of heaven,
Our Saviour Jesus Christ—
The diamond-rock immovable,
On whom my foot doth stand.

And in a dirge of his he exclaims:

Don’t weep o’er me, for I have found
My sweetest Lord and Saviour;
I have my share in that warm wound,
From which for every creature
His precious heart-blood flowed to ground.

Allow me to cast a glance at history.

The German nation owes its existence to Christianity. Before Germany embraced Christianity there were, it is true, German tribes, but no bond of union knit them together. Boniface, the Apostle of the German nation, is also the first founder of the German nation. At the time of Boniface and the Carolingians German history first began.

The first period of it comprehends the mediæval centuries. The peculiar character of the Middle Ages was—in spite of all struggles between the “imperium” and the “sacerdotium”—the religious or church-like coloring of the whole national and social life. The peculiar mission of the middle age was the education of the nation under the guidance of the Roman Church. But by this instruction the Germans reached only the threshold of true Christianity; outward appearances of spiritual and moral life were impregnated with Christianity. Christian

art, Christian learning, grew up; Christian habits and morals took root; but that element of Christianity, by which it settles itself in the innermost centre of human personality, the *mystical element, the correlate of which is subjective piety, had not its due right*, neither in the public worship, fitted principally to satisfy fancy, nor in the dogmatic laws and ordinances, the aim of which was throughout, not the devotion of the heart to God, but the subjection of the will to the Church, that is to say, the clergy. Thus it easily happened that the mystical instinct took evil and erroneous courses.

The middle age is terminated, and the modern age opens with reformation, which in a sound manner established the mystical element of Christianity by means of the doctrine of the justification by faith, in which as nowhere else we see pulsation, we feel the warm breath of reformation. It has already been mentioned that Luther, the German reformer, also revived in our country a certain national feeling. The Reformation, primitively and substantially a religious movement, spread through the whole intellectual, moral, political, and social life of the nation. On the other hand, the gravamina of the imperial diets of Worms and Nürnberg against Rome, and worthies like Franz von Sickingen, Ulrich von Hutten, Philipp of Hesse, evidently show that the Reformation was at the time countenanced from motives rooting in the awakened sense of national freedom and independence.

It is true, a bad counteraction set bounds to the movement, and brought a part of the nation back under the yoke of Rome; the Thirty Years' War, with its consequences of desolation and devastation for our country and nation, was the deplorable effect of the contra-reformation, and of the arresting of religious life within the Church of the Reformation.

The important and blissful Pietistic movement at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century expired without enduring and decisive consequences—in part, at least, because it went not hand in hand with a national movement.

Look, lastly, at the epoch which stands at the beginning of the nineteenth century: that is to say, the time of the War of Independence. The decay of Christian life, and the relaxation of national feeling in the period of rationalism and illumination, had brought to Germany the punishment of a dreadful national calamity. The change that followed was at once a national and a religious one; and refreshment and deepening of Christian life has been its effect, leaving fruit, which continues ripening until this very day.

Now the last third of our century in Germany has again commenced with a decisive epoch of national development. Whatever

one may think about the causes of this event and the bloody complications by which it was accompanied, the establishment of the German empire under a Protestant emperor, realized step by step in the last decennial, marks an increase of our national life that has surpassed by far the boldest hopes of the warmest and most intelligent German patriots.

At present the great question which a reporter on Christian life in Germany finds placed before him is this: whether in this last epoch the old rule of German history has realized itself, that is to say, whether a religious progress has united itself with the national one.

Whoever has witnessed the last decennial in Germany, knows that in those days of danger and sorrow, when every family saw relations of his going to war, and when the bloody battles followed one after another, there were many signs which gave rise to the hope that a religious revival would be the fruit of the events.

In the years 1864, 1866, and 1870, among the rich and the poor, upon the thrones and in the meanest cottages, in camps and hospitals, a religious susceptibilty, a hunger for the Word of God, an eagerness to invoke God, to give glory to him and to serve him by works of charity, arose and displayed themselves in such a degree, that a great many were highly surprised by this store of piety, emerging, as it were, all of a sudden. A friend of mine lived, 1870, at Saarbrücken; during the fight of Spichern he endeavored, together with others, to refresh the advancing warriors, and to assist the wounded; but at times he ran home, in order to unite with the zealous labor abroad on the field the fervent prayer of the closet; he has assured me that he felt in those moments of prayer as if he were actually fighting with the combatants, and, said he, "I shall always bear in my mind the conviction of having been a swordless partaker in that glorious victory of Spichern." This story is like a mirror which reflects the spirit and the demeanor then diffused over the whole of Protestant Germany.

Two or three years have passed since then, and to-day it will no longer be rash to assert that the expectation of a religious revival as the fruit of the great national events, which was originally fostered, has not been realized; a deepening and increase of Christian life has not been associated with the political and national progress. This is, I think, a fact of history.

This fact is a deplorable one; or must we use stronger and harder expressions? say it is hopeless, it is desperate? It is an indisputable fact, the German nation can not in future continue its way through history without religion, without Christianity. Were it to try to do so, it would bring itself to de-

elieve, and find its ruin even earlier than other nations under the same circumstances.

The fact that the hope of a Christian revival has failed, would indeed indicate nothing else than "finis Germaniæ," unless there were two consolatory things. The first is, that our nation has entered into the present period carrying with her a capital of Christian life, gathered up in the former time; the other, that there are some circumstances which seem to allow the hope that in the time to come Christian life in Germany will again take a turn for the better.

Permit me to express my meaning in a few words.

The German nation, I said, firstly, has carried with her a fund of Christian life into this present period. I do not seek to deny that in my country, as in others, yea, perhaps more than anywhere else, an incredulous and Antichristian culture is in vogue, and that the symptoms of that sad fact show themselves, alas! too frequently among the people, in the parliaments, in the literature, in the daily papers. The alienation of thousands upon thousands from any kind of worship, especially in our large cities; the intoxication of the masses with the ideas of Socialism; the hunt after riches, which has spread even to the highest classes; the war waged by many writers under the pretext of science, especially of natural philosophy, against the fundaments of religious truth; the favor which these representatives of unbelief venture to expect from persons of rank and from the common people—as, for instance, David Strauss, who has written his second "Life of Jesus" for the German nation, and his "Life of Voltaire," for a German princess, a daughter of the royal house of England, the lately so painfully tried Princess Alice of Hesse—all these are dark shadows of the religious and moral life in Germany; the same shadows which are at present darkening the whole civilized world. But, besides those gloomy stains, there are also light points and spots, bright stars and stripes.

With regard to the theologians and clergymen, I venture to say that there are but a few universities without faithful professors of Scriptural doctrine, and but few districts in the pulpits of which the preaching of Christ crucified—unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness—is not throughout predominant. In fact, the critical and the speculative rationalism have also their adherents among the academical and practical theologians; but wherever it pronounces its doctrines, opposition is not wanting. The newspapers, and the popular sentiment ruled by them, usually take the part of the opponents of the Gospel; but their auditories and their chapels are empty. The young theologians throng to those universities where faithful teachers

fill the chairs of theology, and almost everywhere the hearers assemble by preference round the pulpits of the preachers of the Cross. Among the Evangelicals there are, it is true, several parties, oftentimes combating one with the other, not without sharpness; but as they wield the sword against Rationalism and Romanism—the former of which denies that the truth, the latter that the grace, has come by Jesus Christ—they belong together, at all events, although they hesitate—like Luther at Marburg, opposite Zwingli—to enter into brotherhood with each other, and although they reproach each other by saying, "You have a different spirit." The chief parties are those of the Lutherau confessionists and those of the friends of Protestant union; these two parties should be useful admonishers to each other; but, as in all ecclesiastical parties the inclination to accept advice from an adversary is a very rare thing, and the "*rabies theologorum*" a very frequent one, so these strifes have scarcely any other result than to spend noble faculties, and to hinder the spiritual growth of the strugglers and the prospering of the work of the Lord. Would to God that the noiseless activity of the Evangelical Alliance might contribute to increase in Germany and in the whole of Christendom the endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

But the Protestant Church is not a Church of theologians and clergymen. We must enlarge our boundary if we will watch Christian life in Germany. Let us look at the schools. In the elementary schools all Protestant children learn from infancy the stories and sentences of the Bible and the hymns of the Church; and if there are some teachers who perform their work mechanically, there are, on the other side, a great many who endeavor diligently to watch for the souls of the children, and to lead them to the Lord. Likewise, among the principals and teachers of the higher schools many are to be found who, while they mount with full enthusiasm the Olympus of Greece and the hills of Rome, nevertheless willingly acknowledge that the mountain of the house of the Lord is exalted above all mountains of the world.

Among the teachers of the philosophical, historical, physical, and political sciences, we find in all branches, besides adherents of modern unbelief, also confessors of Christian truth, and others who at least may be considered as pious of the Gospel, because they oppose with stern decision the atheism and materialism of our days, and point to the hand of God, which directs all things.

The same may be said about the arts, poetry and music, sculpture and painting. It is known that, likewise, in other influential places the confession of Christ can be heard. I will silently pass over the ministers and generals, although not only the names of

Roon and Moltke might be mentioned, but if I may be permitted I will remind you that our hoary-haired emperor during the war has proved himself to be not only a gallant hero, but also a faithful preacher, who, by his telegrams and proclamations, has preached to the whole of Germany in a simple, but all the more heartfelt, manner, of the grace of God, and of the humility that becomes human beings. Perhaps you have been told that the Crown-Prince of the German empire is given to unbelief; but I beg of you to examine well whether this report can be true in relation to a prince who frequently corresponds and is most intimate with a certain renowned and faithful theologian known to him from his youth, and what is more, who, when this venerable friend is his guest, likes best to spend the evenings in retired serious conversation, and to close them with prayer.

Surely the preaching and the professing of the Gospel has not yet grown mute in Germany—this fact can not be unknown to those who listen with open ears; and whoever looks abroad with open eyes will find that fruits and works of faith are also not wanting.

The voluntary exertions for the furtherance of Christ's Gospel in Germany can not, of course, be compared to those of America, but at any rate they prove that there are hearts glowing for the Lord and his work. Another speaker has been charged to acquaint you with what Germany is doing for the heathen mission. Permit me, please, to turn your attention to the sphere of home missions (the "Inner Mission"). Here I will not allude to the many Christians, men and women, who perform their public and domestic duty with a teudeucey of working for Christ; but I restrict myself to the exertions, societies and institutions, expressly designed for Christian clarity and the interests of the kingdom of Christ.

A central committee of the "Inner Mission" resides at Berlin and Hamburg; its president is Dr. Wichern. General congresses of "Inner Missions" are held in connection with the "Kircheutag;" there are, besides, numerous provincial assemblies, associations, and committees scattered over all the land.

The purposes of the "Inner Mission" are manifold, as is well known. It combats against immoral practices and institutions. It is, partly at least, an effect of its protests, that public gambling-houses, defamed as gambling-hells, no longer exist in Germany; war is also made against drunkenness, the brandy pestilence, though there are at present but few associatious exclusively acting for this purpose; likewise the "Inner Mission" combats against that murderous monster, prostitution, by trying to awaken the public conscience, and to raise the power of law against it by memorials and peti-

tions addressed to the parliaments. Not less the profanation of the Sabbath is combated against by several means; in this combat the "Inner Mission" is supported by the Socialists, who reclaim Sunday, of course not as the day of the Lord, but as their own day. Nevertheless, this fact proves that the acknowledgment of the excellence of Sunday is increasing. A nice anecdote concerning this matter is related about the Chancellor Bismarck. Hearing one day that the workmen on his estates were in the habit of continuing their labors on Snudays, he directly ordered that they should not do so any longer. The steward objected to this, and said that the workmen, who were busily employed during the whole week for the landlord, required Sunday to till their little fields and gardens; to which the then count replied: "I will not allow God to be bereft of what is his on my estates; therefore things must be arranged otherwise; if my workmen want to till their own fields, or if their corn is ripe, they must have the preference, not I; Snuday labor ends with this day." Ere long, the steward notified that the new order was attended with profitable economical results.

The "Inner Mission" combats also, by words and acts, the worldly spirit of the age, with which rich and poor, rude and learned, are infested. This mammonism, however, is not yet quite rampant in Germany. The Diet has given us a proof thereof by unanimously accepting the Jewish member Lasker's harsh critique on stock-jobbing.

With the combats against social evils, endeavors to satisfy social wants are closely connected. Proprietors of estates and of manufactories have formed several associations, attempting to frame the social relations between masters and laborers according to the principles of Christianity. Some eighty Christian inns, called "zur Heimath," afford a lodging for traveling journeymen, and also board for laborers. About three hundred young men's Christian associations include some nine thousand members. In several large towns schools and Sunday assemblies provide for the spiritual wants of the young women. By-the-way, numerous infirmaries may be mentioned, among them six-and-twenty houses for idiots, cretins, and epileptics, of whom no less than thirty to forty thousand are said to be in Germany. Some seven hundred infant schools, in towns and villages, offering to the little ones of the workmen laboring abroad the blessings of a Christian nursery, ought not to be forgotten.

In three hundred asylums, two hundred of which have been founded from 1848 to 1867, neglected and depraved children are educated; several education societies co-

operate with them. Asylums and Magdalenums for adults go hand in hand with associations for convicts and prostitutes.

A different purpose is pursued by the *Gustavus Adolphus Society*. This society builds or helps to build churches, chapels, schools, and parsonages in European, Asiatic, and American countries, where the Protestants live *in diaspora*, and spends at present upward of 250,000 thalers a year for its purposes. A church-building society has existed for several years in Berlin; but to this day Berlin, the capital of the German empire, is perhaps of all towns on earth the poorest in churches and chapels; and we feel ashamed when we see the multitude of temples which adorn your splendid cities. I shall pass over the endeavors to provide for the spiritual wants of wanderers and emigrants, and also the Bible and Tract societies, and mention, lastly, a flourishing branch of the work of "Inner Missions," viz., the rightly so called *American Sunday-schools*, the number of which, since Mr. Woodruff visited us in the year 1863, has augmented to about one thousand, and the number of children therein instructed and guided to the Good Shepherd, by more than four thousand young men and women, to about eighty thousand.

For a great many of these labors men and women who have been expressly trained for this work are required. For this purpose brother and sister houses exist. Among the former the *Ranhe Haus*, near Hamburg, and the *Johannes-stift*, near Berlin, excel, both founded by Wichern in the years 1833 and 1855; the number of brothers working within the different brother-houses, and abroad, from Syria to North America, amounts to some eight hundred. The mother of all existent sister-houses is the house of deaconesses at Kaiserswerth, founded by Fliedner, 1836. At present there are about 2000 deaconesses laboring on 600 stations from Petersburg to Pittsburg. Leaders of infant nurseries are prepared in especial establishments.

All these institutions and labors of the "Inner Mission" are in existence; and I dare say the effect of the dangers and evils of the age is that Christians in all countries and of all denominations feel more strongly than for some time past the necessity and duty of promoting them with increased ardor. It is true, the number of candidates for the service of the Church, the school, and the "Inner Mission" has alarmingly diminished during the last few years; but it is to be hoped that the various endeavors which are made to remedy the want will not be useless; and there are also other tokens which give us reason to hope for better days.

Concerning this last subject of my report I will first mention the contest which in Germany, as in Switzerland, the governments

have entered into with the Romish hierarchy. It is not my task to examine the origin of the conflict, nor to criticise the proceedings of the belligerents. I confess, however, that my heart is with the governments. I look only to the consequences of this conflict for Christian life in Germany; and in that respect I can not but deem it a gracious arrangement of Providence that this ecclesiastical conflict has happened just at this time of political increase and of overflowing temporal interests; for this conflict, which vehemently stirs up the minds of Catholics and Protestants, leads irresistibly the thoughts to higher matters, to questions of religion. It strikes every one's eye that belief is still a real existence, and has a great weight with history, and that it is a foolish idea to think that the era of the Church is past and the cause of Christianity overthrown. Another fruit of the ecclesiastical crisis will be, that the Protestant churches will at least obtain what long since was a necessity, a presbyterial and synodal constitution, which will enable and compel the churches to self-help and to self-government.

Are we not allowed to expect that the German Protestants will not be found idle and indifferent? and also that the great tasks and stern combats of this time will urge the believers to forget their quarrels and to work and fight side by side?

But I not only had in view the prospects connected with the events of ecclesiastical politics when I pointed at encouraging signs of a better time to come. I wish to direct your attention, lastly, to another side. Whoever listens attentively to the spiritual disposition of the present generation, can not but perceive that not a few minds have begun to be disquieted as to what may be the result of the excessive criticism of our days. Firstly, the social phenomena have raised this disposition. There are many despisers of the sweet Gospel of the grace of God and the Saviour, whose both ears anon tingle at the horrible gospel of Socialism—which, inspired by the spirit of denial, calls property theft, matrimony slavery, religion madness—and at the exultant howling by which the masses give assent to this infernal gospel. Terrified, they begin to understand that the critical intellect, emancipated from religion and moral law, becomes an "advocatus diaboli" and a Herodotus, turning the whole building of human society into a chaos of fragments and ashes.

Other causes of the terror waving through our land belong to the sphere of scientific literature. Allow me to mention here two books, edited in the course of the last year or two, which have made an uncommon sensation among the learned people of our country, viz., "The Old and New Belief," by David Strauss, and "The Philosophy of the Unconscious," by E. von Hartmann. The latter

book explains, in a brilliant style a system of philosophy which purposes to be neither rationalistic nor materialistic, but, in fact, is both together; the quintessence of it is, like that of Schopenhauer's system, the *pesimistic* contemplation of life. Sensuality, as creditor, demands enjoyment; good measure, pressed down and shaken together and running over; the critical intellect, as book-keeper, calculates that life is an insolvent debtor, that the demand of sensuality is not exigible, the consequence of which is, that to have come into life and to be fettered to life is an ineffable misery. This philosophy of ill-temper and despair has been applauded by many people; but among others—that is to say, those who in the conflict between modern civilization and Christianity take the part of the former—the said system has called forth the dreadful question: Where will this terminate? and the indignant outcry, this time not addressed to the Christian apostles, but to the philosophical pseudo-apostles, "These men are full of new wine." Indeed, these people do not hesitate to oppose the new system, which they brand with the name of "Miserabilism," declaring that the hereafter of the Christian doctrine is the most certain and grand of all realities. Perhaps a time is approaching when philosophy will counter-work with energy and success the antichristian current of the present day.

Concerning theology, it may be hoped that the book of Strauss will help to effect a salutary crisis. Theological science in Germany, indeed, is not at all predominantly a negative one; no, the most qualified and numerous theologians stand upon the foundation of the Gospel of the only begotten Son of God, and of the word of the Cross; they go either in the way of strict orthodoxy, or in that of the so-called mediating theology, among the followers of which once were the venerable "præceptores Germaniæ," Neander and Nitzsch. A considerable number of theologians, however, are ensnared in the nets of the school of Baur; this has not such dimensions in Germany as in Switzerland and Holland; but the critical school which has taken its rise from Tübingen has nevertheless a not despicable troop of followers, who, even if they do not adhere in all questions to the master, at any rate accept some weighty critical principles and results of his. Among the latter is the denial of the apostolic origin of the Gospel of St. John, and the assertion that Christianity at its beginning was mere *Ebionitism*; among the former is the presupposition that miracles are impossible, and the opinion that the aim which the critical science must pursue and reach is nothing else than the derivation of Christianity from natural historical causes. The theologians of this kind are in part eminent for talent and learning, and very zealous in writing;

they are anxious of acting upon laymen, and have for this purpose founded a Protestant society, and edited a "Bible-lexicon," and a "Bible for Protestants." Many minds doubtless are confounded by them. The book of Strauss may become a wholesome memento for the Protestants, whose tendency it is to modify Christianity so that it may become inoffensive and savory to the taste of the present age—that is to say, of the natural man.

Although this book has without doubt no scientific value, it is nevertheless a very important one, because its author sets before us without reserve the final results of this miracle-denying criticism. In the first part he answers the question, "Are we still Christians?" by a decided No. In the second part he starts the question, "Have we religion?" which he affirms on condition that you consent to call religion "the consciousness of being a partiele of the universe." The third part contains his creed: Laplace and Darwin are his apostles, who teach him the knowledge of the universe, his God; self-creation of the world, natural selection, and descent of man from the ape, are the mysteries of his religion; the amusements of the theatre and the concert-room, his worship. The fourth part is a trial to save out of this chaos a kind of moral law, and by a moralizing "*quos ego*" to put a stop to the wild billows of Socialism, which threaten to trouble the comfortable existence of the philosopher. Strauss had hoped that the immense majority of the learned would hail his book with a storm of applause, and that he, in consequence, would spend his last years surrounded with the sweet incense of praise. He has been disappointed. Even those who fancy themselves to have outgrown the Church and Christianity have, for the most part, disavowed him. From this abyss of *Nihilism* every body starts back.

And the theological critics in question, how have they taken up this book? It has evidently come with extreme importunity to them, not only because it causes disreputation to the critic, but also because they feel in the presence of this book what a phthisical man feels when he beholds his face in a glass, and is thrilled by the thought, Thou art deadly sick! The premises which lead to the Nihilistic consequences of Strauss have become the subject of suspicion to their followers.

It is true, at the period of the lives of Jesus, of Renan, Sehinkel, and Strauss, there was already sufficient reason to become afraid of the consequences of the miracle-denying criticism. But the alarm then raised was soon forgotten; ere long the liberal theologians began again to flatter the famous Strauss. But now, we hope, the terror will be more impressive and enduring. It would surely be a great gain, and would effect a mitiga-

tion of the hard and confounding combats in the theological schools, if the men of liberal tendency would learn to obey the precept of St. James, to "be swift to hear and slow to speak," and if they would get accustomed to examine the reasons of the apologists as earnestly as the latter examine and ponder the arguments of the critic. Many utterances of that side authorize us in expecting that the book of Strauss will have the effect of an air-cleansing thunder-storm; the book will soon be forgotten, even as the sounds of thunder quickly die away; but they leave behind them the cleansed atmosphere.

I am at the end of my report. Two-and-twenty years ago, Dr. de Pressensé, of Paris,

related at the Kirchentag of Elberfeld a few words which the deceased Neander once had spoken to him. "Before our nation," said he, "I see a deep precipice, but above the precipice appears a brightness; I don't know whether it is aurora or evening red." But, added the relator, the gleam of his eyes bore witness that he believed it was aurora.

My dear brethren, I think, in the picture I have unfolded to you, neither the deep precipice nor the brightness above it have been wanting. My belief, my hope, my prayer is, that this brightness may be the aurora of a new day—of a better time! Let it also be your prayer for my fatherland.

EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY IN GERMANY:

SURVEY OF MY LIFE AS A TEACHER OF THEOLOGY.

BY PROFESSOR AUGUST THOLUCK, D.D., UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

[Translated and read, with an Addition, by the Rev. LEOPOLD WITTE, Cöthen, Prussia.]

MANY a time countrymen of yours have questioned me both by word of mouth and by letter: What is now the state of Christianity and of theology in Germany? Many a time this question has been repeated to me at those diets which we call "Kirchentage," in our synods in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, France, and England; and many a time, though a comparatively short period had elapsed, I could but give the same answer, only pointing out some peculiarities of minor importance.

Oh! my dearly beloved friends, if the grace of the Lord had granted me that privilege, rather than send you a kind of theological report, I would have spoken from heart to heart in an assembly where I should have found Christian brethren who for many years past have been most cordially attached to me. And, although a foreigner, yet to many of you I should not have been a stranger, nay, some might consider me an old friend. Sincerely deploring as I do that I have been denied that gratification, I beg to express my thanks for your kindly allowing me to send to you a dear young friend as my deputy, and to use him as my mouth-piece for submitting to you a retrospective review of the development of German theology in this latter age.

It is the life of a *theologian* I am going to give, a sketch of the life of a man who, being thrown together with high and low, with kings, princes, ambassadors, scholars, and artists, has taken a part in all the ecclesiastical, the Christian, or sometimes rather unchristian movements of his age, that have been brought about in Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, and Sweden.

At one time I should hardly have thought that it would be Christian life and theology I should ever plead for in my own country or on the other side of the Atlantic. I grew up alienated from the Gospel, and far from intending to devote myself to the study of divinity. On leaving the Gymnasium, when, according to a German custom, I had to deliver an address on any subject I might select myself, I chose to lecture on "The Superiority of the Oriental World over the Christian." In my school-days already I had applied myself to the study of Orient-

al languages. Thus it was that philology, and more especially Oriental philology, became the centre of my course of reading at the University. I entered college after the French war, at a time when in Germany, particularly in Prussia, a new spirit of vital faith had been awakened and had taken possession both of the Church and of theological science. Some slight traces of that revival might be discovered at Breslau, where I began studying; but more distinctly it was seen in Berlin that the Gospel was gaining ground in the higher circles, and was strenuously upheld by the court. Thither I went, in 1816, to continue my studies. I was introduced into some circles frequented by superior men, who made me acquainted with Christian faith and Christian life. Yet did I not give up my Oriental researches, but pursued them steadily, without thinking I should ever pass over to the faculty of divinity. It was trials and afflictions that made me consider it the highest aim of a man's life to become a servant of Christ. In consequence of too hard working, I began spitting blood, and was obliged more than a year to interrupt my studies preparatory to an academical chair.

During this time my conscience suggested the question unto me: Supposing the end of thy life had come, wouldst thou be able to exculpate thyself before Him, who has given thee the knowledge of His Gospel not only for promoting science, but that thou mightst lead others to the same blissful enlightenment that has been granted thee? Then I made a vow to God within my soul that, if it pleased Him once more to restore me to life, I would devote myself to no other calling than a missionary's life in Eastern countries, a resolution I was chiefly induced to form by reading the *Life of Martyn*. Then it was that, having some connection with Sir George Rose, the English Ambassador at Berlin, I was encouraged to tender my services to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and was offered an agency for that Society in Malta. Hoping that my still very delicate state of health would allow me to discharge the duties of my office, I was on the point of accepting, when it was made evident that the Lord designed me for a

still higher vocation. A renewed attack of spitting blood forced me temporarily to renounce the calling I had fixed upon; but just then the Prussian Government inquired if I should feel inclined to accept an Assistant Lectureship on Hebrew and Oriental Literature, on the occasion of Dr. De Wette having to resign his chair in the University of Berlin.

So I was unexpectedly removed into the faculty of divinity. About the same time my health was restored, and I may be allowed to say that thenceforward I adopted for my own life the famous motto of Count Zinzendorf: "Ich hab nur Eine Passion, und die ist Er, nur Er" (I have but one passion, and that is He, and He alone). To bring back souls to Christ, was from that time the daily, nay, the hourly *problem* as well as the *joy* of my life. The delivering of lectures on the Old and New Testaments, as well as on the literatures of the Orient and Occident, the composition of critical treatises and of popular books of edification, but, first of all, the daily intercourse with the youth of the University, filled up every hour of my existence. And yet my thirst for gaining over souls remained unquenched. Every day I prayed to God that He might be pleased to call me to that place where a hundred years before August H. Franke had built his orphan asylum, and had, by his addresses both from the pulpit and from the chair, gathered a faithful community, teaching that the first stage on the way to the tree of knowledge was by the tree of life. What the yearning soul of the youth had prayed for, was in store for the man—yet not till after a hard struggle. Having returned from travels to England and Holland, which the liberality of our Government had enabled me to undertake for scientific purposes, I was called upon to fill the chair of Professor Knapp at Halle, lately deceased. In spite of many sacrifices my heart had to make, I joyfully acceded to the proposal.

It would be out of place to give here a detailed account of all the theological schools that from the time of the Reformation had been founded within, or based upon, the German Church, and had contributed to bring about that state of things which I found existent when I removed to Halle. To the members of this assembly it is universally known, how a dead orthodoxy had, throughout the 17th century, been predominant in German churches and universities; how Spener, that man of faith and inward Christian life, was graced to recall to piety a great many inhabitants of poor, devastated Germany that had been the miserable theatre of the Thirty Years' War; how he gave rise to the celebrated school of the Pietists in Halle, whose influence, within the time allotted to one generation, revived the courts, the nobility, the clergy, nay, the whole Chris-

tian population. Nor are you, my dearly beloved brethren, ignorant of the fact that Pietism, wanting, as it did, a comprehensiveness of views, and renouncing the task of thoroughly penetrating and reviving the whole human life, was at length found inadequate to stand its ground against the fascinating influences of that bold school which goes by the name of "Aufklärung," and the votaries of which pretended to fathom the mysteries of Christian faith by what they called Common Sense, that is to say, by short-sighted human understanding. Almost throughout the breadth of the country this tendency of "Rationalism," as it was termed about the beginning of the present century, had taken an uncontested possession of the pulpits and academical chairs. Only some feeble boughs of the Pietism of an age gone by were still faintly growing, known by the name of Supernaturalism; and at Halle there had been one single man who, feebly indeed and secretly enough, dared to resist all-powerful Rationalism. I allude to Professor Knapp. Out of nine hundred students, he had found five who, being revived by the aid of a Christian craftsman, believed in the Divinity of Christ. The body of the academical teachers, in agreement with the whole mass of the students, had sent to the Minister of State for Ecclesiastical Affairs against my appointment to a professorship at Halle.

Notwithstanding all the difficulties I had to contend with, by the blessing of the Lord, the number of the young believers in Christ increased from year to year. A new spirit had been awakened in Germany. The afflictions caused by the French war, the high example set by Frederick William III and his royal house, the moral bankruptcy which beggarly Rationalism had undergone in genuine and upright minds, who wanted real comfort and no mere phrases, heavenly realities, not earthly reasoning: all these forebodings of a change contributed to facilitate my position in Halle, and to bring a constantly increasing number of Christian students to the feet of the Lord. A colleague of mine, Professor Wegscheider, had declared in one of his dogmatical books, "in rebus gravissimis ad religionem et honestatem pertinentibus convenire omnes gentes." Dr. Hase, a young theologian of the University of Jena, in his excellent and most important book, "Hutterus Redivivus," published in 1823, raised the objection that no one well read in history and philosophy would agree with that statement. The Halle Rationalist, withdrawing his assertion, changed the "omnes gentes" into "*ferè omnes gentes*," a very slight alteration indeed, by which, however, Rationalism, according to the ideas of students of divinity at Halle, got a terrible, nay almost a deadly blow.

Another element of higher importance

contributed to discredit Rationalism, I mean the theological system of Schleiermacher, which the obsolete names of Rationalism and Supernaturalism would not allow to be subsumed under themselves. A renewed examination of the real nature of religion had taught Schleiermacher that the traditional definitions did not come up to it. To him religion was the feeling of an absolute dependence on God within the Christian Church, a consciousness of sin and of the redemption by Christ, which had not been put forth prominently enough in any dogmatical system. All philosophical terms and definitions, all physical investigations, all theses whatever that could not be derived by strict inference from the profound feeling of sinfulness and the certainty of redemption, were excluded from the dogmatical system of Schleiermacher. The consequence of which was that a great many were now won for Christian piety of such as had felt an aversion to the incomprehensibilities of the old dogmatic system, while not a few among the orthodox Christians, slightly modifying their creed, began to take an intermediate position between the two contending parties, a position that found particular favor with the highest circles in Prussia. Although Schleiermacher continued to have his adversaries, among whom in the outset I was counted myself, yet it is due to him to own that his influence gradually made religion respected by scoffers.

The late king and his father, who both held moderate views in point of religion, have likewise contributed not a little to revive Christian faith in their country. Frederick William III. called pious men into his council, and intrusted others with the highest clerical offices. Being assisted by Altenstein, the Prussian Minister of State for Ecclesiastical Affairs; by his Adjutant, the General von Witzleben, and other men of similar religious persuasions, he supported Christian associations, such as the Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel among Jews and heathen, and the Bible Societies. He devoted himself to liturgical studies with a view to reform the ritual of public worship, and promoted a variety of other interests of the Church. Still more countenance was given to Christian endeavors, when he was succeeded by his greater and more talented son, Frederick William IV. His was not a faith of ancient orthodoxy, but of modern piety, nurtured partly by philosophical speculation, partly by æsthetical pursuits. Of the same character were the religious views and feelings of his highest functionaries, particularly of his devoted personal friend, the Minister of State, Eichhorn, who also enjoyed the intimacy of Schleiermacher. It was not the orthodoxy of Hengstenberg, but a more liberal theology, that was particularly favored by the late king, such as is

cultivated in your Congregationalist schools. Ever since the year 1614, when John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, adopted the reformed confession instead of Lutheranism, which was the established religion of his country, our Prussian sovereigns, with their families, have always professed a spirit of toleration, and have, moreover, exerted themselves to effect a union of the several denominations of the Protestant Church. We may be allowed to say that even among the Prussian people the tendency to union has been constantly increasing, since, in 1817, a "United Evangelical Church" became the established church of the country.

A new epoch may be dated from the appearance of Hengstenberg, and the publication of his *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* in 1829, inasmuch as it seems owing to his influence that the orthodox party of the Church, who, up to that period, had been of a more gently Biblical character, gradually became more polemical and aggressive. Although that ecclesiastical record often exceeded the proper limits of justice and moderation, yet it must be avowed, as it has been even by so liberal a theologian as Professor Hase in Jena, that Professor Hengstenberg's eminent talent as an editor made his journal the head paper of Germany, that concentrated and strengthened all the Christian elements. In the beginning, confessional quarrels were excluded altogether; but when the waves of the Lutheran flood were swelling and surging, Hengstenberg himself yielded to their force, and from 1844 the "*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*," without breaking with the United Church of Prussia, unfurled the banner of Lutheran confessionalism, yet so as to give at the same time a considerable check to the Lutheran separation.

Let me now turn to the latter period of my life, some dewy evening hours of which I may still have to enjoy. In the third decennium of our century, the dominant power of one mind averted the thoughts of men from theology into the channel of philosophy, substituting for religious aims philosophical problems. In the year 1818, Hegel was called to a chair of Berlin University, and began there his philosophical lectures. You could hardly perceive any Christian tendencies either in his life or in his writings before the Berlin period. It was the atmosphere of the Prussian capital, and the union with a pious wife, that impregnated both his mind and his philosophical system with Christian principles. After his death, the school of the founder divided into two distinct parties. A minority, with Goethe for their leader, were faithful to the symbols of the Lutheran creed; while others, imbued as they were with the spirit of Spinoza, were hurried into downright pantheism by Strauss. For some time conservatism in point of religion was seconded by

political conservatism in the spirit of the Holy Alliance between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and was supported in addition by the political absolutism of France under the Bourbons, until, in 1830, by the revolution of July, Roman Catholic absolutism was broken to pieces. The victory gained by liberalism in politics prepared the way for the radical Hegelian school, first in Germany and afterward in Switzerland. But in theology the effect of these new tendencies was not so much to foment an anti-Christian philosophy as to give birth to a new school of historical criticism, founded by Baur in Tübingen. In the outset, this great Wirtembergian scholar seems not to have been aware himself of the destructiveness of his principles; but when, by slow degrees, he lifted the veil that covered his negative positions, it became evident that his system of Christianity, sweeping off even the slightest traces of the supernatural, was nothing more than a rationalistic product of dialectical deductions, which even plain history was bidden to obey. From Baur an arbitrary, though often ingenious, criticism has taken its rise, that, having for its centre now the University of Zürich, has spread widest in the Swiss and Dutch churches, and is more or less avowed by the so-called Protestanten-Verein in Germany.

In Prussia the powers of destruction were successfully subdued up to the day of the downfall of Mülller, late Prussian minister of public worship. Seldom has a man been so much depreciated by the public, or been assailed with the same animosity by parties diametrically opposed to each other, as this true and faithful servant of Christ. Toward the end of his administration both rationalists of the Protestanten-Verein and Lutheran confessionalists made a dead set at his person; and for some time it seemed impossible that the establishment of the United Prussian Church could be kept up any longer if he were intrusted with the conduct of public affairs. What a great majority had clamored for, was brought about at the beginning of the year 1872; Mülller was dismissed. It can not be said with any justice that under the administration of his successor an anti-Christian or anti-ecclesiastical system had been substituted for the one formerly upheld. But this much can not be denied, that the very contrary has come to pass of what had been the hope of the whole evangelical part of Germany. The unparalleled victory which God granted to the nation in the late war has not regenerated us in faith and elevation of our souls to him. On the contrary, the new epoch that has been inaugurated, as far as human eyes can see, proves itself to be an ever proceeding dissolution of positive faith and Christian interest; and this is not only the case in a few parts of the country, but throughout the whole of Germany. Yet,

whether what seems to us a beginning of decline be correctly judged to be so, or to what extent it may be carried, we do not dare to assert. The Church, theology, and Christian life have had their progress and regress, counting back from the days of the Reformation to the days of their origin, from our times back to the sixteenth century; nor will it be otherwise with regard to the future development of the Church of Christ. Our understanding and our moral state will ever alternately move on and turn back, and, opposed to the Kingdom of the Lord, a realm of Antichrist will remain, and will continue to grow, until it be destroyed by the last victory. May the Lord give us clear eyes and warm hearts, in order that, from all the aberrations that His Church has undergone till now, there may redound to us an everlasting gain. Amen.

To this matured account of Dr. Tholuck, which I have had the honor to read to you, reverend gentlemen and dearly beloved brethren, I beg to add a very few words. It can not have escaped you that the person of our beloved and venerated Dr. Tholuck himself has remained in the background of his sketch, much more so than any of us could have wished. It is his extreme modesty that has restrained him from setting himself forth in that place which is due to him. We know that in a great measure the wholesome change from Rationalism to faith which has been granted to our native country within the last fifty years is, next to God's grace, owing to the restless zeal of this brave "miles Christi," a genuine "good knight without fear and without reproach." In dark and dreary days he has gallantly borne disgrace for Christ's sake. He, a single man, has won the field in the University of Halle, and all his colleagues, one by one, have been forced to yield to his superiority of Christian energy and knowledge. But more than that—thousands of thousands call him their spiritual father, their father in Christ. His firmly clinging love embraces young hearts with heavenly power, and wrestles with God for the peace and victory of his students. He himself, ever youthful though gray with age, and a hero, though with a broken body, thoroughly understands the striving of youth, and knows how to hit home conscience, and how to drop healing balm into the wounds inflicted by the word of God. There is nothing like sicklieness in his spiritual life; Christ and Christ alone, as he himself has borne witness to you, is the love and passion of his heart. Not a theological school did he want to found, no dogmatical or philosophical thesis does he wish to imprint on the mind of his followers—the celebrated puzzling questions of the famous doctor show

the contrary—but what he desires is, to lead his young friends to Christ the Son of God, our only wisdom and righteousness, our sanctification and redemption. Certainty and freedom in Christ, that is the *aim* of his life, that has been, through the blessing of God, the *fruit* of his life to the benefit of thousands on both sides of the Atlantic. They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars forever and over. May the Eternal God still for many a year grant his

blessing to his faithful servant, and may he himself who has spoken to you through my mouth experience the truth of the words of the Psalmist: The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree; he shall grow like the cedar in Lebanon. Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God. They shall still bring forth fruit in old age, to show that the Lord is upright; he is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in Him. Amen.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF HOLLAND.

BY THE REV. M. COHEN STUART, FROM ROTTERDAM.

[Born January 23d, 1824, at the Hague.]

DEAR FRIENDS,—If any one here has a ground to expect an indulgent and benevolent attention, I think, Mr. Chairman, it is I.

Not, of course, in my individual character, but as the appointed delegate from a country whose name alone will awaken a thrill of generous sympathy in every thorough American breast. As England may be called the mother country of this great commonwealth, Holland has a right to claim the title of its spiritual fatherland. And as long as the name of your (why not say *our*?) Motley finds an echo on both sides of the Atlantic, as long as the remembrance of the old Pilgrim sires, "auld lang syne" though it be, lives in the hearts of their children, Holland is sure to find friends on New England shores. The mere fact of my being its representative, unworthy though I may be, I regard as my best introduction and recommendation among you, I consider as my credentials in this assembly, as my patent of nobility in this great American republic.

But the honor of which I boast makes me feel the more the responsibility of the task intrusted to my care. My first duty is not to waste precious time in introductory remarks. In a few broad outlines I shall try to draw the leading features of Holland's religious condition and life. I wish to give you the opportunity of getting, from the higher sphere of Christian intuition, a general, though not therefore superficial, bird's-eye view, discernible to the keen and sharp glance of the American eagle's eye, of the distant shores and plains of my country, while I endeavor to give a succinct review, as clearly and impartially as I am able to do, of the country, history, character, religious life, actual condition, and future prospects of the people to which I am proud and happy to belong.

Holland, the name signifying *hollow land*, or more probably *woodland*, forms properly the wealthiest and most prominent part of the Netherlands or Low Countries, a small kingdom now, a mighty republic once. On the north-western coast of the European continent, from Dunkirk to Denmark and Mecklenburg, stretches a long reach of low alluvial ground, sand and clay, carried down by the rivers of Central Europe. At the western end of this long stretch of country,

at its very lowest level, the delta ground of the Rhine and Maas, behind the narrow range of its undulating downs or sand hills, lies Holland, with the rich pastures of its deep green meadows, under an often clouded sky, in a damp and misty air, a country not favored by its climate or eminent for picturesque landscape. But other features it has, well worth observing. If any country ever gave right to its inhabitants to boast of a land *made by themselves*, it is this. Rivers and streams, constrained by dikes and sluices, are compelled to follow the road man bids them to go; swamps and marshes have been dried into polders enriched by the abundant detritus of weeds and plants; fields of fat and fertile clay were conquered from the sea.

But if Holland, as it is, can in a certain sense be said to have been formed by men, more rightly still can it be asserted that the country *has made and formed* its inhabitants. Its outward appearance the country may owe to its people; they owe to its ground and climate their character and mind. In the struggle for life with the mighty element, their awful foe, but which was vanquished so as to become their most powerfully, the people's character was hardened and invigorated, and a nation was formed of bold and daring men, predestinated by the nature and configuration of their soil to navigation and commerce.

Much more, however, than these outward circumstances has *history* done to put its own indelible stamp on the character and life of the people. In this our Netherland or *Canaan* (the Hebrew name has quite the same signification), God assigned their place to a people which in many respects may be compared to Israel of old. Small their land is, but (I may well remark this to Americans, perhaps a little too much inclined to think highly of the bigness of their country) *small and little* are not the same in a historical sense. Athens and Jerusalem were towns of relatively small dimensions. Still, what have they been in the history of mankind and the world! And so this small spot, this remote corner, scarcely visible on the map of Europe, has been glorified by God Almighty, so that the name and fame of Holland will outlive that of the greatest empires.

The obvious reason is this: no other people's history in modern times ever was so closely connected, so utterly identified, with its *religion*. To the Gospel, more especially to the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, to its firm and solid creed, Holland owes its greatness and its glory, its strongly marked individuality. It is impossible rightly to understand its history, while denying or disavowing this fact. For others, religion was a powerful element of development; for us Dutch, it was the very *germ of our nationality*, as it ever remains its kernel and marrow. Certainly, we had a history before (the Low German was a well-formed language and had a literature, when the Prussians and Wends were mere barbarians) we had our long centuries of Egyptian bondage, but Holland's true nationality dates from that Exod which, in the great war for existence and liberty, made us free from Spanish chains and priestly yoke at once. When the voice of the Reformers reached Holland from Germany, it found, it is true, a well-prepared soil in those countries, where the Reformers before the Reformation had lived, where the Roman clergy itself had been zealous for their independence, where the practical sense of the people, of the strongest and purest German type, combined with an earnest religious mind, made the fields white for the harvest. But this especially gave them such a wonderful growth that they were fructified by the abundant dew of martyrs' blood, as no land or earth ever was. The horrors of persecution and the terrors of war were the very means in God's hand by which independence and liberty were gained, the nationality was born, by which the people's character was cast in its proper mold, and Holland was made what it was to be according to the will of Divine Providence—the stronghold of liberty, the asylum of the persecuted, the pattern of free nations for ages to come, the prophetic forerunner of your great commonwealth, the land that gave England its Constitution with William of Orange, and harbored the Pilgrim Fathers to send them to the American shores!

By this a national character was formed, which, I think, I may rightly delineate in the following outlines. It is a character of a somewhat phlegmatic nature, serious and grave, even rigid and rugged, in which there is more deep feeling than lively imagination, more sense than wit, more power to bear and endure than rashness to act, less aptitude to undertake what is new than to persist in what once has been undertaken; on the whole, it is prudent, tenacious, stubborn, somewhat slow and suspicious, but orderly, honest, loyal, true, not excelling in brilliant and dazzling qualities, but rather in quiet and domestic virtues—such may be well said to be the fundamental tone of the Dutch national character. And such is the key-note

of our religion too. The strong and consistent doctrine of Calvin, with its rigid fatalism, was most adapted to the genius of the people. So, notwithstanding that the Reformation came first to us from the German and Swiss Reformers, Calvin's creed predominated, though mitigated by the people's mystic tendency and practical sense. And thus it remains till now. I know no land where special and particular types are more completely preserved with that tenacity proper to the popular mind, than they are in Holland. The Dutch Reformed Church is, as it was here in America, essentially and decidedly Calvinistic in its creed, Presbyterian in its organization, and Puritan in its rites. The religion and worship of the decided Christians in Holland are even now, not unlike those of the Scotch Covenanters and of the New England settlers of old.

And though it should not be forgotten that both the smallness and the commerce of Holland give to its population a certain cosmopolitan character, and make its plains lie open to every wind of learning, to every influence from abroad—such as I did trace it, is even now the reigning spirit of the Reformed Church. It has ceased to be, since the days of the French revolution, the Church of the State; the true National Church it always remained. Nearly four-tenths, it is true, of the population belong to the Roman Catholic Church, and nowhere, perhaps, has the Pope more pious devotees and zealous adherents. Neology, unbelief, and religious indifference have sadly served the cause of the Roman See, its Church daily increasing, if not in relative numbers, at least in power, boldness, and influence. It is strong in its compact unity, and there is no rent of heresy in the solid mass of that mediæval building save the remarkable schism of the so-called Jansenists or members of the Old Catholic clergy, organized till now in Holland alone, and awaking to new life perhaps, since the Old Catholic commotion in Germany took place; but this sect, with its few thousands of adherents, is far more interesting from its history than important from actual influence, and the greater part of the Roman Catholics are ultramontanists of the purest type. Still, however powerful and bold the Popish Church may be, this fact does not annihilate the truth of the statement that the Dutch are a Protestant Calvinist nation in marrow and bone, and will remain such as long as there will be health and vigor in their national life. The Protestant majority not only outnumbers the Romans, but still more it exceeds them in social life by wealth and influence, by learning and science. The upper ten thousand and the aristocracy of intellect generally belong to the Protestant denominations, next to whom no small number of sons of Israel, by their wonderful qualities

and mental eminence, often occupy a most prominent place.

No, it is not the Church of Rome, however daring and dangerous, which is the most dreadful enemy of Christianity in Holland. There is a tide of neology, a flood of unbelief, which no dikes or moles can resist. Thousands, it is true, of the lower and middle classes, and these undoubtedly the best and soundest part of the people, steadfastly and staunchly cling to their old Bible faith, often with a strongly marked, ultra-dogmatic tendency, and with a narrow-minded stubbornness in some secondary points (an inveterate aversion, for instance, to hymn-singing and to vaccination), still with a piety, on the whole, solid and sound. But a great many, a sadly increasing number, are more or less forsaking the Gospel and becoming estranged from Christian truth. Materialism and irreligion are slaying their tens of thousands in the ranks of so-called Christians. So it is everywhere in Europe, so in Holland especially.

Now, let us see what the Dutch Protestant churches have to oppose to this spirit of the age. I speak of the Protestant churches collectively, and do not call your attention to their special character or mutual relations. To say the truth, all outward ecclesiastical differences between various denominations, such as Reformed, Lutherans, Mennonites, Remonstrants, Separatists, tend to disappear; they have almost vanished altogether, and are of no importance whatever compared with the vital question of the day, with its awful, living interest for the present and future generations. Everywhere in those churches are the same symptoms of disease, and the same tokens of life.

In order to get a proper appreciation of these, it is necessary to recall to your memory a few historical facts. We can never realize to ourselves the present condition of things without tracing their connection with the past, and I think I may well describe the history of the Christian reformed religion in Holland in the following words, showing the subsequent periods in that history. The stream of religious and theological life in my country since the days of the Reformation, was *first* in the *sixteenth century* violently moved and roused by the storms of struggle and strife; *then* in the *seventeenth*, after the struggle had subsided and the doctrine was settled at the Synod of Dort, it was freezing under the icy surface of petrifying doctrinarianism. *Afterward*, in the *eighteenth century*, through the dissolving influence of lukewarm rationalism, it was brought to a state of nearly utter stagnation. *Now again*, in the *nineteenth*, it is disturbed by new agitations, calling to new strife, and, as we hope, to new life afresh. This I truly believe a tolerably exact *résumé* of Holland's religious and scientific life. On the latter

especially I must lay stress. Theology, indeed, is nothing but the more or less clear self-consciousness of religion, and in Holland theological science ever was and is still eagerly cultivated, always in our own peculiar way. What is going on in other countries is speedily known in Holland, and most important has been, in former and later days, the influence of Spinoza and Descartes, of Schleiermacher and Strauss, of the French encyclopedists, the English deists, the German philosophers, each in their turn and time. But still Dutch theology, more excellent in the whole from its philological learning, exegetical accuracy, and sound historical sense than from its critical acuteness or speculative power, kept its own way and character, never unaltered, but never utterly lost. It was always characterized by a certain practical, common-sense turn of mind conspicuous in all its manifestations—in the Brothers of Common Life, that interesting corporation of laic monks preceding the Reformation; in Gansfort and Erasmus, in the strifes of Jansenists and Arminians, in the staunch orthodoxy of Voetius and the Biblical typology of Cocejus, in the opposition of Becker against witchcraft and superstition, as well as in our day. And if the Dutch have gleaned much from foreign countries to sow it out on their own ground, great has reciprocally been the benefit they have brought to others. Wittenberg may be called the cradle of the Reformation, and Geneva its nursery; Leyden became its training-school of preponderating influence at a time when the people's idiom was no obstacle and Latin still the language of the learned and civilized world.

Since it has ceased to be so, our theology is less known to the world. Still, what has occurred among us since the last half or quarter of a century well deserves the attention and appreciation of the Christian world. The time following that of Napoleon's fall and of the restoration of 1815 had borne a character of unusual calmness, not to say dullness. It was an utter reaction against revolution and republicanism. The arrogant levity of the eighteenth century had been utterly confounded. The horrors of the French republic and of the terrible continental war had led to reflection and prudence. Men spoke less presumptuously about human rights, and thought a little more about men's duties. People were weary of commotion, and yearned for rest. Suspicions of hollow theories, they wanted practical sense. Liberty fell into discredit, quiet order was overtaxed. This was the time of unbounded tolerance and latitudinarianism, of seeming liberality and of apathetic aversion to all dogmatics—the time in which a fatherly government ruling all things, even in religion and church organization, was hailed as Heaven's most precious gift, the people's greatest benefit. A kind of common-

place utilitarian Christianity, adapted to the wants of all, and brought to a minimum of dogma, was to be the gospel of the new era, and a lethargy of indifference ensued, worse perhaps, than the rough incredulity of the preceding age. The few who dared to raise their voice against it, belonging to the school of the great poet Bilderdijk, the late Da Costa, another eminent poet, the still living Groen van Prinsterer, and a few others, were dreaded as disturbers of order and peace, as shrieking dissonances in the general harmony. In optimistic illusions, religious life was softly lulled to a sleep from which the so-called *réveil*, a certain religious revival, but limited to some of the higher circles, and bearing from the beginning too much a foreign character, could hardly rouse the spirit of the people. Dreams of a new life were dreamed—it was not the true awakening yet.

But other times were coming. Already the new Groningen school had brought a new element into Dutch theological life, developing in its own way the main ideas of Schleiermacher. In placing Christology in the foreground, it has done much in its time to show the Christocentric character of the whole sphere of theological science, though it can not be denied that in its exposition of Soteriology especially, it ought to rouse the well-grounded defense of a more orthodox faith. Still, heavy as the struggle was between the Groningen school and the orthodox, it was a mere skirmish compared to the strife which was now to ensue. Meantime there had grown up a younger generation not satisfied with either of the parties. The well-known Tübingen school, the works of Strauss and Baur, had made their way, and the era of historical critical examination was opened. A passion for tangible reality became the predominant spirit. Hence, as a child of the age, *modern theology* was born.

As this is no phenomenon proper to Holland alone, I need not insist much on its peculiar character.

Calling all supernatural equal to superdivine, it acknowledges an all-reigning law of continuous causality and development, which consistently must lead to the denial of an Almighty and free-willing God, to the rejection of the miracle, of the Divine character of Revelation, and the absolute sinlessness of Christ, and even of the character of sin as guilt toward God, bringing to a fatalism and determinism fatally determined to undermine Christian faith. The religion of the Nazarene Jesus is its motto; Renan's "Father Abyss" its last word. A greatly increasing number among the clergy and laity are adherents to this modern view, and not seldom are their opinions unreservedly proclaimed from pulpit and chair, in churches and universities. Nowhere, perhaps, is modern science, still pretending a right to re-

tain its Christian name and keep its place in the Church, more reckless in its negotiations and assertions than is Holland. No wonder that to this a most earnest opposition was roused. The University of Leyden, stronghold of the modern theology, is opposed by that of Utrecht, by Van Oosterzee, Doedes, and others; while in the University of Groningen the contending parties are both represented. Not all champions of Christian revelation, however, stand as opponents of modern theologians on quite the same standpoint, some of them being more "confessional," others calling themselves "ethic" by preference. There, the *authority of Scripture*, here, that of the *Christian conscience* prevails; and the old supernaturalism is sensibly modified by modern orthodoxy. But in the main they agree in their contest to what they consider as subversive of all Christian and religious faith. Ready to accept the only acquired results of really scientific, earnest investigations, they reject as arbitrary the modern aprioristic speculations. Not willing to curtail any one's right of liberty in professing or proclaiming his individual opinions, they can not but deny the right of modern theologians to use for their purpose the ministry in a Christian church. If this is not utterly to be dissolved, every opinion, of course, can not be tolerated.

It is evident, indeed, that the utter confusion into which the Reformed Church of Holland has fallen, can not last very long, lest it should lead to a total disorganization and overthrow of the whole. How is this evil to be prevented? Not, if it be by any means avoidable, by separation from the Church, *leaving this* to the antagonists of what in our eye is the true Gospel of salvation. Neither, if ever the power is ours, by *expelling forcibly* the opponents of our faith. Nothing for this moment is left but to bear, though not without earnest protest, a state of things too abnormal and too absurd to last—a state to which ere long an end must come!

What this end will be—the approaching issue of the present strife in the theological and social sphere? As for theological science, we do not fear the result. Let us not endanger our position by undervaluing our enemies' strength. They are, many of them, well-armed, gifted, learned, serious men. They have a great deal of truth and the reigning spirit of the age at their side. It is easy to say about modern theology, *Nebula est; transibit*—"It is a mere cloud, and will vanish." This cloud darkening the sky is more than a damp in the air; it pours down its showers and rains. But we must not forget that the flood it produces does not bring only devastation; when the tide has fallen again, it will have left its fructifying ooze for the benefit of the Christian Church. Theology will not outlive all this

without improvement and progress, and the costly metal of Christian faith shall proceed purified out of the furnace of discussion, until a new and living faith will bring forth as its natural fruit a new and true confession of the Gospel truth.

And as for the religious life of the people, certainly it can not be denied that the actual result of the predominating tendency can scarcely be too much deplored. Where the wind is sown, the whirlwind will be reaped. Modern theology, fostered by a rationalistic and materialistic spirit, is a brand in the combustible mass of smndry brooding social questions. A great many are estranged from Gospel truth and faith, and virtue without religion can not stand. Independent morality is immoral in its root and fruits. It can not, alas! be denied; bitter are the fruits of the reigning spirit of the age, now already visible in Holland. Church attendance is fast decreasing, levity and dissipation are progressing, and the old Dutch character is tending to degenerate. But, on the other hand, there are indubitable prognostics of a better future, too. In the heat of the combat characters are tested and strengthened. There is more conviction, earnestness, truth now, in decided Christians than there was before. Home and heathen missions are more ardently pursued, Sunday-schools flourish, and Christian national education valiantly resists the so-called neutral school system of the State, in reality too often hostile to revelation. There is a lively interest in our great missionary festivals, these Dutch camp-meetings, and in all that is going on in these Christian spheres. A new and better organization of the Church, more truly representing the Christian people, is in way of preparation. And even the various tendencies, proceeding from the most opposite points, are involuntarily tending to one end, longing for one solution, converging to one point—more liberty and more truth!

More liberty and more truth! That indeed ought to be the watch-word of all who, believing in the ever-reigning power of the living Head of the Church, confidently rely on the might of truth and the undeniable rights of conscience, on the ultimate triumph of the Gospel. We Dutch love and proclaim liberty, and we enjoy it in a high degree. We are as free as the freest nation of Europe. Still, not enough! We want to have the last ties loosened that still bind State and Church. We want theological faculties and the ministry of the Church freed from appointment by Government, and we want Christian education freed from incumbrances that pre-

vent its natural growth, Gospel preaching in the colonies set free without the slightest restriction.

In claiming such rights we are strong, because we have right and truth, the age to come, and the God of righteousness and truth, the God of ages with us. With a firm conviction, we can not despair. Despondency is a word that has no place in the vocabulary of the Christian. Let only the love of true liberty unceasingly live and increase in my dear country, and its standard be well defended; then Holland, with its glorious history, with its proper type and special vocation, its good and earnest people, its wealth and colonies, will have its future still, and, with the blessing of God Almighty, it can be more than a mere copyist in the great family of nationalities, in the holy Evangelical Alliance of the Christian peoples.

And as for that, we have an eye turned toward you, American friends! Where science and learning are concerned, we have to look eastward to our German neighbors. Where it concerns liberty, "Westward ho!" is our device, and we look to you, our spiritual children, who have outgrown their parents in the true sense and application of boundless liberty, and there is a sympathetic band, there are ties of recollection and religion, that bind us together. The ocean divides shores, but does not divide our hearts. *Non ingens nos separat mare* (The immense sea does not separate us) we say with the English Telegraph Company. To sea-faring Dutch the ocean is rather a bridge than a gulf. More ties than the telegraphic wire link the two hemispheres together, and the magnetic fluid goes between Christians from one land to another, rousing a thrill of sympathy for every emotion and feeling. We come, dear friends, we come from Europe, from Holland, asking from you, vigorous American religion and life a new graft on our old stem, a new blood in our veins, a new seed to transplant in our soil. Let us mutually, by Christian intercourse, sympathy, congenial feeling, interchange what is wholesome and good, and combining what in each nation and individuality may be acceptable to God in Jesus Christ our Lord, in the unity of spirit and mind. That will be an *Evangelical Alliance* in the highest sense of the word—that the prophecy and preparation of the glorious day when the chosen from all nations and tongues will be gathered around the throne of God, that the holiest and best realization of your national emblem, of the device adorning your stripes and stars: *E pluribus unum!* So may it be!

THE RELIGIOUS AND MORAL CONDITION OF BELGIUM.

BY THE REV. LEONARD ANET, OF BRUSSELS,

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BELGIUM contains a population of five millions. The people are divided into two distinct parties, notwithstanding the political union of the kingdom.

The provinces of Brabant, capital Brussels; East Flanders, capital Ghent; West Flanders, capital Bruges; Antwerp, capital Antwerp; and Luxemburg, capital Hasselt, comprise the Flemish population. Their language is only a degenerate and uncultivated dialect of the Dutch language.

French is spoken in the provinces of Hainault, capital Mons; Namur, capital Namur; Luxembourg, capital Arlon; and Liège, capital Liège. These are often designated as the Walloon provinces, and the language of the peasantry is the Walloon—a dialect sprung from the old French.

To understand the present religious condition of Belgium, we must keep in mind several points in its history during the last three centuries—from 1520 to 1830.

In the sixteenth century the Reformation made great progress in the Walloon and Flemish provinces. The Gospel was preached in the principal cities, and even in small towns.

Undoubtedly, with some, the wish to throw off the yoke of sin may have been combined with a still more impatient wish to throw off the heavy yoke of Spanish cruelty. But many sought, above all things, the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, and dedicated their souls and bodies to the Saviour who had paid their ransom. To Belgium belongs the honor of having given the first two martyrs to the Reformation. Voes and Esch, who had been Augustine monks at Antwerp, were burned upon the square of Brussels in front of the City Hall. They glorified God and his Word both in prison and at the stake. Those who have read Motley—and who has not?—know how bloody was the struggle between these afflicted provinces on one side, and the power of Spain and the priests on the other; and how satanic the cruelty shown by the Spanish soldiery and Inquisition, not only under the Duke of Alva, but until the Netherlands had regained their independence, or the Gospel had been crushed out of these provinces. The men of faith, of moral strength, those of noble and independent

character, all perished or were exiled. Those only remained who were willing to sacrifice their eternal to their temporal welfare, to give up the treasures and joys of heaven for those of earth—feeble, superstitions, or enslaved souls. In the succeeding centuries every convert to the truth of the Gospel met a martyr's death at the hands of the Romish Church.

Until the French Revolution Belgium continued under the dominion of the clergy, who did all in their power to maintain ignorance, superstition, and falsehood.

In 1815 Belgium and Holland were united in one kingdom. Belgium was divided into two political parties, which, though both belonging nominally to the Church of Rome, were, in fact, two religious parties, led by the priests and the Freemasons. The Freemasons wished to be independent of the clergy, and to adopt only such usages of the Church as they liked. A very unfriendly feeling resulted between them and the priests. They united, notwithstanding, to take part in the revolution of 1830, which secured the separation of Belgium from Holland, and its independence as a kingdom. The constitution formed by the representatives of the nation in 1831 was, and is still, one of the most liberal in Europe. Freedom of worship, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and freedom of instruction—these four rights, the only firm foundation for any social or political structure, are distinctly and entirely guaranteed.

Any citizen, any stranger, can establish a school or open a place of worship, publish a newspaper or form a society, without permission from the Government, and is entitled to the protection of the local authorities in the exercise of these rights. I have not space here to account for these strange facts. An assembly composed of Freemasons, of influential priests, and of men humbly submissive to the Romish clergy agreed in establishing a constitution which insures liberties that the Romish Church hates and anathematizes. The two parties soon disagreed. The Freemasons call themselves Liberals; the priests and their partisans call themselves the Catholic, but their opponents call them the Clerical party. Liberty is the object for which both con-

tend. The Liberals wish to apply the principles and develop the free institutions that the country has established. The clerical party also struggle for liberty, but liberty only for the Church, that it may be free to do as it pleases. Of course there are some among its members who do not go so far; but the leaders have in view, and necessarily, the practical application of the doctrines of the Syllabus. To understand the injurious effect of the struggle, we must observe its distinctive characteristics, which become more marked as it progresses. The clergy show an excessive regard for material interests. They seem to consider religion as a means of acquiring power and riches. They confound politics with religion, and use both for their own aggrandizement. In their passionate contest with Liberalism, they do not scruple to resort to any measures or to make use of the most violent language, while they have constantly encouraged the growth of superstition, that they might more completely inthrall the people. It is easy to understand that the clergy have done far more to destroy religion than Voltaire and all his disciples.

Roman Catholics have been accustomed to consider Christianity and Romanism as identical, and the clergy as the representatives of religion. The Liberals also, in the course of the struggle, have confounded religion and the priests in their hatred. The growth of infidelity has been incredibly rapid in consequence, and there are men who believe that any religion, even faith in a living God, is incompatible with perfect freedom of the State. It is difficult to estimate precisely the number of those who still hold any important dogmas of the Church or of Christianity, as the clergy belong to a political party of which it has the direction and is the soul. There may be numbers of men in this clerical party who have few Catholic beliefs; in fact, it is easy to see that this is so.

Besides, we find, among those who profess attachment to Romanism, superstitious practices, but little or no religious feeling. Conscience has been obliterated, and the religious sentiment stifled, by this hypocritical worship which materializes every thing, even God himself!

There would be much to say on the chapter of morality. The moral state of a people is always *en rapport* with its religion. What bitter fruit does not Romanism bear in the moral as well as in the political world!

Now, what prospects does the future offer us? If the Gospel does not exert a powerful and regenerating influence on the nation, the future will belong either to the free-thinkers or to the Papists. It will be the reign of practical atheism or of cretinism. It would be easy to show that these

two parties, waging a war without mercy, between whom no compromise is possible, lead to one or the other of these two extremes. The priests will enslave mind, soul, and body, and will not stop in the path which they follow so logically, and with so much zeal, till they have reached the final limits of the most superstitious formalism, of absolute fetichism, the annihilation of all individuality. This is the necessary end of their system.

The free-thinkers tend irresistibly to the abolition of all worship and of all belief in a living God. In reality, the priests lead also to atheism by materializing worship and even the object of worship.

To which of these two parties does the victory belong? A very distinguished economist, M. de Laveleye, professor of the University of Liège, has demonstrated, with the unanswerable argument of facts, that, if the Liberal party does not modify its principles and its action, Belgium is destined to become speedily a country of *crétins*, a veritable Capuchin friary, or to perish in incessant anarchical struggles like Spain.

I confine myself to the notice of the following facts. The wealth which is at the disposal of the clerical party is incalculable, and we all know the power of money over a populace devoted to the pursuit of material good and sensual enjoyment, and whose religion seems designed principally to cause money to flow into the hands of the priests.

The clergy, high and low, secular and regular, by the wealth at their disposal, and especially by the confessional and other means which they have for intimidating and over-awing the people, exert a preponderating influence over the elections in the country and in the small towns. This is particularly the case in Flanders.

The land is covered with convents for men and women. In some cities they occupy whole districts. In 1846, there were 779 convents, containing 11,968 nuns and monks. The census of 1866 states that there were then 1316 convents, with 18,162 inmates; 178 were monasteries, and numbered 2991 individuals; 1138 were nunneries. The value of their estates is estimated at about 28,000,000 fr. As to the personal property, it is absolutely incalculable.

Since 1866, when these statistics were taken, the number of convents has increased by some hundreds, and their property by some millions. By means of these convents, the clergy have succeeded in controlling all the education of the women, and an important part of the education of young men.

The mass of the people in a nation will never consent to give up all worship; they would rather adopt the most degraded fetichism, if they can find nothing better. The free-thinkers, therefore, can never draw away the majority of the people from the

domination of the priests, since they really desire to abolish all worship, and in rejecting the Roman worship have nothing else to put in its place. Besides, the Liberals, even while incessantly combating the clergy, leave the women and the children under their influence.

For these reasons and some others, the clerical party seems certain to gain the victory; but as it would be incomplete, Belgium would be delivered up to an incessant anarchy like Spain, and like all other nations which do not succeed in shaking off the cursed yoke of the Papacy.

Let us now give a rapid glance at the condition of Protestantism thirty-five years ago, at the work that has since been done for the evangelization of the country, the results obtained, and its prospects for the future.

Thirty-five years ago there were seven Protestant congregations in the kingdom. They were supported by the State. Four of these were composed of strangers, mostly Germans, residing in the cities of Brussels, Antwerp, Liège, and Verviers. The three others were composed of Belgians, but they were situated in three villages; one in Flanders, at Maria Hoorbeck, and two on the frontiers of France, at Rongy and at Dour. These three did not comprise more than seven hundred and fifty souls. In a spiritual point of view, all these congregations were dead. Three of the pastors, at Brussels, Liège, and Verviers, were rationalists, and bitterly opposed to the distribution of the Bible and the evangelization of the Roman Catholics; the other four were pious men. There were also Christians among some of the strangers residing at Brussels, and a group of converted Roman Catholics in a village of colliers, near Mons. There were, besides, a few Anglican churches, but without much spiritual vitality, and having no relations with the country.

Let us turn from this to what is before us now. We have two church organizations: one supported by the State, and the other comprising the free churches established by the Evangelical Society. Besides the seven mentioned above, there are five others, making, in all, twelve churches, and fourteen pastors, receiving their support from the State. The Church of Brussels has three pastors—one French, one German, and one Dutch. That of Antwerp two—one French, and the other German. At Ghent there is a Dutch pastor; at Seraing, in the province of Liège, there is a German pastor. The churches of Paturlages and of La Bouverie, in the district of Mons, are entirely composed of Roman Catholic converts, and there are some in several other churches. Among these fourteen pastors, two or three only are rationalists. These churches have, besides, three evangelists. The one at Malines, where there is a small Dutch congregation, with a

few converted Catholics, is very zealous in visiting the Protestant prisoners in the penitentiaries of Lonvain and Le Vilvorde.

The two other evangelists work at Cuesmes and Douvrain, district of Mons. The flock at Douvrain, which as a whole has just left the Roman Catholic Church, is quite unnumerous. Most of these twelve churches have schools. Those of Brussels and Antwerp are important. They have also an asylum at Brussels for aged people and orphans.

In 1837-38 an association was formed of some Christians, among whom were three of the pastors mentioned above. They were all foreigners. One, an Englishman, was the agent of the British Foreign Bible Society. Two others were French (one from Alsace), two were German, and one Dutch. This association called itself the Evangelical Society of Belgium. It had at first one evangelist, then two, then three. For many years it employed only one colporteur for Bibles and tracts. Its work grew slowly but surely. The churches which it founded, and which were composed of Roman Catholic converts, in 1848-49 were organized on the Presbyterian plan, with synods, and adopted the Belgian confession of faith of the sixteenth century. It took the title of Christian Missionary Church of Belgium, while it continued to call itself the Evangelical Society. It has twenty-four congregations, scattered through the country, in all the great centres of population and in most of the important towns. It has two in Brussels—one French and one Flemish; one at Ghent, at Antwerp, at Liège, at Verviers, at Seraing, at Namur, at Charleroi, at Jumets, in the manufacturing towns, in Borinage, district of Mons, etc., etc. In several places elders preside over the meetings, and pastors visit them as often as possible.

Some of these congregations are small, and some quite numerous. In the majority you find with difficulty a Protestant origin. They have all come out of the Roman Church. The Church of Charleroi numbers one thousand members, comprising the children, with perhaps only one of Protestant origin. It is the same at Lizo-Seraing, where the Church numbers between six and seven hundred members.

Presently I will estimate the religious and moral character of this awakening.

The different means employed since the beginning to spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel are the publications, colporteurs, depositories of books and tracts, the gratuitous distribution of tracts, primary schools, Sunday-schools, and the preaching of the Gospel in houses, in halls hired for this purpose—later in chapels, where there were any (we have built sixteen)—in the cemeteries at funerals (these sermons have always been greatly blessed), and often, be-

sides, in the open air, in orchards, or on the public squares. Hundreds of thousands of souls have thus heard the invitation of the love of God in Christ Jesus.

The Christian Missionary Church of Belgium has printed and distributed more than a million and a half of tracts and other volumes. She gives gratuitously tracts only, but she distributes thus from one hundred to one hundred and twenty thousand a year. She has a public depository at Brussels of all the Evangelical works published in the French language. There is also in the same establishment a *dépôt* of Dutch and Flemish publications.

She publishes two reviews, one—a monthly, in French—“*The Belgian Christian*”—and one semi-monthly, in Flemish. She employs constantly nine or ten colporteurs and Bible-readers, who travel through the country. They sell the Bible and religious books; they engage in conversations, read the gospels, explain the principal truths of salvation, and pray whenever they are permitted to do so.

A great work has been accomplished; a great work is in progress; but is it thorough, and what is to be its future? These churches are not formed of persons who, by a simple change of opinion or in obedience to an intellectual persuasion, have passed from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism. They are composed principally of persons *heartily converted* to God, or who feel the necessity of earnestly seeking the way of salvation. It can not be otherwise; we shall see wherefore.

They are alive; and to be true and exact, perhaps I ought to say that, generally, they have an intense life, in the midst of many miseries and struggles. They are full of zeal for the advancement of the kingdom of God. They have their gatherings for prayer, generally well attended and edifying.

Everywhere there are brethren who preside over the weekly assemblies, and on Sundays there are laymen who habitually preach. They take care of their poor, of their widows and orphans.* They make sacrifices to carry on the work. It is certainly right to say that they are generous. Except those in Brussels and Antwerp, they are all laboring men; and one may see from the annual reports which we publish that the sums gathered in our field are not small.

It is evident that this Church is founded on the Corner-stone, and, as far as men can judge, it has a future. It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the Evangelical Society, or Christian Missionary Church of Belgium, needs laborers and money to respond to the demands made upon it. There are five millions of souls to evangelize. The number of laborers who are already working is still insignificant, in com-

* They have an orphan asylum at Brussels.

parison with the field which is to be cultivated, to be sowed, and even to be reaped.

The work needs to be thoroughly understood and efficiently sustained by foreign Christians. If it is desirable that it should prosper, it is necessary that it should receive from without more effectual aid than during the past.

I know not God's plans for the future. I perceive that unbelief, and a tendency to entire preoccupation in the worldly and sensual—practical materialism, in fact, under all its forms—is increasing with frightful rapidity, and hence results an excessive indifference to all that concerns the future life.

It does not seem to me possible that the present generation should be brought under the influence of a religion so serious and so holy as true Christianity. Nevertheless, the following facts remain incontestable and evident. I only mention them briefly, although they perhaps deserve to be more fully developed.

Religious tracts are well received by the majority of the people. They are spoken of and regarded as useful writings.

If, generally, only seriously minded persons attend the services, yet we can occasionally collect larger audiences at funerals or at conferences. These audiences are always very attentive, and sometimes very sympathetic. And one may hear often from many of the auditors such remarks as these: “That is very beautiful;” or, better, “This is the true religion;” or, better still, “If I wanted religion, this is the one I would choose.”

Great numbers of all classes desire that Belgium should become Protestant, at least that the mass of the people might be delivered from the priests. “Because,” they say, “the Protestant religion is beneficent, and the friend of progress.”

The morality taught by the Gospel, and shown in the lives of its disciples, is held in high estimation wherever we have a congregation, and even elsewhere. It is acknowledged that those who obey the Gospel change their conduct, and lead sedate and laborious lives, fulfilling conscientiously all their obligations. It is understood everywhere that to be an Evangelical Christian the life must be governed by the Gospel. For this reason, only those who are really thoughtful, earnest souls join themselves to our churches.

The revival has not been arrested, and it has lately borne remarkable fruits in three or four different localities. It seems to me that we have every reason to believe that the revival which we have had thus far is only the forerunner of the awakening which God in his goodness is preparing for the future, and that, up to this day, we have only gathered in the first-fruits of the harvest.

So may it be!

STATE OF RELIGION IN SWITZERLAND.

BY THE REV. EUGENE REICHEL, MONTMIRAIL, SWITZERLAND.

[Born December 19th, 1831, at Finn, Estland.]

CALLED upon to address you briefly in reference to the present religious condition of Switzerland, I feel sensibly how difficult it is to portray contemporaneous history with any satisfactory degree of exactness. This perplexity is materially increased by the crisis which at present exists in our Swiss churches, and which up to this time has not found its proper solution. We have in Switzerland two powerful forces in opposition to the Evangelical Church. On the one hand is the Church of Rome. Among our Alps, as elsewhere, the Papacy is making prodigious efforts to foist her despotic dogmas upon all our cantons—a movement, however, in which she is most vigorously opposed—as well as to hold in proper subjection those of her children who continue faithful to her communion, while out and out repudiating the dogma of infallibility. Of this latter number is the Old Catholic party, which has become a power indeed, under the impulse given it by one of its most distinguished representatives, Père Hyacinthe Loyson. An auspicious future, I venture to say, lies before the organization I have just alluded to, provided its members allow themselves to be swayed more fully by the spirit of this leader, and remain on the alert against entanglement in a false alliance with infidelity.

On the other hand, we have to contend with a rank infidelity—a second mighty source of evil in Switzerland. It is not a thing of yesterday. For a long time already a deplorable unbelief has led captive the masses of the people. They have left their churches to engulf themselves in the vortex of business and worldly pleasure. This state of things in a measure paralyzes the efforts of the servants of Jesus. On every side infidelity is become rampant and much more aggressive than in former years. Better organized than once, and finding an efficient support both in the indifference of the people and the countenance afforded by Government, this insidious foe, closing up its ranks, is not slow to assail the truth. The first great attack was repulsed. The lectures delivered by Professor Buisson in all the French cantons revived in a measure the dying attachment of the people to the faith of their ancestors. The enemies of the

Church of Christ then changed their tactics. Strong in the patronage of the Government, they aimed to implant within the bosom of the National Church the seeds of a soi-disant “Liberal Christianity;” and very persistent still are their efforts to undermine and destroy her influence by the passage of unjust and iniquitous ecclesiastical laws.

Bnt, brethren beloved, the friends of Christ's cause have not lost courage on either score, as I stand ready if necessary to establish. They have followed the example of the enemy, and are in turn the aggressors. They have marshaled their strength and organized their forces. The “Evangelical National Union,” as their association is called, has arisen out of the very midst of these complicated dangers. Each canton has its own special union, all the associations being united under one common confederation. This General Union is both prayerful and active. It is preparing the elements of a regenerated condition of things; and should the State Church be forced to succumb before the power of the tempest, such an ecclesiastical revolution will not put an end to the people of God in Switzerland; the Church of the living God will only emerge from her trial in purer and more glorious form.

With heart-felt satisfaction we are able to declare at this time that the great ideas of the Evangelical Alliance are making decided progress amidst the crisis that now agitates the land. The partition walls which ignorance and bigotry have set up are in a fair way of being pulled down. A common danger has caused ancient rivalries to be forgotten, and all the children of God—whatever shades of difference their training or creed may present—feel themselves increasingly drawn by the sole ties of a mutual love and a mutual thankfulness toward Him who died for us all.

A similar condition of things prevails in German Switzerland, a brief report of which cantons I am also charged to present to this meeting. In this portion of our country religious questions are in like manner the order of the day. On every side—in the public journals, in popular assemblies, in the bosom of our families, on our very streets—topics are agitated which were once deemed the

exclusive prerogative of pulpits and church papers. In every direction are heard confused shouts of "Hie, Old Catholic! Hie, Ultramontane!" while loud above all is the cry, "Hie, Reform! Hie, Orthodoxy!" When, however, we eagerly draw near to inquire into the spirit of this "Reform," we discover at once that all its parade is but the flimsy disguise of a deadly hostility to the Gospel, and that its rallying watch-word is only a reiteration of the ancient enmity to Christ, so expressively set forth in the language of the parable: "We will not have this man to reign over us!" Sneh, alas! is the utterance of the lower classes, of the public press, of the legislature, and, I am sorry to be obliged to add, even of the pulpit itself.

But here, also, in German Switzerland we find a decided reaction, in the form of an earnest, resolute striving for the name of the Lord Jesus. The friends of the kingdom of God are stirring. Would that they were energetic and united! We find an Orthodox party and a party of "Mediation," as it is termed, which stands between the former and infidelity. This party of Mediation derives some justification for its existence from the narrow-minded spirit of the first-mentioned, yet we can not but deplore the division which it produces. In addition to these is an "Evangelical Church Union," similar to that in French Switzerland, besides other truly Christian associations. May the Lord speedily unite his people into closest bonds of fellowship!

Thank God we can discern a bright flush of red in this respect upon the horizon, as the following statement will show. For more than twenty years a band of brethren from among the seven thousand that have not bowed their knees to Baal has met every spring in Christian fellowship, in the town of Baden (Canton Argau), for the purpose of mutual edification and furtherance of the work of the Lord.

Few in number at first, this Baden Conference gradually grew to be a power in the land. The question of such occasions is not, "Do you belong to the National or to the Free Church? Are you Baptists or Method-

ists?" but, "Do you love the Lord Jesus Christ and his kingdom?"

Long time already has this Baden Conference been an Evangelical Alliance, without such distinctive title before the world; perhaps without even being personally conscious of the fact. It was only last spring that this body assumed the actual appellation, and now it commissions its delegate to convey a heart-felt greeting from "little Benjamin" to his mother and to his numerous brethren here assembled.

But I must endeavor to make these good wishes intelligible in the language spoken by the majority of this respected audience.

Brethren, allow me to present to you the most cordial love of the several branches of the Evangelical Alliance in Switzerland, whose representative I am, having been requested by the Associations of Neuchatel, Lausanne, and German Switzerland to appear as their delegate on this important and happy occasion. We rejoice in the thought that we who live in among the towering Alps are so closely bound to you by the ties of Christian love and fellowship. It is an unspeakable comfort to us to be permitted, under God, to possess such a strong moral support in this universal alliance of Christians. We are the more encouraged by this consideration since the churches of our country are at present engaged in a peculiarly difficult struggle with the enemies of Christ. These foes of the Gospel are straining every nerve to extinguish the light of the Gospel. They would make the Church the slave of the state. We consider it our bounden duty, therefore, not only to maintain with energy the preaching of the Cross and of the death of Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten of God, as the sole ground of our salvation, but also to aim at the thorough deliverance of our Church from every secular chain.

Dear Brethren, all they of Switzerland who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity are most deeply interested in the success of these meetings, and unite in prayer that our mutual Lord and Master may be present in our midst to say unto us, "Lo! I am with you."

STATE OF RELIGION IN SCANDINAVIA.

BY THE REV. C. H. A. KALKAR, D.D., COPENHAGEN.

I. THE state of the Danish Church, though it does not materially differ from evangelical bodies in other countries, presents, nevertheless, some peculiar forms and phases, which are a natural consequence of the spiritual and national development of the Danish people. The radical attacks on Church and clergy by the Press and Parliament; the wish that the national, or so-called *Folkekirke*, should be dissolved; that all church property be confiscated, and the clergy paid by the State; that tithes should be abolished, and the power of choosing their own ministers be granted to the people—all these things are repeated here as elsewhere. The people take but little part in these reforms, and are, on the whole, well pleased with the present state of affairs. Conflicts between ministers and their congregations occur seldom. The moral state of the clergy has greatly improved, ministers who do not meet their pastoral responsibilities being the exception.

All the above-mentioned propositions, however, are urged so persistently in popular mass meetings and by the radical press that they can not fail to make an impression on the people. "Much good," they are told, "could be accomplished by such reforms." The so-called "Party of the Left" proposes these ever-increasing demands. This party consists; in Scandinavia, mostly of persons who, having turned their backs on the true Christian faith, have adopted some sort of humanitarianism, as taught by the Rationalists. It deserves to be mentioned, however, that not a few of the *Grundtvig* party, who are true believers and friends of the Church, uphold these attempts at disintegration, only because they have raised the word "Liberty" as their shibboleth, though the end at which the radical party is aiming has nothing in common with their own. Some of the members of the *Grundtvig* party have uttered words of warning against this false alliance, among others the well-known preacher, Birkedahl.

The Secretary of Public Worship, who should protect the rights of the Church, does not represent an ecclesiastical, but political power; and many sacrifices, hurtful to the Church, have to be made for political ends. Since Denmark has entered the list of constitutional States, ecclesiastical affairs have to be transacted in the *Rigsdag*, i. e., the Danish Parliament, which is not a religious body. The *Folkething*—a part of the

Rigsdag—is always striving to increase its power; and as the Church has no organ through which it could make its voice heard, most measures are proposed merely from worldly motives, and treated of in the same spirit.

Sweden has been more cautious in this respect. When the representation of the several orders was abolished by the new constitution in 1865, so that the clergy had no longer a seat in the *Rigsdag*, it was ordained that every fifth year a synod—*Kirkemøde*, consisting of thirty ministers and thirty laymen, should be called; and no new law relating to ecclesiastical affairs can be sanctioned by the *Rigsdag* without consent of the synod. The twelve bishops of Sweden, the First Pastor—"Pastor Primarius"—of Stockholm, and two theological professors (two from each university) are ex-officio members of the synod; and there is at least some chance that questions which enter deeply into the life of the Church are not at the mercy of a political faction, as is the case in Denmark. It is a convincing proof of the indestructible power of the Gospel, and of the discretion of the people, that, while the waves of public discussion beat high in the *Rigsdag* and in the press, the church services and the spiritual life of the people flow on calmly, losing but little of their beneficent influence, notwithstanding the furious attacks of the radicals.

Up to the present time, we know but little of denominational disputes, most of us being Lutherans. Other sects and creeds, tolerated in consequence of religious freedom, are few in numbers, and almost at a stand-still. The Methodists, in spite of their elegant church in Copenhagen, built with American money, have no great increase. The Baptists have lost their popularity since the law enforcing baptism has been abolished, comprising but a few members, who convene in a little church in the suburbs.

The Irvingites, supported by England, have also but a small congregation, which meets in a little church in the same suburb. They make no ostentatious display. Besides the sects enumerated, a few others lead a precarious existence, and are gradually disappearing. Even Mormonism has lost its power, as frequent news comes from Utah that the "Paradise" is not situated near Salt Lake. By wise moderation the Government has succeeded in preventing all disputes be-

tween members of different denominations. None of the sects are aggressive, each keeping within its own limits.

The Roman Catholic Church is the only body seriously endangering the Lutherans. Up to 1840 there was only one Romish chapel in Copenhagen. This stood under the protection of the Austrian embassy. Only in Fridericia and Friedrichstadt the Romanists were permitted free exercise of their religion. The former laws against proselytism were exceedingly strict, but were hardly ever enforced. As soon as religious freedom had been proclaimed by the fundamental law of 1849, the Roman Catholic Church hastened to take advantage of it. A stately church-building, numerous priests, the introduction of nuns, the establishment of a Roman Catholic Church paper, and of free schools for poor children, were the first signs that Romanism stood no longer on the basis of simple toleration. Its power soon showed itself more freely in its attempts to make converts, by proving to the various classes of the population that the politically desperate condition of the country was attributable to the withdrawal of the people from the mother church. Denmark, in order to rise to its former splendor and importance, would have to return to the bosom of the Church of Rome. The Romanists attempted to make this bait more palatable by the publication of a Danish church history, in which the facts were often grossly misrepresented. The disputes caused by these unpopular publications were ephemeral. In the year 1853 the so-called *Profectura Apostolica* was founded for the propagation of Romanism in Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and the extreme north. The *Profectus Apostolicus Bernard* applied to the Danish Government for permission to place the Roman Catholic congregation in Denmark under the control of that body, and to allow the *Profectus* to take up his abode in Copenhagen. The Government recognized the true intent and purpose of these requests at once. Rome desired a dignitary at Copenhagen who should have an official and powerful position in the kingdom, controlling all the Roman Catholic affairs. With great wisdom the Secretary of Public Worship represented to the king the dangers and complications which might arise with foreign powers from such a step, and the king accordingly resolved that the Danish Government would neither refuse nor agree to the annexation of the Romish congregations to the so-called *Profectura*. As this was a purely internal matter of the Roman Catholic Church, the State, it was argued, could not enter into official arrangements with the *Profectus*, whose residence, of course, would have to be permitted. This fact, however, could make no difference in the relations between the Danish Government and the priests of the Roman Catholic

Church residing in that country, and thus this plan of obtaining an official position for an ecclesiastical dignitary was frustrated. The matter, however, did not rest here. Frequent reports were heard that the Romanists were making proselytes both among the very highest and lowest classes of society, and that these people were exceedingly zealous for their new belief. The venerable Bishop Mynster almost with his last breath warned the people against the dangers which were threatening from the Romish Church.

Among the above-mentioned proselytes, the young and finely educated Count Holstein Ledreborg, heir to a large estate in Zealand, ranks foremost as an unscrupulous partisan of Romanism. Partly on account of his social influence, and partly in consequence of his culture, he occupies the position of champion of the Romish Church in Denmark. He is the indefatigable defender of papal infallibility. When Mr. Scheppelein had called attention to the many erroneous doctrines contained in Deharbe's "School-book for Children," Count Holstein answered him in a pretty sharp pamphlet, which provoked a reply, moderate in tone, from Herr Scheppelein, while Herr Knudsen, a clergyman of the old Lutheran Church, attacked the many weak points of Romanism and Jesuitism in a very decided manner. The answer was a well-written book by Count Holstein, entitled "Evangelical Lutheranism: a Negative Idea." The Count not only repaid his adversaries with heavy interest, but strenuously attacked the Lutheran Church itself by declaring that it had no belief at all, only the *Grundtwig* party having a slight semblance of real faith. Any one, therefore, wishing to preserve the true faith would have to seek refuge in the true—i. e., the Roman Catholic—Church. The writings of Count Holstein created great sensation, and called forth numerous replies. This literary quarrel would have soon died out, except for the practical results which the Romanists attempted to bring about. A rich widow, for instance, built a fine Roman Catholic church near Copenhagen, close to the summer residence of the royal family and a much frequented park, attaching to it a scholastic institution in which young men are prepared for a clerical career. In many other towns churches are also being built, congregations have been collected, and Roman Catholic books are printed. As the Jesuits have recently been expelled from the German empire, they will probably make their home in Denmark, on account of our unlimited religious freedom. It is, therefore, of great importance that the Danish clergy should work strenuously and zealously; for, though we do not fear that Romanism will ever take a firm hold on our people, Northern public opinion being utterly opposed to Romanism, yet we

must be prepared for the inevitable conflict, and our spiritual weapons must not be blunt. More Biblical and historical knowledge and more personal purity are urgently required.

It was thought that the controversy which waged for nearly fifty years between the followers of Grundt wig and the old Lutherans—the so-called *Skrifttheologer*—would have terminated long ere this, the founder having declared that “the Apostolic creed is the true, life-creating word of God.” This expectation, however, has not been fulfilled. In the last year of his life Grundt wig published a curious book, called “The Mirror of the Church”—*Kirkespeil*, being a review of church history, containing, besides many striking remarks and clear views, many false conclusions. In this book he portrays himself as the centre of all discoveries in church history, and as the ultimate accomplishment of the Lutheran Reformation. In the lectures which he delivered to a small circle of admirers, many ill-advised words escaped him; but the old gentleman should never have been permitted to publish these extreme views. His adherents, among whom are many talented men, praised this work to the skies, asserting that since the days of the apostles there had not been written so excellent a church history. Upon others who did not belong to Grundt wig’s party the book made a very unfavorable impression; its many weaknesses and contradictions were easily exposed; and thus a fierce dispute arose. In the mean time this great man died, at the age of eighty-seven years, on Sept. 7, 1872; a rare character, whose influence as poet, churchman, and patriot can never be forgotten. His burial, to which his friends and opponents flocked from all the provinces of Denmark, was imposing; every one felt that “a prince had fallen in Israel.” As his successor, Rev. Mr. Brandt, of Rønnebæk, was chosen, under whose teachings the congregation has greatly increased.

Soon after Grundt wig’s death another dispute about his views arose, which is waging still. It was occasioned by the inquiry of a Norwegian divine in America, whether Grundt wig’s teachings were the doctrines of the Danish Church, as had been pretended by some young and hot-headed Danish clergymen in North America, who consider themselves the *living congregation par excellence*. The answer which was given by Professor Clausen, an old antagonist to Grundt wig, and the Reverend Messrs. Blädel and Frimodt, evidently overreaches the mark, stating that “the Danish Church did not recognize Grundt wig’s theory, having nothing whatever to do with it.” These incautious remarks, which were probably not intended to be taken literally, created a great commotion, as the followers of Grundt wig deemed themselves excommunicated thereby. Pastor Blädel attempted, in a moder-

ate and well-written pamphlet, entitled “Grundt wigism and the National Church,” to define his position, but merely exposed himself to still greater attacks, having laid open his weak points. He gave great offense by his inaccurate quotations, and by the assertion that the National Church only tolerated Grundt wigism as formerly it had tolerated Rationalism, which assertion placed believers and unbelievers in the same category.

Another result of Grundt wigism is the establishment of the so-called Popular High Schools, which are found throughout all Denmark, and which, in some places, have displayed a healthy usefulness. The fundamental idea of these schools—to give the youths in the rural districts a thorough moral and scientific education—was undoubtedly a noble one, especially as their training is only too often entirely neglected; neither can it be denied that these schools have accomplished a great deal of good. But if the young generation is fed principally with the old Northern legends of heathen mythology, as if these were the main-spring of all patriotism; if the only means of creating a sound national feeling is sought in popular ballads; if these High Schools pretend to be capable of educating a young man into a missionary or preacher within the short space of six months or a year; if even clergymen cast contempt on classical culture and learned schools, preferring the superficial teachings of these Popular High Schools, then all these symptoms become pregnant with danger, giving proof how partisan views can distort even an unclouded mind. Many of the young scholars of these institutes have undoubtedly acquired better and more enlarged views; but there are also numerous students who, in consequence of their unscientific and indifferent education, show the usual defects of mediocrity, having conceived a horror to the laborious agricultural life, and preferring an easier mode of city living.

On the other hand, the ever-growing societies for Christian life and work are laboring earnestly, and in the last few years a union between them and the Grundt wig party has been effected. The Society for Foreign Missions, which has re-occupied the East Indies, its former field of activity; the Society of Deaconesses; the Society for released Convicts; the Societies for Prison Reform; the different societies for infant schools; the Mission for Sailors, which has established stations at London, Hull, and Newcastle; the Society for sending Preachers to the Danish Settlements in America; the different charitable societies and hospitals for the blind, the maimed, and insane—all these, and many others, are doing a noble work. The income of these societies is considerable, giving ample proof of Christian liberality, though it

must be admitted that the contributions for Christian objects do not correspond to the general prosperity of the people. This is especially true in regard to the rural population.

The system of preaching has greatly improved, though some young preachers strive for popularity by affecting a coarse and vulgar delivery. These, however, are exceptional cases. As a rule, the sermons are lively, intellectual, and present the vital truths of Christianity. Martensen, Fog, Blüdel, Frimodt, Anderson, P. Rørdam, Monrad (who for many years was Prime Minister), are the only great preachers we can mention here, though there are numerous others just as deserving. The last few years have brought us a great number of printed sermons, some of which are indifferent. The "Homiletical Cyclopædia of Living Preachers" contains many sermons of average ability, besides many really good ones. Impartial readers will find a high-toned style in these sermons, all of them teaching the truth as it is in Jesus. Rationalistic opinions, being opposed to Protestantism, shun the light of publicity.

A small number of young men are making an attempt to import the enfeebled rationalism of Germany, France, and Switzerland in a new shape. A young man by the name of Brandes, who has attracted some attention by his lectures on "Modern French Literature" and his abuse of every known creed, is the founder of a so-called literary society, which has not only favored us with a translation of the essays of Laug, Reville, and others, but is publishing its own negative views also. The *New Danish Monthly*, edited by Lic. Möller, is another organ of rationalism, all sorts of pantheistic and atheistic views being published in it. Unfortunately, these attempts are encouraged by the professors of the philosophical faculty of the University, who have more than once placed themselves in opposition to the Christian faith. Candidate Larsen is another champion of this school, having made several attacks on the miracles of the Bible, and on other religious doctrines. He is, however, wanting in originality, as many refuted arguments are urged by him anew, both in his essays and in his commentary on St. Paul. The theological faculty neither encourages nor resists these destructive tendencies. The literary influence of the University theologians is very small, which may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that most of its members are well advanced in years. Professor Claussen, who ranks foremost among them, has already passed his eightieth year; Professor F. Hammerich has published a church history in three volumes, an interesting work, though written in a peculiar style; young Professor H. Scharling (father and son are members of the faculty)

has published the first part of a religio-philosophic work, in which Heathenism and Judaism are considered in contradistinction to Christianity and modern Humanitarianism.

Otherwise, theological literature has produced several strong works, the principal of which is Martensen's "Ethics," which appeared in three editions. In Germany the first edition was sold within a few months. Dean Paludan Müller has made some searching investigations in regard to the agreement between the written Word of God and the traditions — an attempt to reconcile Grundtwigism with its opponents. Rev. Mr. Claussen, son of Professor Claussen, has written a very interesting account of the views of Agricola, the antinomist, reviewing also the modern opinions of the same stamp. Several theological and ecclesiastical treatises have appeared in the religious newspaper published, since 1871, under my auspices. Much that is excellent in German theology has been transplanted to Denmark by the Paper on Foreign Theology, published by Professor Claussen, and now containing forty volumes. Besides these, there are several religious newspapers, occupying themselves with religious life at home and abroad. A revision of the Old Testament, the Danish translation of which had become almost unintelligible, because its language was obsolete, has been completed, thus doing a great deal for the advancement of Hebrew philology. The work was intrusted to the care of Dean Rothé, who, with the assistance of Professor Hermansen, concluded the onerous task within the space of six years, thereby giving the nation a readable Bible. The edition has been received with universal favor.

The Church of Greenland has also been placed on a better footing. For many years the desire had been expressed that the preachers of that country should be natives. The candidates who were sent thither from Denmark seldom learned the difficult language thoroughly. They regarded their position in the barren land only as a stepping-stone to a better one at home. A commission appointed by the Government studied the whole condition of Greenland, making a report as to the education of native pastors and the elevation of the people generally. A good beginning has been made, Mr. J. Mørch, a native of the northernmost colony, Upernivik, having been called to Copenhagen, in order to be ordained by the Bishop of Zealand.

Thus the kingdom of God is steadily advancing in Denmark; and though dark shadows may sometimes pass over the Church, Socinianism on one side, and indifferentism on the other, attempting to undermine its foundations, yet it can not be denied that the powers of the Gospel are displaying great activity, and, with the assistance of the

Holy Ghost, will create a new life in the different districts of our little country. Its worst enemies are often found in the bosom of the Evangelical Church itself; strife and division are maiming the life of the Church. May the Evangelical Alliance be able to heal this sore!

II. We will now cast a glance at the neighboring countries. The Swedish Church was formerly, even more than at present, a State Church, in which the king was, *ex officio*, *summus episcopus*, and the priests' members of the Diet. It has been mentioned already that in 1865 a great change was made in this respect. Sweden is the only Protestant nation on the Continent which has an archbishop. Some believe that the apostolic succession is still preserved there. The clergy are educated in the two universities of Upsala and Lund, but the instruction might be more thorough. Propositions for reform have been made. The theological chairs have been frequently filled by non-theologians. This, however, has rarely occurred within the last few years. The deans have, besides their positions, a *prebend*, from which they draw their income. The pastoral care of the congregation is confided to a vicar. That this must be wrong is evident. The priests are either appointed by the canons, or elected by the congregations and confirmed by the king. Sweden, after having refused longer than any other nation to promulgate religious freedom, has at last given way to the necessities of the age, but the number of dissenters is extremely small—about one thousand persons, not quite one per cent. A distinction is made between the acknowledged and non-acknowledged religious societies. Unbelief has spread among the people, especially among the educated classes, and is fed in several papers by translations from German and French essayists.

On the other hand, a pietistic movement is spreading throughout the country, its members being known as *Readers*, because they read the works of Luther to a great extent. They preach to conventions and religious assemblies. This movement meets with a sharp and unjustifiable resistance from many believing clergymen, whereas others endeavor to lead it in the right direction.

A good example is given by the Tract Society in Christianstadt, the celebrated preacher Dr. Bergmann taking a prominent part in it. The name of the society does not indicate its character. The society aims at an effectual publication and distribution of religious works. The National Foundation Society—the *Fosterlandstiftelse*—is doing a great work. Several years ago it started some heathen missions, sending a large number of missionaries to the Kumaus in North-east Africa. This mission, however, proved

a total failure. The Swedish Missionary Society, which for a long time only aided other societies, sending a few missionaries to Leipsic, to find from thence a field of labor, has lately reorganized itself, having obtained a very efficient head in the Rev. A. H. Zweitbergk, a young but very talented minister.

Swedish Church matters form the topic of much discussion. The *Upsala Theological Journal*, the Lutheran paper, the *Forsamlings Vännen*, and others, are some of the best-known religious papers, each serving its own party. A political paper, the *Väkta ren*, comments also occasionally on religious and ecclesiastical affairs. The churches in Sweden are, as a rule, well attended, yet the moral condition of the people is rather low, as is evident from the many crimes which Swedish emigrants commit in Denmark, though it must be taken into consideration that, since the abolition of passports and other means of proscription, only the worst classes emigrate.

III. Church matters in Norway are about the same as those in Denmark, with which country it was allied for four hundred years. Here the bishops have been retained, but are simply superintendents of the ecclesiastical revenues. In Norway there are no elections. Clergymen are appointed by the king himself. The culture is higher than in Sweden. In the University of Christiania they have capable professors, who hold fast to the tenets of Lutheranism. They have not, however, been able to prevent Grundtwigism from gaining ground, especially among the younger portion of the clergy. This has resulted in many literary feuds. The Church is not represented in the Diet (*Storting*); some meetings which were held, with a view of influencing the political representatives, were, on the whole, unsuccessful. The people are more serious, and infidelity is less common than in Sweden; but the Norwegians are quarrelsome, a quality they carry with them to America, as may be seen by a study of the history of their synods. The earnestness of the people is shown in the liberal support they give to every Christian mission. The Mission to the Jews began at a time when not a single Jew was permitted to live in the country. The other missions are, the Mission to the Heathen, the Sailors' Society, and like organizations. The Mission to the Heathen has for many years worked to great disadvantage among the Zulus of South Africa, and has lately sought a new field in Madagascar. The Sailors' Mission has stations in different cities in England, at Antwerp, and other places. The other missions receive also generous aid, especially the so-called Luther Foundation Society—*Luther Stiftelse*—which intends to organize home missions.

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN ITALY.

BY THE REV. MATTEO PROCHET, GENOA, ITALY.

[*Born September 28, 1836, at San Giovanni Pellice, Piedmont.*]

I HAD prepared two or three heads for my discourse, each one of them too tall to go under the line of half an hour; but, desirous as I am to comply with established rules and to obey orders, I cut them off, and without any introduction I shall at once enter into my subject:

THE STATE OF RELIGION IN ITALY.

A very complicated state indeed it has been for some years past, and is now so more than ever. The Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the state, says the first article of the Italian Constitution, and, in fact, twenty-five millions of Italians have been baptized by the priests, are on the priests' rolls, and entitle Italy to the name of a Roman Catholic country. But the shades of Romanism are so many with us that I feel it impossible to treat of them under one head. On the other hand, the Protestant efforts in Italy are so divided, also, that to be truly impartial, and give you as accurate an idea as possible of the state of things, I must be satisfied with a series of panoramic views or tableaux, to which I take the liberty of calling your indulgent attention, begging you would bear in mind that oversqueezed things become rather dry.

I. First comes the venerable-looking old man whom his adherents call the Angelical Vicar of Christ, the infallible representative of God on earth. Whatever he may be as a man, as a pope Pius IX. is the worthy successor of Innocent III. or Gregory VII. He is conscious, however, of the diminution of his power and influence, and his words from time to time betray the bitterness of his feelings as he sees his children turning their backs upon him. Yet he has his faithful band, who do their best to make up for the deserters by a redoubled activity, and by their hyperbolical praises.

The clergy, as such, with few exceptions, have gathered themselves more closely around the Holy See, determined to stand or fall with it. You would say they feel the wreck is fast approaching; and as sailors who, in the moment of impending danger, cluster round the captain, ready to obey all his orders, they cling to the Pope; they take in Syllabus and Infallibility, and seem to sacrifice more completely their own liberties, minds, and con-

sciences upon the altar of the Church than they did even in the dark ages of the past. The old rivalries between regular and secular orders, between this and that monastic rule, are hushed to silence. One common foe is before them—light; they must put it out, and they are determined upon doing so.

Does this mean that all the priests believe really all that Rome teaches? I do not think so. Some years ago nine thousand priests signed a petition to Pius IX. begging him for the sake of the country, for the sake of religion, to throw off the temporal power. The Pope refused, and the nine thousand priests teach that the temporal power is from God. When Garibaldi entered Naples in 1861, hundreds of priests joined the liberal party, and, with little or no connection with Rome, said masses in churches assigned to them. Two years after, the cardinal bishop of Naples, reinstalled by Ricasoli, suspended a divine, and they all disappeared. Last spring I was offered, through a friend, eight priests at a time, willing to throw away the collar if I would give them a position. I refused, and those priests say masses to-day.

What does this prove? That the race of the Savonarolas is extinct in Italy; that we can not expect a reformation from the Italian priests. Where is the Döllinger of Italy? Where is the bishop, nay, the priests of some standing, who now oppose the infallibility? Even France had her Father Hyacinthe. Italy had none. Father Hyacinthe lectured in Rome, created a momentary excitement among the people, but the clergy left him alone, or the few adherents were such that nothing of any importance could be done by them. Yet, convinced or not, they work, and how they do work! You may disapprove of the end, you may condemn the means, but you must bow before the devoted activity, the relentless energy displayed.

Whether they be discouraged or not by their repeated misfortunes, does not transpire; they defend their ground, and try to reconquer what they have lost with a courage and a perseverance worthy of a better cause. The confessional, that powerful weapon of Rome, spreads its influence throughout the country, from the steps of the throne to the

shattered shanty. Societies of all kinds, made to suit the taste of every class, have been formed, and, like a spider's web, cover the whole nation. "Salvation of souls—Beneficence," is the motto, in golden letters, on the banner floating outside. To bring the people back to the good old times is the object which the initiated have in view. Competition schools are opened whenever they can not have the whole management of the public ones, and in them they offer better instruction and better education.

Their reasoning is a simple and a comprehensive one: Let us have the women through the confessional, and the children through the schools, and the nation will be ours. We will still see better days for us. And they would see them, it is my full conviction, if they had only to fight against human agencies. But there is a power mightier than theirs at work. The Mene, Tekel, Peres has been pronounced upon their system, the day in which an old man made the impious attempt to snatch with a trembling hand a jewel from God's own crown. Yet the struggle may be a long one, and will certainly be a terrible one; let us not forget it, nor neglect our part in the battle.

Clustered around the priests are the good Roman Catholics, the convinced, the bigoted, and fanatics, recruited unequally from the different classes. The nobility and the peasantry are largely represented in their ranks, and the women occupy quite a prominent position, while they are the most useful instruments.

There are many earnest souls, I have no doubt, among them—souls that have deep religious wants, and though, perhaps, not wholly satisfied with the Romish teaching and practice, yet they cling to them as the only anchor of salvation they know of. But how many also who, alas! are superstitious, without religion, fanatics who would repeat to-morrow the St. Bartholomew if they had the power to do it.

Following these we find an enormous proportion of the population, which, while it remains outwardly Roman Catholic, belongs really to the religion of "I don't care," or that is no religion at all, if by religion we mean a personal knowledge of God, and a personal communion with him. They are Roman Catholics by birth, and they consider it their duty to belong to the Church of their fathers. Habit, indifference, are sufficient chains to bind them. They would by no means erect the stakes, but they would not ascend them either, were they called upon to do so as a seal of their religious belief. Ask any of them if he believes in the infallibility of the Pope, and he will laugh at your simplicity; but if you want to draw the natural inference of his unbelief that he must come out of the Church of the Pope, he does not understand you. He is so well as he is. He

does not see how he ought to give a place to religion in his life.

The religious question has been for many years entirely laid aside by the great bulk of the Italian nation, especially by those who more actively and energetically wrought out her freedom and unity. The thought of freeing their country from civil bondage was so absorbing that they could not think of any thing else.

Italy is now free and united, and the higher question begins to force itself upon the attention of many a thoughtful mind. Carlo Cantoni, in a very elaborate article in one of the best periodical publications of Italy, says: "When a people has obtained full liberty of conscience, it has not completed its work; it has merely acquired the means of complying with and giving satisfaction to its moral and religious exigencies. And insomuch as by neglecting these a people declines and goes back to barbarism, or loses itself in an unnerved and corrupted civilization, so we (Italians) ought not to make a mere negative use of our religious liberty by throwing ourselves into the arms of skepticism or of indifference. *Our political regeneration would be of no value were it not followed by a moral and a religious one.*" These very significant words—healthy symptoms of the moral recovery of Italy—do not stand alone, thanks to God. Another distinguished writer, the Roman Count, Ferengio Mamiani, discoursing upon what he calls the Religiosity in Italy and France, states the fact that the former begins to feel uneasy under her mantle of religious indifference, and almost instinctively is looking for something that would save her from the tyranny of Rome on one side, and the comfortless doctrines of infidelity on the other.

Other voices have been and are heard from different parts of the Peninsula trying to draw the attention of the people to such an important subject. It is true, nothing determined is offered to the people by their advisers; perhaps they do not know it themselves, but an immense step would be made the day in which the Italian people would rise and say, "We will have a religion in which we can believe with our hearts and souls."

Here I ought to speak of the New Catholics—of the liberal Catholics—and it would be very interesting to follow them in their attempt to conciliate the exigencies of their more enlightened consciences with the requirements of a religion which has always baffled them; to see some of them by a slow process separating gradually from the Church of Rome; others keeping in their inner heart the belief in one living God, and suffering the, for them, meaningless ceremonies as necessary for the ignorant mob; others severing the evangelical moral from all doctrine, keeping the former and making very light of the latter.

But time will not permit, as we have still to look at a party which is making awful progress in Italy, I mean the *unbelievers*.

The number of those who have come to the rejection of all religion by a more or less philosophical and logical inference from assumed principles is comparatively small; but their influence is every day more growing and pervading the masses.

Whether their name be free-thinkers, positivists, or materialists, they all find themselves on the same platform. No personal God, either creator or judge; man's conscience his only rule; the religion of humanity the common bond that will one day bind together all nations in one family.

Confounding Romanism with Christianity, it is an easy work for them to show the former in complete opposition to every freedom, and to find adherents among a people which is the more eager for liberty that it has been longer deprived of it. Add to this the natural tendency of man to say in his heart, "There is no God," and you will easily realize the importance of the impending danger, more dreadful than superstition itself.

II. Let me now come to the smallest part of the population, which, however, is the part I represent here. I am sorry to say I have no commission from the Pope; the only *communication* we have together being a fresh *excommunication* I get every year from him. Let me come to the Protestants of Italy.

And first of all, *our guests*. I call our guests the foreign Protestants, who come to Italy for the sake of art, of business, of health, and settle themselves among us for a period of time. They have about thirty-five congregations, especially in the large cities, as Rome, Florence, Naples, Leghorn, Genoa, etc.; but the language of their worship being either French, English, or German, it will be easily understood that their influence might not amount to much upon a people that does not understand those languages. Yet many of their ministers and some of their laymen have paid, and pay, the hospitality they enjoy in a very honorable and Christian way, by trying to benefit the people among which they live. Time does not permit me to do more than barely name some of them: Rev. Dr. Miller, who started "The Genoa Harbor Mission," which has yielded good fruits already, and promises to surrender more for the future; the venerable Dr. Stewart, of Leghorn, who has done more for the evangelization of Italy than any other foreigner now living; Rev. Messieurs Busearlet and Pater, of Naples; Mr. Wallace, of Venice; Dr. Van Nest, the chief supporter of an orphan asylum in Florence; Rev. M'Dougall, Waite, etc. I must also, and do it with great pleasure, tender my sincere thanks to Mrs. E. B. Gould, whose Italo-American schools in Rome are well-

known here, and much appreciated in Italy, and Mrs. Boyce, who founded in Vallecrosia (Liguria) an orphanage, where fifty girls and boys receive food, garments, instruction, and education.

Of the native churches, allow me to speak first of the Waldensian Church; not because I belong to her, but because she comes first chronologically. Long before were born the great reformers to whose praises, recited last night, I said "Amen" with all my heart; the Waldensian Church, in the Alpine valleys of Northern Italy, was bearing her testimony to Gospel truth, and sealing it with the blood of her children. She is there still, a remnant of thirty-three bloody persecutions, a token of God's wonderful dealings; with her six or seven thousand communicants, four thousand one hundred pupils in the primary schools, eighty in her classical college, sixty in her high school for girls, and thirty in the normal school. But, thanks to God, she is no more *there only*. The boundary line drawn by superstition has been canceled by liberty, and the Waldensian Church has resumed her work of evangelization. Here I take the liberty of calling your attention to a fact which I deem worthy of it.

Though perfectly convinced that her form of church government and her confession of faith are thoroughly evangelical, the Waldensian Church declared, through her synodical assembly of 1855, that she would not Waldensianize, but take her share in the work of christianizing Italy. The only instructions given to the evangelists were these: "Go preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, be faithful to the Master, and may God bless you!" The result was that the congregations gathered in thirty-seven different cities were as free as the birds that fly above your heads, and whose only law is God's law. The representatives of these congregations (scattered from the Alps to Sicily) met, in number sixty or seventy, in the spring of 1873, in Florence; and while rejoicing in their numbering nearly two thousand communicants, one thousand six hundred children in their schools, and one thousand two hundred in their Sabbath-schools, they unanimously declared they would bind themselves in one body, and present a more compact front to the enemy.

It does not behoove me to say a single word in favor of that Church; but I think I may be allowed, without any impropriety, to summon before you three different parties, and to let them speak: 1. The presbytery of Italy, in connection with the well-known and rightly honored Free Church of Scotland, composed of men who have lived many years in Italy, voluntarily and unanimously published a pamphlet, in which they declared their deep sympathy for and full confidence in the Waldensian Church as a means of evangelizing Italy. 2. Numbers of

citizens of different towns apply to the president of the Waldensian Board of Missions for evangelists. 3. But the third of the three parties is the most remarkable one. It is the Jesuit Perrone, the great controversialist. In a book of two hundred pages he has, not long ago, heaped against the Waldensians all the calumnies he could find in the books of his predecessors and in his own brain, warning Italians against their *heresies*. I value that testimony exceedingly.

One word more, to illustrate the unsectarianism of the Waldensian Church. Her theological seminary in Florence is open to students of all denominations free of charge, where they can study without ever being asked to abandon their own denomination.

Very soon after the Waldensian Church had begun her work in 1850, Christians of Switzerland, France, England, America, felt it their duty to take a part in the work of carrying the Gospel to Italy. To that effect they took some of the first converts, and employed them as evangelists under their own responsibility. Though many of these evangelists were without any theological training, they succeeded, by the power that the Gospel has in itself, to gather a good number of congregations, varying very much in size. Up to the year 1870 no bond of union existed among them—I mean, organic union. In that year some of them met in Milan, and laid the foundations of the "Union of the Free Christian Churches of Italy," better known in this country as the Free Italian Church. A Committee of Evangelization was appointed by them, having as president Rev. Dr. Van Nest, American minister in Florence, and as treasurer Rev. J. R. M'Dongall, Scotch minister in the same city. The celebrated ex-monk, Father Gavazzi, belongs also to that committee. In 1872 twenty-eight evangelists of that denomination met again in assembly in Rome, and, among other resolutions, voted a confession of faith in twelve articles. No ruling elder was convened to this assembly; so that it seems that the congregationalist form of church government is the form likely to prevail among them. They number about a thousand communicants. Some of the congregations have schools connected with them. The American Board has recently undertaken to support the third of their evangelists. About the half of the Free Church, however, did not join the Union, and continued, as in former years, to be entirely independent from each other; meeting, however, once a year to confer between themselves specially upon matters relating to edification. As no report has ever been printed by them that I am aware of, it is impossible for me to give their number. At their last meeting of La Spinetta there were thirty ministers and elders present, representing thirty-three congregations. Among their prominent men let

me name the Count Gnucchiardini, of Florence, and Signor Bonaventura Mazzarella, deputy to the House of Parliament. They call themselves "Free Christian Churches of Italy."

The Methodists have made good progress in Italy, owing to the energy and activity displayed by Rev. Henry Piggott and Rev. Jones directing the two sections, northern and southern.

The Northern Synod numbers twelve congregations and six hundred communicants; the Southern Synod, seven congregations and three hundred communicants.

Good schools are in connection with some of the Methodist congregations; and quite worthy of notice is the international school of Padua, started by the Rev. Mr. Piggott.

The Baptists have concentrated their efforts more specially in Rome, where three foreigners are working among natives, namely, Messieurs Wall, Cote, and Van Meter. Mr. Clark had also started a small congregation in La Spezia.

The American Methodist Episcopal Church of America have begun this year a mission in Bologna, where they have sent two clergymen, Rev. Dr. Leroy Vernon and Mr. Spencer.

I wish I had more time to speak at length of some other private efforts besides those already mentioned previously of Mesdames Boyce and Gould. I will not, however, let go unnoticed the work of Miss Burton among the soldiers—work accompanied by many encouragements, and which seems now more than ever to yield fruit to the glory of God.

I fear that every one of my hearers has been sadly impressed by the contrast between the union of the Roman Catholic party and the divisions of the Evangelical one. Alas! Italy has not been spared that weakness of Protestantism. It is my duty to tell things as they are. May God so act by his Holy Ghost that these different denominations will work together harmoniously!

An attempt has been made by the Waldensian Church to bring all the denominations into closer contact and more brotherly terms, but the attempt has hitherto proved hardly a half success.

A few words about the evangelical literature of Italy—*The Book of Life*. The Bible is now freely circulated throughout the length and the breadth of the country. Thousands of copies are sold every year by colporteurs employed by the British and Scotch Bible Societies, and carry into every home the Gospel light. Unfortunately the priests are on their guard, and burn as many copies as they can get.

An Italian Bible Society has been formed in Rome, numbering now about four thousand associates scattered through the whole of Italy.

A Tract Society in Florence, assisted by the London Tract Society, has issued a good number of books and tracts, which, with God's blessing, may awaken some souls and lead them to the true fountain of life.

La Rivista Cristiana (The Christian Review), a monthly paper, edited in Florence by the professors of the Waldensian Seminary, has met with great approval by all denominations, and even by Roman Catholics themselves. It treats of all questions in a religious point of view and in a thoroughly catholic spirit.

The *Eco della Verità*, the veteran of the evangelical papers of Italy, is issued weekly, to the number of three thousand copies.

The *Amico dei Fauciulli* (Children's Friend), illustrated weekly paper, numbers about ten thousand subscribers.

L'Amico di Casa, a good almanac, is so well received by Roman Catholics themselves that last year sixty thousand copies were sold in a few months.

La Strenna dei Fauciulli and *La Biblioteca dei Fauciulli* have lately made their appearance, and seem to be well received.

Fede e Scienza (weekly), *Il Corriere Evangelico*, and *La Vedetta* (both monthly) are published in connection with the Union of Free Churches, the Methodists, and the Free Christian Churches.

La Roma Evangelica comes out weekly in Rome, and is in connection with no denomination so far as I am aware of.

Compared to what we had but a few years ago, this array of books and periodicals is quite encouraging, but compared to the wants of a population of twenty-six million souls it appears very small. We had, not long ago, seventeen millions of people who could not read. We shall reduce that by one half, the next generation. But when these people shall be able to read, what shall they read? Will stories of saints or romances be their only food?

3. And now, reducing to three words what has already been too much condensed, at least according to my taste, Italy is worked upon by three parties—Papists, infidels, evangelicals. The former have to aid them habit and ignorance, the second the natural tendency of human hearts, the last the Gospel—which of the three shall have it? I shall not play the prophet: let me only say that there are thousands in Italy now hoping, praying, working for the installment in every house and heart of the Gospel of light, of peace, of salvation.

There is a fact not sufficiently thought of, to which I wish to draw your attention. It is this:

An American may be a good Roman Catholic and a good citizen; an Italian *can not*. He must choose between his religion and his country. Let him be devoted to the Pope, and he must, with his holy father, pray and

work for the overthrow of Italian unity and freedom, for the re-installment of the popering and of all other petty kings or dukes. Let him be a good citizen, and he is obliged to see in the Pope the greatest enemy of his mother country; the man who curses it every year, and is urging the Roman Catholics of the world to come to Italy to flood it with blood, in order to grasp again the earthly sceptre which liberty snatched out of his hands.

I do not require to say more to make you sympathize with my countrymen—you who have shown to the world in what high degree you loved your religion and your country. Shall Italians have no other choice but to be good Roman Catholics and bad citizens, or good citizens and infidels? Will not God make manifest to them that *His religion* has never been, and shall never be, in opposition to one of the noblest feelings that still adorns the human heart—the *love of the mother country*?

Here comes an objection I desire to meet. The æsthetic feeling is so much developed in Italy that it has killed the moral and religious one, some people say, and they add: "The Gospel and the plain evangelical worship will *never* be received and appreciated by them."

I grant the fact, I deny the inference. Yes, it is true, the æsthetic feeling is developed at the expense of the religious one. But is the blame to be thrown on the people alone? From the moment, a child still, he is confirmed by the bishop in gorgeous attire, amidst smoking incense, burning candles, and splendid music, to the day when, a dying man, he receives the wafer from a priest still surrounded with candles, religion is represented to an Italian clouded in misty ceremonies. Italians do not know what close communion with God is! But how can they see God at the extremity of a long line of intermediary beings, beginning with the Virgin Mary and terminating at the priest sitting behind the grate of the confessional? How can they feel His love, and give theirs in return?

Ah! let the mighty breath of God blow away all that superstitious rubbish; let those hearts now kept by hirelings in the outskirts of God's palace come into the inner chamber; let them feel loving arms around them; let them hear a fatherly voice, saying, My son, My daughter; let them feel the throbbing of God's own heart beating against them, and I venture to say that, no matter what they may be naturally, Italian hearts will respond, will be lifted up into a higher sphere, and give love for love. I have still to learn that there is a single heart in the whole world incapable of receiving the grace of God applied by the Holy Ghost.

Will the Italian nation become Protestant like England or North America? I do not

know; the Lord knows, and that is enough for me. When I was a soldier during the Italian war of independence, I never troubled myself about the plans of the general-in-chief. I have changed army, and the General I have the high privilege of now serving under has my full confidence, ten thousand times more than Lamarmora or Garibaldi himself. In other words, *God deals with nations*; we men have to deal with individuals; and it is because the Church in the third century forgot that rule that we have had the sad spectacle of Christian nations whose Christianity consisted simply in a mere var-

nish covering the rottenness of superstition and corruption.

Do you ask, What is, then, the object of our work in Italy? Simply this: to bring down into all the Italian cities, towns, villages, hamlets, the Gospel light which God so providentially preserved for centuries on the Italian mountains. When there will not be a corner of my dear fatherland without a pure, shining light, we will wait patiently, working and watching for the "own good time" of that gracious and merciful God who wills not the death of the sinner, but his conversion and his life.

REPORT ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN SPAIN.

BY THE REV. ANTONIO CARRASCO, MADRID.

[Born at Malaga, Spain, January 19th, 1843.]

BELOVED BRETHERN IN THE LORD JESUS,—When, six years ago, I had the honor to attend the Conferences of the Evangelical Alliance, I closed my report with these words: “Spiritually speaking, Spain is at the present moment in a transition state; belongs to no one in reality. The Government and the clergy strive to keep her in bonds, but they can not realize their purpose; no matter how elevated the barriers they raise, they will never be so high that the truth can not rise above them, for truth is eternal, and sooner or later will effect the conquest of the world. We believe that Spain’s salvation is at hand. God grant that this assembly may be able to accelerate the rising of the Sun of Justice, which shall flood the country with its divine light!”

The event which was expected by all who were acquainted with what was passing in Spain took place in September, 1868. The people and the army, Democrats and Progressists, the laborers of the fields and of the cities, all joined hands to overthrow a dynasty which was far from realizing the aspirations of Spain of the nineteenth century. Since then, great have been the convulsions, and still greater the changes, that we have witnessed in our country. The disunion of the parties which united in accomplishing the revolution, the assembly of two Constituting Cortes, the Regency of General Serrano, the cowardly assassination of General Prim, the reign of Don Amadeo of Savoya, the proclamation of the Republic, the Carlist risings, the Republican insurrections, bloodshed in almost all the cities of the Peninsula, the ill-concealed ambition of many, want of patriotism in almost all, the best institutions ill managed, the most eminent statesmen worn out—this is the history of these last five years in Spain, to the great sorrow of all who had formed the hope that the advent of liberty would bring peace and progress with it. Still, in the midst of so many disasters, we have preserved intact the religious liberty inscribed in the programmes by the Juntas of all the cities in the early days of the revolution; and had we acquired nothing besides this sole liberty, we should still have the deepest reason of gratitude to the Lord, who with his strong arm *has thrown down the brazen gates, and crumbled the bolts of iron.*

It is not a small thing, my dear hearers,

for me, a Spaniard, born in the land of Philip the Second, and of Isabella the Second, to be able to appear on this platform, and from it tell the whole world of the Protestant churches of Spain, of the Protestant Bibles printed in Madrid, and distributed throughout Spain, read by so many families, *when it is their fortune to know how to read*—for me to be able to communicate to you my fears, my hopes, and my plans, and then to return tranquilly to my Madera Baja Church, in the confidence that I shall not be assailed by the myrmidons of the law, that six years ago would have seized me on crossing the frontier, and thrown me into prison for the crime of cherishing a faith different from that of the Church of Rome.

In order to appreciate this privilege at its full value one must have known what was the state of affairs in her days of intolerance, have seen one’s self condemned to nine years of imprisonment for the sole crime of reading the Holy Scriptures without the notes of the church. That which costs us most is what we most appreciate, and for this reason we, who have suffered for religious liberty, can never consider the revolution fruitless which has given it to us.

So far my introduction, and after cordially greeting you, dear hearers, in the name of the Spanish Protestant Church, I shall enter immediately into the subject assigned to me, termed “Spain and the Gospel.” And since I do not believe that your intention was that I should speak to you only about the churches in Spain, but also that you desire to learn what work is done, how it is done, the faults we commit, the dangers we should avoid, my impressions of the past, and my hopes for the future, I will commence by a brief review of the state of the Spanish people, of their character and aspirations, which will enable you to judge whether they have been well or ill evangelized, and whether the manner of evangelization adopted up to the present day is the one most fit to meet the wants of the future.

It is an axiom, my hearers, that the truth is one and the same everywhere; but it is none the less true that each nation has a distinct character of its own, and requires a particular form of evangelization. Let us consider the different features of the character of the Spanish people.

1. The Spaniards are a peculiar people. Those who have studied their history and customs may say that their customs are more or less rough, their history more or less illustrious; but surely none have ever said that the nation of Padilla and Lanuza, of Murillo and Cervantes, does not bear the seal of a powerful originality. A strong and energetic race, endowed with an indelible instinct of preservation, the ardent blood that fills the veins of its sons is ever ready to flow for whatever cause is dear to them. The independence of their country is dearer to the Spaniards than a religion; it is fanaticism, never once belied during the course of its history.

Next to their country, their religion has always been pre-eminent in the hearts of the Spaniards—their religion, which has so deeply influenced their customs, their laws, their literature, and their arts.

The clergy were acknowledged from a very remote period (since the conversion of Ricaredo to the Catholic religion) as one of the public authorities, and perhaps that which most predominated. Their education, the moderation with which they used their influence, and their austere life soon gave them a notable ascendancy, observable in the numerous and benevolent laws with which the people were endowed by the Councils of Toledo. The king reigned in Spain, but the councils governed. The traces of this early religion are still to be found in all Spanish customs, impregnated with the Catholic spirit, and the same traces are found in the laws, in the character of the Spaniard, in their aspirations, and in their enterprises. Great dangers, knightly feats of arms, possessed powerful attractions for the Spaniard. To die fighting the Moslem in defense of their country and their religion was the highest ideal of death conceivable to them. To return from the war, and, still covered with the dust of the combat, present the trophies to the lady of their love, was their only poetry; and their old romancers have preserved the memory of the poetical worship rendered to woman in the Middle Ages.

In lieu of instruction, the Spaniards possessed an eminent degree of integrity, amiable simplicity, love for their families, and the highest respect for their word of honor. This, my hearers, was the Spain of the olden time.

But the day arrived fatal in the annals of its history, when an absolute monarchy was established, and, together with absolutism, the sinister Inquisition. Liberty of conscience, as well as that of thought, vanished from our soil, and intolerance soon began to bear its bitter death fruits. It is true that at previous periods some of the clergy, eager to possess the wealth of the Jews, had instigated the people against them; but it is none the less true that certain kings protected the Jews from the fury of their accusers.

Yet, when at last the Inquisition was established in Spain without the consent of the Cortes, and notwithstanding the protests of the most enlightened men of that period, Hernando del Pulgar, and, in the next reign, Hernando de Talavera, then perished the Castilian liberties on the field of Villalar—and Mallorca and Valencia lost theirs too, with Juan Odon Colon—and there remained no more hope of the existence of any of those liberties that exalt a nation.

Catholic writers are not wanting who exalt the power and wealth of Spain in the days of Philip II, the great champion-in-arms of intolerance; but they forget that the prostration of nations is a slow work, that in their history punishment does not succeed crime immediately, and, when the great moral laws are trampled and crushed under the dazzling veil of high prosperity, the skeleton of death underneath is hidden from sight. There is no greater proof of this truth than the grandeur of Spain in the sixteenth century, under the reign of Philip II.

This monarch possessed, besides Spain, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Duchy of Milan, Rosellin, the Low Countries, and the Frauco Condado. On the Western coasts of Africa, he owned the Canary Islands, Fernando Po, Annobon, and St. Helena. In America, he reigned in Peru, in Mexico, in Tierra Firme, New Granada, Cuba, St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadalupe, and Jamaica. In the Indian Seas, the Philippine Islands also belonged to Spain, and afterward the conquest of Portugal largely augmented his already vast dominions.

Spain saw her kingdom strong and united, while all else declined around her: her soldiers were the first in the world, and her navy then was unequalled.

At the same time that Spain predominated in the outer world by her strength, she flourished within her boundaries through her agriculture, industries, and commerce.

But, alas, all this prosperity was but as when a fair and beautiful plant in all the glory of broad leaves and rich fruit has a canker-worm gnawing at its roots, which will blast it in its prime ere its fruit has ripened. All this grandeur was being slowly but only too surely undermined by an influence as devastating as the simoom of the desert, as deadly as those miasmas that poison the air to the breather—the terrible and deleterious religions intolerance, the opposition full of hatred to the Gospel and to liberty of conscience. Philip II. accepted and re-enforced the politics inherited by him from the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, and from his father Charles V., to the detriment of all the moral and material interests of his people. The same system was adopted by his son Philip III., which is to say that the Church and Crown united to consummate the ruin of Spain.

The Jews, who had lent large sums of money to Ferdinand and Isabella for the taking of Granada, received as recompense the edict for their expulsion and the loss of all their wealth.

The Inquisition condemned criticism and philosophy in the works of Antonio Lebrija, which were devoured by the flames. It condemned liberty of conscience, and a great number of Protestants—all learned and pious men—died at the stake in Valladolid and in Seville.

Philip II. provoked the rebellion of the Moors only to conquer them and seize their properties; and Philip III. banished more than a million of them, having the same object in view. The riches of the nation flowed into the convents, falling into dead hands—to use the energetic language of the Middle Ages; the number of artisans diminished, and the friars increased; agriculture received its death-blow, and the friars multiplied; commerce was paralyzed, and the friars enlarged their convents to admit new inmates; those who accepted the Gospel, and who would have been the salt of the earth, were all burned or banished, and still the friars grew in number and prospered. The Spanish were obliged, in order to live in peace, either to go into the convents; or, becoming mere adventurers, go to America in search of the accursed gold which has not a little contributed to the prostration of my country. The only faculty left free in Spain was the imagination, and that only so long as it was employed in chanting or delineating the glories of the Church or the bounties of the reigning monarch. The result of so much oppression was that, when Charles II. came to reign, Spain had neither army, navy, nor generals; no men of science, no industries, no manufactures, no commerce, nor money; an immense corpse stretched out in its immense sepulchre; it, from time to time, seemed to return to life long enough to hold an auto-da-fe to prove to the world that it still existed under the yoke of absolutism and theocracy.

And is it strange, then, that Spain should at this present period find herself in the state of an invalid, still suffering the effects of a long and terrible disease? For my part, I only wonder, not at its wretched condition, but at its existence after having endured for three centuries the system inherited by the successors of Philip II., seconded by the religious ideas of a Torquemada.

The state of my country, as I am about to present it to you, is sad indeed; but I believe that those who love their country point out its evils and then propose the remedy. And, if this manuscript should be read by any Spaniards who think that I have done wrong in saying aught but praises of every thing connected with Spain, I will answer them in these few words: “*Cara Patria, carior Veritas.*”

The religious state of Spain is indeed discouraging, and it can not but be so, considering the intolerance which has reigned there for so many ages up to September, 1868. For a long time back the inhabitants of the Peninsula have only been Catholics in name; and Rome, although aware of this, has made no effort to recover her dominion over the souls she has lost. She knew that she reigned in an official sense and in public life, and that the laws permitted no competition with her priests. Sad satisfaction to have acquired so much with the loss of so many souls! For it is not possible to suppose that Rome deludes herself into the belief that those manifestations, proceeding from routine, are manifestations of piety.

One of the consequences of the revolution has been to reveal this yacumm in the hearts of the Spanish. Few Liberals, and hardly any Republicans, in certain provinces, will hearken to a word of religion. The reason is obvious: Religion, for those who have had no opportunity for knowing a better one, means oppression of thought and conscience; privileges granted to a certain class; processions where they see captains-generals and skeptic ministers carrying wax-lights; it means nuns and bishops, who make and unmake cabinets; it means superstition and materialism. I myself confess that, if I knew no other religion but that practiced among Spaniards in the latter ages, I would prefer regulating my life by the maxims of a high moral code rather than admit so much deceit and such odious privileges. I am told, in answer to this affirmation, that the numerous hosts of the Carlists belie me, and that they maintain well aloft the standard of their faith. It is true that their banner bears their device, but I can not say that they bear in their souls the device of their banners. It may be that the peasants, for their religion's sake, obey the orders of their curates to take arms; but can we say the same of the leaders of the factions who often boast of their incredulity—of those who shoot their prisoners without mercy, or assassinate the Liberals, beating out children's brains against the walls because their fathers are not Carlists, as occurred in Berga? Can we say that there was any religion in the hearts of those who, in Segorbe, killed a priest merely because he was not an absolutist, and who rob, sack, and set fire to villages after praying over their rosary? Can we ascribe to religious influence the exploits of the famous priest, Santa Cruz, who has distanced the greatest miscreants with his crimes, and those of his innumerable colleagues in the ministry who, with the same hand with which they bless and grasp the crucifix, murder with the gun; or the conduct of the bishops, ever ready to hurl anathemas against all who would curtail their privileges, and who under the pres-

ent circumstances have uttered no word of censure against their subordinates who so ignore their sacred duties? No; these men follow a political standard, and use the name of religion as they would any other name convenient for their plans.

It is not necessary for me to stop and prove that the moral state of the country is the direct consequence of its religious condition. There is no profound conviction of sin, no anguish of a soul seeking to free itself from its burden. The moral grade has gone so low, public opinion is so indulgent, that it forms no curb for any one. The greatest wickedness, the vilest actions, are committed without scandalizing any one. Infractions of the law are so common here that nowhere is it more truly said that "laws were made to be evaded." There is no confidence in any one, and this want of faith in men extends, unfortunately, to principles; hence the disturbances, the riots, the rapid change of cabinets and of government officials, as well as of laws—this constant seeking for that which they never will find, as long as they do not feel their moral degradation, and fall humbled at the feet of Him who pardons and raises those who humble themselves, and who gives, together with sorrow for sin, the complete moral rehabilitation.

There does exist in Spain, however, a group of enlightened men, of irreproachable lives and pure morals, who unite great simplicity with exquisite affability, and a real interest for the ignorant classes. I refer to such as Fernando de Castro, Garcia Blanco, Fernando González, Ruiz de Quevedo, Gabriel Rodríguez, and many others whose names I have not space to mention. They are a chosen band with their officers and chiefs; but I do not know the soldiers that follow them, and this is why I doubt whether they will ever obtain any very brilliant victories over the all-pervading evil. They, united, form the aristocracy of intelligence here; but I doubt whether their principles form that heaven that raises a whole people. These men, so worthy of respect on many accounts, are wanting in the profession of historical Christianity, in the concrete affirmation of the dogma, without which moral has no base, in one of the two elements which form the individual and the people, in the one great necessity of our life—the Christian doctrine. Without this fault, they would be a powerful agent, and would accomplish what they never will so long as they consider instruction the universal panacea. Their principles are those professed by Socrates, and with those alone Greece certainly would never have been regenerated. The coming of Christ to shed his blood for the remission of sins was necessary to regenerate both Greeks and barbarians.

The literature of the country is on a par with its moral state. I would here make

one observation. In speaking of literature it is not my intention to treat of all the contemporary literary productions, some of which are pronounced master-works both at home and abroad. I would speak of the people's literature, that most in vogue among them, of the two potentates of the age—the novel and the newspaper. How great an influence for good works of fiction exercise, and how great, too, for evil! How immense the responsibility of the novelist! History, politics, morals, religion, and philosophy are all taught to the people by the novelist; and what a man of the lower classes learns in fiction is what he best remembers. But why enhance the influence of the novel here in the native country of the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin?" You, still better than I, know how much such a novel can do toward accomplishing the triumph of a great cause. The productions in this line most popular in Spain and sought for with avidity are those which are distributed in sheets of four or eight pages at a time, and whose subjects are generally the worst human passions, presented not as odious, but in their most attractive form.

The newspaper in Spain has generally for its object completely to ignore principles, and attack only persons. There is no character so pure but it will be dragged through the mire if taking part in political matters. Libelous insinuations, direct accusations, downright falsehoods, which, even if next day contradicted, have already produced their effect—these are the arms used by the different political parties against each other. In addition, there is always a reluctance to tell the people the real truth; they are flattered and deceived, but never told their defects. This is journalism in Spain, where, on different footing corresponding to its high mission, it could lend such signal service to the cause of justice and truth.

This, my hearers, is the picture I have had to show you. My heart aches at seeing how deep its shadows are. I am a Spaniard, and can not but feel deep sorrow at the moral sufferings of my people. Still it consoles me to think that there is good in them yet. I can not but attribute their scepticism to the ignorance in which they have lived till now of the pure Gospel of Christ. The oblivion of their state of sin is due to those who have taught them to consider sin as only a series of acts as easily effaced as committed. But their defects are counterbalanced by many excellent qualities. The Spanish are naturally kind, intelligent, and endowed with great intuitiveness. Their bravery is as notorious as is their sobriety. The Spaniard, ready to shed blood in a moment of wrath, has no equal in generosity after a victory. Who does not remember the days following the fall of the throne

of the Bourbons, during which the people, without government or authorities, were left completely to their own instincts, and, with so many injuries and wrongs to avenge, they demonstrated a gentleness and a generosity unparalleled in the annals of history? All their enemies were either in prison or disarmed; they had at their mercy those who so shortly before had condemned not only journalists to death, but even those who were engaged on the material work of certain newspapers; and all these persons were quietly allowed to go where they chose. The Spanish are easily moved to acts of generosity. Ah! how great a nation Spain could yet become, how high might her aspirations be, if she could only be brought to the feet of Him who alone can give prosperity to a people! How soon would many of their defects disappear if the Spanish would turn their backs on error and resolutely enter the path of truth! There are still elements in the Spanish people capable of making them a great nation; but it must be repeated and reiterated. This miracle will never be realized through reforms in its laws, nor with the establishment of new institutions; it will only be effected by the acceptance of Christ, who reforms the hearts of men through the Holy Spirit.

2. We will now treat of what Christians have done here toward obtaining this most enviable result. What class of work has been accomplished in Spain, and what means have been employed to make the Gospel known in Spain? This is the question which I will now take into consideration, and, as it is a momentous one in itself, I have prayed God to inspire me with the truth alone, free from the biasings of sympathy or of prejudice of any kind.

Long before religious liberty was a fact and a legal right in Spain, some work had already been done toward giving Spaniards a knowledge of the true doctrine of Christ. Travelers, for the most part English, when they were coming to Spain, provided themselves with Testaments and tracts, and then improved every opportunity for distributing them among their acquaintances and among their traveling companions, or they left them in the wardrobes of their rooms in the hotels, hoping that those who found them would read them, and perchance profit thereby, finding the conviction of the truth in their pages.

Other Christians came purposely to evangelize, but these reduced their operations to familiar conversations, sustained in a language their imperfect knowledge of which made it impossible to understand them, or they would leave packages of tracts in the chairs of the public walks for those who came to occupy the seats after them. I consider this desultory mode of evangelizing

unfruitful. I am not unaware that the action of the Holy Spirit is subject to no particular form, and that the Lord in his infinite wisdom makes use of ways and means unknown to man for his mysterious teachings. I have heard of wonderful conversions which produced many others, all due to the reading of a tract, or to a word uttered by a child. I have read of such instances in religious papers, and I believe them, for I believe in the power of God; still, I know that these are not the means usually employed by God to bring sinners into the way of life. Our Maker has been pleased to use the ministry of men to announce the glad tidings. He has willed that the Word read shall be accompanied by the Word spoken, so that the text may be verified by the living commentary of the preacher.

The work, as carried out by Mr. William Green, many years before the revolution of 1868, has appeared to me the most successful of all those undertaken by foreign brethren. Many of our ideas differ on certain theological points; his views and mine on ecclesiastical organization are entirely opposed to each other; we are divided also on the question of baptism; and, withal, the love of truth obliges me to render public testimony to the value of Mr. Green's services. He had lived many years in Spain, and his profession as engineer had placed him in contact with thousands of laborers. Thus he was able to follow step by step the effects produced on the souls of those who listened to his words or read the books he distributed. He has left deep traces of his teachings at every place where he remained for any length of time.

Among the Spaniards, Don Luis Usoz y Rio has been the most efficient in the good cause. The clandestine reprinting of the works of the old Spanish reformers, more than four years ago, and his own original works, will testify to my assertion in his favor.

Next in turn came a Christian Committee of Edinburgh. The gentlemen who composed it understood that a different means of evangelization from those hitherto employed must be used. So, instead of sending foreigners to preach the Gospel here, they selected Spaniards for their purpose. One of these was Don José Vasquez, who now, very aged and retired from active life, resides at Seville; another was Don José Gonzalez, at present engaged in evangelizing in Madrid; another, Don Pablo Sanchez, who preached in Gibraltar; and, I think, also Don Francisco de Paula Ruet, pastor of a Spanish congregation in Gibraltar. About this time, the Committee in Paris employed Don Manuel Matamoros, and the work then assumed a greater consistency. Congregations were organized; private and secret worship was observed at the houses of Protestants; those who separated from the Church

of Rome began to be known; the tracts "Andres Dunn" and "Preservative against Rome," the writings of Luis Desanctis, several numbers of the paper *El Alba*, the gospels with Dr. Rule's commentaries, and other religious works, were distributed with due discrimination, and prepared the way for a new era. I am aware that those congregations were wanting in religious instruction; I will confess, too, that the members who composed them were not as spiritual as could have been desired; but, withal, I recall with deep emotion those days of a new love, of great illusions, and of vast projects—those days of the secret gatherings to hear the preaching of the Word of God, always expecting the arrival of the agents of the law to conduct us to the dungeons of a common prison.

The persecution which we had foreseen came in 1861, and Matamoros, Alhama, Trigo, Gouzalet, Marin, and he who has the honor of addressing you at this moment, were condemned to prison. This imprisonment was productive of great good to us, and of great good to all Spain, for the matter was taken up by the press, and people became accustomed to hearing of the Protestants, and learned thereby that Protestants were men like their other fellow-beings, and they discovered, too, that there were six Spaniards who preferred imprisonment to liberty obtained through abjurement of their faith. After the imprisonment came our exile, and it must be confessed that with the exile almost all that had existed disappeared. But the seed had been planted, and would some day germinate.

The tyrannical system under which Spain continued up to the year 1868 produced a state of tension impossible of continuance for any length of time. This was understood by all who watched the course of events, and who saw what ground ideas of tolerance were gaining; and Matamoros, with the peculiar intuition with which he was endowed, felt this movement, and thenceforward allowed himself no rest in the preparation at Lausanne of several Spanish youths for pastors. There was a school opened there at the same time for girls to train them for teachers in Spain, and a lady from the United States, named Mrs. Mac Euen, founded also a preparatory theological school in the vicinity of Pan.

At last, the long-desired day of religious liberty in Spain arrived, and all who were prepared to take a part in the work hastened to come from abroad and established themselves where each thought fit. The French pastor, M. Curic, who had preached for several years at the Prussian Embassy, conceived and realized the idea of forming a committee in Madrid which should give unity to the work. A centre was also formed in Seville by Messrs. Cabrera, Alhama, and Sanchez.

Mr. Green returned from the Balearic Islands. Mr. Armstrong came from England, and has been from that time the representative of the London Tract Society. Lawrence, Gould, and Faithfull came. Mr. Knapp, an American, also arrived from Paris, Señor Ruet from Algiers, Señor Trigo from Oran, your speaker from Geneva, and Mr. Gladstone, who had already lived for some years in Spain; all without distinction of sect, oblivious of their different religious opinions, commenced distributing books, holding worship, and announcing the joyful news, by all the means within our reach. The chapels were always filled with multitudes anxious to hear the new doctrines. Bibles were sold by thousands; the tracts printed were all too few to satisfy the universal curiosity. It is much to be lamented that in those days there were not laborers and funds enough to have opened a chapel in every city and town of importance throughout Spain, for, had this been done then, there would this day exist as many congregations as there were chapels opened to the public. The Christians had not faith enough to labor for the future; they undoubtedly believed that Spain was condemned to live always under an iron rule. They only afterward discovered that success might yet crown their efforts, and they then employed more laborers, some of them, unfortunately, ill qualified for their high mission. Then happened what could not but ensue, and at the same time what never should have taken place. The first was that, after the first moments of unity and concord among the laborers in this great and holy work, the different religious tendencies of each of the directors became apparent. Some declared their adoption of the Presbyterian form, others manifested their Baptist proclivities, while others declared their adherence to the Plymouthites. And that which never should have taken place was that there arose a discordance among the foreign brethren, to whom we so naturally looked up as our models. This want of harmony among the laborers excited not a little comment amidst the new converts, much to the discredit of all.

This evil might have been avoided had a little more abnegation been exercised, and a closer study made of things and persons. If the foreign brethren had been content to preach Christ alone to the Spanish, leaving them afterward to decide among themselves as to the minor points of form, and constitute themselves according to their own liking; if those friends had only laid aside their particular opinions as to baptism, ecclesiastical organization, and other doctrinal points; if they had not been so anxious to appear in the first rank, only careful to assist those who are but children in the faith with their counsels and suggestions, events would not have been precipitated, and many churches

which gave promise of rich fruits for eternal life would not have been closed.

The entire responsibility of what has occurred must not rest solely on the laborers in Spain; it also devolves on the committees, churches, and private individuals who are interested in the Spanish work of evangelization. When there is not perfect union among these committees or churches, even when they belong to the same country, how can it exist between their representatives in Spain? It would seem as though each one of these were only intent on communicating his particular ideas, forgetting that Spain must of necessity stamp her religious reformation with her own particular national-ity. And while this obvious truth is ignored, it must not be believed that aught will be accomplished beyond factitious results that will disappear of themselves in the natural course of things.

I ask myself repeatedly, Why is it, what is the cause that produces the fact that almost all the churches or groups of individuals who have taken part in the evangelization of Spain send representatives here from their own country? Have they no confidence in Spaniards for the direction of the Christian labors? Do they consider their agents so much more capable of directing a congregation than we are? Can they not see that the salary of one of these agents would suffice to defray the expenses of a new work in another town? Are they not aware that their agents are in danger of exaggerating the tendencies or ideas of those who send them to justify their participation in the management of the churches, as well as of mistaking their wishes for realities, leading them into errors in their reports of their works, resulting in the creation of hopes which are completely defrauded by exit? And if, when facts come to demonstrate the truth, they would only frankly confess their mistake, the evil would not be so great; but no, the want of success is attributed by them to a lack of inclination on the part of the Spanish to receive the Gospel; and it is obvious to all how much the work of evangelization suffers from these errors.

The fact that each foreign pastor is provided with an attendant Spanish pastor is in itself a proof that the former can not alone attend to the management of a work, nor sustain it alone among Spaniards. Why, then, such a plethora of directors? I may be told that the work acquires greater solidity under their direction, arrives at a higher state of spiritual prosperity; but facts prove the contrary. The most flourishing churches are those which are under exclusive Spanish direction. The reason of this, to some, singular phenomenon is clear. The history of the Spanish, their topographical situation, and many other causes lead them to view every thing foreign with dis-

trust. They mistrust that the predominating idea in the foreign propaganda is mere speculation; that there is a material interest in leading them to change their religion; and many other absurdities enter their minds which it is far easier to censure than to destroy. Then, it must be remembered that the Spanish are a highly artistic people, passionately fond of and accustomed to the finest oratory; and it is an arduous task, next to impossible, for a foreigner to acquire such command of our harmonious and sonorous Castilianas to be able to move the multitudes by his word. If I should commence preaching here in your city, in your language, I might, the first day, please my audience by my naïve attempts to make myself understood in your language; but after a while my faults and incorrectness would become tiresome and insupportable, and my audience would leave me and go elsewhere to hear one of their own nation. This is what happens in Spain, the more so from their great appreciation of eloquence. I well know that in treating of the salvation of the soul the truth is of far more importance than eloquence, but I can not be persuaded that the Word imperfectly expressed can exercise more influence over souls than when well and intelligibly uttered.

There is yet another error to be corrected. The characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon nation, their rigidity of manner, their habits, and their nature, so far less expansive than ours, are all so many obstacles to prevent the establishment of that sympathy between pastor and congregation so necessary when treating of the saving of souls. This, my hearers, constitutes a serious impediment to the onward march of the Christian work. If the foreign churches and committees had begun by a judicious selection of Spanish pastors and preachers to direct their congregations, and then, instead of sending a foreign pastor as director for each Spanish pastor, they had by common consent agreed to appoint one agent, eminently Christian, whose age, experience, and knowledge, to some extent, of the Spanish people would enable him to assist us with sound and salutary advice, who would give account to those committees of all occurring here, and interpret to us their sentiments and wishes with regard to our work, *then* evangelical christianizing would indeed have made rapid progress in the Peninsula. When there are many persons in one place, each representing a different sect or persuasion, a miracle alone could prevent the divergencies and want of harmony which I condemn.

After what I have just made manifest, I would make a declaration to dissipate any suspicion that may have been formed. I have no private cause of resentment against any of the foreign pastors engaged in the work in Spain, and, if I have ever had any

such cause, I have long ago forgotten it. I have lived in the most perfect peace with all of them, and have never committed any act that could in any way injure the work under their charge; on the contrary, I have assisted as far as possible in building them up, and whenever requested have always lent them my assistance in preaching, however little my words may value; I have always endeavored to scatter the clouds which have at times gathered over them; but I have become convinced that, when treating of the advancement of the kingdom of God, we must completely lay aside our natural affections and affinities, and tell the whole truth without hesitation or deviation; and I consider what I have communicated on this point as the truth. I should regret having offended any by my frankness. I hardly think that any offense will be taken, for I have heard these very ideas from the lips of foreigners themselves in Spain, who, if they continue in the work, do so in obedience to the commands of their church. Nor would I by any means discourage those who with so much affection and constancy assist us with their prayers and with their money, both so necessary to us. I only request them to reflect on the means employed up to the present day in relation to the result, and would urge them to proceed with new vigor, but on a different plan, in this greatly needed and greatly beneficial work.

The evangelical labors in Spain are carried on in three forms. One, the printing and distribution of Bibles, another that of religious tracts, and the remaining form is the preaching of the Word.

The mission of the London Tract Society is well known to all. The agent of this society in Spain is Mr. Richard Corfield, a Christian who has passed part of his life in the exercise of this charge in South America. Sollicitous in the performance of his duty, without taking any other part in our ecclesiastical labors, except by assisting us with his prayers, Mr. Corfield is closely devoted to the supervision of the printing and distribution of the Holy Bible. His corps of colporteurs seems to me to be in perfect order, and the sale of the Scriptures satisfactory. I do not know whether the Carlist insurrection, which now devastates some of our finest provinces, has unfavorably affected the distribution of the Bible, but, generally speaking, I can say with certainty that the demand for it with the people at large has not diminished. This fact consoles me, for I can not believe that the Word of God, so abundantly spread through the land, can fail to give some day blessed fruit.

From time to time, large remittances of Bibles are sent from Madrid to Mexico and to other republics in Central South America. I have seen in the Madrid Deposit those great cases filled with the Word of God, and

I have been moved at the sight to the depths of my soul, giving thanks to the Lord for having permitted me to witness the day when Spain should send not soldiers to conquer America, nor fanatical monks to spread there the sinister Inquisition flames, nor government officials to devour her riches, but the blessed Bible, the Book of books, that tells of the Author of all grace, goodness, and of every perfect gift; the book of light and life, the pioneer of civilization, the only teacher of true progress to a people!

The religious tract work is under the care of a committee, whose agent and correspondent is my friend, Mr. Legh Armstrong. It is to be regretted that there has not been some arrangement made between the American Tract Society and that of London, or that the former should not have taken measures to distribute their tracts on a wider scale among us, for, in my judgment, those of its publications that I have seen are well adapted to the character and necessities of our people. The London Society sustains a religious weekly paper entitled *El Cristiano*, and assists in sustaining the semi-monthly *La Luz*. We are deeply indebted to and profoundly grateful for the services of the London Tract Society and of the London Bible Society, not only for their generous sacrifices in the service of our cause, but for the liberality with which they provide reading matter adapted to the tastes of all.

There now only remains to be taken under consideration that form of the work carried out by preaching. During the period immediately following the revolution, every place of worship that was opened was invaded by an immense crowd of both sexes, all eager to witness what they never before had seen—the Protestant worship. From among these inquisitive crowds were formed our churches. The first congregations that were constituted under a defined ecclesiastical form—the Presbyterian form—were those of Andalusia, sustained by a Committee in Edinburgh. In Madrid, we thought it premature to give any fixed organization to our churches until we were sure that they were composed of true Christians. When we considered the proper moment arrived, we constituted the Church of La Madera Baja of Madrid, on the 27th of September, 1870, and our example was followed by the Church of La Plaza del Limon in Madrid, and by that of Saragossa and that of Camuñas. These two groups, the most important of the Peninsula, united in the Assembly of Seville, in April, 1871, preserving each its own Confession of Faith, until a general one for all the churches should be agreed upon. A confession of faith was discussed and approved in the Assembly of Madrid in 1872, which has been highly eulogized by many of the European churches. The name adopted for this confederation of churches is “The

Spanish Christian Church." In the late June Assembly of this year the Presbyteries were appointed, these being for the present four in number: that of Madrid North is composed of the Church of Jesus, the Church of the Saviour, Las Peñuelas de Madrid, the Church of Valladolid, and that of Santander; that of Madrid South is composed of the churches of La Madera Baja, Bellas Vistas, Camuñas, Alicante, and Carthagena; the Presbytery of Seville includes the churches of Seville, Cordova, Granada, Huelva, Jerez, Cadiz, and Malaga; and lastly, that of Barcelona, composed of the churches of Barcelona, Saragossa, and Mahon. The Church is governed by its Assemblies, which unite annually, and from these are formed the permanent committees, which direct the spiritual matters of each church during the year.

There exist, besides the churches I have named, an Episcopal church in Seville; two Baptist churches, one in Madrid, and another in Alicante, sustained by Americans; and another in Barcelona, which I do not know how to classify, either because it belongs to no class, or because its English directors do not wish to organize themselves. There is another mission of this same kind in a suburb of Madrid called Chamberi, also under the direction of an English brother.

These churches have not all attained the same degree of religious spirit and Christian life. There are those where these elements are easily recognized, and there are others where they are very little developed. But, in general, we have great reason to praise God with all our souls for what has been accomplished, for the bounties which in his mercy he has granted us; and there is also reason why the laborers should humble themselves for their want of zeal, for their lack of judgment, and for all kinds of weaknesses. There has not been enough harmony and fraternity among us. We have often forgotten that our work is one of prayer and faith. No, the Spanish evangelical work has not given the fruit which at its beginning we had reason to expect from it; but it may give it later, if the proper means are employed, which are the following:

3. There exist in the life of nations two moments especially favorable for the leading of souls to consider the unseen things which are eternal. The one is that in which a doctrine opposed and persecuted through long years is for the first time announced. The curiosity natural to all men, the sympathy ever aroused by causes or principles that have been proscribed, and the anxious avidity with which the needy grasp at whatever is new in the hope to find some relief for the woes of life, are advantages which those interested in the spread of the Gospel ought to turn to account. For Spain this moment has already passed, and it is needless to repeat that its advent found us un-

prepared, and that as a consequence we have not profited by it as we might.

The second moment to which I refer is that which succeeds all great social commotions, that which follows those periods of strife and tears and blood with which God from time to time is wont to chastise the nations. When men have suffered much and variously from the instability of human affairs; when war, terrible and devastating war, has desolated fields and cities, leaving behind its mournful train of orphans and widows; when the earthly ideal we have long cherished has passed into the realm of facts, and in place of the expected flowers yields thorns and thistles that only lacerate, then it is that the soul, disappointed in its fond hopes, comes to expect less from men and things, and instinctively turns its contemplation toward a better world, where there is neither grief nor tears; then it is that the soul turns its thoughts Godward. It has needed, in order to do this, to pass through the stern school of misfortune; but so it is, sorrow (as all admit) is one of the great means by which God draws us toward himself.

Let it be observed, also, that the reaction is always proportionate to the action itself; the more intense the disappointments experienced on the earth, the more completely does the soul abstract itself from all that is earthly, and seek consolation turning in upon itself. What is mysticism but the heart's protest against the rude realities of life? What is mysticism but the exaggeration of a true and legitimate sentiment—an exaggeration which carries the soul, in its anxiety to rise above human miseries, to those heights whence all that interests humanity is lost to view?

In support of what has been stated, let history bear its testimony, and it will be seen that the great religious movements have been commonly preceded by great national catastrophes. When was the religious revival of our own century brought about, if not after the French Revolution and the great wars of the First Empire had deluged Europe with blood, and carried mourning and woe to millions of hearts? When did mysticism appear in Spain, the great religious movement of Santa Theresa, of Louis de Granada, of Louis de Leon, and others no less illustrious, unless after the mad attempts at universal dominion of Charles V. and Philip II. had carried off the flower of Spain's youth to perish on the battle-field? When did the recent great religious revival burst forth in America, if not after that gigantic struggle of four years which laid in the grave so many thousands of Americans? When have the French in our own time listened with most readiness to the Gospel, except after the, for them, disastrous war with Prussia? Yes, it is un-

questionable, the periods of trial and misfortune are times favorable for the extension of the kingdom of God.

Let it not be forgotten, however, that the means to announce the Gospel should not be sought in these moments of extremity. It is needful to have all prepared, otherwise the risk is run of the nation returning to its old ways, to that which had been abandoned as unable to satisfy its longing aspirations.

And now, having said this, is it necessary to prove that Spain is at the present time in such a period anticipative and preparatory of religious fervor? Is not proof enough to be seen in those Basque Provinces, in Navarre, and Catalonia, desolated by the savage hosts of absolutism and theocracy? Is not the proof seen as we look around upon those cantonal or internationalist insurrections, upon the city of Valencia bombarded, Alcoy burned, Carthage entirely ruined, Granada and Malaga the prey of anarchy, Seville and Cadiz dyed with Spanish blood? Is it not proved as we witness the ills on every side, the paralyzation of commerce, men whom all looked up to with confidence swept away by the wave of revolution, the army disorganized, new institutions and new liberties clamored for before those already gained have been put into exercise? I know not how you may regard these facts; to me they seem to say that soon, very soon, we shall see the men whom earth can not satisfy seeking the things of heaven to fill the conscious void within their hearts.

The separation of Church and State—already on more than one occasion announced, and which there is every reason to hope will be carried into effect—should also contribute to hasten the advent of the day for which we sigh. When Spaniards have to pay directly, and not through the medium of the state, to support a religion which they do not believe, and the ministers of which are seen fighting in the ranks of absolutism, carrying destruction wheresoever they are able, dragging off the deluded people, and seizing even the objects consecrated to the service in their churches in order to secure the triumph of a political cause, they will assuredly reflect deeply upon the subject, and many will abandon such a religion, to seek that which alone is able to regenerate the human soul and impart to it the true peace of which it stands in need.

Let us glance now at the means which can be adopted, with a view to be ready for the contest and secure a victory, whensoever the things above indicated are realized. I will notice them summarily, the proportions of this report not permitting me to claim from you a more lengthy attention.

It would be advisable to reform the existing religious work in Spain in the manner I have before noticed in this paper. If the different committees or churches in any

given country agreed among themselves to send, in place of numerous representatives, one alone, of living faith, of great Christian experience, of ideas the reverse of narrow, who should love this Spanish people whom it is sought to evangelize, and who, instead of imposing his own views and directing according to his own caprice, should hear the opinion of the Spaniards, should consult them with regard to the laborers to be employed, and leave to them the work of preaching—a man who would seek to be our sympathizing guide, and not our despot—the work would gain in spirituality; and with the economy that would result from the suspension of various agents new works of evangelization might be commenced in important towns where as yet the Gospel has not been announced, as, for example, in Cornuna, Ferrol, Salamanca, Oviedo, Alcala, Guadajara, etc.

The preachers should be natives of the country, Christian, and, as far as possible, educated men. It is necessary to know how to discern among the many that aspire to take part in our labors. It has been unfortunate that in many instances the preference has been obtained by those who have been astute enough to divine the favorite ideas of persons directing, and these, seeing their ideas understood, have thought they had in their presence converted men, when in reality they were nothing but charlatans who abused the credulity of persons more Christian than prudent.

The preaching ought to be always the same in substance, and ever varied in the form of presentation. It is necessary to announce Christ, the only name under heaven given among men whereby they can be saved; but the Christ of the Gospels, all spirit, all life, and all love. It is necessary that the preaching be such as shall teach the Spanish people that the Christian religion is not indifferent or hostile to any one of the legitimate manifestations of human life; that science, industry, and art have their end in God's plan; in a word, that the Gospel condemns nothing except sin.

The instruction and education of the young, the laborers of a future day, is a matter which should engage earnest attention. To develop the understanding and the conscience, at the same time that Christ is formed in the heart, how beautiful a work for a Christian! But it is needful that the schools be established with intelligent forethought, that a plan be followed giving the best results; that one should not be satisfied with teaching the first elements and making the pupils learn by rote a catechism they do not understand; that masters feel the importance of their mission, and the grave responsibility which they assume before God. To have such masters it is necessary to make them, and such masters will be made by

the creation of a good Christian normal school.

The adults, also, ought to take their seat in the festival of instruction and religion. Interest should be taken in the Spanish artisan, and he ought to be made to see that Protestantism has done for him more than the Catholic religion; for, if the latter has given him soup at the convent door, it has always sought to keep him in ignorance and degradation; while the former has raised him morally and intellectually, permitting him thus to earn with dignity his daily bread. The children of this world, it must be confessed, have been wiser than the children of light. They have founded classes of instruction for workmen, and societies like the "Fomento de las Artes," where the laboring man can find books, papers, and magazines, can hear lectures, or attend classes of every description. Why should we not do the like? Why allow others to gain over these working classes, which, well instructed, would be one of the firmest supports of our work?

I have already stated my opinion as to the literary productions, that are now being published in Spain. Let us create an evangelical literature. What we have at the present is confined to the pamphlets issued by the Religious Tract Society of London. But something more than this is needed. We need books of history, of moral philosophy, of Christian apologetics, of controversy; all animated by a religious spirit. We need, also, the religious novel, by which I do not mean the novel filled with texts of the Bible, which few would read, but that which sheds the radiance of Christianity upon its pages, which brings great characters and great virtues into deserved relief, which exalts and makes lovely all that is good, and holds up to reprobation whatsoever God condemns. I believe that the novel, well matured and well written, would be a powerful auxiliary in our work.

Besides this, a journal is needed. There already exist two or three periodicals, the *Cristiano*, the *Luz*, the *Evangelista*; but these are not of a kind to realize the end I propose. I refer to a daily paper, which should occu-

py itself with political questions without belonging to any specific party, which should defend all liberal solutions without regard to the source from which they emanate, which should preach respect to the law and the necessity of obedience, which should anathematize the employment of arms for the attainment of the ends of men and of party, which should defend the abolition of slavery and penal reforms, and, finally, which should proclaim the evangelical religion as the only one that can save Spain. The Romanists have well understood the power of such an instrumentality, and have many organs of their ideas in the Spanish press.

Such, my dear brethren, are the means which appear to me best adapted for the evangelization of my country. I know that all will be useless and vain, unless God pronounce his sovereign *fiat lux*, that shall awake souls from the sleep of death; but, peradventure, God is waiting to pronounce it until we labor as if all depended on our efforts. My brethren from all nations that listen to me, I address you all, while I entreat by the mercies of God that you do not forget us in our work. Think how noble it is to extend the hand to the fallen, to raise them up. Spain is fallen; but she may yet arise and occupy the position which belongs to her by right among Christian nations. Brethren of America, who are engaged in proclaiming Christ in the republics which once were Spanish colonies, reflect that, working in Spain, you work for them, because, great as is the abyss which our political mistakes have opened between them and us, they can not deny, without denying themselves, that they are blood of our blood, and bone of our bone. Let each one place his stone with faith in the great edifice we are engaged in raising, that the Lord may have compassion on my unhappy country, and many souls therein cast themselves at the feet of our Saviour, confessing that he is the Christ, the Son of the living God, who alone hath the words of eternal life.*

* [Mr. Carrasco having arrived too late to present his paper on the day set apart for the "Reports on the State of Religion," delivered the substance of it in Spanish on Friday, the 10th of October. — E.]

THE EVANGELIZATION OF SPAIN.

BY THE REV. FRITZ FLIEDNER, OF MADRID.*

THE greatest boast of the Spanish nation, the advantage which it is believed to possess before all Roman Catholic countries, the object for which it spent all its intellectual and material strength during centuries, is its religious unity. Neither Jew nor Moor might dwell in this Catholic country; and when more than 800,000 Jews and afterward innumerable Moors had to emigrate from beautiful Andalusia, leaving all their goods behind, and going God only knew whither, it was so far from being looked upon by Spaniards as a cruelty that their most famous author, Cervantes, not only excused but praised this proscription. The tribunal of the Inquisition was established to guard the unity and purity of the Catholic faith, and members of the first families of Spain counted it their greatest honor to be the helpers and the officers of the Inquisition. And when they had cleared their own land by crusades against the Moors, had forced their Jewish neighbor to perjure himself by a public profession of Christianity which found no echo in his heart, they turned to the task of gaining the victory for the unity of the Romish Church in foreign countries, to subdue by the power of their weapons and the weight of politics, the heretical Reformers. And for a time it actually seemed as though the struggle might turn in favor of the Papal host. It is chiefly to be attributed to the efforts of Spain that the evangelical movement in France was hampered, and almost destroyed in the southern provinces of the Netherlands, in Bavaria, Italy, Austria, and Poland. But, for these services rendered to the Romish Church, Spain was called upon, afterward, to do frightful penance. When the Westphalian peace put an end to the fiercest raging of the religious war, not only was the object of the war unattained, but Spain's foreign power was stricken to death, its inward strength vanquished, the country impoverished, and towns ruined. On the other hand, the monasteries and chapels were counted by thousands, and the priests and monks by hundreds of thousands; and yet withal, to this day, the

pride of the Spaniard remains unshaken in the unity of his faith. Even in the last revolution (1868) the Romish Church was for this reason retained as the State Church. It was not religious freedom, it was merely religious *toleration* which was granted, and that because "a Spaniard might possibly wish to confess another faith." This was looked upon, however, only more as a possibility than a probability.

Future events will reveal the mistakes of Romish Spain in the first half of the nineteenth century. It will be manifest hereafter, if the light is not dawning already, that many Protestant hearts are beating in Spain to-day, and that the Christian martyrs whose blood was shed in preceding centuries are still represented by their successors. It will also become manifest, and that very soon, that the testimony to the truth which was given by Spanish Protestants at the stake or in the prison, and which Rome supposed crushed to earth, has risen again, and that its fruits have not been lost.

The knowledge of the efforts made by the evangelical Spaniards, and their cruel persecution and suppression, was the occasion of freeing other countries from the Romish yoke; and, thank God, this testimony of the martyrs was not in vain for Spain either. After three hundred years, the fetters of religious tyranny are at last broken, and we see at once the seed of the Gospel falling on good ground, germinating, taking root, and growing. The complaints of the priests against the present evangelical movement are directed chiefly against this point, that it is sought to tarnish the ancient fame of Spain. Their prudence requires that the new life should be ignored or looked upon as artificially called forth from without. Their efforts are directed to prove that Spain still has the right to bear the name of a Romish country, and retain its allegiance to the Romish Church, whose head is the Pope.

But, if it is not now manifest, it will soon be that, even years before the last catastrophe which gave back freedom to Spain, every thing was prepared for a new propagation of the Gospel. Neither English money, distribution of the Bible, nor political liberalism called forth the present interest in Protestantism; these merely took away the last bars, which sooner or later must have yielded to the spiritual development, as cer-

* [As the Rev. A. Carrasco did not arrive till several days after the opening of the Conference, the Rev. Fritz Fliedner, a son of the founder of the Deaconess's Institute at Kaiserswerth, delivered the following address on Spain, where he has been laboring for several years as an evangelist, sent by the German society for the evangelization of that country.—*Ed.*]

tainly as the husk to the growing corn. When Isabella was driven away, the Protestant Spaniards, who had been banished for their faith, returned. As soon as Spain was open, the workers stood ready to sow and gather in the harvest in their beloved country, which they had been compelled to leave for the sake of the Word of God.

Spain, then—a field, in part at least, already white with the harvest—is a country inviting to all laborers in Christ's cause, and we who have been called to it ask our Protestant brethren to rejoice with us in the prospects before us. We do not share the extravagant hopes of those who expect to see the whole of Spain Protestant in a few years. A nation that has been held for three centuries under such an intellectual and such an idolatrous servitude to Rome, can not all at once be freed from this sad state and its consequences. But that, along with all this superstition and infidelity, a new spirit of faith is moving—that even on this seemingly stony ground the seed of the Word has not lost its power—is a proof that this new era of religious freedom is not offered to the Spaniards in vain. Many congregations are already formed throughout the whole country, and the evangelical movement is a living reality, and worthy the support of Christian brethren. The work of evangelization of Spain has been hitherto very little known with regard to its inward nature and its extent. With a few outlines, we will endeavor to sketch the field of work, the Christian workers, the hinderances, and the hopes for the future, and we trust it will become more and more evident not only how welcome, but how necessary the help of Protestant Christendom is in Spain.

Entering the Peninsula from France, we pass through the Basque Provinces, the residence of the Carlists, where, up to this day, very little has been done on account of the civil war, which has there its centre. The Basque Provinces are recorded as the most bigoted; the majority of their inhabitants are partisans of Don Carlos. However, as often as one of our colporteurs has succeeded in penetrating this region, he has had a successful sale of Bibles; and, though called upon to suffer greatly from enmity, has, nevertheless, come back with much encouragement. It should never be forgotten that, while the Carlist cause is political, it has also a religious bearing, as with the re-establishment of the Carlists may come the expulsion of Protestantism. The neighboring province of Aragon is famous through the Virgin of the Pillar, whose worship reminds us of the Ephesian Diana. But as it was said there in the time of Paul that the Word of the Lord grew mightily and prevailed, so also in Zaragoza the Word has found soil and made growth. Not only has

a small Protestant congregation been formed, but the place of worship belonging to it, situated in the principal street of the town, and in the neighborhood of a Romish church, is always crowded at the hour of service. Of course the priests have tried every thing to hinder the work. They have appointed special prayers and processions against the Protestants, but, as always happens, they have only become instruments of directing general attention and interest to the Protestants. A school is connected with the church. Then in Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, we find already six different places of worship, with eight schools, with hundreds of children in attendance. In the neighboring island of Minorca there is a congregation and a school. Some mission stations are in the surroundings of Barcelona, and the work among the Catalans would have been unbounded but for the want of workers and the Carlist war. That is the condition of Protestant affairs in the East of the Peninsula.

In the North little has yet been done, although this part deserves special attention. The inhabitants of Old Castile are the proud descendants of Spanish chivalry, among whom fidelity, honor, frankness, and constancy have maintained themselves better than in the South. In Valladolid we are reminded of the history of the Spanish Reformation; immediately on entering the town, one sees at the side the field where the first public *auto-da-fe* of the Protestants took place, in 1559. There Antonio Herezuelo and Francis de Vibero Cazalla joyfully sealed their faith in the Redeemer by death in the flames. As the Romanists feared the eloquence of the former, he was gagged; but his glance was enough to move his young wife, Leonor, who, from fear of martyrdom, had denied her faith, to recall her word and to give her strength to follow him, later, with the same courage. In the same Valladolid the Gospel is now preached; the people eagerly listen to the Word; a small congregation has been gathered, and a school begun. Farther north, in Santander, the American Board has lately opened a new station, and we hope that its work will continue to spread in this direction.

In Madrid itself are four chapels—two of them with audiences of from three hundred to five hundred each, one an English mission station, and one a Baptist chapel. Then farther south are the stations in Camuñas, Alicante, Cartagena, Granada, Córdoba, Seville, Ierez, Cádiz, Huelva. The centre of the South is Sevilla, the capital of Andalusia, once the head-quarters of the Inquisition, and witness of the death of many martyrs. Nearly three years ago, the first meeting of the General Synod of the evangelical congregations of Spain was held in what was formerly a Jesuit church, now

bought by the Scotch brethren to be an evangelical church. What a contrast between then and now! There is also an Episcopal mission in this town, and schools are, as in most of these places, connected with the work of preaching.

Surely, the field is large, and few are those who work. The first Spaniard who preached the Word of God in this century was Francisco Ruet, born in Barcelona. On a journey through Italy, as early as 1854, he was converted by the work of Luigi di Sanctis; he came back to his country, preached the Gospel there, was imprisoned, and condemned to be banished for life. He went to Gibraltar, where he gathered a small congregation, and, through his instrumentality a few years afterward, Matamoros was brought to the knowledge of the Gospel. Besides Ruet, there is at work in Madrid a younger Spaniard (whom, though he has been delayed *en route* hither, we still hope to see in this Conference before its adjournment)—Signor Carrasco—who received a good theological education at Geneva, and was about to finish his studies in Germany, when the opening of his country called him back for immediate labor. Cabrera, formerly a Spanish priest, learned the first word of Protestant doctrine through a Spanish catechism for children, printed in New York. He was for a time minister of the Spanish Church in Gibraltar, while Ruet was gathering a congregation in Algiers, and is now working with great zeal and talent in Seville. Finally, I must mention our Spanish missionary in Grauada, José Ahama, formerly a hatter, but one of the sincerest and most trustworthy Spanish laborers. He was in prison with Matamoros; then lived in Gibraltar, on the work of his hands, till the way opened to his country. His well-educated daughter conducts a girls' school, in connection with her father's chapel, and night schools. Every year some new Spanish workers enter the field, part of them prepared in the schools at Lausanne, and in the school of an American lady in France. But we want far more native teachers and preachers. From foreign countries we have at work in Spain two missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, two of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, one American Baptist, three missionaries from the American Board, one from Switzerland, one English Methodist, several Plymouthists, the English agents for the Bible and Tract Societies, and one German missionary.

This variety of workers presents in itself a great difficulty in the work; still, I am glad to say that not only the union among them is becoming more and more a reality, but that also the different mission boards or societies working in Spain take much notice of each other, and acknowledge the strength which Christian union gives to the work of

evangelization. We have the enemy before us; our colporteurs and our schools meet occasionally with strong opposition from the Romish clergy, who excite the people against the Gospel messengers. But stronger than this enemy is another one fighting against the truth, that is, the religious indifference, always and everywhere the consequence of a long unrivaled Romish Church dominion. The higher classes are, to a great extent, infidels; they look on true religion as on an old-fashioned curiosity. Therefore, almost all members of our congregations are gathered from the poor. This presents another difficulty in sustaining the churches and preachers. The aid of our foreign brethren has done a great deal; still, it ought to be recognized more fully as a principle that the Spaniards themselves, however poor they might be, must contribute according to their strength toward their own church expenses. A great deal of money has been, so to speak, wasted, for it has broken down the principle of independence, rather than nourished it; and great caution should be taken by Christian friends who administer any gifts. But we are glad to say, also, that the young Spanish Church is now gradually, though slowly, moving toward the principle of self-support. Some churches have begun to make it a condition of membership; even some paying schools have been commenced, and it is to be hoped that this system will be accepted more generally.

The greatest difficulty lies, perhaps, with the youth of our Spanish Church, and the weakness of its spiritual life. The difference between those who have embraced the truth for a life-long period and those who are young children in the faith makes itself very often felt. But every day of Christian experience helps to diminish this defect; and we all know that the Lord, through weak instruments, builds up his mighty kingdom. We trust that these young Christian soldiers will learn to fight for their king, and to conquer for him yet many souls in their native country. For the field is certainly a large one, and I add, in the honest conviction of my heart, a promising one.

I have found among the common people in Spain a great deal more of religious sentiment and a greater desire for religion, a greater hunger and thirst for righteousness, than I have found in Austria or Italy. Africa, it has been said, begins with the Pyrenees; it may not be true but in a very limited sense. But perhaps this standing afar from the current of European civilization has preserved to the Spanish nations the natural warmth of their religious sentiment. If we had only the men to send forth throughout the whole country proclaiming the Gospel, in each town, in every village, ten, twenty, hundreds would listen to them with eagerness and rejoicing.

It is true the political changes have affected the work, but hitherto only to a very limited extent. The Carlist war has closed the Northern provinces before the political revolutions have drawn the general attention from religious to political matters. The general uncertainty hinders a good many friends from helping, as they would do under other circumstances; but these nearly five years of religious liberty have not been fruitless. To a large extent Protestantism has made itself known in Spain. The Spaniards have learned to look on Protestants not as "terrible monsters, but as good, earnest, zealous men"—"who, perhaps," it is sometimes heard, "are better Christians than we ourselves"—and who care for the education of the children, it might be added, more than they themselves ever cared for it. Salmeron, the last president, protested against Spain being still called a Catholic country; and it is true that not only a great part of the country is indifferent to religion, but that there exists also among the lower classes a bitter hatred against the Church of Rome. In the last revolution in the South they put the Archbishop of Granada in prison, destroyed some churches and unnueries, and the famous processions of the Holy Week they did not dare to bring forward. Only in Valladolid the people said, "Our Holy Virgin is republican too." They adorned her with the red cap, and carried her about. We do not require to enlarge on the harm which such exercises must do to religion in general and to the evangelical movement in particular. But we would do wrong to judge of the state of the country merely by these manifestations. The unsettled state is not simply the fault of the Republic; it received that, along with the financial troubles and the Carlist rebellion, as a sad inheritance from its predecessors. It was to be expected that the pride of the Carlists would swell on the departure of the king, and also that their means would be increased. But, if they had any real strength, they would long ere this have been at the gates of Madrid. We will not forecast the future, and less still of that strange country where, as the great English statesman, Pitt, said, two times two is not always four—that is, where the most accurate calculations prove to be false. But we must confess that all the disturbances hitherto have not hindered the work of evangelization nor affected it in a serious manner; and therefore we are justified in not waiting for the political or social condi-

tion of the country to become settled before we go on with our evangelization work. Whatever government be established, it does not seem probable that religious liberty, already won, can ever be withdrawn again.

The whole tendency of Spanish politics has been toward a separation between Church and State—*i. e.*, a disestablishment of the Church of Rome. When the Government made the religious tolerance in regard to the church-yards a reality, it extended the same to the hospitals, infirmaries, and benevolent institutions. So now not only are these sometimes well-endowed hospitals thrown open to our needy brethren in the faith, but they may enter without fear of being tormented on their death-beds by the religious fanaticism of those who compass land and sea to make one proselyte, as was formerly so often the case. Measures are also taken to prevent extreme nuction being administered to any one against his own will when in an unconscious state. The clergyman has free admittance to the members of his congregation, and when necessary can, with their consent, remove them, and place them under other care. That is certainly all we can wish, and more than we ever hoped to attain. It is true we have in Spain as yet very few churches or chapels, and only two in Seville and one in Terez are our property.

Our field of labor in Spain is newer than that of our brethren in Italy, the Waldenses, who have found helping hands to build them churches, and who possess a theological seminary. But, as we are younger, I trust we will grow faster, for our field of labor is a most hopeful one.

We are, therefore, very thankful that from America has come an offer of help in the foundation of a seminary for Protestant preachers in Spain. What Spain most needs is earnest, well-educated evangelical preachers. A seminary is an urgent necessity, and the sooner it can be established the better. Perhaps none of those who attend this meeting feel so much the want of Christian union among the evangelical brethren as we in isolated Spain—the extreme of Europe. We return gladdened to our lonely missionary posts, strengthened by the sight and the enjoyment God has given us here; but we earnestly hope that all of you will accompany us with ardent prayers, remembering us at the mercy-seat, as we, in our young churches, remember you, and petition for your continued prosperity.

RELIGION IN GREECE.

BY THE REV. MICHAEL D. KALOPOTHAKES, M.D., ATHENS.

IN attempting to speak of Greece after the delegates of great nations, I feel quite embarrassed by the thought of how small a country Greece is, in comparison with the extensive countries of France, England, Germany, and Italy, and the small importance placed upon her on this account.

Yet importance and influence do not always depend on the great and the rich of this world. Greece has demonstrated it in old times, and I hope that in time to come, also, she will not be unimportant in the world.

If we believe in Providence, we can not but see that Greece is destined to play some important part in the destinies of nations. The fact that she alone is permitted as a nation to survive the mighty revolutions, vicissitudes, and trials of more than two thousand years—revolutions which swept away the mighty empires of Assyria, Persia, Egypt, and Rome from the face of the earth—and the other fact, which has no parallel in the world's history, viz., that her language from the time of Homer to the present day—a period of more than three thousand years—never ceased to be a living, spoken language, in lines adapted to times and circumstances, can not fail to impress every thoughtful mind with the idea that even Greece, abused and misrepresented as she has been by all as the nest of brigands and the source of vice, has yet a mission to perform on the earth.

With the Greeks you can not dispense as long as you continue to study the writings of their immortal ancestors, and they continue to exist as a nation. They are like the blood upon the key: you may scrub it, you may wash it, yet you can not obliterate it—it is there. The only thing you can do is to help those who are laboring for their spiritual regeneration, to bring them back to the simplicity of the Gospel, from which they have departed, to the faith which you profess.

In reference to the state of religion in Greece, I say what my brother from Italy has said, viz., that it is very low, even among the best of its adherents; and that the Evangelicals have to contend not only against error, ignorance, and infidelity, as is the case in other nominally Christian lands, but also against a greater obstacle—the strong feeling of union of church and nationality, or, rather, race.

This feeling is so strong that both those who believe in all the doctrines and practices of the Church, and those who care nothing about either, unite hand in hand in upholding the Church.

Consequently, he who departs from this form of faith is regarded as an outcast, worse than Judas himself. If he is an officer under the Government, he has to lose his situation; if he is a teacher, he can not hold his place. If it happens to be an unmarried female, she runs the risk of remaining so all her life. And so in all other spheres of life. You have no idea of the influence this false notion exerts among the Greeks.

Yet, great as are these obstacles against which the Evangelical Greeks have to contend, light is spreading among the people from various quarters and through various channels; and I wish here to thank Dr. Anderson for sending missionaries to my country, and to assure him that the money and labor which have been expended in that mission field for years, with apparently small or no results at all, have not been without some fruit.

Few and despised as the Evangelical Greek citizens are, they have not shrunk from this noble combat, but entered upon it determined not to allow any thing to interfere with their object—determined to fight the good fight of the Gospel till they see its glorious light shine in its full splendor over the whole land.

God has thus far enabled them to establish only one church—a church which, in spite of its smallness and insignificance, has caused the Mother Church a great deal of anxiety, and made her cry out and demand its extermination.

Thanks to God for the liberal, enlightened, and high-minded men who have governed the country for the last ten years—men who are able to discern the signs of the times in which we live, and the true interests of our nation. To them, as well as to the healthy tone of some of the press and of the enlightened portion of the people, the Evangelicals are indebted for the enjoyment of their religious rights in spite of the demands of a persecuting Church. To them we are indebted, under God, for all the good that we have been enabled to do through our various publications and the distribution

of the Bible throughout the land. Through our newspapers we are enabled to visit more than four thousand homes, and our Bible colporteurs place the Bible in the hands of many thousands more.

When I think over the past, and remember that in 1858 few or no copies of the Word of God were sold, and see now that more than three thousand are disposed of in various forms among the Greeks, I take

courage in the midst of my trials, and hope that the time is not far off when the Greeks too will return to their old allegiance—even to their primitive Christianity.

We have many merchant princes all over the world—many educated and scholarly men—many thrifty and enterprising youth; but we want pious merchants, pious scholars, pious young men, and then you will see what the Greeks can do.

THE BRITISH PROVINCES OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY THE REV. ROBERT MURRAY, HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA.

WHAT are we doing for Christ in the British North American Provinces? The countries comprehended under this designation extend from the cold and stormy banks of Newfoundland to the sunny slopes and picturesque fiords of British Columbia, and include a region grand enough to be the seat of a great empire. But though we have territory vast as that of the "Great Republic" itself, we can as yet boast of only one-tenth of your population.

But what think our four millions of Christ, or what are they doing for Christ? What is their attitude toward him and his Gospel?

1. There are at least fifty thousand Indians, who are nominally as well as really heathen, who do not pretend to be Christian.

2. There are one million seven hundred thousand, or over one-third of our population, who are Roman Catholics.

3. Unitarians and Universalists, who, among us, are practically identical, number eight thousand.

4. Persons professing to be Deists, Infidels, Atheists, or without creed, number six thousand.

5. Evangelical Christians number two million fifty-six thousand, and are subdivided as follows:

Methodists.....	590,000
Presbyterians.....	584,000
Church of England.....	565,000
Baptists.....	245,000
Lutherans.....	40,000
Congregationalists.....	24,000

Nearly two-thirds, then, of our population are at least nominally on the side of Christ as opposed to Antichrist and to heathenism and infidelity.

Our clergy of all denominations number four thousand seven hundred. Would that all were true soldiers of the Cross—true successors of the Apostles! Alas! one-third look to the Pope as their Head and Lord, while others, of whom better things might be expected, reject the name "Protestant," and turn their faces in the direction of the great apostasy.

In one province, that of Quebec, the Roman Catholic Church is overwhelmingly dominant, and entrenched in the hearts and traditions of the people. In three other provinces—Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, and Manitoba—she is so strong as to occasion anxiety to the friends of liberty

and education. In Quebec, Romanism is practically if not legally "the Established Church." The French mind seems to be almost wholly in the hands of the priest, to be directed, molded, or frozen up as he wills. The land is taxed to build and keep up parish churches all over the country—huge structures, at nine miles distance from each other; the clergy are paid by a compulsory tax; and Romanism is also taught at the public expense in the public schools. It is estimated that nearly one-third of the landed property in the great Province of Quebec is in the hands of the clergy of Rome, and their accumulations are going on with increasing rapidity. Hence, the political and social power of Rome in Lower Canada is enormous. Politicians have found out that it is profitable to do the bidding of an organization thus great and strong, and that at least promises to give the kingdoms of this world to those that fall down and worship it.

Happily, there are signs of day-break in this long-benighted province. The old world-wide struggle between Gallicanism and Ultramontanism has raged with extreme bitterness in the bosom of the Church for many years. Bishop against bishop and priest against priest is a spectacle not often witnessed on this continent. How the battle is to end we can not yet say; but it is noteworthy that the latest victories have been achieved by the Gallicans. Nevertheless, as the development of Romanism all over the world is in the direction of Ultramontanism, it seems most probable that, sooner or later, the Jesuits of Montreal will overcome the Archbishop of the Seminarians of Quebec. It must be recorded that Gallican and Ultramontane alike make common cause in Canada against the Gospel, against all evangelistic efforts.

Mission work among the French Roman Catholics has been attended with marked success. Home missionaries and colporteurs, evangelists and catechists, traverse the country, scattering the Word of Life. Seldom a week passes without some result being noted. Sometimes they come in tens and twenties to join the Evangelical Church. Converts, however, very often seek to escape from the petty but malignant and trying persecutions of their old friends and neighbors, by fleeing for refuge under the ample folds of the "Stars and Stripes." This accounts, to an apprecia-

ble extent, for the very large emigration of French Canadians to the United States.

In Ontario, as in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the Romish Church is less strong and formidable. Her adherents are largely Irish or of Irish descent, and they cling to their faith with characteristic tenacity. The priesthood have secured separate schools for their adherents in Ontario, Manitoba, and Newfoundland; and they are pressing for similar privileges in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island—as they are in these United States. The world-wide battle of Rome against popular education is fought among us with unrelenting determination. But the efforts of the foe tend powerfully to unite Protestants of all shades in closer bonds of unity.

In all the Provinces there are missionary operations carried on among the Roman Catholics, with some measure of success. Viewed as a whole, the Church of Rome is not making progress among us. Her influence is rather on the wane. She boasts of occasional converts from Protestantism; but her losses are tenfold greater than her gains. Her political influence—a sort of power in which she traffics, and for which she eagerly plots and plans—is not increasing; though it must be confessed that the united action which she can secure on the part of her voters sometimes renders her dangerous to the liberty of the country.

The most numerous group of the great Protestant family are the Methodists. Ontario and Newfoundland have been the chief scenes of their evangelistic triumphs, while they have been active and successful in all the Provinces. True to its genius and history, Methodism has gone forth among the poor and the outcast, and has gathered a noble harvest of souls. Once the Church of the poor, it is now rich, and strong, and influential, as any other denomination; and its evangelistic efforts are carried on with unflagging zeal. It has well-endowed and well-equipped institutions for training young ministers. Its membership is increasing in numbers, and in the grace of liberality.

The Presbyterians are almost equally numerous with the Methodists. They have five institutions for training the rising ministry, and there are about eight hundred pastoral charges, supplied by about six hundred ministers. For many years they have been engaged in foreign missions, and at present they support missions in China, in the New Hebrides, and in Trinidad.

The Protestant Episcopal Church among us is still called the "Church of England," and is in close sympathy with the parent Church. At one time it was the "Established Church" in nearly all the Provinces, and, though now free from state connection, its influence and power are not by any means lessened. Ritualism widely prevails within

its pale, and is diligently fostered by some of the bishops. Still there are faithful evangelical bishops; and many of the clergy, with a large majority of the laity, abhor the incoherence of the Ritualists. In spite of Ritualism, in spite of efforts to introduce "Confession," and to draw closer to the Church of Rome, there can nowhere be found firmer Protestants, more zealous evangelists, or more consistent advocates and supporters of the principles of the Evangelical Alliance than in our branch of the Church of England. The worst omen is that the official propagandism is mainly on the side of error. All or nearly all the recruits of whom Rome can boast pass downward through the "easy descent" of Ritualism.

The Baptists are numerous in Ontario and Nova Scotia. Throughout the whole of their history they have been distinctly evangelical and evangelistic. They are energetically engaged in equipping their higher educational institutions and in adding to the number of their missionaries at home and abroad. Within the past few days the Baptists of the maritime Provinces have sent forth nine missionaries to establish a new mission in South-eastern Asia.

The Lutherans and Congregationalists have their chief strength in Ontario. The former, for obvious reasons, do not increase very rapidly, German immigration not being large in our direction. The Congregationalists are always found ready for every good work in connection with their evangelical brethren of other denominations.

Unitarianism and Universalism are among us but feeble and stunted exotics, drawing life mainly from New England. We have eight hundred Swedenborgians, and a few Deists, Atheists, Mormons, and Mohammedans; but they wield no influence, and are not increasing.

The most formidable foe of living Christianity among us is not Deism or Atheism, or any form of infidelity, but the nominally Christian Church of Rome. All the leading Protestant denominations, recognizing this fact, have established special missions for the benefit of Romanists. These missions are to be found in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario, but chiefly in Quebec, where the power of Rome is greatest—where, in fact, we have a new France, without the Revolution of 1789.

The French Canadian Missionary Society, supported by all evangelical denominations throughout Canada, is doing a remarkable work in Quebec, gathering together, in scores of different places, the nuclei of evangelical French churches, scattering precious seed over the length and breadth of the field, and reaping here and there a bounteous harvest. Educational institutions are also kept up for the special benefit of French Canadian youth, and these have been productive of valuable

results, chiefly in the way of breaking down the inveterate prejudices of the people, and thus preparing a way for the Gospel message. A French Canadian Church is being formed—a not unworthy daughter of the Evangelical Church of France. All the churches have home mission enterprises, to which they devote much attention; they follow their children to the lonely forests, to the fertile prairies, to the fishing-stations on the shores of the stormy sea. Your hardy fishermen, your adventurers, miners, and foresters, reap with us the benefit of these enterprises.

Missions to the Indians are sustained by all the leading denominations. Only a few weeks ago one hundred and fifty converts were baptized in the far West. These Indian missions have existed for many years in nearly all the Provinces, and with hopeful results. We live on friendly terms with our Indians, and they are thus more favorably disposed toward Christianity. It is only fair to say that the Jesuit missionaries were pioneers in this work. There is, however, in their case this drawback, that their teaching of the Indians has been of extremely little value, the Jesuits leaving the wild roving children of the forest as they found them. Protestant missionaries uniformly carry with them the blessings of civilization, instruction in Bible knowledge, and in the arts of life. They endeavor to make their converts good citizens as well as good Christians; in truth, the one implies the other.

Missions to the heathen in foreign lands have been established, as we have noted, by the Presbyterians and Baptists. The Wesleyans, and Episcopalians, and Independents send aid to missionary societies in Great Britain. Sixteen missionaries sent forth to heathen lands are supported by the Presbyterians, and nine by the Baptists.

Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Evangelical Episcopalians, and Presbyterians are ever ready to unite in every good work, in city missions, home missions, colportage, and tract distribution. In efforts to disseminate a pure religious literature we follow the example of Great Britain and the United States.

The great and good men teach at our fire-sides who preach and teach in New York and in London. The printed page carries its message to our loneliest hamlets. And if we receive from the United States our Universalism and Unitarianism, our Swedenborgianism and our Spiritualism, our shreds of Mormonism and rags of Materialism, we also share far more abundantly in the mighty and beneficent flood of Christian literature issuing from your great tract societies and from many of your private publishing houses. We can not live without you; there is no religious movement among you but tells upon us for good or for evil—mainly, I believe, for good.

Our religious and ecclesiastical life, like our political and social life, is powerfully affected by currents of thought and influence that come upon us every hour from the United States on the one hand, and from Great Britain on the other. We are a strongly conservative people, and to some extent we assimilate the food that comes from abroad. In all things we are not quite so American as the United States, nor are we quite so English and Scottish as our fatherland. May we not yet be recognized—or, let me say, may we not justify for ourselves a place as intermediary and eclectic, standing between the Old World and the New, endeavoring to choose and seize what is best on both sides of the sea? Our dream runs in this direction.

Within the last four years nearly the whole of Nova Scotia, and many other parts of the Dominion, were visited with revivals of very great power. In Cape Breton whole counties were swept over as by a blessed gale from heaven, and for a time every thing was forgotten but the one thing needful. Multitudes were added to the Church, and sufficient time has elapsed to prove that the conversions were genuine, and that much fruit has been gathered for God. Refreshing and copious showers have fallen, and are falling still, in Newfoundland and other Provinces. Whenever a revival throbs the hearts of your churches, we feel the quickened pulsations; we share the benefit.

The mass of our population treat with respect the ordinances and ministers of religion, and attend public worship of some kind. Few, if any, of our cities are large enough to present the deplorable scenes of home heathenism and wretchedness which are witnessed elsewhere. Nearly the whole of our population is nominally connected with some religious denomination. In some of the leading Protestant churches family worship is almost universal. The sanctity of the Lord's day is guarded with care in all Protestant sections of the country.

Nearly all Protestant denominations have kept pace, within the past ten years, with the increase of the population of the country; and in all there has been a remarkable increase in the spirit of responsibility and self-reliance. The average of contributions for religious objects has increased more than fifty per cent. in ten years.

The several branches of the Methodist family and of the Presbyterian family are hopefully negotiating for union. The Church of England, also, is consolidating her forces in the different provinces under a central authority. Thus it will appear that our people are alive to the re-integrating tendencies of the time. All the Evangelical Churches live side by side in peace and brotherly love. Rarely, indeed, do we hear

the harsh notes of internecine strife. Denominational jealousies and bitterness are giving way to Christian courtesy and helpfulness. The power of the Church of Rome is so great, the craft of her agents is so marked, her aims are so destructive of all that is good, her spirit is so coldly and insolently isolative, that the followers of Christ feel constrained to draw more closely together, and to save their strength to repel the assaults of a common foe.

We have before us problems which you have solved, or are successfully solving. We have a mighty citadel of superstition among us; we have a vast country to reclaim and possess for our Master. In order to success we need all the inimitable good qualities of our friends in Christ on both sides of the sea; we need the conservatism and sobriety

of the Old, with the amazing energy, enterprise, and adaptability of the New World. Every year a parable is acted under our eyes which may soon be realized in our religious history. In early spring-time our great rivers are bound in mighty fetters of ice—cold, remorseless, invulnerable. How vain all human agency to undo those fetters! The warm south wind comes; the breath of heaven comes, and with it the day of liberation. The waters waken, rise, swell, rush with ever-increasing force till they become irresistible. What no power on earth could accomplish, no power on earth can now withstand. The fetters forged in the chill darkness of a past winter are all burst asunder and swept out into the sea. This parable is, we hope about to be acted in our history.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE WEST INDIES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM MURRAY, FALMOUTH, JAMAICA.

THERE are special reasons why the state of religion in the West Indies should deeply interest the Christian people both of Europe and America. The great bulk of the property, landed and personal, of those rich and beautiful islands, is owned by men representing almost every race and language of both continents—Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-American. They are your brethren, attracted thither by the spirit of legitimate enterprise, the love of gain, or the nobler desire to do good and be a blessing to their much-suffering fellow-men. The vast majority of the inhabitants of all those islands, however, are people imported from the realm of heathendom—Africans and Asiatics, and their descendants—men, women, and little children, whose unrequited toil for generations had gone to enrich the superior races that held them in bondage, but who are now, with one important exception, in the full enjoyment of civil freedom; and, better still, the number is daily increasing of those who are made free with the liberty wherewith Christ makes his people free.

Cuba and Jamaica may be taken as representatives of the West Indies as a whole, as regards the possession of civil and religious liberty and the progress of evangelical religion—the former representing the scantiest amount of liberty and the lowest type of religion; the latter, the amplest liberty, both civil and religious, with the greatest progress in the knowledge and practice of the religion of Christ. Under the first class may be placed with Cuba, Hayti, San Domingo, and the smaller French and Spanish islands; under the second with Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, Trinidad, the remaining British islands, the Dutch islands, and St. Thomas.

In all the islands, except Cuba, some evangelical missionaries are laboring among the population.

Cuba, with an area of over 50,000 square miles, a population of nearly 2,000,000, the wealthiest, and in other respects the most important of all the West Indian islands, is without a single evangelical missionary. Romanism is the only religion tolerated. No one can hold property there without first acknowledging in writing that he is an "Apostolical Roman Catholic." Men of tender consciences often leave out the word Roman, and the omission is readily winked at

if the person in question be wealthy and in favor with those in authority.

There is not a Sabbath-school in the whole island, and the week-day schools are few and far between. While the number of free children between the age of 5 and 15 years is over 100,000, only about 9082 attend school, and of this small number only about 1000 are colored or black. Morality and religion, like education, are at a very low ebb indeed. Unbelief, immorality of the grossest kind, with injustice, corruption, and cruelty, unchallenged and unrebuked, universally abound and dominate the whole island. The only sign of Christianity in this so-called Christian island is the cross on the churches, and the mass irreverently hurried over by priests who are impatient to get through their irksome task, that they may hasten to the more congenial cock-fight, or some other low and brutal pastime. During public worship all seem intent on showing, by their undisguised levity and disrespect, that they have neither faith nor reverence, no fear of God, or any respect for those who profess to be the successors of Christ's apostles. And no wonder; the priests themselves, with hardly an exception, exhibit the most painful picture of all-prevailing demoralizing unbelief. The country enrates can only be matched by those of mediæval times, and may, as a class, be set down as examples of all that is corrupt and disgusting in low and brutal vice.

There are one hundred and forty-nine churches on the island, with a church revenue of £130,000 sterling; but with all this outward show and expenditure there is no expounding of the Word of God, no preaching or even reading of the Gospel, no attempts to check the course of vice or lead the perishing into the way of life, no attempts to administer the consolations of the religion of Christ to the sick and the dying, as is done in Protestant, or even in other Roman Catholic countries. Wide-spread, indeed almost universal, unbelief is the result. The educated Cubans are better acquainted with the "Life of Jesus Christ," by M. Renan, than with the inimitable record of the same glorious life by the inspired evangelists.

The notion, however, that the Cubans are naturally worse, more skeptical or ignoble than other races or peoples, is not to be entertained for a moment. They are only what the malign monster of tyranny, evil,

religions, and social, has made them. The political despotism of once powerful, always fanatical and cruel, and now decrepit, old Spain; the still more relentless tyranny of papal Rome, which—herself unable to supply the healing balm, the life-sustaining aliment, the living, refreshing, renovating spiritual drink, for the lack of which generation after generation of the poor Cubans miserably perished—evermore has stood a jealous, watchful sentinel, guarding every avenue by which others, more enlightened and more pitiful, might convey to the famishing sons and daughters of the fair Queen of the Antilles the light, the nourishment, and the healing they so sorely needed; and the system of compulsory, unrecompensed servitude, which held and still holds one-half of the entire population to be the property, the goods and chattels of the other half, which forbids the education, religious or secular, of the servile race, which discourages the divine institution of marriage, and treats the sanctities of the family relationship with cold and cruel contempt, have had a mighty influence in destroying the highest and best aspirations of the whole people—in degrading, demoralizing, and imbrating alike both rulers and ruled, priest and people, master and slave. This is the triple tyrant that has been lording it over Cuba for centuries, and which has caused a race, naturally noble and brave, contentedly to grope in spiritual ignorance, wallow in moral filth, and too often to delight themselves in horrid cruelties and hideous crimes.

But that better things are in store for Cuba, and that the day of her redemption is drawing nigh, is indicated by unmistakable providential signs. The bitter and protracted conflict for independence and liberty maintained by the white and colored creole population against the dominion of Spain, their readiness to abolish slavery, their perseverance in the face of great difficulties, privations, and disappointments, their enthusiasm for civil freedom and religious liberty, their readiness to receive the Word of God, to hear it preached in Jamaica, where thousands of them have taken refuge, where the wives and little ones of hundreds who are now in the tented field with President Céspedes, and the destitute widows and orphans of many who have fallen in the day of conflict, are residing and cared for by Christian people in the land of their exile—these are so many tokens for good, so many signs that the Lord himself, in judgment and in mercy, is coming forth for their deliverance.

In the city of Kingston, Jamaica, we have established for those exiles what is called the

CUBAN MISSION.

It was begun early in the year 1871. The missionary is the Rev. RAMON MONSAL-

VATGE. He is a born Spaniard, but an American citizen. He was trained for a monk in a Spanish monastery, and for a Romish priest in a French seminary. He was converted to the truth from studying the Vulgate, and was trained for the Evangelical Christian ministry under the care of Dr. Merle d'Anbigné, whose great work, "The History of the Reformation," he has translated into Spanish. He was taken up by the late Dr. Baird of America, sent by a society of which the doctor was secretary to Oran, in Algeria, where he labored for a number of years with much success; was transferred by the same society to Carthage, South America, where he gathered a large congregation, but when the priest party got into power there he was deprived of his church and school, could preach only in his own hired house, and was subjected to much persecution. He knew of the troubles in Cuba, and also that many of the Cubans had taken refuge in Jamaica. He felt irresistibly drawn toward them. But how can he get there? Who will support him in the work should he get thither? For no society that he can get access to will take hold of this new Christian enterprise. A New York merchant, who knew something of his labors, his worth, his trials, and his need, solved the first difficulty by landing the missionary and his family, free of expense, in the city of Kingston, Jamaica.

When he proposed to begin evangelistic labors among the Cubans in Kingston, almost every one either assured him with regret that the thing was hopeless or laughed the very suggestion to scorn. Why, the Cubans are dead, twice dead, to all religious influences! They care for nothing that bears the name of religion. They never go near the Roman Catholic churches, and the priests of Rome never look after them. At length he came to one who listened with deep interest to his proposal, entered heartily into his plans, put his church and school-room at his disposal for certain hours of every Sunday, raised what funds he could for him personally, and at the earliest possible opportunity brought the case before the Synod of his Church.

THE RESULT is the formation, in Kingston, of a Cuban Evangelical congregation, two Sunday-schools, two week-day schools, and a Benevolence Society for the relief of the widows and orphans who are cast on our shores, sometimes literally starving and naked. Up to the middle of July of this current year (1873) four hundred Cubans have declared themselves *Protestants*. Among these are generals and other military officers, lawyers, notaries, merchants, planters, engineers, and artisans. As they leave, some to fight the battle of freedom in their native land, and others to go to various foreign countries, they take with them a copy of the Word of Life, with,

it is humbly trusted, a strong determination to be henceforth guided by the spiritual light it affords. The Jesuits of Kingston have organized a vehement opposition to this good work. They perceive in this humble beginning an outwork which may eventually destroy their whole dominion in Cuba. We, too, see in it the beginning of the end, the promise, the prelude, and the earnest of what *shall be*—the “handful of corn in the earth on the top of the mountain,” the fruit whereof shall in due time shake like Lebanon. It is this assured belief that has caused some of the best men and women in Jamaica to devote much of their time and means to the support of this mission. It is in this firm confidence, also, that I have ventured to bring its claims before this great Conference. I commend it to your faith, to your prayers, to your liberality.

Let us now look for a moment at

JAMAICA.

Jamaica, the “Isle of Springs,” the “Land of Wood and Water,” as the name signifies, was won from Spain to Great Britain by an expedition sent out by Oliver Cromwell, about the middle of the seventeenth century. From that time onward the island has been nominally Christian and Protestant. It was not, however, till the first quarter of the present century that evangelical religion made any marked progress among the people. Evangelical religion, like education, was a forbidden thing to the vast majority of the people for over a century and a half after the island had become a British possession. The Church of England, it is true, was established by law and supported by the state during the whole of that period; but it was only the Church of the dominant few, and had little or no sympathy with the wants and woes, the earnest longings for light and aspirations for liberty of the vast majority of the population.

Early in the present century devoted men from Moravian, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian Missionary Societies, in the face of much obloquy and severe persecution, began, in good earnest, to preach Jesus Christ and him crucified, and to teach the way of life to all whom they could reach of every class and color. The result was happy and glorious. New light broke forth, and new life sprang up, in every parish of the island, save one, where heretofore deadness and darkness had reigned supreme. In this exceptional parish the men of wealth and power formed themselves into an *Anti-Gospel Club*, dedicated to Satan! At their social meetings the health of the prince of darkness, under one or other of his titles, was regularly drunk. This club existed in the early years of the present century. One of its members still survives in great poverty and misery. It consisted of over thirty

members, all men of wealth and influence, but every one of them became impoverished, and nearly all of them died in most painful circumstances. The very district where they lived seems to have been cursed for their sake. This parish, St. Thomas in the East, was the scene of the insurrection and the atrocities of the year 1865.

From the time of the abolition of slavery, in spite of all hindrances, the progress of gospel life and gospel light has been like the morning light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. The population of the island, at the last census (1873), was 506,154. Of these 13,101 are white, 100,346 are colored, and 392,707 are black. One out of every seven of the whole population can read and write, while the number who can read is over 152,000, or very nearly one out of every three of the entire population. About 45,000 children are in attendance on week-day schools, while a still larger number attend Sunday-schools. The number of Sunday-school teachers is close on three thousand; the Protestant evangelical missionaries, 205. There are also seven Roman Catholic priests, and one Jewish rabbi.

The several evangelical denominations are represented as follows:

Episcopalians.....	73	ministers.
Baptists.....	40	“
Wesleyans.....	28	“
Presbyterians.....	23	“
Moravians.....	15	“
United Methodists.....	11	“
Congregationalists.....	6	“
American missionaries, Congregation- al and Presbyterian.....	9	“

The Church membership of the several denominations is over 51,000 communicants, so that we have an average of 250 members to every missionary, exclusive of ordinary hearers and children who are not communicants.

One hundred and nine thousand eight hundred and forty of the existing population have entered into the married state. Those who know what Jamaica was seventy, or even forty years ago, in respect to this divine institution, will be able to form some approximate idea of the moral and spiritual progress made since that period.

The missionary cause in Jamaica is still largely indebted for the means of its support—for the sinews of war—men and money, to the liberality of churches and societies in Great Britain and America. The Episcopal Church, though now disestablished, and prospectively disendowed, is still mainly supported from the public revenues. She is, however, putting forth vigorous efforts in preparing for the time when she must depend entirely on the free-will offerings of her people. The Baptists are the nearest to independence in this respect of all Christian bodies on the island. They have to get a

good many ministers from England still, but they are almost wholly supported by the givings of their congregations. The Moravians, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists are making very steady and healthful progress in the same direction. In one respect their policy differs from that of the Baptists. They assign smaller charges to their missionaries, and the result is, that although self-support does not come so soon, yet the work, when it is done, is more thorough and enduring.

The Baptists are projecting a mission to Hayti. The Presbyterians have, for the last three years, supported the Rev. Ramon Monsalvatge in his mission among the Cuban exiles. They are also taking steps to establish a mission among the Coolies, of whom there are over ten thousand in Jamaica, and for whose evangelization no effort has yet been made.

Thus the colored and black people of Jamaica, having themselves become partakers of the blessings, political, social, and religious, which the Gospel of Christ brings to all who receive it, are as ready to support it at home, and as eager to send it to those who are perishing for the lack of it, as any people on the face of the earth. Much has been done; a great deal yet remains to be accomplished. Life and property are as safe in Jamaica as in England or America.

Drunkenness does not largely prevail. The Lord's day is well observed. Industry and thrift among the natives are steadily increasing. They are also ambitious to learn to read and write; but it is difficult to induce them to buy books and periodicals. Generations must come and pass away before the evil habits of the days of slavery are rooted out. Chief among these is the vile custom of concubinage, which eats as a canker into the moral and physical life of the people. It is now disreputable socially, but it still prevails to a lamentable extent among certain classes of the population.

It is exceedingly encouraging, however, to find that where the Gospel has been longest preached with earnestness, simplicity, and power, and diligent attention given to the training of the young, this evil too is conquered, if not wholly rooted out. There are whole districts of black and colored people in Jamaica where the women are as chaste and the men as correct in this respect as in any European Christian country.

But I must not further illustrate or enlarge. The time and space allotted forbid. I have simply presented to you two specimens of the state of religion in the West Indies. You have before you substantially the best and the worst, the highest and the lowest; from these judge all.

II.

CHRISTIAN UNION.

Saturday, October 4th, 1873.

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THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH BASED ON PERSONAL UNION WITH CHRIST.

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THE Church of Christ is one. There is one fold and one Shepherd; one King and one kingdom; one Father and one family. In this sense the Church includes all the redeemed — those now in heaven, those now on earth, and those who are hereafter to be born.

Our present concern, however, is with the Church as it now exists in the world. The unity of the Church on earth may be viewed under three aspects: first, in reference to individual believers; secondly, in reference to local congregations or churches; and, thirdly, in reference to national and denominational churches. Under all these aspects the Church is one, and its unity in all its forms depends on union with Christ, its Head. As to these two points there is, and can be, no difference of opinion.

I. *The Unity of Individual Believers.*

The question, What constitutes union with Christ? can not be categorically answered, because that union is manifold. In the first place, we were in him before the foundation of the world. As we were in Adam before we were born, so we were in Christ before we came into this world. This is a union in idea and in purpose which antedates all that is real or actual. Secondly, those thus in Christ come into the world, as the Church universal believes, in a state of sin and condemnation, and remain in that state until they are renewed by the Holy Ghost, and become the dwelling-place of the Spirit of God. God is everywhere, and everywhere equally present. He fills heaven and earth, but he is said to dwell wherever he permanently manifests his presence, as he does now in heaven, as he did of old in the Temple, and as he does in all ages and places in the hearts of his people. As God is immanent in the world, and is the source of all the manifestations of intelligence in the operations of nature, so he is immanent in the souls of the regenerated, and is the source of their spiritual life and of all its manifestations; and as the Spirit is given without measure to Christ, and is from him communicated to his people, it follows that he and they are one, and that they are all members one of another. The illustration which our Lord gives of the

nature of this union is drawn from the vine and its branches. As every fibre of the root, the stem, the branches, the foliage, and the fruit are one organic, living whole, so are Christ and his people. St. Paul says Christ is the head, we are his body. As the life of the head pervades the whole body in all its parts and makes them one, so the life of Christ pervades his people and makes them one. This is the mystical union. It is a vital, permanent, and everlasting bond of connection between Christ and his people, and of his people one with another. They are as truly one as the vine and its branches, and the head and members of the human body are one. There is no doctrine of the Bible more clearly, frequently, or variously taught than this.

This is a union which, so to speak, lies below our consciousness. An infant may be in Christ not only in the foreknowledge and purpose of God, but by the indwelling of the Spirit, and be no more aware of it than that he is a child of Adam. There is, therefore, a third bond of union between Christ and his people, and that is faith. As soon as a new-born soul opens its eyes, it sees the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. He believes the record which God has given of his Son. He receives him as God manifest in the flesh, because he sees in him the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. This is faith. Faith, therefore, is the willing, conscious bond of union between the soul and Christ. Hence it is said that Christ dwells in our heart by faith; and that it is not we that live, but Christ liveth in us, and that the life that we now live is by faith of the Son of God, who loveth us, and gave himself for us. Hence, also, all that is said of those who are in Christ is said of those who believe. There is no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus; but he that believeth is not condemned. By faith we are the sons of God; but those who are in Christ are sons and heirs according to the promise. So far, therefore, as adults are concerned, believers, and believers only, are in Christ. But faith is a fruit of the Spirit, and an evidence of his indwelling in the heart; and therefore it is that indwelling of the Spirit which is the real and efficacious

bond of union between us and Christ. From this two things follow: First, that any man in whom the Spirit dwells is in Christ, and is a member of his mystical body, which is the Church; and, second, that all the normal or legitimate manifestations of the unity of the Church are due to the indwelling of the Spirit; in other words, nothing, whether inward or outward, is essential to the unity of the Church which is not a fruit of the Spirit. It is here as with the human frame; nothing is essential to the unity of the body which is not due to the common life which pervades the whole.

The first manifestation of the unity of the Church, considered as consisting of scattered believers, is the unity of faith. The promise of Christ that he would send the Spirit to guide his people into the knowledge of the truth was not confined to the apostles or the officers of the Church. It was given to all believers; for the Spirit dwells in all, and is in all the Spirit of truth. Hence our Lord says of his people, "They shall all be taught of God;" and St. John tells believers, "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things..... The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye have no need that any man teach you, but the same anointing teacheth you all things." St. Paul says, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them but the spiritual man discerneth all things." The Spirit does not reveal new truths, but leads to the right apprehension and cordial belief, as the apostle expresses it, of "the things freely given us of God;" i. e., "of the things clearly revealed to us in his word." As this inward teaching of the Spirit is common to all believers, it must be the same in all. So far, therefore, as they are taught by the Spirit they must agree in doctrine. The apostle, therefore, says that as there is one body and one Spirit, so there is one faith, as well as one Lord and one baptism. What is thus taught in Scripture is found to be historically true. All Christians believe in the Apostles' Creed; they all accept the doctrinal decisions of the first six Ecumenical Councils concerning the nature of God and the person of Christ. They, therefore, all believe in the doctrine of the Trinity and of the perfect Godhead and perfect humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ. They adore him as God manifest in the flesh. They receive him as the only Saviour of men. They believe that he saves us by his blood, by bearing our sins in his own body on the tree. They believe that all power in heaven and earth is committed to his hands, and that to him every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. They all believe in the Holy Ghost, and the absolute necessity of regeneration and sanctification by the power of his grace. They believe in the Holy Cath-

olic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. This is the confession that has been made in all ages, in all languages, and in all places where Christians have existed.

As, however, the promise of God to sanctify his people is not a promise to render them perfectly holy in this life, and as his promise to bless them is not a promise to render them at once perfectly happy, so neither is the promise to lead them to the knowledge of the truth a promise that they shall be perfect in knowledge. Perfect knowledge, however, is the condition of perfect unity. So long as we know in part, we can only believe in part. Perfect unity is the goal toward which the Church tends. God has given the ministry until we all come to the unity of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God. Diversity of doctrine, therefore, among believers is unavoidable in our imperfect state. In despite, however, of this diversity, and of the denunciations and separations to which it gives rise, the true Church emerges from the dust and tumult of conflict as one body, having one Lord, and marshaled under one standard.

The second effect of the indwelling of the Spirit by which all believers are united is the sameness of their spiritual life, or religious experience. All are convinced of their guilt and of their need of expiation by the blood of Christ. All are convinced of their need of the renewing of the Holy Ghost. The Spirit convicts all of the sin of not believing in Christ. It convicts all of the righteousness of his claim to be the Son of God, and that he has wrought out an everlasting righteousness for us sinners. Christ, therefore, is to all the object of adoration, love, confidence, and devotion. Their religious life is consequently the same. As the physiology of the Mongolian and of the African, so does the Christian experience of one believer answer to that of all his fellow-believers. Hence the people of God of all ages and nations find in the sacred Scriptures the true expressions of their love, reverence, gratitude, of their penitence, faith, and joy. Hence also the prayers and hymns of one age answer for all other ages. We all sing the hymns of the Greek fathers, of the Latin saints, of Luther and Gerhard, of Watts, Toplady, and Wesley. The world over, therefore, the heart of one Christian beats in unison with that of every other Christian.

Thirdly, all believers are united by their mutual love, which the apostle calls the bond of perfectness. This love is the test of discipleship. "Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "If a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how can

he love God whom he hath not seen?" It is just as unnatural, and, according to the apostle, just as impossible, that one Christian should hate another, as that the hands should hate the feet, or the feet the hands.

This love is founded, first, on congeniality. All believers have the same views and feelings, the same objects of affection and pursuit. Secondly, it is founded on relationship. They belong to the same Master, who has bought them with his own precious blood; they are subjects of the same King, and children of the same Father; and, more intimately still, they are related as members of the same body, pervaded by the same life, so that, if one member suffer, all the members must suffer with it, and if one member rejoice, all the members must rejoice with it.

This brotherly love manifests itself, first, in mutual recognition. Christians know and acknowledge each other as brethren. One may be rich, the other poor; one may be bond, the other free; one a Greek, another a barbarian; one a Jew, another a Gentile. It makes no difference. They are all one in Christ Jesus. They instinctively love, honor, and confide in each other as children of a common father. They recognize the dignity and equality of being the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty. They know that the time is at hand when each and all shall experience such an exaltation in knowledge, in power, in holiness and glory, that all earthly distinctions will be utterly obliterated. When one believer, therefore, meets another believer, it matters not of what rank or of what denomination, his heart goes out to him, and he can not help giving him the right hand of fellowship. He will pray with him, worship with him, and sit with him at the table of their common Lord.

Secondly, Christian love manifests itself in a disposition to bear each other's burdens and to supply each other's wants. The Christian does not regard his possessions as exclusively his own, but as a trust committed to him for the benefit of his fellow-believers. Christianity, however, is not agrarianism. It enjoins no community of goods. It teaches the two fundamental principles of social science: first, if a man will not work, neither shall he eat; and, secondly, those who do not work should be comfortably supported by those who can. Even in Christian families there is often a great disparity in the wealth and social position of its members. Nevertheless, they all regard and treat each other as brethren. Thus it should be, and thus it will be among Christians.

So much for the unity of believers considered as individuals scattered over the world. They are one body in Christ Jesus, in virtue of their union with him by the indwelling of his Spirit. This renders them

one in faith, one in their inward spiritual life, and one in love. They therefore recognize each other as brethren, and are ever ready to minister to each other's wants.

II. *The Unity of Individual Churches or Congregations.*

The Spirit as he dwells in the hearts of believers is an organizing principle. As men in virtue of their social nature form themselves into societies, so believers in virtue of their new nature as Christians form themselves into local churches or congregations. Social organizations among men is necessary for the well-being of the individuals of which they are composed and of the society as a whole. A hermit is only half a man. Half his nature lies dormant. So an isolated Christian is only half a Christian. Believers have graces to exercise, exigencies to meet, and duties to meet which demand organic union with their fellow-believers. They have not only a mutual interest in each other's welfare, but a mutual responsibility for each other's conduct. They are jointly intrusted with their Master's honor, and therefore are bound to decide who are and who are not to be recognized as Christians. Being essentially a communion, they have a right to determine who are to be admitted to their fellowship. All this supposes external organization. In all ages, therefore, believers living in the same neighborhood have united in forming these local churches.

As believers in their individual capacity scattered over the world constitute the mystical body of Christ on earth, so these local churches constitute one body, which is the visible church in each successive age. These churches are one body, first, spiritually. They have one God and Saviour. They are united in one spiritual life. They have one faith and one baptism. They are all one family. As of old the patriarch, surrounded by his sons and their families, constituted one great household, so it is now with these local churches, they are all children of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom every family in heaven and earth is named.

They are one body also externally and visibly. First, because they recognize each other as churches. This involves the acknowledgment that each has all the prerogatives and privileges which by the law of Christ belong to such organizations: the right to conduct public worship, to preach the Gospel, to administer the sacrament, and to exercise discipline. Secondly, they are one body, because membership in one of these local churches involves the right to membership in every other such church. The terms of church membership are prescribed by Christ, and can not be altered. We are bound to receive those whom he receives. A Christian in one place is a Chris-

tian in all other places, and is entitled to be so regarded and treated. His prerogatives arise out of his character and his relation to Christ, and, therefore, go with him wherever he goes. Hence, in the beginning, a member of the Church of Jerusalem was of right a member of the Church of Antioch or of Corinth, if he removed to either of those places. Of course, if one church should violate the law of Christ in admitting members whom it ought not to admit, or in excluding those whom it ought not to exclude, other churches are not bound to imitate them in this act of disobedience. But we are now speaking of the principle, and not of its necessary limitations in practice owing to our manifold infirmities. The fact remains that the member of one local Christian church is normally and of right a member of every other such church, makes them all one great communion, one visible body here on earth.

Thirdly, these separate congregations are one church because they are subject to one tribunal. The various tribes and races constituting the Russian empire are one body because they are all subject to the same emperor. In like manner, all the scattered individual local churches or congregations on earth are one, not only spiritually because they are all subject to Christ, their invisible head in heaven, but they are externally one because they are subject to the same visible authority on earth. During the apostolic age that authority was the apostles. Their jurisdiction was not diocesan, but universal, because it arose out of their personal gifts of plenary knowledge and infallibility in teaching. All believers and all local churches were bound to submit to those whose infallibility was authenticated by Christ himself, by signs and wonders, and miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost. We therefore find Paul writing with full apostolic authority to the Church in Rome before he had ever visited that city; and Peter addressed his epistles to believers in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, the very centre of Paul's sphere of labor. All the churches of that age and of every age bowed to the decisions of the council of Jerusalem.

Since the age of the apostles the common tribunal to which all local churches are subject is the Word of God. They all acknowledge the Scriptures to be the infallible rule of faith and practice. To this they all profess to bow. The ultimate appeal of each and all is the written Word. And, secondly, each local church is subject to other churches to which it has access. As no individual believer is isolated and independent of all other believers, so no individual church is isolated and independent of all other churches. The law of Christ is that of mutual subjection. The ground of that subjection is not any social compact, so that the obligation to obedience is limited to those who are parties

of such compact. The command is that we should be subject to our brethren in the Lord, because they are our brethren and the temples and organs of the Holy Ghost. It, therefore, refers to all our brethren. All history proves that this is the law of the Spirit. Every plant and animal has its *nissus formativus*, an inward law, in virtue of which it strives to attain its normal condition. Adverse circumstances may prevent that form being fully assumed. Nevertheless, the effort always reveals itself. So it is with the Church. It has always striven after external unity. This gave rise to the ideas of heresy and schism. It was this effort which led to the convocation of provincial and ecumenical councils, to whose decisions all individual churches were expected to bow. At the time of the Reformation the same impulse revealed itself. The churches then formed ran together as naturally as drops of quicksilver. When this union was prevented, it was by unavoidable hinderances which counteracted an obvious and admitted tendency. It can, therefore, scarcely be doubted that in the normal state of the Church a smaller part is subject to a larger, and every part to the whole. The fact that the visible Church has never fully reached its ideal form is no proof either that the ideal is false or that the actual is not bound to strive to be conformed to the ideal.

It need hardly be said that the Bible teaches no such doctrine as passive obedience either to the Church or the State. The Magna Charta of civil and religious liberty given us from heaven is, that it is right to obey God rather than men. Even the command to children to obey their parents in all things is of necessity limited by their allegiance to God. The obligation of Christians to obey each other is subject to the same limitation. Nevertheless, one church is bound to be subject to other churches for the same reason and in the same measure that a believer is bound to be subject to his brethren.

The idea of the Church, therefore, as presented in the Bible, is that believers scattered over the world are a band of brethren, children of the same Father, subjects of the same Lord, forming one body by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, uniting all to Christ as their living head. This indwelling of the Spirit makes all believers one in faith, one in their religious life, one in love. Hence they acknowledge each other as brethren, and are ready to bear each other's burden. This is the communion of saints. The Church, in this view, is the mystical body of Christ.

But, by a law of the Spirit, believers living in the same neighborhood unite as churches for public worship and for mutual watch and care. These local churches constitute one body, first, spiritually, because they are

all subject to the same Lord, are animated by the same Holy Spirit, profess the same faith, and are bound together by the bond of Christian love. Secondly, they are externally one body, because they acknowledge each other as churches of Christ, and recognize each other's members, ordinances, ministers, and acts of discipline; and also because they are all subject to the same tribunal. That tribunal, in the beginning, was the apostles; now it is the Bible and the mind of the Church, expressed sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

That this normal state of the Church has never been fully realized is to be referred partly to unavoidable circumstances, and partly to the imperfections of believers. It is natural that Christians speaking the same language, and constituting one nationality, should be more intimately united than those geographically separated. It is no violation of the unity of the Church that there should be an Episcopal Church in England and another in America, partially independent of each other. But apart from such considerations, true Christians often conscientiously differ so much in matters of doctrine and order as to render their harmonious action in the same ecclesiastical organization impossible. Under such circumstances it is better that they should separate. Two can not walk together unless they be agreed. External union is the product and expression of internal unity. The former should not be pressed beyond the latter. One of the greatest evils in the history of the Church has been the constantly recurring effort to keep men united externally who were inwardly at variance. All forced unions are to be deprecated. They lead on the one hand to hypocrisy, and on the other to persecution. We may lament over such differences and endeavor to remove them, but as long as they exist they can not be wisely ignored. In the present state of the world denominational churches are therefore relatively a good. The practical question is, What is their relation to each other? What are their relative duties? How may their real unity be manifested in the midst of these diversities?

III. Denominational Churches.

1. The first duty of denominational churches to each other is mutual recognition. As we are bound to recognize every Christian as a Christian, and to treat him accordingly; so we are bound to recognize every church as a church, and to treat it accordingly. And as we are not at liberty to give any definition of a Christian which shall exclude any of the true followers of Christ; so we are not at liberty to give any definition of a church which shall exclude any body which Christ recognizes as a church by his presence. A Christian is a man united to Christ by the in-

dwellment of the Holy Spirit; and a church is a body of men, really or by a credible profession, thus united to Christ, organized for the purposes of Christian worship, the proclamation of the Gospel, and for mutual watch and care. If this be the Scriptural definition of a church, we are not at liberty to alter it. The Church consists of the called, and every body of the called organized for church purposes is a church, whether local or denominational. Everywhere in the New Testament the word *ἐκκλησία* is used as a collective term for the *κληροί*. As a man's being a Christian does not depend upon any thing external; upon circumcision or uncircumcision, upon stature, color, or nationality; so whether a body of Christians be a church can not depend upon any thing external. A nation is a nation, whether its government be monarchical, aristocratic, or republican. So a church is a church, whatever be the form of its external organization. Nothing can be essential to the being of a church that is not essential to the Christianity of its members. "Ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Ecclesia," has in all ages been a motto and an axiom.

There is, indeed, a theory of the Church which makes the form every thing. Romanists hold that Christ gave the apostles power to communicate the Holy Spirit by the imposition of hands. This power the apostles transmitted to their official successors, and they again to theirs, in unbroken succession to the present day. It is in the line of this succession that the Spirit operates. His saving influences are imparted to those only who receive the sacraments from men having the supernatural power to render them efficacious. As, therefore, no man can be a Christian who is not subject to those thus empowered to communicate the Holy Spirit, of course no body of men can be a church unless subject to these exclusive dispensers of salvation. With this theory we have at present nothing to do. A man who confines Christianity to any one external organization must shut his eyes to the plainest facts of history and of daily observation. Apart, therefore, from this Romish theory, it is hard to see how, on Scriptural principles, we can deny a body of believers, in their collective capacity, to be a church, whose members as individuals we are forced to regard as true Christians.

2. A second duty which denominational churches owe each other is that of intercommunion. The terms of Christian fellowship, as before stated, are prescribed by Christ, and are the same for all churches. No particular church has the right to require any thing as a term of communion which Christ has not made a condition of salvation. How can we refuse to receive those whom Christ has received? If men can not alter the conditions of salvation,

they can not alter the terms of Christian communion.

3. A third duty of denominational churches is the recognition of each other's sacraments and orders. If the validity of the sacraments depends on some virtue in him who administers them, then those only are valid which are administered by those having that virtue. But if their validity depends, first, on that being done which Christ has enjoined; second, on its being done by a church or by its authority; third, on its being done with the serious intention of obeying the command of Christ, then the sacraments of one church are just as valid as those of another. And by their validity is meant that they accomplish the ends for which they were appointed.

So also of orders. If ordination be the communication of supernatural power, called the grace of orders, by those to whom the ability to confer that grace exclusively belongs, then those only are true ministers who have been ordained by that specially gifted class of men. Or, if ordination be the act of conferring authority, as when the executive of a nation grants a commission in the navy or army, then no man is a minister who has not been commissioned by the competent authority. But if, as all Protestants believe, the call to the ministry is by the Holy Ghost, then the office of the Church in the matter is simply to authenticate that call, and testify it to the churches. As it is the office of the Church to judge whether a man has the scriptural qualifications for admission to sealing ordinances, so it is its office to decide whether he has the qualifications for the ministry and is called of God to preach the Gospel. In neither case does the Church confer any thing. It can no more make a man a minister than it can make him a Christian. If, then, we recognize a body of men as Christians, we must recognize them in their organized capacity as a church; and if we recognize them as a church, we must recognize their ministers. It does not follow from this, however, that we are bound to receive them into our pulpits. We may recognize a man as a professor of mathematics or of music, and yet not see fit to set him to teach our children.

4. A fourth duty of such churches is that of non-interference. The field is the world; and it is wide enough for all. It is a breach

of courtesy and of the principles of church unity for one church to intrude into the appropriated field of another church, and to spend its strength in endeavoring to proselyte men from one denomination of Christians to another, instead of laboring to convert souls to Christ.

5. Finally, there is the duty of co-operation. In union is strength. All Christians and all churches are engaged in the same work. They are servants of the same Master, soldiers of the same Great Captain of their salvation. If the several corps of an army should refuse to co-operate against the common foe, defeat would be the inevitable result. What, then, is to be expected if the different denominations into which Christians are divided keep contending with each other instead of combining their efforts for the overthrow of the kingdom of darkness?

If the principles above stated be correct, it is of the last importance that they should be practically recognized. If all Christians really believe that they constitute the mystical body of Christ on earth, they would sympathize with each other as readily as the hands sympathize with the feet or the feet with the hands. If all churches, whether local or denominational, believed that they too are one body in Christ Jesus, then instead of conflict we should have concord; instead of mutual eriminations we should have mutual respect and confidence; instead of rivalry and opposition we should have cordial co-operation. The whole visible Church would then present an undivided front against infidelity and every form of Antichristian error, and the sacramental host of God, though divided into different corps, would constitute one army glorious and invincible.*

* No speaker on the floor of the Alliance was understood to speak for any one but himself. The Alliance was in no wise committed by any thing he said. Dr. Hodge was called upon to express his views on the Unity of the Church. This he did freely, although fully aware that many Episcopallians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists dissented more or less from some of the principles which he advanced. In thus acting, he did what was done by every other speaker, from the beginning to the end of the meetings of the Alliance. It is with surprise, therefore, as well as with regret, that he learns that some of his brethren were grieved by what he said, especially on the subject of Christian communion.

CHRISTIAN UNION CONSISTENT WITH DENOMINATIONAL DISTINCTIONS.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D.,

Dean of Canterbury.

In venturing to address the members of this great Alliance upon the subject of Christian Union, I can not do so without expressing my grateful sense of the privilege granted me in being allowed to speak upon a theme at once so important and so dear to my own heart; while at the same time, the consciousness of personal unworthiness and inability to treat such a subject fittingly is painfully present to my mind. I can only pray that He who gave us the new commandment, "to love one another," will strengthen my weakness, and enable me to speak to his honor. It was his own prayer for his believing people, "That they all may be one: as Thou, Father, art in me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us." And this oneness of his disciples he describes as the proof which would convince the world of his divine mission, "that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me" (John xvii., 21).

Now in what does this oneness consist? Does it consist in uniformity? in the acceptance of a formula of doctrine fixed for us by others? or even in our speaking and believing all of us exactly the same thing? Let us look boldly at the facts, and putting aside for the present the consideration of what ought to be, let us examine what really is. We find, then, that the great Christian community is broken up into many and opposing sects, just in proportion as it is in earnest about Christianity. Wherever belief is earnest, and men are alive to the value of the Gospel, there differences of opinion arise, and men hold varying views, and debate them. And this too often they do with bitterness. The bitterness with which disputes have been carried on among Christians has passed into a very by-word. Even in the present day, there are those who consider differences of belief from their own standard of orthodoxy as worse, and more criminal, than the violation of the moral law. Our Lord forewarned us of all this; he came, he said, to place a sword in men's hands; and men have known only too well how to wield it. He came to make a man's foes those of his own household: and men, in exact accordance with this prophecy, have deemed that they were obeying a higher

law in violating the fifth commandment, and rejecting all that express teaching of our religion which has made gentleness, love, peace, mildness, the proper fruit of the Spirit, and the seal and earnest of the work of divine grace upon our hearts.

And this bitterness has in no way lessened the tendency of men to stand apart, but, on the contrary, has aggravated it. Every controversy has left its mark on the Church in the way of some new schism and division. Even if we turn back to primitive times, to those great Ecumenical Councils which have so important an influence upon us, and whose office, as it seems to us, was to settle the main outlines of the Christian faith, yet every one of them was marked also by the founding of a great heresy. The minority in no single instance gave way. The numerous vote, the loud acclamation of the orthodox party, and the weight of imperial authority, carried no conviction to the minds of the rest. So far from settling the dispute, it was constantly fought out afterward in the cities with sword and spear; and Church History is full of records of the bloodshed and persecution, the fraud and duplicity, the knavery and violence with which the rival parties struggled, not merely to uphold their own views, but to destroy the opposite view and its maintainers. I know of no greater authority in the Church than that of the early councils; and yet at the time they carried with them no persuasiveness. Men fearlessly maintained their own views against their whole weight and influence, and would yield their opinions neither to numbers, nor authority, nor power. It is a sign of better things in our own day, that the last so-called Ecumenical Council, though it has caused a schism, is at all events only met by fair argument and an appeal to history.

In fact, the whole history of the Church is that of a struggle, not only against sin, and ignorance, and unbelief outside of her, but also for supremacy of doctrine within. The outward struggle is that which ennobles Christianity. Had it not battled for holiness, and purity, and light with the dark outer world, there would have been no bright side, no triumphs of the faith, nothing on

which the Christian conscience could have rested content. But now, while there is a deep feeling of disappointment often present in our minds at the thought that Christianity has not accomplished all that we could have hoped, yet there is also much to comfort us.

It has not accomplished as much as we might have expected; it is not yet triumphant; it still has to struggle against rationalism and superstition; and yet a broad line of demarkation does separate the modern from the ancient world, and that line was drawn by Christ. His words have been a light, not merely illuminating many an individual conscience, but also shedding its beams broadcast over the whole world, and making it feel something of the warm and purifying glow of holy love, of self-denial, of high hope, and heavenly devotion. If the teaching of Christ has not gained so complete an ascendancy over the human mind as we might have hoped, yet its influence has been great, and we owe to it whatever is best, and most permanent and true in modern civilization. But when we turn to its internal history, to the manner in which rival parties have struggled within it for supremacy, to the unchristian arts they have used, the manner in which all things have been held lawful against those who put an unorthodox interpretation upon the words of Holy Scripture, the persecutions inflicted on men who were acting upon conscientious convictions, even if mistaken, it is with a deep sense of shame that one reflects upon the evil uses to which men have put God's best and greatest gift.

It is the object of the Evangelical Alliance to soften and abate this internal struggle, that we may combine in a more united attack upon Christ's enemies outside the Church. We waste our strength too much now in debating matters, important it may be, and necessary for the full manifestation of the faith, yet not essential to the salvation of the soul; and meanwhile, unbelief stalks abroad in growing strength, and the masses are left the prey of sin and ignorance. Poverty and misery herd together close by the abodes of luxury; and error and heathenism still possess lands which are the heritage of the Son of God. It is to this battle that the Evangelical Alliance calls us, and bids us unite our strength, not requiring us to abandon our beliefs, or be indifferent about the truth, but pointing us to a nobler struggle, which is our common duty, and in which we may all take our part, and praying us, for the sake of our common Lord, to hold our varying views in the bond of love. For, whether we approve of it or not, evidently a diversity of opinions is a necessity of man's present condition—I say of man's present condition, because I regard this diversity of opinion as

belonging only to our present fallen and imperfect state. I can not imagine the existence of disputings and controversies, or even of differences of opinion, in a perfect state. In heaven there may be degrees of knowledge, and men may advance from one height of contemplation to another, but whatever they know they will know accurately. There can not be there that uncertainty and confusion of thought, and that indefiniteness of language, which so clouds all our ideas and speculations now. But we are not living in a perfect state, and in our present state diversity seems to be the law of nature. Underneath the outward diversity of nature there are, I grant, grand general lines, and a real and substantial uniformity; yet the individual has always his own points of difference. Though working upon typical forms, yet nature bestows something of individuality upon every one of its units.

And civilization tends to increase this divergency. In a wild state the animals are very similar to one another. No sooner do we domesticate them than differences of size and color develop themselves, and we find, also, that every one has its own peculiar character and disposition. Probably there is a similar difference in wild animals, only we have not the same opportunities of studying them. But at all events, God's works in nature are marked not by uniformity, but by variety. The charm of the landscape consists in its endless diversity of form and color. The changing conditions of the atmosphere make no two days alike. Music is not the monotony of one sound, but the harmonizing of many, and in it discords sometimes add to the exquisite charm of the whole. The pure light which gilds the whole world around is not a colorless, nor even a one-colored ray, but is the blending of all the prismatic hues; and every substance absorbs and rejects these hues in varying degrees, and hence the manifold beauty which surrounds us on every side. Search where we will, every climate has its own varieties of flora and fauna, its own peculiarities of soil and vegetation, its own development of life. And the geologist has disclosed to us vast ages of by-gone time teeming with active existence—animals as perfect as those of the present day, and as well fitted to perform their part in the world's great drama, and yet filling us with astonishment as we notice how unlike they are to every thing which exists now. And the vast and gigantic vegetation among which they roamed is of forms which, if they now exist at all, do so only in dwarfed and stunted growth. Wherever we look we feel that variety is the law of creation. In the words of the Psalmist, we exclaim, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all! the earth is full of thy riches" (Psa. civ., 24).

And when we rise up to man, this manifoldness takes a higher form, in proportion to his nobler gifts. His animal nature is as much influenced by differences of soil and food and climate and modes of living as that of any of the inferior creatures. But civilization has upon him a tenfold greater effect than domestication has upon them, because it develops tastes and pleasures and motives and objects of pursuit of a mental kind, and rising, therefore, to a far higher elevation than the gifts of mere physical existence.

At the very entrance of life we start, each one, with varying bodily and mental powers, and all through life the very greatness of our endowments obliges us constantly to choose. For man is a moral agent. He is not swayed by instincts which leave the individual but scant room for free play. Reason and will are the two powers which regulate his conduct, the latter deciding for him what he will be and what he will choose for himself as his objects of pursuit, while reason directs him in his selection of the means whereby he can attain to the ends which he covets. But reason is full of diversity in its operations. Instinct has but one way of accomplishing its object, and that way always the same, always successful, but never improving. Reason is tentative: it tries and fails; and tries again, and improves its methods and succeeds partially, and so advances indefinitely onward, and, it may be, at times falls back, but never becomes perfect. The lower gift of instinct is perfect in its lower field, and produces uniformity. Reason is ever diversified in its operations, never perfect, always incomplete, aiming at more than it can accomplish, struggling perpetually forward, but always beset with imperfection.

Add that reason and will are themselves modified by a thousand other things. Man has other great gifts; his imagination, his memory, his affections, his conscience, all influence his development. You, in this New World, can not but be powerfully affected by that which so strikes a stranger coming among you—the vastness of your country. You have a mighty continent to conquer, and within the memory of living men you have peopled regions compared with which our land is in size but as nothing. We in the Old World are influenced by its memories. One who, like myself, ministers where a church stood when the Romans were masters of Britain; where again, on Ethelbert's conversion, the Saxons again raised a temple to God's honor, and where the very building in which we meet daily for prayer was completed in all substantial points as it stands now, just seven hundred years ago, can not but look back sometimes and muse on by-gone times. You look forward; the grand future before you fills you with anxiety to realize it; you are all in haste, and eager for its accomplishment;

and the sense of a mighty destiny before you urges you forever on. We dwell more among thoughts of the past, and are less keen, therefore—a little moss-grown, perhaps, with more of what we call repose; you, it may be, give it a worse name. We, too, have some energy; but both nations—you on this side of the Atlantic, and we on the other—are influenced very powerfully by the conditions under which we live.

There is much besides which tells upon us. How mightily is our mind affected by the writings of the great authors whose works are our daily companions! And, sharing in the same literature, this is an influence which brings the Old and New Worlds together and unites us. And then there is the current literature of the age, the newspapers and magazines; and, still more, the general tone of conversation around us. Add, too, that the past still sways the present. We are what we are because of what our fathers did and said; and because of the choice made for good and for evil by the generations that preceded us. They have settled for us what were the conditions under which we were brought up, just as we are settling and modifying those conditions for the generations to come. It is a vast aggregate that together forms national and individual character, and every part of it is perpetually in motion, acting and reacting upon every other part. And in this vast, slowly-changing mass, we individuals have our allotted place, powerfully influenced by it, ourselves influencing it more or less according to our strength of character, doing either good or harm, lowering or raising the general tone, making it more Christian or more worldly, yet no two of us exactly in the same place, no two of us exactly shaped alike, each molded by different influences, or by the same influences to a varying degree, each certainly acted upon by the spirit of our age, each powerfully, I trust, influenced by Christianity, and yet with our points of divergence, and forming a different estimate, if not of the main essentials of Christianity, yet of much that is very important and precious in its bearings and doctrines.

But here comes the very important question, Is this diversity right? Ought we to be content thus to differ? I answer that it is not right absolutely and in itself, and that we ought not to be content with it. It is an imperfection of our present state, and we ought not to be content with an imperfection. On matters of such eternal consequence as the truths of revelation, it is a necessity that we must have opinions, views, ideas. I do not shrink even from the unpopular word *dogma*. I do not see how Christianity can exist without dogma; for a dogma is but an intellectual conception of a truth, a form and mode of embodying and expressing it. And necessarily there must be

various degrees of correctness in these ideas and conceptions of what the Bible teaches us. Some must be more, some less true; some more complete, others deficient, and falling short of the full meaning of the inspired teaching. I know of no greater misfortune that could befall the Christian world than that we should become indifferent to truth, or suppose that there was no such thing as truth, or that we ought not to pursue it and make sacrifices for it, and if need be suffer for it. To love truth and follow it for its own sake is to add fresh nobleness to life; and ill would it be for us if we were careless about it, or imagined that it was of small consequence whether we attained to truth or not. Such a cancer of indifference would eat far into the heart of every better and higher resolve. Truth is most precious, even if it were only because our beliefs affect our conduct, and that so far as we fall short of the truth, so far will our motives also be debased by the admixture of error in what we hold. But besides this, truth is precious for its own sake. If the student of science or philosophy or morals thinks his life well spent if he can add to man's heritage of knowledge, surely we who claim to have had truths revealed to us from heaven can justify our belief in such a revelation only by the genuine conviction that the knowledge of those truths was necessary for us here upon earth. And is not the possession of truth part of our promised perfection in the world to come? Are we not told that there we are to know as also we are known?

Truth, therefore, we must love and follow after and cherish; and lest we should fall short of it, we must earnestly search into ourselves, that no selfish motive, no pride of reasoning, no unwillingness to be convinced, may shut us out from attaining to it. But what is to be our attitude toward those who differ from us? Now if there is any reasonableness in what I have stated, divergence of opinion is a necessary condition of our present imperfection. We are here, first of all, in a state of progress. "We have not yet attained, neither are we already perfect," and all, therefore, that we can do is "to follow after, if that we may apprehend that for which also we are apprehended of Christ Jesus" (Phil. iii. 12). But surely, if thus the knowledge of us all is imperfect; if our state is not one of having attained, but one of progress; if at most we are but feelers and seekers after God, our feelings toward those who with us are also seekers after God should be one not of hostility, but of love. We fall far short ourselves of what we would gladly know; and if they fall short too, or hold what we do not hold, and reject what we accept, yet they are engaged in the same quest as ourselves, and this very diversity is a necessary condition

of our general advance. Look where you will, truth and the Bible are nowhere valued, except where there is discussion and free debate and inquiry about them. Go where there is that mechanical unity which some men profess to value so much, where it is the Church's business to settle what is the faith, and you will find all practical interest in it gone. Wherever men value the Bible, they will search it for themselves, will form diverse opinions about it, will discuss it, and often, it may be, misunderstand and misuse it. So all things capable of being used are capable of being misused. It is the necessary result of the imperfection of our nature. But where there is no controversy and divergence of opinion, it is because the truths of revelation are put aside, out of the way, apart from man's practical life. Unless we would wish the Holy Scriptures thus to be as though they existed not, we may well be content with the existence of rival denominations. They serve often to keep great truths from being practically lost and omitted from our view; they influence minds which otherwise might never be reached; they are the luxuriant, even if irregular, outgrowth of vigorous life, and without them there would be the torpor of death.

But there is a far graver consideration, and one that may make us look very seriously at this divergence of opinion, namely, that it is the result of our being responsible agents. We are accountable to God for what we believe as well as for what we do. But responsibility implies freedom. We are not responsible for necessary acts, or acts done under compulsion. To reward or punish for deeds done without choice on our parts would be contrary to our first ideas of justice. So would it be to reward or punish for doctrines received at the dictation of others. There would be obedience and disobedience, nothing more. And if the belief imposed upon us were ruinous to our spiritual or moral nature, we should not be answerable for that result; the responsibility would rest upon the Church. But if it matters what we hold, and we are accountable to God for our belief, we must be free; and if we are free, then too we are responsible. But surely any one who felt his own responsibility would be slow and unwilling to judge other people. Right beliefs there are, and wrong beliefs; and we must answer to God for the measure of truth we attain to, or fail in attaining to, according to the opportunities vouchsafed us. And no one who felt this responsibility would willingly judge another. Ourselves standing at the bar, conscious of the many prejudices which have kept us away from the full light, sorrowing over the blindness of our passions and the narrowness of our intellects, and the one-sidedness of our reasons, and the many unworthinesses which

have made our beliefs so tangled a web of truth and falseness, well might we shrink from judging others. They, it may be, have sought the light more prayerfully and earnestly than we have; or, if not, yet our searching has been too imperfect to justify us in pronouncing their sentence. It is the judge who pronounces sentence, not any of those who together are standing at the bar; and I feel sure that every one who really felt how grave is the duty of searching out God's truth and living by it, would be so humbled by the sense of his own shortcomings that he would thankfully leave to that God on whose merey he himself depended the task of inquiring how far others had made better or worse use than himself of God's gifts.

I have in this but briefly sketched some considerations which may make us tolerant of the divided state of opinion existing at the present day. I have shown that it necessarily belongs to an imperfect state; that it is essential to progress; and that it must exist wherever the Bible is valued and studied. Great activity in religious thought can not but lead to conflicting views and interpretations; and these, I have shown, are absolutely and in themselves an evil, though one of those infirmities with which we are now necessarily beset. I should have been glad, also, to have shown how much of essential unity underlies our diversities, how much we hold in common, how many of the things that keep us apart are disputes on matters of mere temporary and secondary interest, and how the work of the Holy Spirit on the believer's own heart can not but bind him closely to all those who love the Lord Jesus

Christ in sincerity. But the full and proper treatment of these subjects belongs to others, while it was allotted to me rather to show that Christian unity does not involve the sacrifice, on our part, of what we suppose to be truth, but the holding our views in a more Christian way. We too often push our points of difference into extreme prominence; we magnify those things whereon we disagree, and regard as nothing the vast common ground whereon we are united. And then we suppose that all that we hold is absolutely certain. We are very hard upon the Pope, and yet there are but few men who have sense enough practically to doubt their own infallibility. And so, firmly believing in ourselves, we condemn all those who differ from us. All this is natural, but wrong; and we shall rise above it only by drawing nearer to Christ. He told his disciples that they knew not of what spirit they were; and still we are of the spirit of the disciples rather than of that of the Master. But by loving and meditating more upon the Master, we shall learn more of his gentleness, and so may his prayer be fulfilled that we all may be one in him; and without giving up our beliefs, without parting with one jot or tittle of what we regard as truth, may yet feel that too heavy a responsibility rests upon ourselves for us to condemn others; and that after all the true faith of Christ, however ready it may be to suffer for him, and to follow him whithersoever he leadeth, will yet be a faith that worketh by love, that love which alone can heal our divisions, because it is the very "bond of peace," and the fulfillment of the whole law.

SPIRITUAL UNITY NOT ORGANIC UNION.

BY THE RT. REV. GREGORY T. BEDELL, D.D.,

Bishop of the Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ohio.

AN allusion was made yesterday to the death of the venerable and beloved Bishop M'Ilvaine, which deeply touched me. The President will permit me, while thanking him for the brotherly words, to respond for a moment before entering on the duly appointed subject. In the late Bishop of Ohio the Evangelical Alliance possessed a most devoted and conscientious friend, and the cause of evangelical truth a consistent, earnest, loving, eloquent advocate. Bishop M'Ilvaine had looked forward to this meeting with fervent hopefulness, believing that such a communion of souls kindred in the faith, and such a comparison of minds dedicated to the one cause of the Gospel, must by God's blessing result in clearer comprehension of the great religious problems of the age, and the knitting closer of bonds of Christian fellowship. He realizes now what we are only praying for. In his absence I may speak of him, but will employ the fitting words of his intimate associate, like-minded, Bishop Lee, of Delaware, which, with many whom I am privileged to address to-day, will have a decided weight.

"While thoroughly and affectionately attached to his own church, he delighted to recognize in others the fruits of the Holy Spirit and the manifestations of the mind which was in Christ Jesus. To acknowledge those who held the great foundation truths of the Gospel as brethren was to his mind no compromise of his principles. His supreme loyalty was given to Jesus, the Master of the House, and he embraced in his fraternal sympathies all who bore the image of Christ..... Diverse and, in many instances, antagonistic tendencies were in him happily combined. His clear, comprehensive, and powerful intellect was softened by deep tenderness. His constitutional warmth and vivacity were tempered and restrained by calm judgment and thorough self-control. His strong, earnest convictions were so regulated by charity as not to run into bitterness or bigotry. This native nobility was united with entire simplicity and unaffected affability. He was a scholar without pedantry, and an orator without being declamatory. The intellectual and emotional, the meditative and the energetic, the intrepid and the considerate, were in beautiful combination. The fervor of his piety did not unfit him for

the busy scenes of life, and lively interest in what transpired around him; and efficient discharge of various duties did not damage the inner life of faith and communion with God."—[Sermon of Bishop Lee, of Delaware, on the death of Bishop M'Ilvaine, of Ohio.]

Those who knew Bishop M'Ilvaine recognize the portrait; and those who did not, remembering these characteristic delineations, will be prepared to recognize him when they shall meet him in the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven.

With this brief tribute of respect to the memory of one of the greatest men of this generation, and of affectionate friendship, I pass to the subject assigned to me by the Committee: "CHRISTIAN UNION CONSISTENT WITH DENOMINATIONAL DISTINCTIONS."

Protestantism has often been proclaimed a failure, merely because Protestants differ in methods of administration. Christian unity is often declared to be impossible, and any real expression of brotherhood among God's children by faith in Christ Jesus impracticable, where denominational distinctions are conscientiously maintained. Enemies of Christianity are constantly ringing the changes on the divisions of Christendom. It is time that Evangelical Christians should affirm that *unity does not depend on organic union*. We have lost immeasurably by magnifying differences in form, minimizing the unity of evangelical opinion, sentiment, and practice, and tacitly yielding to a current impression that Evangelical Christianity is in essence, in the very nature of the case, disintegrated. Let the truth be boldly affirmed. Such is one purpose of this Conference. Protestantism, indeed, is not a church. Evangelical Christianity is not a form of organization. But neither of them is a mere negation, as enemies of the Gospel are fond of asserting. They are systems of positive truth, characterizing many churches. Nevertheless the unity of Christianity is independent of Protestantism, as well as of all other external expressions of the truth of Christ. It exists as a living, active reality of spiritual communion, consistent with, but independent of, forms of organization. Such is the principle that underlies this proposition.

The proposition, however, opens a more dif-

ficult discussion. The controversies of all Christian ages have turned largely on the great question, In what sense and in what degree the term Oneness of the Church is to be understood. If oneness of the Church is inconsistent with denominational distinctions, then, strictly speaking, there has been no oneness in the Church from the beginning. Denominational distinctions separate the great churches of the Latin and the Greek faiths, and separate them from the Oriental churches. Distinctions are named between the Protestant Episcopal churches, distinctions in doctrine, in formularies, or in policy; as, for example, between the Church of England, and the Church of Sweden, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country. Denominational distinctions separate great Protestant churches in America from one another, and these from foreign churches. But oneness exists, nevertheless; and in every age, as in this, "the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints," has been recognized of men and blessed of Christ; forming sufficiently a whole, bound together by sympathies and unity of work which are sufficient to accomplish the purposes of the Holy Ghost. Upon this general question, however, it can hardly be expected that we shall enter.

A minor practical inquiry remains—What measure, and what manner, of Christian union are desirable, in order to express the oneness of Christ's Church, and to further the Saviour's designs in establishing it; it being supposed that denominational differences will be maintained?

"Alliance" is a well-chosen term. It solves the question immediately by force of definition. It expresses all union expedient or possible among Christians who conscientiously differ in forms of administration; while it admits full liberty of individual opinions, within a range agreed upon. Beneath the broad shadow of this term we may express ourselves freely on the subject now under discussion. The term "union," employed in the proposition, is not felicitous. It is not synonymous with unity. "Union" embraces the idea of organization, and implies a certain degree of human formations. "Organic Union" is the fuller and more definite expression. "Unity," on the contrary, conveys a purely spiritual idea. It has no relation to earthly or visible forms. It exists independently of distinctions which separate the children of God into national churches, or, in one nation, into various denominations. The terms "union" and "unity" not being synonymous, the proposition can hold good only as affirmed concerning spiritual unity, or communion.

Organic Unity not impossible.

The idea has been broached that even organic union is not impossible among Chris-

tian churches which hold the same evangelical doctrines, and this with only a partial relinquishing of denominational distinctions. Certainly, it would be possible to unify the Church on an ancient historical basis, trenching only on those differences which are inconsistent with that form. But supposing this suggestion to be in advance of public sentiment, and impracticable at present, shall we silently submit to the opprobrium that the Church of Christ lacks unity because denominational differences exist? This is a question of interpretation—interpretation of providential facts and of the revealed will of Christ.

Unity consistent with Differences.

1. The significant fact remains, to which allusion has already been made, that denominational distinctions have existed within the Church from the beginning. They are not new things. They did not spring out of the Reformation, although made more prominent and easier of production since that era. They have existed for eighteen hundred years. One of the earliest facts in Church history is the separation of Christians into sects and parties; I will not say it is one of the saddest facts, for it is by no means certain that such a universal fact in our religious history, within a Church which has always been under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, is a subject of unmingled lamentation. There have been sadder facts than this. The crushing out of free thought and liberty of action by the despotism of Rome, which was a corollary of the attempt to force organic union on the followers of Christ, was a much sadder fact. Nor is it easy now to prove that the evil prevalence of ancient heresies which distracted the Church in earlier centuries was not quite as much the result of the effort to suppress error by ecclesiastical force as of any principle of vigor in themselves. Certainly, since the era of the Reformation and of printing, since men have thought freely and uttered themselves without restraint, since instructed public sentiment has been the only arbiter, no heresy has arisen in the Church comparable in its wide-spread disasters to that, for example, which called for the Council of Nice. If the results of organized and enforced union in suppressing denominational differences are to be measured, let the history of dogmas and parties in the Church of Rome be analyzed. Denominational distinctions have always existed in her body. Who does not know that contending sects are rending her frame to-day, under the mask of union, contending not less for religious and doctrinal principles than for policies? Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans contend with the fiercest denominational rancor within an organization that is falsely proclaimed to be one and undivided. It is

a significant historical fact, and I will forbear to illustrate it further, that denominational differences have continued in the Church from the beginning.

2. They arise from natural causes, not so much from religious imperfections as from native differences. The first schism on record resulted from nothing worse than national prejudices. However we may lament them—and they are to be lamented, just as all disorders of the human frame or of the human mind are subjects of sorrow—there is little prospect that denominational distinctions will vanish from the present dispensation. They are the offspring of differences in nervous temperaments, in mental constitutions, and in physical build. The Church of Christ can not think precisely alike in all its members, nor act with entire sympathy and harmony, until all minds run in the same groove, all nerves respond to the same impulse, and all bodies are framed on one model, and are equally free from disease.

3. It follows that denominational distinctions are necessary results of liberty of thought and action. When Luther's success cut the shackles of religious opinion, denominationalism revealed itself without restraint upon the Continent. A similar result followed the slower-paced and more cautious reformation in England, happily with restraint. The Church of England has never been free from parties—from the wholesome influence of parties—and the secret of its vigorous life has been liberty of difference, within the Scriptural bounds of its symbols. The Reformation was a resurrection. A new life sprang out of the dead things among which the Church had become inanimate. And one of the most characteristic elements of that new life exhibits itself in denominationalism. However it may be applauded or deplored, it is a part of that grand revolution. Such revolutions never go back, and denominational distinctions can never be expected to disappear, unless mind can be again shackled, and liberty crushed.

4. Among the inexplicable, although obvious, methods of divine government is that which couples happiest moral ends with fiercest moral conflicts. As electricity restores the equilibrium of atmospheric forces by awful convulsions—as peace is the natural and necessary product of exhausting wars—as civilization, and arts, and commerce, and tranquil industry, follow never except upon the footsteps of contending armies, or after invasions by more advanced nations—so, in the moral world, truth is the resultant of controversies. Not always error against error; not always half-truths against each other; not always some whole truth against either, produces the desired result; but never does an age reach truth pure and simple until that age has struggled

for it, conflicting amidst falsehoods. My impression is that differences in the Church—call them denominational, or by whatever name will be more agreeable—differences in the Church exist according to a law, and are preservative of the pure truth of the Gospel. With this conclusion ecclesiastical history entirely coincides.

This logic of facts has led such a writer as Dean Goulburn unwillingly to suggest that there may be (what may be termed) a secondary law of Church structure; and that when men's passions or prejudices refuse to be governed by the primitive law, the secondary becomes controlling. Dean Goulburn's words are, "When a primitive ideal is hopelessly frustrated, and the first best thing made impracticable by human sin and perverseness, God introduces a second best thing, and endows it with (at all events) a temporary sanction." (Dean Goulburn's Catechism on the Church.) We are certainly living under a law which renders *denominational distinction consistent with Christian unity*.

This significant fact is to be clearly held and recognized. Considering the history of the Church, considering the principles on which the Holy Ghost has been guiding it, considering the constitution of the human mind, and human society, an experiment of unconditional union among all Christians would be perilous. Still, holding that a *common organic form having a historical basis, and allowing for denominational differences, is possible*, it is also certain that any organic union of Evangelical Christians formed to-day by the abandonment of conscientious religious distinctions would, on the return of sober thought to-morrow, be split into a thousand fragments, disjoined forever.

Unity Realized.

From this excursus among possibilities and improbabilities we return with grateful restfulness of heart to dwell upon that spiritual unity which has been realized. The unity of faith in the Son of God; the unity of common regeneration by the power of the Holy Ghost; the unity of love to Christ, and love in Christ to all who are Christ's; the unity of loving work for Christ, which, amidst all distinctions of minor dogmas, has a single eye for the glory of Christ and a single aim to develop his kingdom in every ransomed soul—that is the unity of the Church. That is the unity which has been manifested in every age. That is the unity which Christ prayed for, and which was granted him, and which distinguishes and separates the Church of Christ from the world.

In that solemn hour when the Head of the Church began his work of intercession, praying not for the apostles alone, but for them also that should believe on him through their

word, he did not speak concerning organic union. A true interpretation of our Saviour's language is also a just interpretation of the facts of ecclesiastical history. His mind was fixed on a spiritual unity only. "That they all may be one"—so he prayed. Again and again his supplication went up, crowded with this thought of unity. "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those that thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are." "One, *as we are.*" "The world hath hated them, because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world." "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also that 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 know that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." This is not a vision of organic union. Could any thing visible realize that oneness between the Father and the Son? "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may be one in us;" and "that they may be one" actually, positively, and as we are, so that the world may recognize the unity. This spiritual unity is to be the world's testimony. That ineffable union of the Father and the Son in adorable Godhead is not a union that can be seen—a union that can be manipulated; nor can any earthly un-

ion that interprets it be of such a character that it may be increased or diminished by human will or by human consent, or subject to any physical or external conditions. As the Unity in the Blessed Trinity is undefined, unmanifested, and spiritual, so is that oneness for which Christ prayed that it should ever characterize his Church. "I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."

That prayer has not remained unanswered through all these Christian centuries. That prayer has been fulfilled. Every age and generation has witnessed it. The Church is one, has been made perfect in one, has never failed of unity. In the darkest days of organized Catholicism, the Catholic Church, the Church universal, the Church of living ones in Christ Jesus, the Church of his love and his acceptance, has always existed in his sight, recognized by his Spirit, accomplishing his purpose. In that unity all modes of holding truth coincide. With that unity denominational distinctions are entirely consistent. As we exhibit the loving principles of that Divine Unity, all the earthly that divides the spiritual brotherhood becomes secondary in thought, and the children of God realize their absolute and eternal oneness.

God be praised for whatever in Evangelical Alliance will nurture and fortify in our souls a sense of this spiritual unity in Christ Jesus our Lord!

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS: MODES OF ITS PROMOTION AND MANIFESTATION.

BY THE REV. ELIPHALET NOTT POTTER, D.D.,

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Together with a Communication from Professor TAYLER LEWIS, LL.D.

REPRESENTING Union College, an institution founded nearly a century ago upon the Christian basis of Evangelical Catholicity, I had hoped to ask you to receive on this occasion, in my stead, my honored coadjutor in the Faculty, Dr. Tayler Lewis. Well known to you all, it were fitting that his age, his experience, and his ripe scholarship should find voice on such an occasion, and in the discussion of such a theme. Prevented from being here, he has sent me the accompanying communication. I omit much that I had written, that I may, without exceeding the assigned limits, embody his instructive letter in this paper.

The union of the Church Militant with the Church Triumphant, the union of each Christian soul with the blessed departed, is a reality, like that of the union of all the members of Christ now on the earth, in the one body of Christ. The hand may not see or know the foot, but the unity of the body is not the less a fact. All the members of Christ, whether conscious of the fact or no, are thus truly and vitally united in the one body of which Christ is the head. Living saints and dead but one communion make; and if so, the fact that living saints are for the time as widely separated from each other as they are from the blessed departed does not destroy the reality of their oneness in Christ.

As the communion between the saints of the Elder Covenant and those of the latest ages, if it can not be more real, will yet be more clearly manifested in the future life, so in the future of this life we may hope that the means and methods for the visible inter-communion of saints will, through the ages all along, be more and more clearly revealed. Divided and doubting now, the members of the body of Christ are yet one family. If war sometimes rages, the Creed yet proclaims the belief of Christendom in that article, late to be introduced, but none the less fundamental to the faith, "I believe in the communion of saints."

The signs of the times are not without tokens of encouragement.

Is there not a tendency in the present mind of Christendom toward the establish-

ment of a clearly recognized distinction between the substance of the faith, that is to say, God, his Word, his Truth, and man's conception and expression of the faith, that is to say, the topics of scientific theology? While the substance of the faith is unchangeable, yet theology as a science is seen inviting discussion, admitting question, and requiring variety as well as accuracy in statement. Should not greater facilities be afforded for the untrammelled study of theology? The instructor in the theological seminary has oftentimes to indoctrinate the pupil. There is danger, therefore, lest the facts of revelation, of history, and of metaphysical and physical science be made to bend to the supposed necessity of harmonizing with the theology taught, the unchanging truth of God. Facilities for the study of theology as a pure science are now, however, increasing, and might readily be afforded in connection with many institutions founded for the pursuit of higher education. It would then come to be more clearly understood that iteration and reiteration is not demonstration; and that while it is desirable that definite belief should displace doubt, yet that mere verbal, parrot-like utterance is not Christian faith, faith being defined as (*ἰνόστασις*) "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." In matters of faith the distinction needs to be understood between infallible authority and competent authority; between that scheme of human infallibility which demands from the faithful an act of intellectual suicide, and that respect for adequate and competent authority which common sense renders unhesitatingly in the ordinary affairs of life.

Outward organic unity depends, doubtless, upon unity in organic ideas. In the modes of its promotion, and the means for its manifestation already operative, have we not encouragement to hope for the more perfect manifestations here on earth of the Communion of Saints?

1. *Christian Work.*—This point is considered first in order because of our Saviour's declaration, "They that do my will shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God."

The increase among all who profess and call themselves Christians, of similar conceptions and methods of Christian work, tends to Christian unity. The establishment of free churches, the increase of Sunday-schools, the organization of woman's work, the encouragement of lay co-operation, the realization that the body of a sin-sick world must be cleansed and healed, and the mind enlightened and elevated, if the soul is to be saved; in these activities and ideas Christian workers are already almost at one. Egotistic rivalry and wasteful excess of labor in some fields, contrasted with the abject and neglected needs of adjacent fields, must fill the earnest and thoughtful mind with an awful realization of the great danger the work of Christ is in through our unhappy divisions; and so tend to inspire the desire and prayer for organized co-operation, and for loving Christian intercommunion.

2. *Christian Doctrine.*—We include under this general head both teaching and preaching, and also systems of ethics and apologetics. Is it not evident that a truer conception of the "proportion of the faith" is now becoming general? Great central truths are seen to be of supreme importance. Schools of theology, widely divergent in many respects, yet concur in the relative importance which they attach to certain cardinal points of doctrine, when compared with tenets which they mutually regard as of less moment. The cross of Christ is declared by all to be the preacher's profoundest and most pregnant and essential theme. The province and nature of the teacher's work is recognized in nearly the same terms by many different bodies of Christians. Ethical systems are becoming more nearly identical throughout Christendom. In apologetics, representatives of every school now adopt the same general theory of evidence, and recognize as of moment the same general lines of defense. As men come to think alike, their convictions with reference to the oracles of God and the facts of history, whether civil or ecclesiastical, will become less discordant. It would thus seem to be practicable that, as with one heart, they desire the welfare of the Church of God, so with one mouth they should confess the faith once delivered to the saints.

3. *Christian Fellowship.*—A point is gained when Christians deprecate their differences and come together in the spirit of love to discuss them. No fellowship can be real or effective while mutual misunderstanding and distrust exist. An interchange, therefore, of ideas is of importance. In this age it is forced upon the most retiring by the ventilation, as it is called, of topics of general interest in the public prints. We gain in this way, if in no other, a healthful sense of what our fellow-men are thinking about, a knowledge of the opinions they are forming. But

no correspondence, no study of the lives and writings of Christian men, can give us that knowledge of them which we gain by meeting them face to face in free and loving conference. Christianity has declared the destruction of caste, and has proclaimed peace and good-will to man. Nations tend, under its influence, to consolidate in larger masses. The growth of intercommunication and of international law may yet substantially unite, in one higher and all-embracing national relationship, the peoples of the world. The influences we are considering, together with the universal desire for Christian unity and the increasing opportunities for Christian conference, are hastening, it would seem, the hour when, in place of earthly kingdoms, there shall be Christ's kingdom, and in place of the world, the Church of God.

4. The conception contained in the apostolic maxim, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," is producing the increase of toleration and Christian charity. On the one hand there is a growing regard for the best results of modern science, and on the other an increased respect for those living churchly ties which bind redeemed humanity to the past.

5. If ecclesiastical history opens up agitating topics of discussion, there are other influences of culture which tend to peaceful agreement. Architecture and æsthetic feeling are doing their part in diffusing a common sentiment and sympathy, not to say similarity, in the accessories of worship.

6. Without suppressing the voice of individual preference, ancient liturgies are gaining a firm hold in the hearts of all Christian people, and are thus tending to facilitate intercommunion by their general use as the mother tongue of Christendom.

7. So, too, is it with the increasing observance throughout Christendom of its great historic anniversaries in the system of the Christian year. The assimilative power of the nation which enables it to receive individuals of every race, and to make of them in many states but one people, should enable it to receive elements of good from every part of Christendom, that in God's own time there may be realized the prophetic vision of the Church, which, in its embracing intercommunion, shall be one Church.

8. Music is the Evangel of the Communion of Saints. Hymnals are effective pleas for unity. Congregational singing is destructive of the isolation of individualism, and the Church militant, in its march heavenward, unites its voices, advancing to the note of hymn familiar to every tongue and dear to every heart, as are those words,

"Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in thee."

9. For the Communion of Saints, for true Christian unity, myriads are praying. God's

answer would seem to be reflected in the spirit of those ancient words, "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity;" since, Christian liberty and love are the essentials of abiding unity. Meantime each individual will be tempted, at least in thought, to hold that Christendom, to be one, must be drawn within the circle of belief in which he dwells, and which he thinks to be the very citadel of the truth of God!

10. It may, therefore, be with the divine science of theology as it has been with the science of the heavenly bodies. Individuals have contributed, by persevering efforts, to the final triumph, who were in theory farthest from any adequate conception of the truth. The superstitious but observant astrologer could furnish data for the astronomer. Tycho Brahe, who doubted the Copernican system of the universe, could yet accumulate facts from which Kepler should adduce his three great laws, while Newton, by a higher generalization, included in one law the work of his predecessors. Thus it may be with the science of theology. Much may be achieved by the reverent and arduous study of divine truth; much will be achieved by the prayers of the faithful, till "we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

Finally, although the systematic order and organic relation of all the members in the one body of Christ, together with the modes of promoting and the means for manifesting Christian unity, be not yet clear to all, still on Scriptural grounds we must hold that, like the hidden potency of gravity in the material universe, the Communion of Saints is a vital and ever-present fact in the spiritual universe. The force of gravity was potent before its law was demonstrated. The universe is neither created nor imperiled by the clashing theories of materialists, nor does it depend for its continuance upon the success of rival schools in their attempts to formulate its facts. As the orderly relation of the heavenly bodies existed before the first ray elucidating the system dawned upon the human intellect, so with the Communion of Saints—that system which embraces the countless hosts of God's elect. "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever." And though "now" we know but in part, though now we see but as in a glass that is dim the reflected image, "then" the brightness already dawning shall break in upon the soul, in the full revelation of the unity of the many in the One; the community of saints and angels, as of countless stars in that one vast system of which Christ is the central and the everlasting light!

Voices like to the music of the spheres may be heard by the ear of faith echoing and re-echoing through the ages that great high-priestly prayer of our Divine Lord (last uttered, in its fullness it may be the last to be answered): "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."

With the following valuable letter referred to in the opening sentence, I may most fitly close the further consideration of the subject in this paper.

Union College, Sept. 30th, 1873.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have been thinking much on our late conversation, and its principal topic, the article of the Creed in relation to the "Communion of Saints." Other ideas have occurred to me; and I know that you will not deem me obtrusive or impertinent if I give them a written form, though in an epistolary way that will not allow of close connection or logical regularity. Take them, then, in the off-hand style in which they have presented themselves to my mind.

The Communion of Saints implies a *community* of Saints, as a recognized body in distinction from a mere social sympathy. It is not a feeling of nearness simply, or of affection toward individuals whom we may esteem Christians, but the recognition of "a people," a "people of God," a *cohesion community* among the other communities of the earth—a divine community, yet having a history and a visibility in this world, and, at the same time, a *πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, a "citizenship in the heavens" (Phil. iii., 20), more real than any tie that binds together any earthly organization, social or political. In other words, it is not a mere spiritual communion, if we mean by that term one of feeling merely, of taste, or thought. Christianity, or Christendom, if the term is preferred, is not a school, either of art or of philosophy. It is not a mere brotherhood, however precious may be the idea conveyed by that word. The Communion of Saints is truly organic. There is a real headship, a real membership—a "membership one of another." But upon that topic I would not dwell. There is not time nor space for the discussion of an idea that carries us so far, and which, in the present state of Christendom, is attended with so many difficulties. These difficulties will doubtless be surmounted. We should never let go, or loosen our tenacious hold upon the idea: The Church was *one* in the beginning—visibly and organically one—and it will be such in the end. Such, too, is it now, notwithstanding the appearances of rupture and disorganization that may be charged upon it, or that do actually exist. Its real visibility is its antagonism to a world lying in wickedness; and while this shows itself, its true visible unity can not be lost, either in a broad subjectiveness, or in an imposing outward formality that retains the name without the substance.

"Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world." The very language implies difficulty, instead of a smooth, labor-saving, thought-saving doctrine of objective or personal infallibility. It is not said, the Church, even as a

whole, shall never err, it shall never be in darkness, it shall never have its outward organization impaired, it shall never have to struggle with *corruptions*, it shall never be torn by *disruptions*, such as corruption breeds and necessitates. "Lo, I am with you." The very style of the address is a forecasting of stormy times. It indicates deeper perils than those that come from fierce encounters with the world without, or the direct blows of infidel persecution. These are the least of the forces with which omnipotent grace has to contend. "Lo, I am with you," implies still nearer dangers, more inward disorders, such as demand the physician as well as the conqueror, the healing as well as the hero Messiah. It is not the world merely, but difficulties, defections, spiritual diseases within, produced by worldly contact, or the Church's long war with so poisonous and malarious an adversary. Instead of an objective or oracular infallibility, either in the universal body, or in some single individual as an earthly head, this testamentary language seems to intimate that the Church is not only fallible, but that it will be always in danger of failing—sometimes of failing grievously. There stands the promise of eventual triumph; but it is as something ever to be prayed for, notwithstanding—as though shipwreck were ever imminent to a vessel sailing on so tempestuous a sea. An infallible Church, infallible in itself or in some individual earthly head, could have no spiritual probation. To this end it must encounter storms, seasons of peril, not apparent only, but tremendously real. There may have to be the cutting away of masts, the throwing overboard of cargo. The outward form may be sadly marred. Breaches may be demanded by the very work of healing. Deep wounding may be necessary for the better binding up of fractures made by worldliness and corruption. There may be great apparent disorganization, but the promise, "Lo, I am with you," is the warrant for believing that there will never be a total loss of that visible organic unity, however simple, or complex, or, for the time, irregular its form, which was in the beginning, and will be in the end. Such periods as the Reformation are but the fulfillment of the promise.

Division is never to be treated as a good *per se*. I can never go with those who regard denominational distinctions as things totally innocent or indifferent, much less as desirable. But how is there to be brought about a closer organic unity, an ecclesiastical polity, which shall be something more than an Evangelical Alliance, or a mere exhibition, however precious that may be, of fraternal Christian feeling? I feel my utter inability to give any thing like a satisfying answer to such a question. "God only knows," as the devout Mohammedan says; HE alone can solve the problem. Our duty is to believe that he will solve it, and therefore to hold ourselves in readiness for such solution whenever the course of Providential events shall indicate its coming. In the mean time, certain other duties are remarkably clear. There must be no more division. May that man be anathema who seeks to create a new sect. Let union, ecclesiastical union, take place without delay between those bodies that are divided by the least interval. Let the last parting be the first coming together. Let it be deeply impressed on every mind that the greatness of

the sin of schism is in the inverse ratio of the smallness of the dividing interval. Let it be felt that the great organic union prayed for is more likely to be effected by the steady *approach of bodies* than by any spasmodic proselyting of individuals. When a man suddenly jumps from one boat to another, the most probable effect is the driving the two vessels farther apart—especially if he turns round, and, as is too often the case, hurls his missiles at those whom he has left, or manifests a new zeal offensive, by its excess, even to those whose company he has joined. In such a case as this, let no Christian be governed by taste merely, or æsthetic preference, tempting him to leave a plainer organization, or a plainer worship, for one deemed more beautiful and imposing. The taste may be innocent, and even holy, and yet the denial of its gratification demanded by considerations of what may aid or hinder the great cause. In other words, every member of an Evangelical Church, in which "the pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments are administered according to Christ's ordinance," should stay where he is, and where birth, baptism, and God's providence have placed him, faithfully laboring *in such body* for the great cause of ecclesiastical unity, ever praying and ever watching for that more perfect consummation which God alone can bring about. Above all should he avoid every word and every deed which may in the least *impede* or discourage such a result, allowing nothing, unless it be a supposed peril to his salvation, to change a purpose thus formed.

In the present state of the Church, there is a duty preparatory to outward schemes for a closer ecclesiastical organization. They will be in vain without the cultivation, in each separate body, of a Churchly feeling in distinction from the mechanical Ecclesiasticism of Rome on the one hand, and the extreme broad Churchism, or loose subjectiveness of ultra-Protestantism, on the other. It can not be denied that in the revulsions of the Reformation, and more evidently since, there has been a departure which must be regained. There has been not a loss, but an obscuring, or, rather, a suffering to lie obsolete of certain ideas which must be stamped with a new impression, if the modern Church would firmly link itself with the past. Surely it needs no proof that one characteristic of our *most* modern thinking is the tendency to an extreme individualism. Church and State both show it. The true idea of the latter is running down to that of a mass meeting or lynch law mob, re-asserting the inherent sovereignty of each atom of which it is composed. The "compact" theory, deriving government solely from the individual assent, can most easily be proved to be false; but it is destroying the proper idea of the civic organism as ordained of God. So in theology and anthropology. There is no *humanity*, it is held, except as an abstraction or figure of speech; only individual men. There is no God-created and Satan-tempted humanity, by partaking of which individuals become *men*. Any one who studies this must see how it affects the doctrines of the human fall and the human redemption, or that problem of the first and second Adam which finds its only solution in the true idea of the Church. In some of its aspects, our most modern science carries still further this extreme disor-

ganizing nominalism. There is nothing generic, nothing specific, no fixed being, no universals of any kind, only individual atoms. All things else that may seem to be are but the everflowing changes and combinations of these, the only eternal and unchanging realities. Such are the extremes of the tendency; but in a more moderate degree it affects the mind of our Protestant churches, and must be counteracted if we would cultivate a true churchly feeling, or believe in the Church as any thing more than a mass *aggregate* of undefined irregularities. Closely allied to this is the false humanitarianism, or that which views man irrespective of those ideas of ruin and redemption which can alone give birth to a true philanthropy—those doctrines apparently so severe, but which alone contain the true milk of human kindness. What I would express in the most general terms is that there can not be any true *organic action*—and it had better not be attempted by us—until a firm basis can be found in the cultivation of *organic ideas*. Aside from this, it would be like the attempt at building a structure with separate pebbles, without variety and without cement to hold them together. Such would be all political or social compacts, all religious alliances, that have no other adhesion than what comes from this inorganic and unchurchly individualism.

There are other churchly ideas which must be thus cultivated previous to a successful organic action. I can barely touch upon them. There is, first of all, the idea of the mystic union between Christ and believers, whether regarded as flowing from, or as constitutive of, union between Christ and his Church—that “great mystery” which the apostle symbolizes by the marriage relation. As a *fact* ineffable, nothing is more clearly taught in the Scriptures. In its *rationale* it is something into which the archangels “might stoop down to look.” I am too poor a Christian for the discussion of a theme so holy. I can not even touch upon it without a feeling of intrusion into a mystery too sacred for my poor measure of faith. As a *fact* believed, as something more than a moral influence, or intellectual agreement, or emotional sympathy, it certainly entered most deeply into the mind of the early Church. “Men in Christ”—*Christophoroi*, “Christ-bearers”—they called themselves. It was no mere figure, but the most sublime of realities. It was no mere term of discipleship, much less any mere nominalistic generalization, but the solid ground of their purest churchly feeling. There can only be expressed the deep conviction that in the revival and re-impression of this idea is to be found the most efficient aid to a true spiritual communion. Then, too, when it becomes predominant in Christian hearts, there may disclose itself more clearly that way of visible outward realization to which we all are looking. In the mean time, there are two practical considerations, of highest importance, that present themselves as flowing from this idea, in itself so ineffable. Are believers truly *Christophoroi*, “Christ-bearers?”—then should we regard no error, whether in relation to doctrine or to Church organization, so perilous as the rejection of any one with whom we have reason to believe Christ dwells. In the second place, if we think of ourselves as in membership with this sacred body, then the humblest Christian, the most ignorant, the most unculti-

vated, the most lowly in the social scale, should be deemed nearer to us, more esteemed, more beloved, not merely aesthetically, condescendingly, sentimentally, but truly, heartily, practically, than the most cultivated, the most learned, the highest in earthly rank, that belongs not to the family of Christ.

I would turn to other and plainer views connected with this general theme. The Communion of Saints has its historical aspect, the thought of which is most important to be revived at the present day. Nothing is more unchurchly than that mode of thinking and feeling which separates us from the past as though it were a chapter closed, and our present Christianity a thing by itself, the same as though it were now anew established in the earth. I allude not now to councils, or to ordinal successions, or to Church history as a mere recorded series of events from which we are to learn or from which we are to take warning, but to that great vital continuance to which the name Church may be given as well as to any existing congregation. No man can carefully read ecclesiastical history without seeing that there has been all along a most real life, most distinctly separated from the worldly life. There is the line of unearthly characters, the product of an unearthly power—a perpetual miracle, an unbroken series of such unearthly manifestations, extending from the Apostolical through the Patristic, the Roman, the Mediæval, the Protestant, the Modern Church. It is the line in which appear Paul, Cyprian, Augustine, Anselm, Bernard, Luther, Calvin, Pascal, Hooker, Ken, Edwards, Chalmers, down to our own times. It is not a mere fancied *catena*, with links arbitrarily supplied. This stream of life flows on amidst all the apparent confusion of ecclesiastical history. Let infidels say, too, what they will about the endless diversity of creeds; there has been all along this stream of vitality a marvelous unity of belief. “All these died in faith, holding fast ‘the doctrines of grace.’” It is the best name that can be given to that system of truth distinguished from all other by the deep impression it has ever made, and the incalculable importance its recipients ever attached to it—the tenacious truth, ever holding its own, ever recovering from attack, and from which all divergencies have ever wandered more and more until lost in the utter darkness of atheistic infidelity. It differs, too, from all other views by this decided mark—that it ever makes religion a great and fearful thing. Rejecters have ever been afraid of it. This was its essential orthodoxy, as it may be described without any theological technics: a great perdition from which to be rescued, a great and most real peril to man, a great salvation, a great and divine Saviour. Those who in their hearts hold these ideas as thus generally presented can not be said to differ much in any more specific statements of orthodoxy. Grace is the significant word—grace as distinct from every idea that ever springs from any mere earthly thinking. Man ruined by himself, and saved by God; lost in Adam, found in Christ. Here has been the Church, the visible Church—visible in the light of this Word. With this Church we should love to be in communion, to agree with it in doctrine, to interpret by it, and with it, the Word of God. The opposite feeling, which ever delights in some-

thing new, new views of doctrine, new interpretations of Scripture, every thing, in short, that separates us from the past, or which feeds the unnatural thought that the *Lux Mundi* has been darkness for 1800 years, or until our light has been thrown upon it—this is *heresy*, the spirit of heresy, which is a bad *feeling*, a bad, unchurchly, separating, individualizing state of soul, rather than any peculiar opinions in themselves considered. So, on the other hand, a love to agree, a strong desire to think with the godly mind of all ages, a sorrow at differing from it, a most careful examination and re-examination of private judgment when it leads that way—this is orthodoxy. The definition may not be very logical for the head, but it is clear to the Christian heart.

Let me mention, as closely allied to this, another of these churchly ideas that we should cultivate. It is that of the Church in Paradise:

"One people of the living God,
One Church above, below;
Part of the host have crossed the flood,
And part are crossing now."

Here, too, a just revulsion from the Romish abuse has driven the Protestant mind too far in the other direction. The thought of the Christian dead—not merely of the near and known departed, but of the Christian dead of past ages—has too little hold on our Protestant churches. It is not that we do not think of them at all, but that we do not think of them as in unbroken communion with the Church on earth. Rome might seem to have the advantage here, and it might be conceded, were it not for the abuse she has made of it in the doctrine of Purgatory, and of priestly deliverance. But surely there is a lack here, in Protestant Christendom, that may be confessed. There might be religious services in connection with this idea, memorial worship, without any sanction of Rome's awful error, and furnishing, in fact, the most direct mode of condemning it. Such memorial worship there might be, unconnected with any idea of peril to those who sleep in Christ, while full of the richest spiritual nourishment to the souls of the living.

With another thought I will bring my discursive letter to a close—"The people of God." I have already alluded to the preciousness of the expression. "The elect of God." As a Calvinist, I am very fond, too, of that term; but the other is the one in which we can better harmonize. It is suggestive of another phrase, having also, when rightly viewed, a high churchly value—"The Word of God," the Holy Scriptures, or the Word of God *written*, in its close analogy with the Word incarnate. The one phrase presents a significance inseparable from the other. The "Word of God" can not be disjoined in idea from the "People of God." Aside from this, it is simply "a book," as some of the Rationalists have contemptuously called it. Even as "a book" of written or printed characters, it has an inestimable value. It is the record, the conserving vehicle; but, strictly speaking, it is not the Word itself. The completeness of that idea demands an ear, a soul to which it is addressed. Nor is this a mere verbal or air-beating proposition. The "Word of God" demands a "People of God," to whom it is the Word, and without which it is, in a religious sense, *Vox, et præter-*

ea nihil—not in stone, or wood, or parchment printed, but in human hearts, in the collective heart of the new humanity. It is this which makes it the "living Word"—*Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ζῶν καὶ ἐνεργῆς* (Heb. iv., 12)—having its power, its very *being*, in the souls of God's people, the universal churchly mind. I barely touch upon it in this imperfect way to show the connection of ideas, and as a protest against that view which would lock it up in convents and libraries, to be doled out in a sort of priestly alms-giving, even if such doling were any thing more, in most cases, than the sheerest pretense. Protestants have been charged with Bible worship; but, as thus regarded, the love of the Holy Scriptures, leading to their devout and universal study, is one of the most churchly of affections. It is not only the voice of God in the Church, but the vernacular language of the "People of God," the expression of their life, more valuable as such than any mere exegetical accuracy. You who know my favorite pursuits will certainly not suspect me of undervaluing the latter; but, after all, learned exegesis has its chief worth as a conservative influence, exercising a proper check upon the devout imagination, but leaving the great heart of Scripture as it has ever affected the pious mind in all ages of Christendom from Jerome to Matthew Henry. There is truth, then, in the idea of the Bible being the book of the Church, and of the Church being its true interpreter. But this must not be caricatured. It does not mean that, when perplexed with a difficult passage in Job, I am to send for light to the infallible one in Rome, or to the parish priest as his most accessible temporary delegate. Even that would be an exercise of my private judgment, though a very foolish one. Church interpretation is a very different thing from this. I am to realize the precious idea by seeking, as far as I can obtain it, the mind of that old, unearthly, churchly series of unearthly men. I must seek the spiritual food on which they lived. Those hearty, practical interpretations of Scripture which are thus sanctioned as belonging to this living *catena*, I should love. I ought to rejoice in agreement. I ought to feel pain if the most honest and faithful exegesis compelled a difference. I should believe that, even in their outward errors, they were nearer the heart of the Giver of that Word than the dry exegete, whose whole mind is upon the letter that only killeth when that life is wanting and that voice is not heard.

I have done injustice to this latter topic, but you will pardon it as an attempt to set forth one of the most precious of *organic ideas* that must be cultivated as preparatory to any successful *organic action*. The Bible and the Church; he is no friend of either who would regard one as in any aspect, or in any degree, excluding the other. Any organization that calls itself the Church, and yet locks up the Word which God has addressed to his people, thereby proves its great deficiency, if not the utter falseness of its claim.

If any thing in what I have written has the appearance of being too dogmatic, ascribe it to the difficulty of expressing briefly ideas that seemed of so much importance. With Christian affection and esteem, yours truly,

TAYLER LEWIS.

To the Rev. President POTTER, D.D.

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS—MODES OF ITS PROMOTION AND MANIFESTATION.

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THE article of the Christian Creed* which expresses belief in the communion of saints is one of comparatively late introduction; but the truth declared by the expression is a fundamental one, based upon the Word of God, full of the richest comfort, and well calculated in its realization to promote to the highest extent the holiness and prosperity of the Church of Christ. In order to appreciate the force of the article—"I believe in the communion of saints"—it will be necessary to define the word *Communion*, and to keep the definition constantly in view.

Communion is more than intercourse; though the word is frequently used in a loose sense, as if it meant nothing more—as when we speak of "a season of refreshing communion between Christians." Communion—*κοινωνία* (comp. *κοινωνός*, Philem. 17; -oi, Luke v., 10)—is properly *fellowship*; a participation enjoyed by those who are mutually concerned, in things which they hold in common. By the covenant of grace the believer is taken into certain relations with God, with each Person of the Holy Trinity; and those relations insure fellowship, participation, *communion* in the particular blessings which, according to revealed arrangements, each Person of the Trinity vouchsafes to confer. Again, the relations with God establish a relation among believers themselves, as among those who are interested in the same Father, the same Saviour, the same Sanctifier. The communion, then, or fellowship of the saints (*ἡ κοινωνία τῶν ἁγίων, communicatio sanctorum*), is the mutual participation of the saints in all those matters which pertain to them as the people brought into covenant with God; and the phrase thus understood will prove to be a most comprehensive one, involving, and indeed expressing, a guarantee of the highest privileges to the possession of which men are introduced by the gracious purposes of Redeeming Love.†

I. The comprehensiveness of the phrase will best be seen by a reference to the passages of the New Testament in which mention is made of the fellowship to which the

believer is admitted. Observe the following as speaking of it generally:

"Our fellowship (*κοινωνία*) is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ" (1 John i., 3).

"God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship (*κοινωνία*) of his Son Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. i., 9).

"The communion (*κοινωνία*) of the Holy Ghost be with you all" (2 Cor. xiii., 14).

"If there be any fellowship (*κοινωνία*) of the Spirit" (Phil. ii., 1).

"The things which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship (*κοινωνία*) with us" (1 John i., 3).

To these may be added the passage in the seventh verse of the first chapter of St. John's First Epistle: "If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship (*κοινωνία*) one with another;" which may refer either to the fellowship between believers, or—which I believe to be preferable—the fellowship between the believer who walks in the light and God who is himself the Light.

What a view is here given of the exalted condition of the spiritual Christian! With the Eternal Father, with Jesus in all his fullness, with the Holy Ghost, with every fellow-disciple of the heavenly Lord, he is made a partaker. Special ties bind him to each of these; special joys flow from the existing union; special duties claim performance; special privileges bring their honor and delight.

"Oh! child of God—oh! Glory's heir,
How rich a lot is thine."

I must ask you to glance briefly at the several branches of this fellowship or communion, as indicated by the Scriptures just now quoted when compared with parallel passages. We can not bestow more than a glance, as the time necessarily forbids any attempt at dwelling upon the several points, although their attractiveness might well enchain us with a never-failing power. We will keep close to the teaching of the New Testament, using, indeed, for the most part, its very words.

i. *Our fellowship or communion is with the Father.* "Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we

* Pearson, "Creed, in Art."

† "The communion of saints is a holy conjunction between all God's people," etc.—Owen, *Principles of the Doctrine of Christ*, ch. xxv.

ery, Abba, Father" (Rom. viii., 15). The Eternal God regards the believer as his child, and the fatherly relation secures—

(1) A share in his nature. "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us that we should be called the children of God" (1 John iii., 1). As those "begotten again" unto a living hope, "born again of inconvertible seed" (1 Pet. i., 3, 23), there are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises that by these we might be *partakers of the divine nature* (Θείας κοινωνιᾶς φύσεως) (2 Pet. i., 4).

(2) Because of this there is granted to us a share in the Father's light. "God is Light. . . . If we say that we have fellowship (κοινωνία) with him, and walk in darkness, we lie . . . but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship (κοινωνίαν) one with another" (1 John i., 5-7). Those who walk in light do so because the Light vouchsafes to dwell in them and shine forth from them; so that the light of their life is really the divine presence *communicated* to them, and exhibiting itself in their deeds and words.

(3) Believers also have a fellowship in the Father's kingdom. They are his heirs (κληρονόμοι [Rom. viii., 17]); interested now in the inheritance as those who are made kings unto God (Rev. i., 6), and with a prospect before them described in this glowing language: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has begotten us again . . . to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, unfading, reserved in heaven" (1 Pet. i., 3, 4).

Such is the communion or fellowship of the saints with the Father—fellowship securing a share in his nature, his light, his kingdom—fellowship most intimately affecting the believer's standing, his life, and his future portion.

ii. Again: *Our fellowship is with his Son Jesus Christ.* We are one with Christ and Christ with us. Union with Jesus by faith involves—

(1) Fellowship with him in life. Behold in Jesus "the Prince of Life" (τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς [Acts iii., 15]). And he speaks thus, "Abide in me and I in you" (John xv., 4). "Because I live ye shall live also" (John xiv., 19). "Christ, who is our life" (Col. iii., 4), has declared, "He that eateth me"—he that partakes of me as the living bread of the soul—"even he shall live by me" (John vi., 57).

(2) Fellowship in righteousness also results from union with Jesus. Behold in him "the Lord our righteousness" (Jer. xxiii., 6). Incorporated in him the believer has all that he can bestow. To use the words of Hooker, "The man being found in Christ through faith, him God accepteth in Jesus Christ as perfectly righteous as if he had fulfilled all that is commanded him in the law:

shall I say more perfectly righteous than if himself had fulfilled the whole law? I must take heed what I say; but the apostle saith, 'God made him which knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him'" (Serm. ii., 6).

(3) With this there is fellowship in grace. Behold in Jesus the one to whom the Father hath given the Spirit without measure (John iii., 34). And is it not written, "Of his fullness have all we received, and grace for grace" (John i., 16). And again, "Blessed be God . . . who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ" (Eph. i., 3).

(4) There is also for us fellowship in his sufferings. Behold in Jesus the "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief" (Isa. liii., 3). To him, the Head, must the members be conformed; though, indeed, we do not reckon upon this, and are too prone to forget or overlook it. But we are "joint heirs with Christ, if so be that we suffer with him" (Rom. viii., 17). And the illusions to this in the New Testament are interesting from the use which the inspired writers make of the very word *κοινωνία*, or *κοινωνός*, when speaking on the point, as may be seen by referring to 2 Cor. i., 7; Phil. iii., 10; 1 Pet. iv., 13.

(5) We have, too, with Jesus, fellowship in glory. Behold him as the exalted Prince to whom all power is given (Aets v., 31; Matt. xxviii., 18). Now listen to his words: "The glory which Thou gavest me I have given them" (John xvii., 22). "He that overcometh, to him will I give power over the nations, and he shall rule them . . . even as I received of my Father" (Rev. ii., 26, 27). "To him will I grant to sit with me in my throne" (Rev. iii., 21). Therefore Peter wrote, "I am a partaker (κοινωνός) of the glory that shall be revealed;" and John, "I am a companion (συνκοινωνός) in the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

Such is the fellowship or communion of the saints with the Son; which, like that with the Father, concerns the believer's standing in life and righteousness, his present course in action and suffering, and his future manifestation in glory.

iii. The saints enjoy also *the fellowship of the Spirit.* "He hath given us of his Spirit" (1 John iv., 13). "God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts" (Gal. iv., 6). In touching upon this, I will but passingly remind you that by this fellowship we are made partakers of all the sanctifying influences of the Holy Ghost, as well as of all his consolations. Then more especially let me direct you to some words in our Lord's parting discourse to his disciples, which give to one particular of the communion of the Holy Ghost a prominence which is, I fear, much overlooked. In the 15th chapter of St. John's Gospel, at the 26th and 27th verses, the words of Jesus are these: "When the

Comforter is come. . . . He shall testify of me; and ye also shall bear witness." Here, then, is fellowship with the Spirit in testimony to Christ. What a glorious privilege is this—to be placed, so to speak, on the same level, to occupy the same platform, with the Spirit, to share his special work of witnessing among men to the grace and love of Jesus our Lord!

Thus, while contemplating from the revelations of Scripture the communion which the believer has with God, it is as though in a heavenly vision each Person of the Trinity draws nigh and speaks after this manner to the trusting and expectant soul: "I possess such or such benefits and privileges. I admit thee to a share in them. As the Father, as the Son, as the Spirit, I make thee a partaker (*κοινωνός*); I bless thee with communion (*κοινωνία*). Thou shalt participate in all the riches of grace and glory which, in the economy of redemption, it is my prerogative to bestow."

Oh! with what joy, beloved in Christ, should such thoughts as these fill our souls! What earnestness should they excite within us to make the due return on our part to the God of all grace, that the communion with Him may be as complete as possible. For this fellowship, remember, is mutual. *God* condescends to establish it *with us*; we are privileged to maintain it *with him*. Let us enter more fully into its joys: toward the Father, by the exercise of love, trust, worship, and obedience; toward the Son, in faith, imitation, and gratitude; toward the Spirit, by walking after his guidance, and by not grieving him or quenching his influences.

iv. We have now to consider the *communion which the saints have with one another*. I here omit all reference to that communion which may exist with the angels or with the Church triumphant,* as well as to the merely external fellowship between the real and the merely nominal disciples of the Lord, and will but notice a few passages of the New Testament which afford instructive illustration of this part of the subject.

I will quote some lines from Pearson's "Exposition of the Creed" (p. 663, Chevalier's edition): "The saints of God living in the Church of Christ have communion with all the saints living in the same Church. . . . We all have benefit of the same ordinances, all partake of the same promises; we are all endowed with the graces of the same Spirit, all united with the same mutual love and affection, keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; all ingrafted into the same stock, and so receiving life from the same root; all holding the same Head, from which all the body, by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit to-

* On the communion between the Church triumphant and the Church militant, see Owen, "On the Person of Christ," chap. xx.

gether, increaseth with the increase of God; . . . and being (i. e., since) the Head of the body is Christ, and all the saints are members of that body, they all partake of the same nourishment, and so have all communion among themselves."

As I have just said, the nature of this fellowship will receive instructive illustration from some notices of it which may be found in the New Testament.

When St. Luke describes the state of things which characterized the early disciples, he tells us that they continued steadfastly in fellowship, *τῇ κοινωνίᾳ* (Acts ii., 42). There was among them a realization and exhibition of their common blessings; their unity, their mutual interest, and care.

The words of St. Paul to the Romans, "The Gentiles have been made partakers (*ἰκοινωνήσαν*) of their spiritual things" (xv., 27), teach us that the blessings of the Gospel animate the soul with the desire to receive and welcome others to the enjoyment of them. With such a feeling it was that the apostle wrote, "I thank my God for your fellowship (*κοινωνία*) in the Gospel" (Phil. i., 3, 5).

There are two very interesting passages, one in Gal. vi., 6, and the other in Phil. iv., 15, which show the result of Christian fellowship in the kindly feelings of the general brotherhood toward those who minister to them the Word of God. "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto (*κοινωνεῖτω*, let him exercise fellowship with) him that teacheth in all good things." "Ye Philippians, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated (*ἰκοινωνήσεν*, practiced fellowship) with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only."

To which it may be added that the passage just now quoted (Rom. xv., 26, 27) shows that spiritual fellowship is intended to lead to such an exercise of liberality as shows a recognition of mutual interest in temporal goods.

Two others may be grouped together: "Praying us . . . that we would . . . take upon us the fellowship (*κοινωνίαν*) of the ministering to the saints" (2 Cor. viii, 4); and "they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship (*κοινωνίας*)" (Gal. ii., 9). From these we learn that there is a fellowship in ministry, either in performing part of the same work, or in occupying different spheres with the same end in view, even the spread of the truth of Jesus and the extension of his kingdom.

These quotations make sufficiently evident the character of that communion which exists among the saints. Based as it is on the communion which they all enjoy with their one covenant God, their Father, their Saviour, their Sanctifier, consisting as it does of the mutual interest which they all possess in the rich spiritual blessings of the new covenant, it involves, as among themselves,

all the consideration that results from their unity in Christ, all the joint service that can promote the cause and glory of their God. And if we search for the root from which such *practical* communion takes its spring, we find it in the *essential* fellowship which the Father has established among his children by making them "fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ" (Eph. iii., 6), and thus introducing them to the advantages of "the *common* faith" (Tit. i., 4) and "the *common* salvation" (Jude 3).

I almost feel that an apology is necessary for the very cursory sketch which I have offered of this part of my subject. Yet, under the circumstances, I can only aim at affording material for future thought and study. I give but an outline, which you may at leisure make more complete for yourselves. While, however, I have done little more than enumerate the various particulars which may illustrate the communion of the saints, I have been induced to notice them in detail, because a proper Scriptural opinion as to this communion or fellowship can alone enable us to decide upon the other points mentioned in the great subject now under review. The modes of promoting and manifesting communion, and the assertion that Christian union is consistent with denominational distinctions, must depend upon a correct idea of communion itself. We can not build without a sound basis; we can not insure a right direction without some knowledge of the tendency of our impelling force; nor is it possible for us to appreciate the great truth which it is proposed eventually to establish—I mean that Christian union exists independently of our sectional differences—unless we understand what Christian fellowship is and what it involves, and so place ourselves in a position to discover whether there is, or is not, any thing in the *essence* of Christian fellowship with which denominational distinctions must necessarily interfere.

II. I will only touch for a short time on the modes of promoting and manifesting the communion of saints.

This portion of the subject is, I presume, intended more particularly to embrace the fellowship which believers have among themselves, and to suggest an inquiry into the means by which its benefits may be most effectually enjoyed for the general good. If I have done well in fixing as the starting-point of all advance in this department of the Christian life the plain teaching of the Word of God, it is clear that we can only progress in the direction pointed out by observing the principles which the Word inculcates, and cultivating the spirit which it enjoins. Attention to this will render it no difficult matter to ascertain how we may best promote and manifest our communion.

i. Let there be, then, an earnest desire, in the first place, to maintain the enjoyment of that fellowship which exists between the believer and the several Persons of the all-gracious Trinity. The whole Christian life, in its relation to man, receives its efficacy and beauty from the health of the Christian life in its relation to God. True, there may be a perfunctory performance of many stated duties which as Christians we owe to one another, while communion with the Father, the Son, and the Spirit is not carefully encouraged on our part; but only this communion with God—longed after, realized, enjoyed—will preserve for us the gracious and considerate mind which makes communion with each other delightful, and renders men earnest and real in the pursuit and preservation of it.

If, therefore, so far as in us lies, we would promote communion, let us aim at the realization of our sonship; that we are children of God, that our fellow-believers are the same, that there is "one God and Father of all." Let us live among ourselves as those who are partakers of the divine nature, called as members of one family to walk in light and love, journeying with thousands of others to the one home. What is the prime unailing spring of family affection, that affection which exhibits the ideal of the family in so many living realities among us? Surely it is this—a common origin, a common parentage. The more, then, that we prove the joy of communion with our God and Father in Christ, the more keenly alive shall we be to the force of the apostle's words: "Every one that loveth him that begat loveth him also that is begotten of him" (1 John v., 1); and when the temptation arises which may urge us to strife or misunderstanding, the more readily shall we be influenced by the question of Moses to the quarreling Israelites, "Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?" (Acts vii., 26).

ii. For this end also let us cultivate a deepening sense of our fellowship, as believers, with Jesus. Is he not for us the living Centre, the attractive One, that regulates all who surround him? Oh! let us but draw closer to him, and of necessity it follows that we shall approach continually nearer to each other. The body, to use St. Paul's phrase, will be "knit together" (Col. ii., 19). Realized oneness with Christ is that which brings individuals and churches into genuine communion. Christ Jesus is the centre of the circle; his believing members, and the Christian societies which they compose, are as points on the circumference. How will you make these points mutually approach? By bringing some nearer to others? No: for then you will increase the distance between them and others again. But lessen your circumference; in other words, bring every

point nearer to the centre, and it can not be otherwise than that the points will all close up—the nearer they are to one another, the nearer they are to Christ.

iii. Let us also seek a more abiding experience of the communion of the Holy Ghost. Is he the Comforter, and have we fellowship with him? Then must we aim at “comforting them which are in any trouble by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God” (2 Cor. i., 4). Is he the Sanctifier, and are we made partakers of his holiness? Then must it be our part to promote the growth in spirituality of our brethren, that “the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, may make increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love” (Eph. iv., 16). Is the Spirit the great witness for Jesus, with whom the disciples are associated by the Lord himself? How, let me ask, can we more effectually bear our testimony so as to affect the world than by the exhibition of that love and unity which our Lord has thus solemnly commended: “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” (John xvii., 20, 21).

iv. So much as regards the promotion and manifestation of communion by the cultivation of our fellowship with God. And as to the practical display of it among ourselves, what better can we do than frame our life and conduct after the Scriptural rules so evidently urged, so exquisitely illustrated, in the pages of the New Testament? Should we not, like the early disciples, continue steadfast in fellowship as well as in doctrine? Should we not aim at making others partakers of our spiritual things? Should we not encourage, as between ministers and people, as between fellow-workers in the same or in different spheres, the interchange of the ever warm grasp of the right hand of fellowship? Yes; unquestionably we should. And let us do so. This meeting—oh! God grant that it may give a higher tone to our Christian communion than has ever hitherto been attained. Beloved, as those who profess to be one with the Lord Jesus, let us remember with especial care that those who are *one with him* are *one with each other* in him. The holy fellowship which during the days of this Conference exhibits itself in so practical a shape before the eyes of Christendom—is it not a reality? Yes; assuredly it is—an even greater reality in the purpose of our divine Master than it is in our intention. It is an attempt—imperfect, perhaps, but still an attempt—at the realization of his prayer, “That they all may be one.” It

affords a foretaste of the joy of that desirable, that anticipated day, when “there shall be one Lord, and his name one” (Zech. xiv., 9); when “there shall be one flock and one Shepherd” (John x., 16). To-day we do not utter the wish, “*Unum corpus sumus in Christo;*” we make the solemn, the glad declaration, “*Unum corpus sumus in Christo.*” Let us, then, keep this feast—for we are, as Israel of old, gathered from all parts for a festival—let us keep this feast, and let us return to our homes, when we have kept it, as those who confess that *Christ is all* and that *Christ is in all*. Let us watch and pray against “whatsoever may hinder us from godly union and concord; that as there is but one body and one spirit and one hope of our calling—one Lord, one faith, one baptism—one God and Father of us all—so we may henceforth be all of one heart and of one soul, united in our holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.” Brethren, “to do good and to communicate,” or, as I may more correctly render it, encouraged by the subject and the occasion, “Of well-doing and of fellowship be not forgetful; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased” (Heb. xiii., 16).

I now come to the concluding point for our consideration—the assertion that Christian union is consistent with denominational distinction. Alas! that after the lapse of eighteen centuries from the establishment of the Christian Church among men, it should be necessary to advance arguments upon this topic. Surely we should receive it as an axiom; not argue about it as a matter demanding proof. Yet error is so pertinacious, and false views of union are so common—while the conditions of union propounded by some are so extravagant—that it is well for us, especially on an occasion like the present, to restate, as it were, the case, and proclaim without hesitation the conviction of our hearts, resting as that conviction does upon firm and sufficient grounds.

The true idea of Christian union may evidently be drawn from the Scriptural teaching which has been delivered in reference to the fellowship of the saints. Now it is certain that the New Testament nowhere shows this fellowship, resulting as it does from union, to be dependent on externals. Oneness *with Christ* is really the essential basis of oneness *in Christ*.

For a few moments recall to your minds what the communion of the saints has been shown to be, according to the voice of the New Testament. The saints have communion with the Father in nature, light, and kingdom; with the Son in life, righteousness, grace, sufferings, and glory; with the Spirit in sanctifying influences, consolations, and testimony; and with each other in all the spiritual blessings of the new covenant,

in the affections which result from their unity in Christ, and in the service which they can render to advance the glory of God. Now can it be said that differences of organization, of ecclesiastical regimen, of forms of worship, affect any one of these branches of communion? Is it possible to assert, with any truth, that Christians whose religious bodies are organized on different models can not alike call God their Father?—that those who put themselves under various kinds of Church government can not alike rejoice in Jesus as their Saviour?—that individuals who adopt this or that or the other form of worship can not alike enjoy the precious presence of the Holy Ghost? Is it possible to say that these various bands of Christians can not realize the joys of a common faith and a common salvation?—that they can not be linked in fraternal intercourse, and with mutual good wishes encourage one another in serving and glorifying their God? Questions like these need only be asked to make it evident that you can not answer them in the affirmative, unless you put indifferent things in the place of that which is essential, and insist upon settling in your own way matters which God has seen fit to leave unsettled in his Word.

For it is manifest that such matters as the constitution of churches, their internal organization, their forms of worship, are not clearly and strictly defined or prescribed in the New Testament. I say, it is manifest that these are not so prescribed; for, if they be, it would be easy to show the Scriptural ideal in each respect. Then it would follow that if any one of the existing forms could be shown to be alone right, all the rest would be wrong. But, strong as our preferences may be for one or another mode of organization and worship, none of us will venture to assert that he and his alone possess the true secret of worship—alone command the springs which fill the sweet wells of fellowship with God and man. To assert this, or any thing like it, would be to thrust all others on one side and call them “Esau,” while they might cry in vain, “Hast thou but one blessing, O my father?” But then it might be retaliated upon ourselves with too much truth, “Is he not rightly named *Jacob*, because he hath supplanted me?” Weighty and solemn are the words of one who wrote well and boldly on the unity of the Church: “If the body holds to the *one Head*, and is animated by the *one faith*, and is sanctified by the *one baptism*, it is a Church before God; and woe to us if we deny that it is so! Our denial will recoil upon our own heads; and we shall only cut ourselves off from the blessings of Christian communion with those by whose faith and knowledge and love we might otherwise be instructed and edified.”*

* Archdeacon Hare, “Sermon on the Unity of the Church;” Note, A, D.

I need not, however, enlarge in this strain. We admit with readiness, with gladness, that the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, the Congregationalist—all the Christian brethren, indeed who “hold the Head”—have, severally and with each other, communion with the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; that they experience this communion; that they can and do communicate with each other in the practical manifestations of fellowship noticed and enforced in the Scriptural statements to which reference has been made in this address. The Evangelical Alliance is a standing witness to the fact that hundreds of Christians make this admission, and rejoice in making it. The present Conference, the most imposing display of Christian fellowship that the world has ever seen, is a living illustration of the truth that union in Christ is consistent with denominational distinctions.

Fellow-believers, brethren and sisters in Christ, we who are here assembled can apply to ourselves, and to this our association, the grand passage in the fourth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, to which I have already adverted. We profess and proclaim, by this important demonstration, that we, humbly yet confidently speaking in dependence on divine grace, have fellowship with God and with each other; that we realize, not the possibility, but the fact of our Christian union, while recognizing the existence—I may almost say the necessary existence—of our differences in constitution, arrangement, and form. We do not ask for uniformity; we assert our unity. There is, indeed, a uniformity, according to Hooker's idea, which all several persons belonging to the visible body and Church of Christ have, by reason of that one Lord, “whose servants they all profess themselves, that one faith which they all acknowledge, that one baptism wherewith they are all initiated.”* This uniformity we own; but we have learned that uniformity, in the ordinary sense of the word, is by no means the shape in which unity necessarily manifests itself, and that the desire of imposing it is one of the commonest errors of our weak, self-relying, narrow-hearted, stiff-minded nature. Uniformity is of man, and we have already too much of what is of man to wish for more. Unity is of God, and we long for an increase of that which is of him and from him. Uniformity, let me repeat, is of man. Man can frame you a machine so ordered and regulated that a thousand of its products shall come forth all alike, cast in the same mould, running in the same groove, unvarying, indistinguishable. But it is not so with the works of God. Do you find uniformity among the members of the human race? Look at the hundreds of men and

* E. P., III., i., 4.

women in this room. Is there any uniformity in the figures, the faces, the features, the expressions of all these? There is a unity of design and end in the sexes, but what a diversity in the individuals! Do you find uniformity in the leaves of the wood, in the waves of the sea, in the stars of heaven, where one star differeth from another star in glory? No. And "they who have seen the blessed vision of unity, with the prayer of the Saviour breathing through it as the spirit of its life, and the smile of the Father beaming upon it, how can they turn from this to dote upon any thing so shadowy, so harsh, so empty as mere uniformity? or how can they care much about uniformity, except so far as it is indeed the expression of a living love for unity, submitting its own heart and mind to do as others do for the sake of a more entire union and communion?"* Let us prize, if we will, our own peculiar modes—I do not know why men should not have their preferences; let us be glad when others adopt our views, if we can win them without base proselytism—I do not know why men should not encourage an honorable *esprit de corps*; but above all this sectional feeling let us put the welfare of the common, universal Church of Christ—the promotion and development of our oneness in him who prayed that we may be one.

Union—this is the true condition of the body animated by the spirit. The spirit it is which keeps up the union in the natural body: let the spirit be absent, the body wastes, corrupts, decays, crumbles to its atoms. The presence of the Spirit of God, with

whom the saints have fellowship, preserves the union which God has constituted, and which really and essentially exists. What the apostle applies to individuals in a Christian community has its force of application to the churches in the Church. They are members one of another by virtue of communion. None of us can be the head—for the head of the body is Christ; but we are members one of another. And if, in a survey of the churches and their efforts, their theologians, evangelists, and members, we find that one community is blessed with far-sightedness; another with quickness to hear the cry of the world's need; another with skill to mould Christian operations; another with ready swiftness to run upon the Master's bidding—then shall the eye say to the ear, or the hand to the foot, Thou art not of the body? "For the body is not one member, but many. And God hath set the members every one in the body as it hath pleased him. And the eye can not say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. God hath tempered the body together that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. Now, ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular" (see 1 Cor. xii, 14-27).

If so, let it be our care, whatever place in the body we occupy, so to realize our fellowship, so to manifest our oneness, so to live in the communion of the saints, that we may show to the world that Christian union *is* a reality, and that each of us feels in the heart what we have together repeated with the lips, I believe in the communion of the saints.

* Hare, "On the Unity of the Church."

CHRISTIAN LOVE THE BOND OF CHRISTIAN UNION.

BY THE REV. GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., NEW YORK.

As the human body, though composed of many members, is one, so also is Christ and his Church. This body is made one by the operation of the Spirit. "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles; whether we be bond or free." One very important point is, therefore, established: the Church is already one. It can not be made two, or divided; it is one by virtue of a common life. Its unity does not consist in subscription to a common formula; that is unity of opinion. Its unity does not consist in the agreements or resolutions of Christians that they will be one; that would be the unity of a league or compact. Nor does its unity consist in the consent to follow a certain method of practice; that is the fruit of the unity rather than the unity itself.

We can not, therefore, of ourselves, create the unity of the Church. It is already created. We might as well speak of ourselves creating the unity of the human family. The human family is already one by virtue of its descent from a common stock. God has "created of one blood all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth." Whether the members of the human family recognize this fact or not, it remains unaltered. And this is the sin of human nature that we, being of one kind, having one common nature, do not act toward each other in harmony with this relationship. We act as though the human race were not truly and organically one; as though it had not a common destiny; as though all its members were not embraced in the same comprehensive plans of the Providence of God. The members of the human family are brought into more satisfactory relations with one another by the recognition in their conduct of the oneness of the race. The vital unity becomes the ground of the moral and affectional unity.

Now, as the vital unity of the human race remains, whether men recognize it or not, so does the unity of Christ's Church, whether it be or be not clear to the consciousness of Christians. For the Church recognizes as its head the second Adam, its life is his life pervading its members. By the Spirit these members are baptized into one body, the unity is created by a divine power, the power which makes the Church a living body at all. When Christians come to a consciousness that all who are Christ's really are one, be-

cause they are his, then they begin to inquire whether this unity is practically realized. Before this consciousness is developed, they try to form other unities. These are such as the unity founded on acceptance of a creed, which is the most common form that the effort has taken in Protestantism; in a unity of external organization, which is that of Romanism. These fail, as they deserve to fail; the fact that they have led to bloody persecutions is *prima facie* evidence that they are not the true principles of unity. The Christian world has lately made the discovery that the oneness of Christ's Church is not a fact to be created, but one in harmony with which we are to live. He is a Christian who partakes of Christ's life; he is the brother of every one else who partakes of that life. All Christians are therefore of one family; and the problem before them is by their conduct to express the oneness which has been divinely created.

This exhibition of Christ's Church as already one is a leading Pauline idea. With Paul the unity of Christ's body is present, not future, and his effort is to bring his fellow-Christians not to create the oneness, but to apprehend it. Thus he writes to the Galatians: "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek," *i. e.*, there are no distinctions of race recognized; "there is neither bond nor free," *i. e.*, there are no distinctions of condition; "there are neither male nor female," *i. e.*, there are no distinctions of sex; "for they are all one in Christ Jesus." The three great causes of separation among mankind are (1) differences of race, (2) differences of condition, (3) differences of sex. The fact that believers have put on Christ is sufficient, according to Paul, to overcome all these causes of separation, and to create unity. Let it be observed that these causes of separation were more powerfully operative in the ancient world than any causes of separation at work in the Christian world now. Jews and Gentiles after accepting Christ were hedged about by habits and opinions which still kept them apart. We see from the whole tenor of the Gospel history that they were far from thinking alike. Paul reconciled these differences by pointing to their higher unity. The believing slave and the believing master were

in Christ one. According to the ancient system, there was an immense distance maintained between the sexes; there were no pure associations of men and women together. But both sexes were alike redeemed by Christ, and the slavish subjection of the weaker was at an end.

Let us observe further. There are three ideas frequently confounded with each other. The first of these is unity, which is of spirit and life; the second is unanimity, which is oneness of thinking; the third is uniformity, which is oneness of method. The effort to establish the last of these has been given up in Protestantism, and yet it operates as a cause of alienation. It is the effort to establish the second which is now about being abandoned, and Protestant Christians are ready to fall back on the first. When they have so done, they will find that unity of life does produce a sufficient unanimity and a sufficient uniformity; for a oneness of life does, in time, produce a sufficient agreement in thinking and in procedure.

The history of the last century is a striking proof of the correctness of these positions. John Wesley began his labors in the hope of reforming the lives of the English people. The object of his attack was practical ungodliness. In 1760 he issued a circular to fifty ministers of various churches, proposing that they should acknowledge and treat each other as brethren, notwithstanding their differences. In this he says: "I do not ask a union in opinions. They might agree or disagree touching absolute decrees on the one hand or perfection on the other. These may still speak of imputed righteousness, and those of the merits of Christ. Not a union with regard to outward order. Some may still remain quite regular, some quite irregular, and some partly regular: but these things being as they are, as each is persuaded in his own mind, is it not a desirable thing that we should love as brethren?" And again, in 1765, he writes to a minister of the Church of England: "I desire to have a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Christ. We have not only one faith, one hope, one head, but are directly engaging in one warfare. Come, then, ye that love Him, to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." In the spirit of a true catholicity, he publishes a life of Madame Guyon, a Roman Catholic, and of a French Unitarian. The simple law by which he decides the question of Christian union was wherever he saw the image of Christ to recognize in its possessor a brother. What God had accepted he would not call common or unclean.

Yet for the want of a consciousness in the churches of that age of the value of the truth which was so clear to him, he who would have united with all was driven to separate

action, and his followers to separate church organization. And there can not be much done now for the more perfect union of Christians till the consciousness of the essential unity of all who believe truly in Jesus is more perfectly developed. Then the differences which now separate us will melt away in the perception of a higher unity.

May I, without censure, refer further to this great reformer as a leader in the promotion of union of Christian men? I hold in my hand some paragraphs from his sermons on a "Catholic Spirit." Its date is 1771, just one hundred and two years ago. His definitions are those which we have accepted—that personal faith in Christ, and love which is its product, are the true bonds of Christian Union. In looking for the traits in his fellow-man which constitute a claim to fellowship, he asks:

"Do you show your love by your works? While you have time, as you have opportunity, do you, in fact, 'do good to all men,' neighbors or strangers, friends or enemies, good or bad? Do you do them all the good you can; endeavoring to supply all their wants, assisting them, both in body and soul, to the uttermost of your power? If thou art thus minded, may every Christian say yea; if thou art but sincerely desirous of it, and following on till thou attain, then 'thy heart is right, as my heart is with thy heart.' 'If it be, give me thy hand.' I do not mean, 'Be of my opinion.' You need not. I do not expect or desire it. Neither do I mean, 'I will be of your opinion.' I can not. It does not depend on my choice. I can no more think than I can see or hear as I will. Keep your opinion; I mine, and that as steadily as ever. You need not endeavor to come over to me, or bring me over to you. I do not desire to dispute those points, or to hear or speak one word concerning them. Let all opinions alone on one side and the other. Only 'give me thine hand.'"

What he asks for himself from his fellow-Christians is conceived in the same spirit:

"I mean, first, love me. And that not only as thou lovest all mankind; not only as thou lovest thine enemies or the enemies of God, those that hate thee, that 'despitefully use thee, and persecute thee;' not only as a stranger, as one of whom thou knowest neither good nor evil. I am not satisfied with this. No; 'if thine heart be right, as mine with thy heart,' then love me with a very tender affection, as a friend that is closer than a brother, as a brother in Christ, a fellow-citizen of the New Jerusalem, a fellow-soldier engaged in the same warfare, under the Captain of our salvation. Love me as a companion in the kingdom and patience of Jesus, and a joint heir of his glory."

Finally he sums up his whole theory of Christian union in the pithy statement, "Catholic love is a catholic spirit."

CHRISTIAN UNION; OR, THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. EMILE F. COOK, B.A., PARIS.

It is a matter of deep regret to myself and to many others that our venerated brother, Pastor Guillaume Monod, is not here to speak on the subject of "Christian Union," as had been expected. He would have done it in that beautiful language of which he possesses the secret, and with that elevation of thought and maturity of talent which are the fruits of his long and rich experience.

As this important theme was to be handled and discussed in its essential principles and bearings by several distinguished orators, it appeared to me that the best thing I could do was to give a short, historical survey of what has been done during the last thirty or forty years in France to promote Christian union, and then to suggest very briefly some *desiderata* in view of a closer and more complete union. I shall not deal with abstractions, but with facts. In apology of the meagreness and defectiveness of this address, and in justice to myself, I must say that the task of preparing a paper on this subject was intrusted to me two hours before I set off from Paris to come to America; that I have had no means of consulting any documents whatever, and have had to rely only on my recollections. I have also to beg for indulgence on account of my very imperfect acquaintance with the English language, which is not my mother-tongue, and for using in many instances French phraseology. I hope to be understood, and that is what I aim at.

I ought to say, at the outset, with heartfelt gratitude to God, that the union of evangelical Christians in France is not a vain word, but a blessed fact. As far as I am able to judge of the religious condition of other countries, I see nowhere so few points of disagreement among Christians of different denominations, and I nowhere ascertain so many points of contact, so many things drawing the Christians close to one another, as I see in France. This may be attributed to the fact that we are but a very feeble minority, lost, as it were, among the mass, and on that account obliged to draw near to one another, and help one another; as, also, to the outward circumstances in which Protestantism is placed, and which have created for all of us a very similar situation; but it may also be due to the absence within the circle of

evangelical Protestantism of any parties professing extreme views. There is no Church among us holding the tenet of apostolical succession; Protestant pastors are all on a footing of perfect equality with regard to their ordination; and a fact worth mentioning which would scarcely be found anywhere else is that in at least three of the great divisions, among the *Reformed*, the *Free United*, and the *Methodist* churches, it is a very common thing to invite to the ordination of a pastor in one of these churches the pastors of the two others, who join them in the laying on of hands. Then, again, the question of adult baptism has scarcely been discussed as yet. The liturgy of the Reformed Church (national) is not an elaborate one, and leaves room for spontaneous and extempore prayer, so that with regard to sacred worship, and to ecclesiastical modes of proceeding, and, we might add, with regard to the doctrines generally preached, the Reformed and the Methodists and the Independents are very much alike, and in many things almost identical. [I have said nothing of the Lutherans, as they are in the habit of standing a little more aloof; but, alas, there are but very few of them calling themselves French, or being considered as such—some in the "pays de Montbéliard," and some in Paris, who have harmoniously worked together there with pastors of other churches.]

But having said so much, we can not avoid acknowledging that Christians in France have been too long divided, and in too many respects hostile to one another; that they have had too many of those secret and underhand contests which entertain unjust prejudices, and produce painful lashings. The Evangelical Alliance has done us good by bringing us together; it has caused the members of different churches to know each other, and, as a natural sequence, to value and love one another.

Before it was founded as a special organization, the principles which it has for its mission to spread had been recognized, and had exercised a wholesome influence in France, as well as in England and in America, by the establishment of religious societies, the directing committees of which were composed of pastors and laymen belonging to several denominations. We had as far

back as 1830 our Bible, Tract, Missionary, Primary Education Societies; later, the *Société du Sou Protestant*, etc.; and it deserves to be noted that there was no society of the kind specially connected with a particular church, as is the case in England, where one missionary society is connected with the Establishment, another with the Methodists or the Baptists, and so on. The result was this, that any individual Christian who felt his responsibility, and recognized the duty of working for the conversion of the world, has had to choose between doing nothing, or meeting on common ground with members of other churches imbued with the same spirit with himself. There is no doubt that those works undertaken by Christians of different churches unitedly had prepared the way, and that many there were who longed for a closer and more formal alliance.

If I mistake not, it was the Evangelical Church of Lyons, admirably placed for this by its intermediate position between the Established and Dissenting Churches, which was the first to address an appeal in view of so desirable a union, and Pastor Fisch (whom we have the pleasure to have with us) took the "initiative" of calling together in 1845 a meeting of all those who professed to love the Lord Jesus Christ, the year before the organization of the Evangelical Alliance; then a committee was formed in Lyons, connected with the movement inaugurated on the other side of the Channel, and soon after another in Paris, and one at Nismes, while similar meetings were being organized in the surrounding countries where French is spoken, at Brussels, Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, which together constituted the French branch of the Evangelical Alliance. In every place these committees called together public meetings for prayer and edification, in which, notwithstanding what may have been said, it did a real good to have to conjugate the tenses of the verb *to love*, and to place in their true light the principles of the unity of the Spirit by the bond of peace. At first, there were some good men who did not think it their duty to associate with this movement. A few believed that their fidelity to their convictions required of them that they should stand aloof, claiming the rights of truth, and refusing to take any part in what appeared to them to be baneful and injurious compromises; but, in presence of the blessings vouchsafed by God to meetings of the Alliance, they thought better of it, and were one by one irresistibly brought to co-operate with it, and not a few who had remained strangers to the Evangelical Alliance when it commenced have become afterward its warmest friends and supporters.

Apart from the committees we have mentioned, but in the same spirit, although under a different form, were founded the so-

called Conferences of the two Charentes in the West, of which our regretted brother, Lucien des Meisards, was the chief promoter; and in the South the brotherly Conferences of the Cevennes, which embraced a large region, and met in turn at St. Hippolyte, Anduze, Ganges, and Le Vigan. I had the privilege of being a member of the latter, and was present at the extraordinary meeting of Le Vigan in 1853, where the Pentecostal influence was most visibly seen and felt. Ministers in Department of the Drome convoked also in turn, in their several churches, general meetings of Christians, and a beautiful revival was the fruit of those meetings. One meeting in particular will not be forgotten for a long time to come, that at Montneyran, where the regretted Charles Cook and Bertholet Bridel appeared as mighty men, and were received as apostles sent by God.

The Evangelical Alliance had thus already brought forth precious fruit; in many places a quickening breath was felt to pass over many souls, and to vivify both the ministers and their flocks.

It is about this time that we shall place the foundation in France of the Young Men's Christian Associations, and that of the Sunday-school Union, both institutions being specially placed on the basis of the Evangelical Alliance. During the first ten years the Young Men's Christian Associations were rapidly multiplied. There may have been some slackening in their progress, but we believe that they have a great future in prospect; and we attribute in a great measure to the fact that in some of our important cities Christian young men have had much intercourse, free from all sectarian spirit, the liberal dispositions which actuate precisely those pastors or influential laymen who belonged to the associations twenty years ago.

The Sunday-school Union has steadily adhered to its original principles, and has always had on its committee representatives of five or six churches.

The second General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance was held in Paris in 1855, eighteen years ago. It was very largely attended, and drew a great many strangers, chiefly from Great Britain and America. It can be asserted unhesitatingly that this Conference gave a great impulsion to the Alliance in France. Many there were who took this opportunity of giving in their adhesion to its principles. It would have been a difficult matter to refuse to take the hand of men who were the glory and ornament of the Church, such as Dr. Duff, Baptist Noel, Krummhaeher. And we may say it here, the General Conferences of the Evangelical Alliance have been the solemn and ecumenical assizes of the Christian world. And if there did remain in the mind of some true Christian enough of bigotry to prevent

his uniting with his near neighbors with whom there might be a painful contact, how could he refuse the hand stretched out to him by men considered as the lights of the Church? But this first step once made, others followed in course.

The same year a most touching scene was repeated which certainly helped in destroying barriers, and bringing into close union the Christians of Paris. This scene took place, now and again, at the bedside of Adolphe Monod. He had it at heart to give a solemn affirmation of the unity of Christ's body, and to do this he called near him in succession, Sabbath after Sabbath, pastors of different denominations, and received from them in turn the comforting words of Divine truth and the sacred emblems of the Saviour's atoning sacrifice. Time after time the Communion of Saints, in what it has of most noble and most precious influence, was realized in that room of a dying man. And it would have been very difficult, not to say impossible, to any of those who had been present on such occasions to resume afterward their former discussions, or to quarrel with regard to a doctrinal point or an ecclesiastical arrangement.

Soon after came from Louisiana a pressing invitation, addressed to Christians through the whole world, to devote to united prayer the first week in January. In many places, and especially where a Committee of the Evangelical Alliance had been formed, a joyful response was given, and during the last fifteen years this universal concert of prayers has had, in our country, its warm partisans, who, North and West, in towns and in the provinces, have taken care that the renewal of the year should always bring about a renewal of Christian Union, and who have, by dint of sheer perseverance, triumphed over the inertia or the prejudices of narrow-minded brethren. This week of prayer has been blessed in the conversion of souls, and has often communicated a salutary impulsion to churches either asleep or languishing and drooping.

Thus during fifteen years and more there have been held in France at regular epochs series of meetings, which most surely have not passed unperceived, all of them conducive to the promotion of Christian Union; namely, (1.) At the beginning of the year the week of prayer, during which, in most places, Christians of all denominations have met in turn in the church or chapel of each denomination. (2.) In April or May are held the anniversary meetings of the religious societies, bringing back with them the pastoral conferences, both special and general, of which we have as yet said nothing, which have exercised so great an attraction on the ministers and elders of our churches. (3.) At the commencement of November, just at the beginning of the winter

season, the annual assemblies of Lyons, always well prepared, well attended, and abundantly blessed. And we have not spoken of many other extraordinary meetings which have taken place here and there; one at Bordeaux, not many years ago, convened by a new committee, that named of the South-west, others in the East at Troyes, Barle-dne, etc. And we might also have mentioned, in order to make a complete review, the General Conference held in 1859 at Geneva, at our door, and nearly on French soil, which was attended by great numbers of our fellow-countrymen. At the General Exhibition of 1867, in Paris, there were also remarkable manifestations of the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance, in the manner in which the Protestant Missionary Museum was arranged, in which the services at the evangelical hall were conducted, and the daily distributions of tracts and gospels was made. And on the eve of the opening of the Ecumenical Council of Rome, there was held in the Church of the Oratoire of Paris a most numerous and interesting meeting, in which evangelical Protestantism manifested its unity. Addresses were given and prayers offered up to God by ministers of various churches, and assuredly they all appeared as one.

By this time the Evangelical Alliance had fully entered in our religious habits and customs, and had brought into close relationship the various denominations of Christians in our dear country. The painful events through which it would have to pass would doubtless cement this union, and cause it to bring forth its most excellent fruit. It has been so. Without any effort, in the most natural manner, the Evangelical Alliance has practically demonstrated its power during those sad days of affliction and mourning. Let us just go back to the end of July and beginning of August, 1870. The Paris Committee had met to consider what ought to be done in view of the approaching New York Conference. It was unanimously decided that no French delegate could, under the circumstances, leave France for America, and a telegram was sent to the New York Committee, suggesting that the conference be adjourned to a more favorable time. And at once our Church laid the basis of a special distinct organization, to be designated the "Evangelical Auxiliary Committee of Help to Soldiers wounded or sick," which would act in harmony with the Geneva Red Cross Society.

The influence of this Committee, and the importance of the work which it has done, can scarcely be exaggerated. If it were the proper time, most interesting things might be said about the army chaplains sent out by the Committee, the ambulances organized both in the provinces and in Paris, especially the great ambulance of the Chaptal College, with its three hundred beds, and the large

sums collected; but we must confine our remarks to those facts which have given to Christian Union a new aliment and added something to its power. In the first place, with regard to the chaplains sent out, there was nothing said about the Established Church or Free Churches. The question was not asked of a minister wishing to be employed in that capacity, to what church he belonged, but what were his aptitudes, and so it happened that of the ten chaplains first appointed four belonged to the National Reformed Church, one to the Lutheran, two to the Free Churches, and three to the Methodist; then the ambulances were only known under the beautiful name of evangelic ambulances, and in the weekly meetings of the Committee, which were very numerous, as many as fifty or sixty persons being sometimes present, no distinction of a sectarian character was ever made, and a stranger who might have been present at one or several of the animated and most cordial sessions of the Committee could not have imagined that there were there representatives of five distinct denominations, working in concert and perfect harmony. And on the battle-field, in the various *sorties*, there were between thirty and forty pastors, serving as *brancardiers*, helping the surgeons, carrying the wounded, and living the same life, because all were enduring the same sufferings, and all partaking of the same hopes. They were truly great and solemn, those five general prayer-meetings held during that dreary winter in the Oratoire, the Taitbout Chapel, the Church of the Redemption, the Chapelle Malesherbes, and the Church du St. Esprit. Never before were the Christians in Paris so completely identified in a most profound humiliation and a common sorrow. Then followed the disastrous days of the Commune. The brethren felt more than ever the need of seeing each other frequently, and taking counsel together as to what was to be done in certain emergencies. It was a source of great comfort to be able to meet and pray together, and cast our burden upon the Lord, in those days of shame and peril. And most certainly, those who have thus held one another's hand in the hour of danger will never forget that they have fought together.

The secession of this Evangelical Committee for help to the sick and wounded, which had been so actively employed during the war, was taken, when peace had been made, by the Protestant Committee for help to the victims of the war, and from this sprang the Commission for religious aid to the condemned prisoners sent to New Caledonia, both of them also based upon the same principles of united co-operation by the representatives of the different denominations—principles which will henceforth obtain, we firmly believe, in every great work of charity.

It remains that we should refer to the Home Mission established in November, 1871, with Nismes as its centre of operations. The idea of this mission originated in the National Conference of the South, which met at Cette, where, notwithstanding their name, pastors of the Free and Methodist Churches were allowed, if not to vote, to take part in the discussions. It is again in the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance that this most opportune mission has been founded, and it is the very embodiment of Christian Union. I shall not enter into any details on the subject, the French Home Mission being specially represented in this Conference by Pastor Matthieu Lelièvre, who will report on its principles and operations.

We have shown by this hurried sketch that the religious movement in France is going on undoubtedly in the direction of Christian Union, and that united co-operation is the order of the day. It is no longer asked, How shall we proceed with respect to this or that work of a general interest? As a matter of course, every one recognizes the advantage of grouping the various elements which the different denominations of Christians offer. And even the special assemblies and synods of particular churches afford opportunities which are eagerly sought of riveting the bonds of brotherly affection. Thus, last year, the General Synod of the Reformed Church (the first held since 1659) received deputations from the French, Independent, and Methodist Churches; and very recently, the Synod of the Free Churches at St. Jean du Gard was the occasion of many interesting manifestations, which at the same were the unequivocal affirmation of the unity of the Church, and served in strengthening the union which is its natural consequence, and ought always to flow from it.

We are conscious, as we are about to conclude, that we have omitted several important facts. We have said nothing of the Paris City Mission, which was established fifteen or eighteen years ago, and was carried, during its short-lived existence, on the same unsectarian principles of which we have been speaking all along; nor of the Committee of Evangelization for Paris, of which, in 1869, the Rev. Henry Grattan Guinness was the promoter, and which, during several months, had, on the same plan of missionary services which aimed at reaching the masses, the names of fifteen to twenty ministers and about ten or twelve churches and chapels belonging to the different denominations. We have not mentioned the interesting work which sprang from this Committee, and is still carried on at the Rue Royale, in which Methodists and Baptists, Reformed National and Independents, co-operate with Pastor Armand Delille; nor the very successful mission to the workmen of Belleville and Montmartre, and three other districts, under the direction

of the Rev. and Mrs. M'All, a quite novel effort characterized by the broadness of the platform on which it stands, and by the prompt and hearty co-operation of the Christians of our metropolis; nor the interesting conversations held during the two last winters every Monday night in the drawing-room of Pastor Durand Dassier, where professors, theologians, and laymen have met to discuss in a friendly spirit religious subjects.

In conclusion, we shall state very briefly what appears to us specially desirable in order to maintain, consolidate, and render more efficient Christian Union in our beloved France, and these remarks may perhaps apply to other countries besides.

One of the first things needed is the prompt and vigorous reorganization of Evangelical Alliance committees wherever they have already existed, and the formation of new committees wherever it can be done. And these committees ought to meet at stated times, and call together public meetings for edification and prayer as often as convenient—every Sunday night if possible, as it is done at Nismes, where there is but one service in the evening, held in turns in two chapels, and it is an Evangelical Alliance meeting, or once a month at least.

Secondly, it would be necessary that, apart from these committees and meetings, which may retain their actual form, groups should be gathered, in the various districts of our great cities, or in towns and villages, connected with the Home Mission (*Mission intérieure*), with the express aim of giving to every individual Christian the opportunity of and required facilities for working in co-operation with those around, in view of saving souls and doing good to all men.

The evangelization of the masses, generally of Roman Catholics, of children, to whom we ought to give a great attention, will never be carried forward on a great scale but by the united forces of the Church.

Popular lectures have to be given in stores or halls hired for the purpose, in order that crowds may be brought to hear the Gospel; tracts must be given away by thousands, and good books be lent to multitudes; hundreds of Sunday-schools must be founded in view of the poor; and for all this, the co-operation and simultaneous action of all the earnest and pious members of the churches are absolutely necessary, and nothing could contribute more in uniting the hearts of God's children than this work done in common.

Thirdly, we should like to see established

between the different churches frequent intercourse under the form of an exchange of pulpits. Every body would be the gainer if now and then pastors of neighboring churches, not of the same denomination, should reciprocally preach for one another; and we fail to see what possible harm could arise from such intercourse. Or such pastors might with a third make arrangements in view of giving a series of lectures, instituting revival services, here or there. They would, together, and holding each other's hands, attack vigorously the strongholds of the adversary, Satan; and if the results might not be in every instance directly profitable to this or that particular church, they would assuredly turn to the advantage of the Church in its greatest and best sense, and turn to the honor and glory of Jesus Christ the Redeemer. But we feel assured that such a course of action could not fail to benefit all the churches adopting such a mode of action.

Is it necessary that I should add that, in order that all this may take place, in order that the unity of the Spirit may be kept in the bond of peace, it is absolutely needed that a closer relationship be established between the members of the body and their living Head; that men should cease to say, "I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas," that Christ may become all in all; that the aim of every individual man or woman, and his or her constant preoccupation, be only, "What shall I do to please my Master and Lord? What wouldst thou have me to do?" and that all be willing to say with sincerity, speaking not with respect to themselves only, but with respect to the particular church to which they belong, "He" (Christ) "must increase, but I must decrease," *i. e.*, every thing which is merely earthly, formal, transitory? Then the separate churches will no longer be rivals, but sisters; then the interest of the few will yield to the interest of all; then God's children will continually do good to each other, and never any harm; then every thing which might throw discredit upon other churches or other Christians will be avoided most sedulously; then all offensive weapons would be reserved for the battle against error and sin; then the word of the Lord Jesus will be realized, "And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me."

INTERCHANGE OF PULPITS.

BY THE REV. F. W. CONRAD, D.D., OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MR. PRESIDENT.—Dr. Adams, in his admirable opening address, made touching allusion to the name of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, of Gettysburg, Pa., among those who expected to be present at this meeting of the Alliance, but who have recently been transferred by God to “the General Assembly and Church of the First-born, written in Heaven.” Called by the Committee to occupy his place on the programme, I deem it an appropriate and agreeable duty, before proceeding to the discussion of the subject assigned me, to pay a brief tribute to his memory, as an able advocate of Christian union, and as one of the originators and supporters of the Evangelical Alliance.

Dr. Schmucker commenced the study of the subject of Christian union more than half a century ago. The matured results of these studies were given to the world in his “Fraternal Appeal” to the American churches, which was first published in 1838, and subsequently passed through several editions in a revised and enlarged form. It was extensively circulated in England and America, awakened a deep interest in the subject, received favorable notice from the religious press, and numerous testimonials from many of the most distinguished divines of the different Protestant denominations. It is an admitted fact that the “Appeal” of Dr. Schmucker bore a prominent part in preparing the way for the organization of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846. He was present at its first meeting, and was even then designated as “the father of the Alliance.” by Dr. King, of Ireland, in a public address delivered in London at that time. It was he also who moved already, at that first meeting of the Alliance, that its second meeting should be held in New York; and although his motion was not adopted at that time, nevertheless it was carried out practically twenty-seven years later, as the present sixth Conference of the Alliance here happily attests.

Dr. Schmucker took special interest in the subject of Christian union, and labored for its promotion, through the Evangelical Alliance, during the greater portion of his ministerial and professional life. As he approached the portals of eternity during his declining years, his mind and heart were more and more absorbed by it, and he prepared a Plan for the Confederation of all Protestant denominations in an Evangelical Alliance of the entire Christian world. This plan

was published, and favorably noticed by a number of religious journals of different denominations in this country during the past year, and a copy of it has been laid before the Committee of the Alliance for their consideration. He looked forward to this meeting with ardent solicitude, and expected to be present to submit his Plan of Confederation before the Alliance in person.*

The last letter I received from him had reference to the subject of Christian union, and contained a request that the speaker should in his absence take charge of his plan for the confederation of the churches of Protestant Christendom, and present it for consideration at the meeting of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church. But God, in his all-wise providence, so ordered that his strong desire to take part in this Conference could not be gratified. On the 26th of July last, after entertaining friends at his house in the evening, he was suddenly seized with heart disease, and before midnight died, in the conscious hope of a blissful immortality. His last words were, “I have lived and am dying in the faith of Jesus.”

With this tribute to the memory of the departed, I proceed to the discussion of the theme assigned me by your Committee: INTERCHANGE OF PULPITS.

Interchange of pulpits is a legitimate outgrowth of the original appointment of the ministry, and the organization of the Christian Church.

Jesus Christ himself instituted the office of the Christian ministry. He originally appointed twelve apostles, and invested them with ordinary and extraordinary powers and functions. The extraordinary powers conferred upon them constituted them apostles in the specific sense; the ordinary functions constituted them ministers of the Gospel in the general sense. As apostles, they received their appointments directly from Christ, were endowed with inspiration, made the medium of divine revelation, clothed with

* [It is proper here to state that, while the late venerable Dr. Schmucker, in his “Plan,” aimed at an official confederation of the various denominations, the Evangelical Alliance confines itself to the promotion of union among individual Christians, without interfering with their preference for, or loyalty to, their particular denomination, and without any attempt at an organic or confederate union of churches as such, which, however desirable it may be in itself, is certainly not practicable or obtainable at the present time.—*Ed.*]

miraculous power, commissioned to bear witness of his personal ministry, and especially of his resurrection, and were empowered to organize churches among all nations.

As ministers, they were commissioned to preach the Gospel to every creature in all the world, to administer the sacraments according to the Scriptures, to exercise governing and disciplinary powers, to confer the same prerogatives upon their successors through ordination, and thus to transmit the ministerial office to the end of time. As apostles, their field of labor was the world into which they went, bearing witness for Christ, organizing churches, ordaining ministers, and exercising special supervision over both pastors and congregations.

In this manner congregations were organized, which, in their individuality, constituted the Church Local or Particular; and as parts of a general spiritual organism, constituted the Church Universal. In like manner, ministers were called, ordained, and settled as pastors over these local churches. Thus believers became members, and their overseers or bishops became pastors of the Church Particular, and thereby also of the Church Universal, just as, by our national constitution, persons who become citizens of any one State thereby also become citizens of the United States.

And while order requires that certain prerogatives belonging to members and pastors should be limited in their exercise to the Church Particular, yet the profounder and more comprehensive conception of the Church of Christ, as an all-embracing spiritual organism, demands that some other privileges pertaining to the Church Universal may also be exercised by both members and pastors, in exceptional cases, by mutual consent. To this class of privileges, sacramental fellowship among members, and interchange of pulpits among pastors, rightfully belong.

These formative principles here briefly stated are contained in the Scriptures, and were practically developed in the organization of the primitive Church, whose members confessed that they believed in one holy Catholic Church, to which they belonged, and in which they were invested, both as members and ministers, with the privilege of sacramental and pulpit fellowship. But in the ongoing of Providence, the primitive Church was inoculated with error, and transformed into the Romish hierarchy. This made a reformation indispensable. The occasion was thus furnished for the rise of Protestantism, whose development eventually culminated in the organization of the different orthodox Protestant denominations, among which an interchange of pulpits ought to be practiced, in accordance with the principles and example of the Apostolic Church.

Interchange of pulpits can not, however, be inaugurated and regulated by canon laws.

As Protestants are not united in one external organization, there is no general ecclesiastical body which is authorized to legislate on the subject. Interchange of pulpits must, therefore, be remanded to the sphere of ecclesiastical liberty, and be regulated by the pastors of the Protestant denominations according to local circumstances, congregational relations, pastoral preferences, and ecclesiastical affinities. While, therefore, the Evangelical Alliance can not legitimately authorize the pastors of the different denominations represented in it to interchange pulpits, or prescribe when and where and how often exchanges shall take place, yet in our judgment it may approve or recommend such interchanges wherever ecclesiastical canons and laws of State will allow. And we hope that through the influence of this Alliance all such obstructions will eventually be removed.

Interchange of pulpits ought to be restricted to Protestants. The Church of Rome, as the "Mother of Abominations," invented traditions, corrupted the Word of God, perverted the sacraments, usurped the authority of the Church, and led the people astray; and when rebuked, refused to renounce its errors and correct its abuses, and hence the Protestants heeded the call of God addressed to them: "Come out from among them, and be ye separate." They accordingly organized their respective denominations. The errors and abuses protested against were subsequently authoritatively adopted by the Council of Trent, and are held and promulgated to this day. As, therefore, the Canons of Trent remain in full force, the Protest of Speyer must remain in full force also. Fidelity to the truth of God required the entire separation of Protestants from the Church of Rome, and consistency demands that there be no interchange of pulpits with the priests and prelates of that corrupt Church.

Interchange of pulpits should also be restricted to the ministers of orthodox denominations. Under the deterioration of the human reason consequent upon the fall, there arose in Apostolic times false prophets, who erred concerning the faith, preached another gospel, denied the Lord that bought them, and brought in damnable heresies. Christ called these "wolves in sheep's clothing," and warned his disciples against them; and, as the apostles forbade the churches from receiving them and their pastors from bidding them God-speed, the moral force of these warnings and injunctions requires that the pastors of orthodox denominations should refuse an interchange of pulpits with modern errorists who deny the fundamental doctrines of the system of evangelical truth.

Interchange of pulpits in the Christian Church was foreshadowed by the custom prevalent in the service of the synagogues

of the Jewish Church. The prerogative of reading and expounding the Scriptures and preaching to the people was not restricted, but was extended by the rulers of the synagogue to any member of it or to any stranger who might be present, as well as to the "angel" who was appointed to attend to this part of the religious service. When Christ entered the synagogue at Nazareth, of which he was a member, the book of the prophet Esaias was handed to him, and he read and expounded the lesson for the day. But when Jesus was present in a synagogue of which he was not a member, he preached to the people instead of the "angel" or preacher, after the reading and exposition of the Scriptures. When Paul and his companions were at Antioch, in Pisidia, they went to the synagogue and sat down. After the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the rulers sent a messenger to them, saying, "Men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on." And in accordance with this invitation, Paul preached the Gospel to those who were present, or officiated in the place of the angel or preacher of the synagogue. If, now, the privilege of exhorting or preaching in the place of the angel was conferred upon any member or stranger present, much more would this privilege be extended by one angel of the synagogue to another. And as the ministers of the Seven Churches of Asia were called angels, in all probability because of the analogy which exists between the duties and prerogatives of these offices, the propriety and duty of interchange of pulpits among the angels of the New Testament churches was at least foreshadowed by the custom prevailing in the Jewish synagogue service.

The propriety of interchange of pulpits is enforced by apostolic authority and example. The apostles organized churches in different localities, ordained elders or bishops, and recommended them as pastors to their members. They also chose ministers or evangelists whom they employed as their assistants, sending them forth to promulgate the Gospel in destitute regions, to visit and edify the churches and encourage their pastors. The presbyters or bishops were pastors of the different churches in the same city, and doubtless recognized each other as such, and officiated for each other as occasion called for it. The evangelists, like the apostles, were ministers of the Church in general, and wherever they came they were acknowledged as the accredited messengers of the apostles by the pastors of the local churches, in whose stead they preached the Gospel during their sojourn among them. The interchange of pulpits on the part of the pastors of orthodox Protestant congregations in the same localities, or when they visit other congregations in other countries as temporary evangelists, has doubtless the

sanction of Apostolic authority and example.

The propriety of the interchange of pulpits is sustained by the practice of the primitive Church. In the primitive ages the unity of the Church was exemplified by altar fellowship among its members and pulpit fellowship among its pastors. Any minister in one part of the Church was recognized as such in every other, and, if present at public worship, was ordinarily invited to take part in conducting the services. This privilege having been abused, regulations were made by the church councils to guard against the reception of impostors. Accordingly, one of the Apostolic Canons requires that no strange minister should be received without letters of recommendation; and the Council of Carthage adopted in the year A.D. 368 a similar regulation.

Interchange of pulpits is demanded by a consistent development of the principles of Protestantism. Protestantism was not a new creation. It did not originate new ecclesiastical forces, but it discovered the formative principles of Christianity, and embodied them in the organization of the Evangelical Church. At first Luther aimed at the reform of the Romish Church and opposed separation from her. For while he saw "that every thing was in a wretched state there," he did not regard that as a sufficient "reason for separation," nor separation as the best means of making it better. "There is no sin, no evil," said he, "that should destroy charity or break the bond of union. We must not desert God on account of the devil." But the Papal bull of excommunication eventually taught him the hopelessness of reforming the Church of Rome, and the necessity of an ecclesiastical reorganization. In the accomplishment of this work he did not originate a new sect, having no connection with the Church of the past, but he reorganized and revived the primitive Catholic Church, with its Apostolic principles, in contradistinction from the Papal hierarchy.

Adopting the ecumenical creeds, the Reformers confessed their faith in the perpetuity of the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, which consists of the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity, and the sacraments are administered in accordance therewith by the ministers ordained according to the divine appointment. They maintained the universality of the priesthood of believers as the Scriptural basis for the partial priestly order of the ministry, not as an indelible order of ecclesiastics as held by Rome, but as an office of service in the Church, transmitted by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, according to Apostolic example. Congregations of believers were thus organized and pastors settled over them

in various localities and different lands. Externally separated, they appear as the Church Partienlar; but internally bound by the unity of the faith, they constitute the Church Catholic. And this unity did not consist in absolute uniformity in doctrine, worship, government, and usage, but in agreement in the reception of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel.

These ecclesiastical principles the Swiss as well as the Saxon Reformers promulgated at first independently, and their representatives, Zwingli and Geolampadin, Luther and Melanethon, formally adopted them at the Marburg Conference, October 4, 1529, the 363d anniversary of the signing of whose articles, by an extraordinary coincidence, occurs this very day. They were re-affirmed in their colloquies and conferences, confessed in their creeds and concordats, and authoritatively declared in formal treaties. And while it must be confessed that the Reformers, under the pressure of peculiar circumstances and temptations, sometimes acted inconsistently with the catholic principles adopted by them, nevertheless were they not thereby repealed, but remained in full force. It must also be admitted that some Protestants have infringed upon them by nudly magnifying their denominational peculiarities; but while such an acknowledgment reveals the fallibility of man and the tendency to sectarian exclusiveness, it does not destroy the force of the historic testimony to Protestant unity and catholicity.

Dr. Dörner, in his "History of the Development of Protestant Theology," testifies that he wrote it to show that, "under the guidance of the spirit of Evangelical Catholicity, in spite of the variety of nationalities, as well as the manifold conformations of Evangelical Protestant Christianity among those peoples which have appropriated the blessings of the Reformation of the sixteenth century—in spite of the divisions in language, usages, and habits, as well as in its destiny, Evangelical Protestant Christendom forms a unity." In corroboration of this testimony, another distinguished witness, Merle d'Anigné, says: "The catholicity of the Reformation is a noble feature in its character. The Germans pass into Switzerland; the French into Germany; in later times men from England and Scotland pass over to the Continent, and doctors from the Continent into Great Britain. The Reformers in the different countries spring up almost independently of each other, but no sooner are they born than they hold out the hand of fellowship. There is among them one sole faith, one spirit, one Lord. It has been an error, in our opinion, to write the history of the Reformation for a single country. The work is one, and from their very origin the Protestant churches form 'a whole body fitly joined together.'"

In other words, the unity and catholicity of the Protestant Church, together with the parity and validity of the ordination of her ministry, were acknowledged as the cardinal ecclesiastical principles, in accordance with which interchange of pulpits was practiced as occasion presented itself and circumstances rendered it proper and beneficial; and the consistent development of the same principles demands a free interchange of pulpits now.

Such interchange has been fostered by the organization of the Evangelical Alliance. It originated in the longing awakened by the Holy Spirit for the realization of "the communion of saints," and is the expression of Protestant unity and catholicity. Consistency requires that the denominations represented in it recognize the Christian character of their members, the doctrinal soundness of their ministers, and the validity of the ordinances administered by them. The articles of confederation constitute a bond of union which seeks expression in sacramental fellowship at the table of the Lord, and culminates in ministerial fellowship by an interchange of pulpits. What influence the meetings and publications of the Evangelical Alliance in England and on the Continent have had in fostering interchange of pulpits, we leave to our European brethren to tell us; but we can assure them that its influence has rendered such exchanges common in the United States. Ministerial exchanges are customary in all parts of our country, and between the great majority of the Protestant denominations, and the result proves their propriety and usefulness.

Interchange of pulpits has had a tendency to root and ground believers in the truth, to confirm their faith, to increase their brotherly love, and to prepare them to acknowledge each other at the sacramental board as "fellow-citizens of the saints and of the household of God." It recognizes the official standing of Protestant ministers, reveals their talents, acquirements, and spiritual graces, produces mutual affection, and promotes their cordial co-operation in the common work of the Lord. It places essential and non-essential truths in their true relative position, and is calculated to correct misapprehensions and remove prejudices in regard to other denominations, as well as to diminish the occasions for, and to soften the asperities of, religious controversy. It accords with the Scriptural constitution of the Church and the office, relations, and prerogatives of the ministry; it is enforced by the analogy of faith, and it practically illustrates the unity and catholicity of Protestantism over against the unfounded and pretentious claims of unity and catholicity set up by the Church of Rome.

Objections are, of course, to be expected against the practice. It is alleged:

1. That interchange of pulpits is inconsistent with fidelity to "the truth as it is in Jesus" and "the faith once delivered to the saints." All truth has its source in Christ, and is important. But some truths are more important than others, because of their intrinsic excellence and their relative position and influence in the system of Christian doctrine. To this class belong the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, all of which are held by the orthodox Protestant denominations. To the discussion of topics involving these essential truths, Protestant ministers, by a kind of common ecclesiastical law, confine themselves in exchanging pulpits with each other. They furnish a very wide field from which to select pulpit themes, and the strongest incentive against the introduction of disputed points on such occasions. And as faith cometh by hearing and embracing the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, and as these are set forth by Protestant ministers when officiating for each other, interchange of pulpits is consistent with bearing witness "to the truth as it is in Jesus," as well as with "earnestly contending for the faith once delivered to the saints."

2. It is alleged that interchange of pulpits renders the ministers of one denomination responsible for the doctrinal statements of the creed of another. Confessional obligations can only be assumed by the voluntary subscription of a creed, and they can not be rightfully imposed by mere implication. In this manner the ministers of Protestant denominations become responsible for the doctrines set forth in their respective confessions, according to the import of the formula of subscription assented to at their ordination. By an interchange of pulpits they merely acknowledge the soundness of their several creeds as regards fundamentals, while by withholding a formal subscription to them they indicate that, in their judgment, their respective confessions are, nevertheless, deficient, imperfect, or erroneous in some of their doctrinal statements. But they do not by such exchanges in anywise indorse what they regard as error, nor bid Godspeed to errorists.

3. It is alleged that interchange of pulpits depreciates, if not ignores, denominational differences. In consequence of the multifarious character of revelation, the perverseness of the human reason, the imperfection of man's spiritual development, and the diversified influences to which he is exposed in his religious training, the attainment of absolute agreement in the interpretation of the Scriptures has been found impossible, and doctrinal differences have accordingly arisen among Protestants. These differences have been regarded as sufficiently important to justify them in organizing their respective denominations. Now, interchange of pulpits recognizes the exist-

ence of these differences as the distinguishing characteristics of the Protestant denominations. Ecclesiastical instinct, Christian courtesy, as well as Scripture injunction, prevent their discussion while occupying each other's pulpits. They are neither ignored nor thrust forward; they are neither depreciated nor exalted; they are simply let alone. Protestant ministers may, consequently, justify the origination of their respective denominations in their organizations, and regard their peculiarities as sufficiently important to perpetuate them. By interchange of pulpits they transfer their differences to the sphere of non-fundamentals, and confess that their non-reception does not destroy the Christian character of the members, the official standing of the ministry, nor the validity of the ordinances of their respective organizations.

4. It is alleged that interchange of pulpits is calculated to confuse the minds of Christians, and unsettle their ecclesiastical opinions. This objection is based upon the supposition that, whenever one Protestant minister occupies the pulpit of another, he would seize the opportunity to assail the doctrines and usages of the denomination to whose members he was preaching, and to set forth and defend those of his own Church. But as the Scriptures enjoin upon all ministers to avoid "doubtful disputations" and the discussion of "questions which gender strife," so glaring an impropriety will seldom if ever occur; and, as a matter of fact, we have never heard that any Protestant minister thus abused the privilege accorded him, nor that any members have thereby been proselyted from one denomination to another.

5. It is alleged that the various Protestant confessions set forth different doctrinal systems, that the discourses of their ministers are characterized by their peculiarities, and through interchange of pulpits the members of one denomination are necessarily inoculated with what are regarded as the errors of the other. This objection sounds specious, but it nevertheless has little weight. It has been conjured up by theologians whose lives are spent in splitting doctrinal hairs, and, when practically examined, proves a mere man of straw.

The Protestant confessions in reality set forth the essential features of but one doctrinal system, and their differences belong to the category of theological accidents. This was recognized and manifested at Berlin, in 1851, when two thousand six hundred pastors, professors, and theologians, representing the four grand divisions of Protestantism—Lutheran, Reformed, Calvinistic, and Moravian—reconfessed the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession as containing the evangelical system of Christianity. Their doctrinal differences are seldom discussed by Protestant pastors in their own pul-

pits; and nearly all the sermons they preach present evangelical truth in such a form as to be just as well adapted to edify the members of one Protestant denomination as those of another. It is only on rare and special occasions, and by special effort, that sermons are preached by Protestant pastors so charged with the peculiar phases of their respective denominations as to be clearly apprehended even by their own members; and should any one of them so far forget himself as to preach such a discourse to the members of another denomination, when occupying one of their pulpits, the result, in all probability, would be nothing more than an opportunity of obeying the apostolic injunction, "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." And it is hardly conceivable how the sermons preached by Protestant pastors, when exchanging pulpits with each other, could infect their hearers with heresy and lead them astray.

Those who refuse to practice exchange of pulpits, and isolate themselves from all other Christians in their exclusiveness, unduly magnify their denominational peculiarities, and give them an unscriptural position and influence in the system of evangelical truth. They arrogate to themselves the characteristics of the Church Catholic; they practically deny the Christian character of the members, the official legitimacy of the ministry, and the doctrinal orthodoxy of all other denominations, and thus transform a true denominationalism into an unjustifiable sectarianism. They refuse to acknowledge the manifest favor with which God has crowned the labors of the ministers of other denominations, and virtually reproach Christ for accrediting by his benediction the ministry of such unchurchly sects, without the pale of the covenanted mercies of God vouchsafed to them alone, as the true Church of Christ.

Let the ministers of the Evangelical Protestant denominations realize that the Church is set forth in the Scriptures as a sun, and that ministers are all its light-bearers; as a school, in which they are all teachers; as a household, in which they are all servants; as a fold,

in which they are all pastors; as a vineyard, in which they are all laborers; as a kingdom, in which they are all officers; and as a great world field, in which they are all sowers of the seed of the Word. Let them remember that the true conception of the Church Militant is not that of a manikin whose parts, mechanically connected, form a body without organic union or life, but of a body all of whose members are compactly joined together and constitute a living spiritual organism; nor is it that of an army divided into separate divisions, led by hostile officers against each other, but of one grand army marching against Antichrist, all of whose divisions with their leaders are led by Jesus Christ, the great Captain of our salvation. Neither is the true ideal of the Church triumphant that of a temple divided into separate courts, between whose worshipers and ministrants there is no fellowship; but it is that of one vast temple, not made with hands, illumined by the Shekinah of glory, occupied by the general assembly and Church of the First-born as worshipers, whose ministers are all recognized as alike the priests of the Most High God.

Let the Protestant ministry heed the declaration of Christ, "One is your Master, and ye are all brethren." Let them give due significance to the sacerdotal prayer of Jesus, that they might all be one, as he and the Father are one, that the world may believe that the Father sent the Son to redeem it. Let them ponder the prophecies, that the time shall come when Zion shall constitute but one fold, under one Chief Shepherd, all whose "watchmen shall see eye to eye." Let them, by their prayers for each other, their interchange of pulpits with each other, and their cordial co-operation in every good work, aid in ushering in the time when the Scriptural characteristics of the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church shall be actualized on earth, and "the kingdoms of this world" be declared by the Apocalyptic angel to have become "the Kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ," and all her accredited ministers "kings and priests unto God."

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN RELATION TO CHRISTIAN UNION.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG, D.D.,

Pastor and Superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital, New York, and of St. Jöhnland, Long Island.*

PERHAPS I ought to apologize for not keeping, in what I am about to say, to one of the themes allotted me in the programme; yet my only apology is that I am strongly moved to speak on another—one, however, not wholly irrelevant to the general topic of the day, nor inappropriate as one of the concluding papers of the Conference.

Proceeding with my subject, which I can treat only in the plain words of a worker rather than a speaker, and not after the scientific method of the able and scholarly men who have preceded me, I observe, we should think it strange, were we not accustomed to it, that among Protestant Evangelical Christians there is so little *socialness*, if it may be so designated, in the observance of the highest social act of their religion. Their unity in the faith and in the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel is certainly not obvious in their relations to the great Sacrament of unity—the Lord's Supper, their observance of which being so isolated within their own ecclesiastical bounds. They meet each at their own, but rarely at a common communion table. Now this, as an ordinary rule, could not be otherwise. The communicants in a neighborhood of any size could not form a single congregation. Nor, if they could, would it be desirable. They have their church homes, so to call them, where, under their own pastors, and amidst their families and friends, they feel it a good and pleasant thing so to participate in the sacred feast. They have an indisposition to go for it be-

yond these companies of immediate brethren. Nor is this unsocial if it be only a natural preference for their own associations, for the sacramental modes and customs to which they, like their fathers before them, have been accustomed. But when they do it on religious grounds, when they make it a matter of conscience, when they would forego the communion altogether rather than partake of it outside of their own connections, then it is that unsocialness, to call it by its mildest name, which it is hard to reconcile with aught of hearty realization of membership in the one body of Christ. Here I pray not to be understood as advertising to any particular body of Christians who feel constrained to close communion, from consistency with their special creeds. There are true brethren in that category, at whom I would not be aiming words, and at a time like this. I refer to what is common among all Protestant Christians—their avoidance of one another's communions; an avoidance the more remarkable since they practice it on scarcely any other religious occasions. They do not refuse to worship in one another's sanctuaries, they listen to one another's preachers, they go hand in hand in works of piety and benevolence, in the name of their one Lord; but when it comes to communicating together, there they halt—they are ready for any act of brotherliness but that; and so the extraordinary and not less unworthy thing comes to pass, that the last place at which they should be willing to separate is the last place at which they are willing to meet.

Were I now to add what has been fearfully worse than such alienation, the wrathful controversies, the bitter theological strifes, the mutual excommunicating, of which this blessed ordinance has been the occasion—the centre of peace the very centre of war—we should say, how true the paradox of our Lord, "I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword." Such fierce zeal for opinion, magnified into essential faith, has, however, been for the most part confined to religious combatants, who, of all combatants, least know what manner of spirit they are of. Happily, too, it is rather a thing of the past; but not without leaving a remainder in that which is the same in kind, though

* [The above address was delivered by the venerable author, October 11, 1873, but belongs properly to the section on Christian Union. The note at the close of Dr. Hodge's article applies also here. The Evangelical Alliance, which is no church, but simply a voluntary association of Christians from different churches, did not hold a communion service at the General Conference in New York; but an opportunity was given to its members to join freely in the regular communion services which were held in several churches during the two intervening Sundays. One such service, which took place in Dr. Adams's Presbyterian Church, October 5th, and in which the Dean of Canterbury, of the Church of England, Bishop Von Schweinitz, of the Moravians, Dr. Angus, of the Baptists, Rev. N. Sheshadri, a converted Brahmin, of Bombay, and others, took part, was especially impressive, and elicited a great deal of interest and subsequent discussion in the newspapers, which it is hoped may have a good effect in the end.—*Ed.*]

less in degree—sacramental exclusiveness, the veriest opposite of what would seem to be a matter of course, sacramental comprehensiveness. That also, thank God, is passing away. A happy change has of late years been going on. The fencing in of God's board by man's devices is one of the old ways which we are discovering must not necessarily be good only because they are old. We are coming into a clearer and freer atmosphere. The night is far spent; the day is at hand. The icy barriers and frost-work of ecclesiasticism, congealed in the dark, are melting under the beams of advancing light. We have had union communions. Christians have acknowledged a becoming and solemn significance in forgetting awhile their diversities, and in enjoying their agreement in the supreme and precious truths embodied in the sacrament. Loyal to the Churches in which Providence has set them, giving them due preference and support, they own a yet higher allegiance to the law laid upon them in common: "This do in remembrance of me." It is one of the encouraging signs of the times, an ascendant harmony of Gospel concord amidst the jar of churchy discord, and as such not unworthy the observation of a Gospel alliance. So, at least, it seems to your speaker, who begs to offer some thoughts upon it as his contribution to the Conference.

With regard to these union communions, I submit that the time has come when they should be systematized and regulated, and that mainly in order to their having a representative character. Accordingly, they should not be extemporary gatherings of all and any good people moved to attend them, but companies of persons chosen by their brother communicants of their respective congregations—not, of course, to the exclusion of all others; but these elected delegates or proxies should form the main body of the communicating assembly, which would thus witness not only for itself, but for all its constituents, to unity and union in Christ.

To that extent it would be a representative holy communion; but let it be extended farther—let it embrace more than only certain local congregations, however numerous. The great object in view is the union of the different branches of the Protestant Church—even intercommunion. And mark how easily that could be effected—by what a simple process. Those different branches, in their highest councils, their synods, their conventions, and so forth, would only have to adopt resolutions approving of such communions, recommending their members to join in them, giving counsel concerning them, with the prayerful hope that they might become a new and blessed pledge of brotherly peace and good-will in the widest and best of bonds. Let us suppose their action went beyond this, and that they appointed dele-

gates immediately from their own bodies, to meet in a stated, say annual, holy communion, coinciding in time with one or another of the local celebrations. Here would be a general Church union. Here would be a *concordat*, not of theological dogmas or of ecclesiastical policy, yet of fundamental Christian doctrine, withal of Christian amity. Here would be a compact without diplomacy, without settlements of precedence, without mutual concessions—a compact signed with Christ's own seal. Here would be an Ecumenical Council that might claim, as confidently as any ever held, the presence of the Holy Ghost. Here would be a universal confraternity, having that mark of divine creation, variety in unity—Lutheran and Calviust, Zwinglian and Moravian, Episcopalian and Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist, all within the limits of a sound Faith; of all ranks and conditions, too—the orthodox Emperor who sent us so cordial a greeting, and the pietist school-master, the Primate of all England (so be it) who spake friendly words to us through his dean, and the dissenting Bible-reader, side by side in the equality of the one Faith, the one Lord, the one Baptism, the one God and Father of all, partaking of the one bread and the one cup given to them, as brethren, by their God-brother at his own table of all-embracing love. Let that come to pass, and who will say that our evangelic Christendom is destitute of all unity, a chaotic aggregation of confused and inter-repellent parts?—yet withal, the objection may be made, destitute of any *organic* union. Nay, nay, who was the great organizer of the Church? And when by any positive external act of his own did he ever organize it, if not when he instituted this one bond of fellowship for all his disciples through their fellowship with him?—if not, too, when by the hallowed wine-cup he signified the only organism of which he ever spake, "I am the vine, ye are the branches."

Such an evangelic, catholic, and representative holy communion, all will admit, is a goodly ideal. But we may doubt its practical realization—ay, we may more than doubt—unless we can assume for it a widespread and longing desire—unless from all earnest hearts and voices there goes forth the response, "Amen, in the name of the God of peace, Amen." Trusting for that, I see no great difficulties in the way of the tribes of our Israel thus gathering for a high Christian Passover. I say *great*, for there might be minor ones, arising out of the divers modes of celebration prevalent among the different bodies of Christians, each naturally adhering to its own; but respecting these there could be only universal agreement that they are mere accidents, not of the essence of the ordinance. They are extrinsic forms, variable, while the substance is untouched. In

the solemnity proposed we must look at the Holy Supper as it is in itself and exclusively as we find it in the pages of the New Testament. There, it is simply a company of disciples partaking together of the elements of the meal ordained by their Lord and Master in sacred and grateful commemoration of the sacrifice of his death for their redemption—the communion of his body and blood. This is the amount of Scripture fact and teaching concerning the Eucharist. It is one of the *agenda*, not *credenda*, of our religion. The doctrines concerning its nature, efficacy, and the like are inferential, the Bible argument for which we may weigh for ourselves, having due regard for ancient and traditional consent in the premises. They do not affect the minimum of agreement, beyond all question Scriptural, which must exist among ourselves in order, with our manifold views and sentiments, to our intercommunion. That minimum, considering the amount of Gospel truth it involves, is enough. So of the various sacramental rites and ceremonies; they are more or less agreeable to Scripture, they have more or less value in their way; but none of them are *invaluable*. They do not approach to an essential.

Thus looking at the institution solely in the New Testament exhibitions of it, we are struck with the absence in it of one feature which is very extensively thought to be indispensable to its integrity—or, as some would say, to its validity: I mean administration by an authorized administrator. Herein might lie the greatest obstacle to intercommunion, but of this we discover not a trace in the inspired records. In the first instance, our Lord was the institutor rather than the administrator, and, so far as he was the latter, certainly he appointed no successor in the office. Had he done so, we could not have been left in the dark concerning it. Inequality, except that of "*Primus inter pares*" for order's sake, is at variance with the chief idea of the communion. It was to his first communicants our Lord laid down the law ignoring all precedence among them: "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." Turning to the Pentecostal Christians, we find them keeping the feast in their private houses, where certainly the apostles, who as yet were the only ministers of the new dispensation, could not always have been present to give their authoritative benediction. When St. Paul preached to the disciples at Troas, where they had met on the first day of the week for their "breaking bread," the opportunity was his for a farewell discourse to them, not their opportunity for a communion, which would have taken place whether he had been with them or not. When the same apostle rebukes the Corinthians for their shameful behavior at their sacraments, if the clergy were among them as celebrants

or consecrators, they certainly would have come in for a share of his lecture for allowing such scandalous disorder. "The figment of any thing like sacerdotal consecration of the Eucharist by transmitted power," says Dean Alford, "is as alien from the apostolic writings as it is from the spirit of the Gospel." To this quotation let me add another from a High-ehnehman, Bishop Cotterill, of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. "This Christian rite," he says, "the highest expression of communion with Christ and with one another, was celebrated at first with little of that formal observance which afterward attended it, not in the temple where the disciples still met for formal public worship"—not in the *temple*, that place devoted to priestly service—"but at home, probably in such of their houses as were used for their gatherings;" where, I may add, as I have already implied, the apostles must have been ubiquitous, to be at every sacrament, absorbed as they were with their work as ambassadors for Christ, especially as the service at first seems to have been a daily one. Again, remarks the bishop: "It is a significant fact that the one representative ordinance of the old economy for which the office of the Levitical priesthood was not needed (the Passover being a household institution) was selected by Jesus Christ as the rite out of which the great representative ordinance of the new should grow."* If an officiating ministry was not required for the type under the old dispensation, surely none can be demanded for the antitype under the unpriestly dispensation of the new, save on the ground of custom not to be needlessly set aside. Accordingly, to speak as we are wont of one's administering the communion, of giving and taking the sacrament, is not Scriptural, though the language is unobjectionable as conformable to the long-existing modes of celebrating the Supper. So the various ritual observances which have been added to it are of course to be revered according to their age and significance, so long as they do not touch the elementary nature of the institution, or prevent or interfere with its main design. We all have a strong attachment to our own Eucharistic modes. Nothing here said would in the least disturb it. It is a pious attachment which it would be well-nigh *impious* to violate. Communicating within our own ecclesiastical households, we should be disorderly if we did not conform to their established order. Never in the main could I part with that of the liturgy enshrined in my heart, as it enshrines all catholic and evangelic truth. But when we come out and hold a communion on common ground, we forego all that marks our

* In justice to the bishop, I should mention that in another place he requires an authorized celebrant, but pretending no Scriptural precedent. See his "Genesis of the Church."

dissimilarity, and we confine ourselves to that wherein we are alike. We merge our various species in the genus Christian. We can afford to lay aside badges, though worn by our ancestors, content to appear only with the one sign of the cross. As the Eucharist was ordained before ecclesiastical order, so in partaking of it in its primitive form we must be pre-ecclesiastical. We put ourselves on a level, clergy and laity, one of necessity presiding, and he, for obvious seemliness, a brother in the ministry. We fall back upon our status of simple discipleship in Christ, and keep the feast, as far as may be, after the manner of its first occurrence in the upper room at Jerusalem. And could it be otherwise than refreshing and enlarging and strengthening to the soul thus to return from time to time to a primordial Christianity?

I will not detain you by enlarging upon the probable happy consequences of a *divinely* constituted Evangelical Alliance, but will conclude with one or two additional remarks.

For all practical movements toward greater union among Christians there must be some central ground. Overtures from particular quarters might not be met in the spirit with which they would be made. You can not start from any of your old harbors; you must take a new departure. And from whence rather than from the broad midland of a catholic, holy communion? If you can not begin there, you can begin nowhere.

Again, such "love-feasts" would be an exhibition of the Church in her normal character as the Divine Brotherhood—the character which she needs to make good, and to manifest more and more, if she is to make headway in the world. In that she will not fail to be appreciated. Men understand brotherhood. They desire it, and will have it in forms which they invent for themselves, as in their fellowships, their lodges, their fraternities. Let them see fellowship in the Church—ay, socialism, communism, too. Let the Church recognize in these that which, in their true forms, she should supply, by taking a lead, with her concerted strength, in all beneficently social movements, all philanthropic enterprise; by her concern for the downtrodden and oppressed, lifting them up in their redeemed humanity; by her advocacy of the righteous rights of man; by her not winking at the complacent notions of wealth and power, that the Dives and Lazarus of the parable are the normal condition of social Christendom, that in the conventionalities of life there must needs be an impassable gulf between the rich and the poor; by her not leaving plans for the mel-

ioration of the humbler classes wholly to the State, as if no business of hers; by proving that the interests of humanity are therefore hers; by her doing justice—dare I say it?—to her Christ, by giving men to behold him the supreme Philanthropist—the Christ not of her theologues and scribes; the Christ of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Christ that now is, the Liberator—the Emancipator from slavery, tyranny, from the grinding of mammon, burying the children of poverty in the pits and mire of earth—as well as the Almighty Redeemer from the bondage of sin to the glorious liberty of the Sons of God. So let the Church demonstrate Christian socialism, Christian communism. So let her, too, declare for liberty, equality, fraternity. To such ends let this Congress charge her—for who has a better right to?—bid her make full proof of her profession as the benefactor of the world, and not unfit herself for the high vocation by dissensions within herself. Remind her, with line upon line and precept upon precept, that union is strength. Of every barrier that keeps her people from joint co-operation in her common work, that withholds them from intercommunion at the blessed feast, for the uplifting and invigorating of their souls—of all such ramparts of separation, say to her, as the prophet of old did to Zion, "Take away the battlements that are not the Lord's." So adjure the world-wide Zion you here represent to the sacred obligation of peace within her own borders, as she would be worthy of herself, and do earnest battle with her foes all thick and united around. So let her hope for successful conquest with the world, as she then may when she fulfills her prophetic type, "Jerusalem built as a city, at unity with herself."

But one word more, referring to union. Let the American churches unite, as some of them already do, in the practice of nearly all the churches abroad, of observing the great historic days of Christianity, which commemorate the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and on these days, making all sanctuaries to resound with the universal creed, the Te Deum, the Glorias, the common heritage of us all—so demonstrating both present union and the oneness of the Church of the past with the Church of to-day.

But all, nothing, nothing—communions, alliances, hospitalities—all nothing without larger outpourings of the Holy Ghost, in the love of Christ constraining us, in unselfishness, in the spirit of conciliation and forbearance, in self-sacrifice, in the affection of hearty brotherhood in Christ. Who will not pray for that in the invocation of the Church for more than a thousand years—*Veni Creator?*

THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND SPIRITUAL RELATIONS OF AMERICA TO ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D., KENSINGTON, LONDON.

As the earlier part of my address must be historical, I feel myself placed at a disadvantage before this assembly, as historical statements, when condensed, are sure to be, even at the best, very dry. However fresh and fragrant the parts may appear in the historian's mind, and however much of interest they may inspire in the minds of those to whom they are presented in expanded pictorial form, they must become a mere *hortus siccus* when subjected to a process of extreme condensation. Were I to take up the subject of the ecclesiastical and religious relations between America and Europe at large, it would much more than double the difficulties I have to contend with; and, therefore, I can but briefly point to that very wide field of observation, and then restrict my remarks mainly to the relations of America and England. Moreover, I must confine my attention to the relations between Protestants in the New and the Old World, as any discussion respecting the relation of Protestants and Roman Catholics to each other—or to the effect of European Romanism on America in general—would be far too wide for the limits of this paper, and would involve controversies which might draw us away from our proper theme.

I would begin with the general remark that different countries have contributed greatly to the formation of your religious life. When America was covered with forests, which no woodman's axe had ever touched—when, where now thriving cities may be seen, naught existed but prairies, in which buffaloes wandered at their own wild will—when your majestic rivers were furrowed by no barks larger than the Indian's canoe—divine Providence, by dispensations of wisdom, righteousness, and love, was preparing influences which have served to mould your religious destinies. The Mediæval Church—the Waldensian and Bohemian Brotherhoods—the Protestant Reformation—the labors of Luther and Calvin and Zwingle—the sufferings of Latimer and Ridley—the struggles of Huguenots—the institutions and activities of the Dutch Reformed—the confessorship and exile of Puritans—the writings of foreign and English divines—and the language, literature, and aspirations of Germany, have all contributed to create the religious Amer-

ica of the present day. These influences may be said to have risen into the heavens, to become there fertilizing shower-clouds; and these, in due time—sailing, settling, and breaking upon old American wildernesses—have made seeds of truth, sown on cleared lands of thought and sentiment, grow into a harvest of faith and love and blessing.

The addresses you have heard from our foreign brethren supply some information illustrative of points of contact between European and American Christendom; and a promised paper by another clergyman may contain statements throwing light upon the formation of opinion here through influences from other lands. But the links of connection between European Protestant Churches and American Protestant Churches; between the Church of Holland and the Dutch Reformed Church of this country; between Lutherans of the Fatherland and Lutherans in this land of their adoption; between the old Huguenots and the Protestant Frenchmen of the States; between the Moravians who sprung from Herrnhut, and the Moravians who have their settlements and episcopacy among you—all these interesting links of connection deserve to be examined with historical care by some one thoroughly competent to the task.*

I. In confining myself, as I am compelled, within the limits of those historical relationships which have obtained between America and England, I observe, in the first place, that there has been between us an age of ecclesiastical union, now past and gone forever. It has been partly organic and partly inorganic. Of organic union two types present themselves—the Episcopalian and the Methodist. A word respecting each.

Episcopalianism in America, from its introduction at the founding of Virginia, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to the consecration of bishops for American sees, where Episcopalianism obtained at the close of the eighteenth century, was undoubtedly a branch of the English Church. The Book of Common Prayer used to be read on

* [The subject of the Ecclesiastical and Religious Relations of America to the Continent of Europe was originally on the programme, and assigned to the Editor, but was stricken out at his own request.—Ed.]

the shores of Chesapeake Bay as on the banks of the River Thames; for the terms of the Charter in 1606 granted to Virginia—a colony consisting of Episcopalians—prescribed that in the new settlement “the true Word and service of God should be preached, planted, and used, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England.” The settlement, like other colonies under the English crown, came within the capacious boundaries of the metropolitan see of London: and ecclesiastical authority on the side of the mother country, submission on the side of such of the daughter states, continued amid many difficulties for about a century and three quarters. At the end of that period, in 1784, Dr. Seabury, as Bishop of Connecticut, was consecrated in Scotland, and Dr. White and Dr. Provost, as Bishops of Pennsylvania and New York, at Lambeth.*

Another branch of Christ's Catholic Church sprung up in this vast continent in the middle of the last century, and for a little while retained organic union with it. The year 1766 saw a German Irishman—who fourteen years before had become acquainted with John Wesley, and had by that means recovered the blessedness of humble faith, after losing it a while)—opening his house for Methodist worship in this city, and the infant cause of Methodism found here not a cradle for sleep, but a school for the development of its mighty energies. Three years afterward an appeal from the country for preachers reached the English Conference, then sitting at Leeds. “Who is willing to go?” asked Wesley. Two earnest itinerants, named Boardman and Pilmoor, answered each of them, “Here am I; send me.” “What can we do further, in token of brotherly love?” asked the Conference. To this a thoroughly Methodistical reply was given. “Let us make a collection.” Thus the Methodism of America became ingrafted on the English stock, and the Methodist love of collection-making perhaps contributed something to the characteristic generosity of the American religions public ever since. But very naturally the American Methodist Societies soon aspired to independence. In 1773, the first Conference was held in the New World; and, in 1784, Dr. Coke received his famous commission to your shores from the hands of the founder of universal Wesleyandom. From that time dates the existence of Methodism in America as a distinct organization. Before, but for a short space, Methodist Societies in the Western World were subject to the English Conference; afterwards they were separate and self-con-

tained. The organic union of the two during a short period was the natural and necessary result of the constitution of Methodism, which is based on a principle of ecclesiastical harmony and wholeness, and is averse to the breaking of organic bonds until compelled by circumstances of imperious necessity. The love of Episcopal order—which beat strongly in the breasts of both Wesley and Coke, and lingered long in the midst of the early Methodists, notwithstanding their irregularities—led to the introduction of an Episcopal element, under a somewhat new and characteristic form, into the developments of American Wesleyanism.

But Anglican Episcopaliamism and Wesleyan Methodism stand by themselves in the history of organic ecclesiasticism on the two sides of the Atlantic. They exhibit aspects different from those of other religions bodies. Other bodies have never been interlaced by organic ties—they have only felt the gentler entwinements of sympathetic affection. English Independents and Presbyterians founded states in the New World, in the exercise of a freedom denied to them at home, being neither patronized nor persecuted by the government they had left behind—since that government possessed no adequate means of controlling their proceedings in the laud of their adoption. Under the Commonwealth, indeed, Acts of Parliament against the Book of Common Prayer were, on this side of the sea, formally published by commissioners sent out for the purpose—as I find from the state papers of the period—but they do not appear to have been practically enforced. Presbyterianism in America has never been organically united with Presbyterianism in Great Britain. Nor does Congregationalism either in New England or in Massachusetts appear to have received support from any English Government, or to have been subject to the control of any English Churches. Cromwell's rule promoted the missionary designs of Eliot, and the Presbyterian Synod at Sion College, London, showed a disposition to co-operate in his noble enterprise; but, beyond expressions of regard, and, it may be, some measure of voluntary assistance, I am not aware of any thing having been done at that time in England for the strengthening and extension of American Presbyterianism or American Congregationalism.

The whole action of both ecclesiastical systems within your shores may be said to have been that of thorough self-control. They operated according to the laws of the state in which they established themselves; and in the formation of which they had been chief actors, neither helped nor hindered by the mother country; struggling only with those difficulties which spring from the rivalry and antagonism of sects when brought into contiguity. The same remark may be

* It appears that two clergymen who came over to America in the first quarter of the last century were consecrated bishops before they came by nonjuring bishops in England, and furtively discharged Episcopal functions.—Wilberforce, *History of the American [Episcopal] Church*, p. 158.

made of Baptist Churches in Rhode Island, which arose out of the teaching of the apostle of ecclesiastical freedom, Roger Williams. If I may mention another respected section of our Anglo-American Christendom, the Society of Friends (between whom and other denominations there existed no little strife), I would add that the yearly meeting of Friends in England, at the close of the seventeenth century, formed, I believe, a sort of Court of Appeal for American Friends—any such link of dependence, however, was slender; and this simple manifestation of Christian life among you has, like others (indeed, all others except the two I first mentioned), mainly, if not entirely, throughout stood on a basis of its own.

Such, in a few words, is the history of old ecclesiastical relations between England and America.

It would be interesting, had we time, to investigate the causes and characteristics of each of these relations.

Those causes would appear to have been economical, embracing the spirit of enterprise and emigration—Englishmen bringing over to America, with their commercial and industrial habits, religious predilections formed at home. Political causes would also be recognizable, including, on the one side, the action of government, on the other side, love and loyalty to the mother-land—influences which undoubtedly have had much to do with the current of Episcopalian sympathies flowing over the New World long before they were gathered into diocesan channels.

Distinctly religious influences are especially noticeable in connection with this subject, comprehending impulses of conscientious conviction, appearing in some cases as a reverential and conservative regard for ancient institutions, in others as an outburst of zeal in favor of quickening movements, such as periodically are wont to occur in the Church of Christ, breaking up dead formalities. And then, finally, personal causes and characteristics would come to light, and we should have to point to the names of Smith and Hunt—almost forgotten in England, but I suppose emblazoned, as they ought to be, in rich colors on your Virginian records—and to the world-known names of William Penn, John Wesley, and George Whitefield.

Interesting also it would be, had we space, to work out the history of the termination of this by-gone age. It would lead us up to moral and social causes of disruption—to the alienated feeling between Americans and Englishmen a century ago—to a decline in fondness for organic systematizing, and especially to the great political influences which became condensed in operation amid your grand struggle for independence a hundred years ago. That has played a conspicuous and important part in the ecclesiastic-

al revolution of the past, and was sufficient of itself to snap any such organic relations as existed between the imperial and colonial States. And here let me be excused for remarking that as, on account of the close and loving friendship sustained by Scotchmen to us Englishmen, and by us Englishmen to Scotchmen, we can sincerely rejoice in the defeat of our fathers at Bannockburn (but for which heart-burnings might, nobody knows how long, perhaps to this day, have kept apart the two nations divided by the Tweed)—so on account of different but equally affectionate friendships subsisting now between you as an independent people and ourselves as the once maternal empire—(friendships which could not have existed in their present form but for some decisive event assigning to the two countries a true and proper position toward each other)—on account of such friendship, I say, we can unfeignedly exult in the victory which your fathers nobly won at Bunker Hill. Once a mortification, it is turned into a joy.

II. Now we turn from the past to the present and the future; and more interesting than any of the points which challenge the secular historian are those spiritual relations, independent of all organic structures and schemes, which unite the Christians of the Old and the New World—relations which strike their roots below formal confederations, and survive the dissolution of artificial bonds, and are now existing in more vigorous vitality than ever, full of hopes, richer than any of our treasured memories.

Those relations I would rapidly notice.

I. And first, if I may be excused another backward glance, let me remark that early English colonization in America bore a decidedly religious impress. It presents a unique page in the world's history. Nowhere else do you find blended with colonial enterprise such reverence for God and Christ and divine worship. Of the story of the Pilgrim Fathers neither you nor we can ever tire. It will be a dark day for the world when that episode fails to awaken enthusiasm on either side the world of dividing waters. It may well inspire every one who writes the story of your Northern States. No other people can boast of an origin such as belongs to New England. No other people can find in their annals a tale at once so true and beautiful, so tender and brave, so authentic, and yet so rich in a sublime pathos—a pathos such as belongs to the ideal world of legend, myth, or drama.

It asks still for the pens of American Virgils to trace adventures more heart-stirring than those of the Trojan Æneas. The New England epic shows how neither martial ambition, commercial greed, nor mere love of enterprise nerved the refugees at Delft-haven—but the fear of God and the spirit

of liberty; and how, from first to last, the voyage of the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower* received its impetus from a form of Christian piety which identifies itself with the faith and spirit of our Evangelical Alliance this very day.

2. Still more important and more to our immediate purpose is it to recognize the common spiritual life of Christians on both sides the waters. We are all one in Christ Jesus—German, French, Dutch, Italian, English. He is the Shepherd and Bishop of souls, and whatever our confession of faith and form of polity—whatever the fold in which we be gathered—whatever the pasture where we feed—we are of the flock of which he will never resign the pastoral oversight. Despite our differences, we have one Lord, one faith, one baptism. We need not try to lay a new corner-stone of unity. The chief corner-stone—"elect, precious"—is laid, and that forever. We may go so far as to say that we need not build up the walls of a spiritual unity; they are built by the Holy Spirit in his sanctifying work. To us it belongs simply to manifest what exists—humanity to demonstrate what is divinely created. Atlantic cables, ocean postage, international treaties, the interchange of embassies, express not brotherhood so intimate and clear as that which really obtains between the disciples of Christ here and in Europe. It is that which in the present Conference binds us all together in the love of one Saviour and the hope of one heaven.

3. In considering the relations of the two empires, one is struck with the fact that originating power in reference to Church development once rested on the side of Europe, especially England. Europe gave her daughter systems of ecclesiastical polity, which have grown with her growth and strengthened with her strength; but as to the spiritual relations between the United States and European peoples, there lies now productive power in vigorous exercise on both sides—on yours no less than ours. Europe does not in these days, perhaps, originate religious influences in America beyond what America does in Europe. Influence of this kind is reciprocal. Possibly beyond what is merely reciprocal went that wave of spiritual power called Revivalism, which rolled over from your broad continent some years ago to our island shores. That movement was of mighty spiritual force. It carried with it an original and originating energy. We thank you for it most devoutly, and most devoutly do we desire a renewal of it. Whenever it really comes, we shall return it in a tide of blessing and praise, depend on that. Action and reaction between us will be incessant, augmenting, wonderful.

4. Further, an interchange of spiritual sentiment is yearly going on through the perusal of your literature in Europe, and the

perusal of European literature by you. We leave you to tell of edification and refreshment derived from Continental and English divines; but we would take the liberty of testifying to the effect produced on the theological intellect of Europe by authors who have lived and are living on your side the water. We hope we can appreciate the close and almost mathematical reasoning of your imperial logician, Jonathan Edwards, albeit that some of us who confess his genius, dispute some of his conclusions, and much of his method. And truly we have all had our devotion enkindled afresh by the seraphic ardor of Edward Payson, while young and old have been charmed by the felicitous illustrations of Jacob Abbott.* In the department of Church History, and in that of Biblical exegesis, we English are debtors to American names, both among the living and the dead; and just now we feel our obligations on the increase as we receive critical German commentaries enlarged and improved in an American dress, through the hands of Dr. Schaff, and welcome the first installment of the "Philosophical and Theological Library" issued under the auspices of Dr. Smith and Dr. Schaff.

5. Pulpit intercommunion must not be overlooked, and here the lives of Whitefield and Wesley bear witness to the wonderful impression made in America a century ago by their preaching. We have not been favored to a like extent with the living eloquence of your pulpit orators; but we do not forget the visits of Mason, McIlvaine, Spring, Sprague, Patton, Cox, Tyng, and others who might be mentioned with honor. Henry Ward Beecher just allowed our countrymen, at a period of great excitement, to hear his voice, and to stimulate earnest longings for a revisit; and Dr. Cuyler warmed our hearts by his few utterances in London last year.

But pulpit interchange between the two countries has as yet done little, compared with what it might accomplish. Owing to national and individual idiosyncrasies, American and English preachers adopt different methods of instruction and appeal; each might learn something of the other by more frequent and general intercourse. Preachers of the one hemisphere can not be exactly like preachers of the other. Pity they should; but one might spiritually improve the other, in following out her own natural and gracious bent. Perhaps, on this side of the Atlantic, more of English preaching might be advantageous; certainly, on the other, American preaching would be of immense service to English Churches of all denominations. The matter I would earnestly commend to

* These names are mentioned simply because they are among the oldest recollections of the author. A long list of American writers worthy of all honors might easily be added.

your attention, as one of practical, and, I would add, pressing importance.

6. This subject is intimately connected with another—the interchange of visits between American and English Christians. Parlor fellowship is, perhaps, more intensely effective than pulpit interchange. An American in an English home—an Englishman in an American one—is not only the partaker of a privilege, but the originator of an influence. He may send a charming ripple of excitement over the calm lake of domestic experience. He may leave behind a memory which will be ever beautiful, ever fragrant. We Europeans cherish fond recollections of visitors whose presence and conversation have shed new light and warmth over our firesides. May none of us Englishmen do aught to mar the Christian intercourse of this auspicious gathering; and may the friendships and acquaintances now formed or renewed be bonds of everlasting love between families of the two countries. With mere politicians, domestic influence may count for little; but in the estimation of Christians they will tell for much; and our hopes for lasting peace between England and America rest not a little on the foundation of mutual affection, which intercourse such as we now enjoy will do more than any thing else to deepen, widen, and perpetuate.

7. I must be allowed to refer to the co-operation of America with England in the work of Bible revision, now so harmoniously and successfully carried on at Westminster. That work is no doubt of the highest value to all English-speaking people throughout the world. It has brought together members of English, Scotch, and Irish churches in an unexampled way, and promoted the interests of Christian union to an unexampled extent. We rejoice to know that, through the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Schaff, American scholars have been formed into companies to aid in this much-needed and noble enterprise; and the result, it is trusted, will be

the production of such an improved version in the mother tongue as will worthily scene the confidence of both the Old World and the New.

8. Besides these definite bonds of intercommunion, there is another of a more general kind, consisting in the influence which flows from example. No doubt the religious example of England in times past has affected America in a manner more effective than any organized relation whatever. Perhaps it has told beyond every thing else. But also for a long time, and now more than ever, your example has been and is stimulating us. Revivals here, as I have indicated, sent thrills of sympathy all over England; the vigor of your religious activity has promoted ours; your boldness in spiritual, as in other enterprises, has inspired our admiration; and your pre-eminent liberality will, we trust, command our imitation.

But I must conclude. Much has been said of late in England, by a certain order of ecclesiastics, about a union between East and West, i. e., between the Greek communion, on the one hand, and the Latin and Anglo-Episcopal communions on the other. To most of us, I suppose, such a union appears a forlorn hope. The age for organic reunions, after long separation and independent activity, is gone by. From the union of Latin, Anglo-American, and Greek Churches, based on the corner-stone of Episcopacy as an indispensable necessity, of course all non-Episcopalian communities are slung out. But the union of East and West in the case of Protestant Europe and Protestant America—the union of Bible Christians in the two hemispheres in works of faith and labors of love (union identical with mutual sympathy and co-operation—common prayer—love to the same Saviour—the desire to do his will, and to help one another in doing it)—that union is no impossibility. It exists—it is manifested to-day—its growth, its increase, calls forth the exclamation *Esto perpetua*.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE: ITS ORIGIN, OBJECTS, AND OPERATIONS.

BY THE REV. JAMES DAVIS, SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH ORGANIZATION, LONDON.

If the Evangelical Alliance were a new institution, it would be none the less excellent, but in name only has it the stamp of novelty. The Church of God has never been otherwise than one. "One faith, one Lord, one baptism, one God and Father of all," is applicable to all ages. It is equally true to say that this unity has always co-existed with diversities of administration. Israel, under the former dispensation, was one having a Divine revelation—the rule of life, the inspirer of consolation and peace, of joy and hope, to every member of that Church. But Israel was composed of twelve tribes, equally included in the same covenant, interested in the same promises, inheritors of the same heavenly rest, typified by an earthly one. They occupied different positions, and were called by different names, yet they were one Israel. At stated seasons separation and estrangement were forgotten at the clear call of God to assemble for sacred festival in Jerusalem. "Whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sake, I will now say, Peace be within thee." So far as the true Israel were concerned, there was then an Evangelical Alliance.

The Church has not lost, and never can lose its essential unity. Forms of worship may vary, for on these things Holy Scripture is silent; modes of government may differ, for these are matters of doubtful interpretation, and Protestants own no infallible authority short of the Word of God. There is *one body*. All true believers admit that they are one in Christ. He is the Head of the Church. The Lord Jesus Christ came "to gather in one all things in himself, both which are in heaven and which are in earth, even in him." Delightful fact, applicable to the great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, kindreds, and peoples, and tongues, whether standing before the throne of grace here or the throne of glory hereafter, redeemed and righteous through the efficacy of the atoning blood of the Lamb! And here again we meet the true type and model of the Evangelical Alliance.

On the 19th of August, 1846, some eight

hundred professing Christians, including many of the holiest, the most learned and distinguished, of various nations, assembled in Freemasons' Hall, London, to consolidate and complete efforts which had been made in previous years to associate Christians of all countries in a cordial, visible, and effective union. Recent circumstances, more especially connected with attacks made in different quarters against Evangelical Protestantism, had seriously impressed thoughtful minds with the necessity for more combination among those who held the same essential doctrines and were working for the same object. The warm aspiration after brotherly intercourse with those who, like the early Church, when most pure and triumphant, were of one accord, and of whom we read, "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul," impelled others to see if there could not be found a way of bridging over the narrow gulfs that separated one section of the Christian Church from another, and unite followers of the same Lord in holy fellowship and active and world-wide service. Noble pioneers in this great cause, from the Old and New Worlds, had written and striven for this object, sometimes crossing oceans and continents, animated with strong faith and exalted hope, and pleading powerfully for the increase of brotherly love, by which all men should know the true disciples of Christ. For twenty years the preparations were being quietly but surely made. In Liverpool ministers of different denominations had been annually called together for united prayer, and an address on these occasions published, exhorting Christians to follow up and widely extend that fraternal intercourse. In other places, at home and abroad, holy and catholic-minded men were moving in the same direction, which culminated in a proposal for a union of Evangelical Protestants, for fraternal recognition, mutual aid, and the spread of the Gospel in all lands. At a conference of ministers of various Evangelical Churches, at the Wesleyan Centenary Hall, London, in February, 1845, sentiments were expressed in favor of the proposal, and at a great public meeting held in consequence in Exeter Hall, in June of the same year, such was the enthusiastic ardor of the assembly that the friends of Christian union

found that, instead of fighting a battle they had to celebrate a victory, and make full proof of the Psalmist's words, "How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"

A meeting held in Edinburgh in the following July contributed an important step to the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. It was the bi-centenary of the Westminster Assembly, and gave occasion to the expression of sentiments truly catholic, and the advocacy, in powerful terms, of evangelical union. The arguments and earnest language of one of the speakers forcibly impressed a gentleman present (the late John Henderson, Esq., of Park, Glasgow), to whom the idea at once presented itself of a treatise on the subject. A volume of essays, to which some of the most eloquent and distinguished men of the day contributed, gave point and force to a proposal—emanating in the first instance, we believe, from the Rev. Dr. Patton, of America, in a letter to the late Rev. Angel James—that a great conference of delegates from Evangelical Churches in various parts of the world should be held on the subject, in the metropolis of Great Britain. From East and West, from North and South, the encouraging answer came—"Let it be carried into effect." Fathers and brethren, the wise and good of various localities in Great Britain, combined, with this object, in provisional committees formed in the provinces; and in due time their labors were crowned with success. The 19th of August, 1846, had been fixed for the assembly, and on that day Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Moravians, Lutherans, and others, met from different and distant countries to consider the great question about to be submitted to them—the formation of an Evangelical Alliance. It was a season of fervent prayer and praise, of hallowed intercourse, of anxious and animated discussion; and at the fourth session the following resolution was unanimously passed: "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*." The proposal became a fact. The Alliance was formed; and brethren who had assembled on this occasion dispersed to their respective provinces and countries, to reflect on the good work in which they had been engaged, and to organize associations for extending its influence and benefits as widely as possible. But British and foreign ministers of the Gospel did not separate without giving some snita-

ble expression of their fraternal sympathy as fellow-ambassadors for Christ. On the Lord's Day, August 23, by mutual arrangement, an interchange of services in London took place, and more than eighty pulpits were occupied by members of the Conference, and the same glorious doctrines constituting our common Evangelical faith were preached in the English, French, German, and other languages, foreshadowing the time, not very far distant, it is hoped, when all national, as well as international, hinderances will be removed out of the way, and wise and godly men, apt to teach, and giving full proof of their ministry, will be welcomed in all pulpits to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ.

The Alliance thus auspiciously formed rapidly spread its fruit-bearing branches, which now exist not only in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but also in the United States of America, and in the principal capitals throughout the world. These organizations, designed for Christians "to realize in themselves and to exhibit to others that a living and everlasting union binds all true believers together in the fellowship of the Church of Christ," express not only a great truth of vast importance in these days of strife and division, but a power which it is incumbent upon Christians so united to use prayerfully, zealously, and practically whenever occasion calls it forth. That these occasions have not been wanting, and that the Alliance has not failed to turn them to most useful account, its subsequent history very clearly shows.

In presenting this necessarily brief historical sketch of the Alliance, and recording its transactions, with the results which, by the blessing of God, have followed, it would have been pleasant to speak of the correspondence which it has created, and the communications held with Evangelical Christians, of various communities, in different parts of the world, thus enabling them to express and manifest true sympathy in seasons both of joy and sorrow. It would have been pleasant to trace the operations of the Alliance in moderating controversy, in fostering cordial affection among true disciples of Christ, and supplying numerous occasions for their assembling together to hear tidings of the progress of the Gospel in different lands, and in rendering effectual aid in cases calling for special help. It would have been pleasant to refer to the various societies it has originated for combining Christian effort in new departments of Evangelical labor—the Turkish Missions Aid Society, the Continental Committee for Religious Liberty, the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, the German Aid Society, the Christian Evidence Society—all still prosecuting their important home and foreign work, with unquestionable evidences of the Divine blessing. But we proceed to speak

of the larger efforts made by this ecumenical society in prosecution of its design for the largest and most world-wide usefulness. The co-operation of Christians being the logical, sound, and suitable object springing out of their union, it is essential that they should periodically meet in various lands for mutual information, for wise counsel, and for strengthening the various brotherhoods of the universal household of God.

London.—The first General Council of the Evangelical Alliance subsequent to its formation was held in the British metropolis in the autumn of 1851. It was the year of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations. The products of all countries and the triumphs of art among all peoples were made tributary to Christian counsel; and the invitation to come in the interests of national peace was supplemented by one in the interests of Christian and catholic love. The list of ministers, professors, etc., who attended that Conference presents sixty from France, forty from Switzerland, eleven from Belgium, twenty-two from Holland, forty-seven from Germany, six from Sweden, and twenty-two from the United States; besides individual names from Piedmont, Italy, Russia, Malta, Rhodes, the Cape of Good Hope, the West and East Indies, Tunis, China, etc. At these meetings original papers, prepared with great ability and research, were read; a great variety of authentic religious intelligence, both home and foreign, was supplied, and seasons for Christian intercourse and mutual edification were afforded, which left the happiest and most enduring impressions on the minds of those whose privilege it was to be present. What nobler purpose, it might be asked, could the Evangelical Alliance serve than that of periodically bringing together Christians of all nations, not simply to avow their union and exchange affectionate greetings, or by their united service of praise and prayer autedate the joys of heaven, but to survey the state and progress of the whole Church, and strengthen one another for greater zeal, devotion, and activity for the advancement of the great Christian commonwealth?

Paris.—The next General Conference was held in the capital of France, in the year 1855; our French brethren, like the British organization, turning to a happy use the Exposition of Arts and Industry held in their metropolis that year. For an assembly of Christians of all nations to be held in Paris was regarded as an event of no ordinary significance. If the capital of the British kingdom merits the distinction of being the focus and centro of Protestant influences, the capital of France is, of all Continental cities, that which possesses the greatest influence in the councils of Rome and over the mind of Europe. The effect likely to be produced by such an assembly

upon Christendom at large was, therefore, expected to be greater in that city than in London. The results attained through the Divine blessing afforded satisfaction to all who took an interest in the cause of Christian union and the spread of the Gospel. Some one thousand two hundred persons from fifteen different nations were present at the Conference; and while the deepest interest was awakened in the various subjects brought under the consideration of the assembly, the discussions which followed only elicited the brotherly feeling and perfect harmony reigning in the hearts of all. On two occasions the brethren cemented their fellowship with Christ and with each other by meeting at his table, when the service was conducted in various languages; the elements were distributed by pastors of the different Churches represented in the Conference; and the words of the Lord Jesus, in giving the bread and in giving the wine, were pronounced in six languages—French, English, German, Dutch, Italian, and Swedish. But the varieties of human language produced no discordance, and led to no confusion; they were the harmonious utterances of the one faith, and the expressions of the same love which woke up in every heart the fervor of holy joy and grateful thanksgiving and praise. It is worthy of notice that the subject of religious liberty and the intolerance which at that time prevailed on the Continent, in Protestant as well as in Roman Catholic countries, as well as the persecutions endured by many Christian brethren, were forcibly brought under the attention of the Paris Conference, with a view to some practical steps being taken in reference to them. This led to the appointment of a united committee, composed of brethren from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Prussia, Sweden, Turkey, Great Britain, Ireland, and America, to whom the subject was confided for their joint counsel as to the practical measures which might be adopted in relation to those countries where intolerance principally prevailed. The Committee met and drew up their report, in which resolutions were framed, and which, on being presented to the Conference, obtained their unanimous concurrence. The resolutions were to the effect:

1. That it is the right of every man, in so far as his fellow-man is concerned, to worship God, as well publicly as in private, according to his conscience, and to propagate the faith he holds by every means not contrary to morals or good order, or to that obedience to government which is enjoined in the Word of God.

2. That the Conference, having had its attention drawn to the persecutions endured by many Christian brethren for conscience' sake, takes occasion to express its sympathy with them under their sufferings, and

to commend them to the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ.

3. That the Conference recommends that strenuous efforts be taken with a view to obtain in all countries where now intolerance prevails, the fullest religious liberty, not only for themselves as Protestants, but for others, irrespective of distinctions of belief; and that, in furtherance of this object, memorials be prepared and presented to the rulers of those nations among whom cases of persecution were occurring.

Thus were laid the foundations of that great work in the cause of religious freedom which the Alliance has prosecuted with vigor in European and Eastern countries, and on which the Divine blessing has so signally and so largely rested.

Berlin.—The third in the series of Conferences of Evangelical Christians of various nations and churches, convened by the Evangelical Alliance, was held in the city of Berlin, in September, 1857. The desire to bring about a closer union among Protestants had long been cherished by the King of Prussia, and when his attention was drawn to the principles and proceedings of this society, his majesty immediately avowed himself its friend, and subsequently, on repeated occasions, rendered to it valuable service. The king, through the medium of private correspondence and a royal message sent to one of the annual meetings of the British organization, made known his wish that the next General Conference should take place in the capital of his kingdom. The royal communication was as encouraging as it was novel and unlooked-for, and naturally supplied a stimulus before which difficulties disappeared and exertions multiplied. Committees in Berlin and London actively co-operated in making the required preparations, and at an early period a preliminary meeting of brethren from various parts of Europe was held at Frankfort. Twice a deputation was sent to communicate with his majesty, and was honored with private audiences; the first deputation being composed of French and English members, the second of English and German. An extensive correspondence was opened with members of the Alliance in every quarter of the globe, and a wide-spread sympathy and many prayers were thus engaged on behalf of the Conference. The different branches of the Alliance in Sweden, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Turkey, Syria, the East Indies, and in the United States of America, expressed in various ways, and especially by published addresses to which numerous signatures were attached, their earnest concurrence. Where no branch of the Alliance had been formed, similar addresses spontaneously emanated from Christian brethren, as at the Cape of Good Hope, and also from various ecclesiastical and mis-

sionary bodies, as from the Synod of the Moravian Church, from the Church Missionary Conference of Calcutta, and the German Missions in Bombay. Another fact worthy of note is that British Christians of all denominations issued an address to their Continental brethren, signed by more than three thousand persons, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with several bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, and some of the colonial bishops, gave public utterance, from the press, to their hearty sympathy and earnest prayers that the blessing of God might rest upon and prosper the assembly. Among the public meetings held to help forward the design, special mention should be made of one in London, at which the Earl of Shaftesbury took the chair, and one at Lambeth Palace, presided over by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the latter numerous bishops and clergymen, non-conformist ministers, pastors from foreign countries, besides noblemen and other laymen, were present, and expressed their cordial approval of the object.

The Conference opened with a devotional meeting held on the evening of September 9, 1857, in the Royal Garrison Church, used also for the subsequent sessions, by special permission of the King of Prussia; and for nine successive days there was gathered together in Berlin an assembly of Christian men such as—considering their nationalities and ecclesiastical diversities, the official and ministerial character which the greater part of them sustained, and, above all, the simple yet sublime object which had brought them together—no city perhaps in Christendom had ever before witnessed. It would be extending too largely this brief historical sketch to enter into details of the proceedings of this Conference, but one incident must not be passed over. The King of Prussia, who had shown throughout his deep interest in the gathering of Christians from so many nations in the metropolis of his kingdom, expressed his wish to receive the members of the Conference at his palace at Potsdam.

On Friday, September 12th, three special trains conveyed about 1200 visitors to Potsdam, who, after partaking of an elegant repast, were received on the terrace, to which the front of the palace opens, by the king and the queen, who had arrived about six o'clock. It was intended that his majesty should have been received in respectful silence, but it was impossible to repress the enthusiasm of the assembly as his majesty, alighting from his carriage, passed among his guests, manifesting, by his look and speech, the cordiality with which he welcomed them. The Conference, in its entirety, having been presented to his majesty, the Chairman of the German Branch of the Alliance (the Rev. E. Kuntze) spoke as fol-

lows: "Sire,—Your majesty has seen many armies, but never before such a one as now meets your view—an army not arrayed in martial attire, but girt with spiritual weapons, and wielding only the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God." The king replied, with evident emotion, "I have always felt the most earnest desire to promote such a union among Christians, and hitherto it has appeared to me impossible; but now I rejoice to see it. The first step is taken. The first days of the Conference are passed, with the joy and blessing of the Lord. I trust it will be the same with the rest. My wish and most fervent prayer is, that there may descend upon all the members of the Conference an effusion of the Spirit of God like that which fell on the first disciples at Pentecost." Afterward, as his majesty advanced through the different groups, formed according to their nationalities, some of the principal persons of each were successively presented, to all of whom short and appropriate observations were made. While the king was thus engaged, the queen had been supplied with the names of the ladies who had been most kindly included in the royal invitation, and was paying similarly gracious attentions to them. The presentations being finished, as their majesties were about to retire amidst the renewed cheers of the assembly, a voice struck the first notes of Luther's time-honored hymn, so hallowed in the minds of German Protestants—

"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott;"

and, at its close, a venerable clergyman stepped forward, and offered up a short but emphatic prayer, and pronounced the Benediction. The king and queen, evidently taken by surprise at this spontaneous and devout utterance of Christian loyalty, stopped the moment they heard the psalm begin, and reverently remained till the close of the prayer. At eight o'clock the special trains conveyed the visitors back to Berlin.

Genera.—The fourth of the series of General Conferences was held in 1861, in the city of Geneva, a city with historic associations of the deepest interest to Evangelical Christians, and a land of unrivaled beauty throughout Europe. It recalled the memory of some of the noblest and greatest men that the Church has known since the days of the apostles. These combined to give a charm and an interest to the Conference being held there which attracted multitudes to the assembly gathered to consider the religious state of the world, and to consult for the good of the Church. The subjects on which admirable papers were presented furnished themes for the interchange of wise and solemn thought, as well as profitable discussion. The Observance of the Lord's Day; the Condition of the Working Classes;

Modern Skepticism; Foreign Missions; Jewish Missions; Italy and the Gospel; Calvin and the Reformation; the Religious State of Eastern Europe and Western Asia; the Union of Doctrine and Life; Recent Revivals of Religion; Sunday-schools; Religions Liberty—these were among the subjects carefully considered, and in which the following, among other honored brethren, took a prominent part: Drs. Dorner, Krummacker, and Tholwall, from Germany; Professors Mazzarella, Revel, and Geymonat, from Italy; Professors Merlo d'Agnigné, Godet, Naville, Malan, Gausson, Bungeuer, Pastors Barde, Coulin, Brunier, Colonel Tronehin, from Switzerland; Professors Rousseau St. Hilaire and Cuvier, Pastors Monod, De Pressensé, Fisch, Grandpierre, Vallette, Casalis, Frossard, from France; Messieurs Groen van Prinsterer, Dr. Cappadose, Pastor Chantepie de la Saussaye, from Holland; Dr. Kalkar, from Denmark; Pastors Rudin and Descoulayes, from Sweden; Barons Von Schwebs and Von Haaren, from Russia; Rev. Drs. Baird and Sawtell, from America; Rev. Prebendary Burgess, Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Revs. T. R. Birks, Dallas, W. Arthur, Bunting, Birrell, Herschell, the Earls of Roden and Cavan, the Hons. Arthur Kinnaid and Spencer Cowper, Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart., from England; Rev. Drs. Guthrie, Thomson, and Cairns, from Scotland; Professor Gibson and Dr. Urwick, from Ireland.

On the morning of September 2d, the Conference was opened in the Cathedral of St. Peter, in the midst of a large concourse of clergy and laymen and of a numerous audience. After singing the hymn *Grand Dieu, nous te bénissons*, the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John was read, and a fervent prayer was offered by Pastor Coulin, of the National Church. M. Adrien Naville, President of the French-speaking Branch of the Alliance, then gave the inaugural discourse, and thus opened the business of the Conference, which throughout was distinguished by the harmonious and loving spirit pervading the assemblies. The celebration of the Lord's Supper appropriately closed the series of meetings, and, from its international as well as eucharistic character, was perhaps the most remarkable occasion in the history of the Alliance. During the time of holding the Conference a number of special meetings, some of them of considerable importance, were held, and numerous breakfasts and other gatherings, of a more or less private nature, took place; thus opportunities were afforded, in addition to the fraternal and friendly intercourse enjoyed among esteemed Christian brethren of various countries, for private conversation on religious questions of great international importance. Nor should we omit to mention a novel feature in the Conference, and, indeed, in Switzerland and European coun-

tries—viz. : the numerous open-air meetings held for the promotion of a religious awakening among the people, who were addressed in their own language by British and other foreign visitors, and to whom the earnest setting forth of the love of Christ was largely blessed.

Amsterdam.—The fifth General Conference was held in 1867, in Amsterdam, in a land which, among Protestant nations, naturally holds a foremost place. While comparatively of small geographical extent, and contending against great natural difficulties, Holland possesses a history of almost unrivaled importance and traditions which cover her people with everlasting renown. From the first they have been brave and generous lovers of freedom, of national independence, and of the Gospel. At the earnest invitation of our Christian brethren of the Netherlands, arrangements were made for holding the next General Conference in their city of Amsterdam, and on the evening of Lord's Day, August 10th, the Conference was opened by an inaugural service in the New Church, Amsterdam. This large cathedral church, built, notwithstanding its name, A.D. 1408, was filled to the extent, it was estimated, of 4000 persons, occupying and crowding all that part of the sacred edifice which is devoted to divine worship. The Rev. Dr. Van Oosterzee, Professor of the University of Utrecht, preached on the occasion a sermon of great power and beauty, admirably adapting an incident in the history of St. Paul to the circumstances of the assembly, and to the sentiments and objects which had brought Christians together from so many different countries. The hymns sung at this service and at all the subsequent meetings were printed in parallel columns in four languages—Dutch, German, French, and English; and thus all were enabled to unite in this act of worship. On each successive day papers were read of great learning, historical research, and practical value, supplying an amount of information tending to re-assure faith in the divine origin and power of Christianity, and enlarge the sympathy of all who heard them with the true Church of Christ, in its conflicts and varied trials, its social philanthropies and missionary enterprise, and its all-pervading spirit of life and love.

This Dutch Conference was distinguished even more than any of the preceding ones by an immediate and local usefulness, giving it additional value. The Committee had, from the first, been desirous to render the visit of so many foreign Christians in Amsterdam fruitful of spiritual good to the citizens at large. Various methods were employed for this purpose, some of which must be mentioned. On two occasions the regular proceedings were suspended, when the great hall was filled by a large concourse of peo-

ple from the city, to whom addresses were delivered on the nature and design of the Evangelical Alliance, and on the solemn obligations to receive the Gospel of Christ and imitate the faith and fidelity of their renowned forefathers. But not only in the Park Hall was the Gospel earnestly presented. The use of other spacious buildings was obtained, when crowds of the poor and even moral outcasts of society listened, evening after evening, to the message brought to them by sympathizing strangers, whose earnest words were interpreted by our Dutch brethren. Soldiers in the barracks were also cared for, and, by the kind permission of the commandant, the troops were assembled, and Mrs. Daniel, known for her extraordinary work among the soldiers at Aldershot, accompanied by a British general officer, addressed them on "the common salvation."

The Conference closed with the celebration, on the Sunday, of the Lord's Supper in the Remonstrant Reformed Church, a simple but spacious edifice, now filled with communicants gathered together, in communion with their one Lord and with each other, to celebrate his redeeming love. Surely it was an appropriate conclusion to the meetings of the previous days, which had produced a sense of profound gratitude for the manifold and rich pleasures afforded by "the comfort of brotherly love" and the "fellowship of the Spirit," deepening the conviction of the power of the Gospel, and the duty of believers everywhere to strive for the increase of love and for unity, which is the bond of perfectness. As an appropriate and delightful termination to the Conference, the visitors were invited to participate, on the following day, in the engagements and pleasures of the annual gathering of the Dutch Missionary Societies, which, by special arrangement, had been appointed immediately to follow the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance. The village of Vogelenzang is about half an hour's distance by rail from Amsterdam, and there, in a beautifully wooded park, the property of Mr. Barnaart, some 20,000 persons assembled and spent the day in listening to missionaries and missionary addresses, intermingled with prayer and praise, and with social intercourse of an eminently gratifying and Christian character. In addition to the supply of refreshments to the entire company, Mr. Barnaart opened his mansion to the foreign guests and their families, who were entertained with the utmost kindness and hospitality.

It only remains to record that, at one of the sessions of this Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, the Rev. Dr. Prime, of New York, after reading a luminous report on the state of religion in the United States, prepared by the Rev. H. B. Smith, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, made

the following communication: "Brethren of the Alliance, I am charged, in the name of the American Branch of the Alliance, to invite you to hold your next General Conference of Christians of all Nations in the city of New York, assuring you a hospitable welcome in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord."

The announcement, as might be expected, was very enthusiastically received and acknowledged, and then referred for consideration to the different European Branches of the Alliance, with a view to its being accepted. That acceptance having been universally accorded, the present Conference is held, for which much prayer has been offered, that special blessings may rest upon it, for the increase of unity, peace, and concord among all the followers of our divine Lord, and the spread of his kingdom throughout the world.

UNITED PRAYER.

The manifestation of Christian union would be imperfect indeed if it had not, for one of its most frequent and brightest evidences, united prayer. Drawn to the Cross as their common centre for the baptism of love, Christians will be also drawn to the throne of grace in sympathy with each other's need, and with the wants of the Church and the world around them. To promote union in prayer at stated seasons and on special occasions has been the constant aim of the Alliance. Principal among these must be mentioned the Week of Prayer at the opening of the year, which has become an institution of the Christian Church throughout the world. One of the practical resolutions adopted at a Conference of the Alliance held in Manchester, in the first year of its formation, was to this effect: "That it be recommended that the week beginning with the first Lord's Day of 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 objects contemplated by the Alliance." In accordance with this resolution, an address of invitation, with suggested topics for prayer, has been prepared and translated, and widely circulated over all countries in the autumn of every year, embracing, as far as circumstances will permit, entire Christendom. This annual Week of Prayer has been increasingly and more extensively observed year by year, and in some places in England and abroad the largest halls and churches have sometimes been insufficient to contain the multitudes attracted by these devotional and united services at the opening of the year. In reviewing the events of the last quarter of a century, Christians who have assembled on these hallowed occasions can hardly fail to recognize and devoutly acknowledge God's goodness in answering the prayers of his people agreed touching the

things they have asked of him. The opening of so many wide and effectual doors in Europe and other continents for the proclamation of the Gospel and the spread of the Holy Scriptures; the religious revivals which have visited and blessed many lands; the breaking asunder of the chains of slavery and serfdom; the increased life and activity among Christian Churches, are all events in the gracious providence of God indicating the hand of one to whom the cry of faith and earnestness never ascends in vain.

THE ACTION OF THE ALLIANCE IN THE CAUSE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

From the commencement it was seen that religious liberty would be in perfect harmony with the professed aim and ultimate object of the Evangelical Alliance, and that, without it, the union of Christians in a bond of fellowship would be an impossibility. The members of the Alliance have therefore directed their earnest efforts to deliver their afflicted brethren from all religious persecution, and to remove from nations existing obstructions to the circulation of the Word of God and the free proclamation of the Gospel of Christ. The instances in which the Evangelical Alliance has successfully exerted its influence for these objects are so numerous that they can only be glanced at in this brief sketch. A paper was to have been contributed by the Foreign Secretary of the Alliance, on the foreign operations of the Society, but owing to his lamented illness, and consequent absence from the Conference, it has been omitted. It is sufficient to mention that the Madaia in Florence; Matamoros and his fellow-Protestants, and Julian Vargas, in Spain; the missionaries and Turkish converts in Constantinople and other parts of the East; the Baptists in Germany, Russia, Sweden, and Switzerland; the Nestorians in Persia; the French missionaries in Basuto Land, South Africa, as well as English missionaries in New Caledonia; the Lutherans in the Baltic Provinces of Russia, with others, have proved the value of Christian sympathy and the efficient aid which the Alliance, through its various British and Foreign organizations, can render to our fellow-Christians throughout the world. The efforts of some of our Continental Branches with reference to the observance of the Lord's Day in their own lands have also been signally blessed. In Prussia, labor on Government works on Sunday and the assembly of the militia on that day have been stopped. In Switzerland a large number of manufactories has been closed, and the postal authorities are giving the whole or part of their *employés* rest on that day. These are some of the results with which it has pleased God to bless the co-operation of Christians in the Evangelical Alliance. But even if

no such secondary objects had been accomplished, its great value would still remain in supplying a bond of union for Christians in all countries, and manifesting that union before the world as a duty and privilege binding on all the disciples of Christ. Spiritual union is heavenly, and as all true believers in our Lord Jesus Christ, whatever their national differences and diversities in non-essential points of faith and practice, are one, and will be harmoniously joined together in the fellowship of the heavenly glory, it is expected of them now to walk in the fellowship of the Spirit, to cherish love one toward another, and with united activity occupy the vast fields of Christian usefulness that on all sides stretch out before them. Amidst the many and minor differences of the followers of our Lord, all of whom are

burdened with weighty cares and solemn responsibilities, the words may be appropriately applied which the poet represents Adam as addressing to Eve, after mutual reproaches and accusations:

“Arise, let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blamed enough elsewhere; but strive,
In offices of love, how we may lighten
Each other's burdens in our share of love.”

It only remains that the cause so auspiciously begun, and already so far advanced, be still vigorously prosecuted, and for this end the members of the Alliance invite the sympathy, the prayers, and the co-operation of all in every land who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. “He that will love life, and see good days, let him seek peace, and ensue it.” “Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God.”

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE:

ITS OBJECTS AND INFLUENCE IN PROMOTING THE UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD OF BELIEVERS TO THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

BY THE REV. W. NOËL,

Counselor of the "Ober-Kirchenrath," First Pastor of the Louisa Parish Church at Berlin, and Secretary of the "German Evangelical Church Diet."

DEAR BRETHREN,—When God the Lord brought Israel out of the land of Egypt, he spoke a word, which may be said to comprehend all that God had said, done, and ordained in behalf of his people. It is the word: "You shall be a priestly kingdom, and a holy people" (Exod. xix., 6). In saying so, he made it his people's duty to be, or rather to become, a people of priests. He does not say You are, but You shall be a priestly people. He himself will render them a priestly people, and he testifies that his covenant made with Israel has no other object. But the way to carry it should and could not be made a short and easy pleasure excursion. It was to be rather a long and weary pilgrimage beneath the yoke of the law, and within the narrow range of the statutes regulating the service of the Temple and the offerings. The time must be fulfilled before the real High-priest could make his appearance, and offer up the only sufficient sacrifice on Golgotha for the sins of the whole world. Then only the veil of the Temple was rent in twain, and the approach to God was free to all who came to Jesus at his word: "Come unto me, all." That is the origin of the universal priesthood of all the faithful, which St. Peter testifies to the Jews: "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ;" which St. Paul preaches among the heathens: "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord." The first Christian communities esteemed the gift of universal priesthood the most precious jewel of their crown. During the apostolic age it was not only the sanctified lips of the elders and bishops (between whom the New Testament makes no difference) that poured forth a strain of spiritual life, but also the laity

were priestly persons, anointed with the Holy Spirit, who in tongues of prophecy revealed to them the mysteries of the kingdom of God. But then followed a period after that of the apostles, when the Church that, strange to say, had chosen for her patrons St. Peter and St. Paul, the prophets of the universal priesthood of all the faithful, on coming to power, re-established the ancient Jewish priesthood, with its statutes and offerings, as if there had never been a redemption. Now the enthusiasm for the Lord and his kingdom began to die away, and with it the persuasion that all the faithful were called upon to be priests, and that there was no difference between the clergy and the laity.

It was reserved to the Reformation to draw forth from the dust, under which Rome had buried them, besides other jewels of the Gospel, also the doctrine of the universal priesthood of the faithful. But decidedly as Luther urged this point, it was forgotten during the dogmatic struggles of the sixteenth century, till Spener and Francke, at least theoretically and as *pium desiderium*, set it up as the privilege of all true Christians, and the Methodists and other Dissenters in England put it into practice.

Ever since the doctrine of the universal priesthood of the faithful has become an article of faith of the German Protestant Church, she has striven to make her adherents members of that invisible Church which is the Communion of the Saints, as testified in the Apostolic Symbolum. The doctrine of the universal priesthood of the faithful praises the glorious liberty of the children of God, and assigns to the Christian the place which he occupies with reference to his God and Father in virtue of the redemption by Jesus Christ. But as the first and great commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and with all thy mind," has another like unto it, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," so the second question for the Christian, who is reconciled to his God and Father, is that of

his relations with his neighbor. This question is answered by the article of the Creed, "I believe in the holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints." Behold what high and glorious task is set before our eyes! But it is to be attained only gradually, as the Saviour says in the parable of the seed growing secretly: "For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself: first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." The communion of all who are redeemed and sanctified by Jesus Christ can not be realized but by the members of each individual church first joining in faithful and holy love among themselves. When that is done, let them stretch out their hands beyond the more or less narrow pale of their own denomination, and open their hearts to their brethren in Christ, and invite them to take a joint stand on the ground of the Communion of the Saints as the children of God, eager to keep the unity of the Spirit in the Lord in the bond of peace (Eph. iv., 3-6).

If in the Apostolic Age it was possible for the Saint Apostles to keep up the unity of the Spirit, even in spite of the antagonism between the Christians out of the Jews and those out of the Gentiles—an antagonism which was a good deal fiercer than that which separates the Protestant from the Catholic Church—how is it that we should not be able to do the same, provided we strive honestly and seriously, and trust that God will assist us in our endeavors? It fills us with joy, therefore, that Evangelical Germany at least, since the days of Spener and Francke, had never been totally in want of faithful and pious souls that, though belonging to different confessions, united on the ground of their common love to the one Head of all Christendom.

Particularly has this been the case when, after the wars of liberation (1813-1815), a new life of faith awoke. Then it occurred that members even of the Catholic Church shook hands with earnest Protestants in brotherly love over the separating barrier of their respective confessions, rejoicing in the consciousness of being both children of God by Jesus Christ. Let me only point you out, for an instance, Sailer and Wessenberg, and those they drew round them. Unluckily that spirit of conciliation did not prevail but for a short time. The Jesuits once more came to power, and Ultramontanism began again its fatal work of corruption, completing it by the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception, the Syllabus, and the Infallibility of the Pope. A great many earnest Catholics, particularly in Germany, refusing obedience to the decrees of the Vatican Council, separated from the Church of Rome, without pretending to separate from the Catholic Church.* Nor was

that all. Ultramontanism attempted also to encroach upon the sovereignty of the State. Laws had therefore to be framed and passed, to secure its independence from the pretensions, altogether unlawful and revolutionary, of the Roman clergy. Under the prevailing circumstances, and in face of the eagerness of confessional antagonism, in Germany at least, there seemed to be no chance of taking up and promoting the work of the union between the two Churches, Catholic and Protestant, so successfully begun after the wars of 1813-1815. The more thankfully was welcomed the Evangelical Alliance when, about twenty-five years since, it endeavored to establish within the Evangelical Church a union of the faithful of the different Reformed confessions, for the purpose of giving each other cordial support, of affording means for an exchange of ideas, and of encouraging common enterprises of helping and saving love.

The Evangelical Alliance will not be a union of the Evangelical Churches, still less will it establish a new church, or melt and mix together those which, in different languages, countries, and forms, serve God their Saviour in their own manner. The Evangelical Alliance will inspire them all with the consciousness that their members one and all belong, as children of God, to one blessed Lord and Saviour, and are in duty bound to join in true love for the purpose of doing his work. The fact that all Christians, in virtue of the universal priesthood of the faithful, have immediate access to God through Jesus Christ, has found its proper expression in the Evangelical Alliance. If that is the case, we may say that our Saviour's prayer for his apostles (St. John xvii.) has to some extent been heard: "Neither pray I for these alone" (the apostles), "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;" till once the word will be fulfilled, and the communion of saints realized, "One fold and one Shepherd."

That is, in my opinion, the task of the Evangelical Alliance. Has it fulfilled this task, or is it about to fulfill it? Let me answer these questions from my German Evangelical point of view. When, in 1857, the Evangelical Alliance, for the third time after its foundation, in 1846, met at Berlin, Dr. Krummacher, now a member of the triumphal Church, believed himself bound to examine in his address three reproaches which had been thrown upon the Evangelical Alliance from different sides, and which, in Germany at least, are still raised against it: First, that its endeavors and debates wanted inner truth; then, that they were not suited to the spirit of the age, and did not answer the exigencies of the Evangelical, especially the

* "Die Altkatholiken."

German Evangelical people; finally, that its purposes and ends, far from being distinctly and clearly defined, did not warrant any practical results.

Concerning the first reproach—that it is a union of brethren in appearance only, not in reality, each member reserving to himself his denominatism—we may say that the very existence of the Evangelical Alliance up to this day has sufficiently invalidated this reproach. Were the Evangelical Alliance devoid of inner truths, it could not have lived and derived new strength from each of the five general assemblies which have taken place since its foundation. It has proved that Evangelical Christians, though belonging to different denominations, can love each other in Christ without sacrificing the truth, and that the voluntary communion of love, on the ground of the general priesthood of all the faithful, has infinitely more real truth in itself than the mechanical conformity of the Roman Catholic Church, which is nothing but an artificial produce of overbearing priestcraft.

The same is to be said as to the second reproach—that what the Evangelical Alliance aims at is neither in the spirit of the age, nor does it answer the exigencies of the Evangelical, especially the German Evangelical people. Two years after the first meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London (August 19, 1846), and quite independent of it—it was scarcely known then—was founded in Wittenberg, at the burying-place of Luther, the German Evangelical Church Diet (*Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchentag*), which within the pale of the Evangelical Churches of Germany pursues the same objects as the Evangelical Alliance does at large, that is, to establish a brotherly union of all German Evangelical Christians, standing on the ground of the Protestant professions of faith, holding Jesus Christ to be the only-begotten Son of the living God, who was crucified, and rose again from the dead. The German Evangelical Church Diet has held sixteen meetings, attended not only by German Evangelical Christians, but also by foreigners. The Church Diet goes farther in its views than the Evangelical Alliance. Its object is to form a confederacy of different Evangelical Churches, while the Evangelical Alliance only purposes to further the union of faithful individuals. Yet both are twin brothers, born out of the same spirit, and founded for the same object. For this reason the Church Diet has always gladly sympathized with the endeavors of the Evangelical Alliance. When, in 1863, at the Diet which had been convened at Stuttgart, Professor Dr. Schaff delivered the invitation of the American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance to the sixth great meeting, which is now being held in this city, he was requested by the chairman to express to those who

sent him the cordial sympathy of the Diet, with their endeavors to effect a closer union between the members of the different denominations of the Evangelical Church. To this the whole assembly gave its hearty assent by rising with one accord.

These facts refute sufficiently the reproach that the endeavors of the Evangelical Alliance are out of time.

Finally, a few words respecting the third reproach which has been thrown upon us—that our purposes and ends, far from being clearly and distinctly defined, do not warrant any practical results. We must own that objections of this nature, if raised against us, are not entirely unfounded. Yet, if to inspire each other with the love of God and Christ, to teach and admonish each other, to minister to one another spiritual gifts, is something, our meetings have not been without fruit. And that fruit will be abundantly rich should we attain to that which an eloquent tongue expressed as his wish and hope: “That the French impart to us their ardent zeal in the service of the Lord; the brethren of Italy, their cheerfulness in martyrdom and death; the English, their apostolic energy; the Scotch, their firmness in the faith and their moral and religious earnestness; the Dutch, their soberness in the days when thousands are spiritually intoxicated; the Americans, their reverence for the letter of the Word of God and their Christian courage in conquering the world; that the Methodists bestow upon us part of their zeal to gain each single soul; the Independents, their readiness to make sacrifices for the interests of the community; the Baptists, their discipline; the Anglicans, their reverence and love for their Mother Church; the United Brethren, their missionary zeal.” Nor must we undervalue what the Evangelical Alliance has done in interfering for religious liberty in Italy, in Spain, in Roumania, in Russia, and lately, also, in Japan. Since this brotherly exchange of spiritual gifts will first of all strengthen only the inner man, and his intervention in behalf of religious liberty can take place only occasionally, it bears the character of a *testimony*, however important, rather than the seal of a *deed* of sacred fraternity. The German Evangelical Church Diet, which I have termed, with Dr. Schaff, the twin brother of the Evangelical Alliance, in order to escape the danger of falling into mere doctrinarianism and vain idealism, has, from its beginning, entered into a league with the congress for “Interior Mission” (*Innere Mission*), and thus found a means not only to take practical affairs in hand, but also to perpetrate deeds of helping and saving love.

Besides, there is another institution in Germany, the Gustavus Adolphus Union, whose best friends are likewise the well-wishers of the German Evangelical Church

Diet. This Union, with more than a thousand branch societies, spread all over Germany, may be called the elder brother of the Evangelical Alliance. It embraces members of all the German Reformed Churches, and its object is to support such Evangelical communities among a larger Catholic population, who want support for the erection and sustentance of churches and schools. Lutherans and Calviuists indiscriminately enjoy the benefit, according to the word of the Holy Scriptures: "Let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith." Its agency extends over all the countries of the earth where German Protestants live together in greater numbers.

The report read last year at the yearly meeting of the society in Speier mentions sixty-five churches consecrated in the course of the year, to whose erection the society has contributed, one of which at Ferraz, in Southern Brazil, another at Lutzin, in Russia. Fifty-eight schools have been opened, most of them in Austria, where the Evangelical communities have had to suffer more than anywhere else under Jesuitical oppression and insolence. More than 200,000 thalers have been expended on more than a thousand communities.

During the thirty years since its founda-

tion, the society has disposed of more than 3,500,000 thalers, and "every gift," says the report, "which goes out with our work and prayer has been almost everywhere a balm spread on wounds inflicted by Jesuits. It has been a messenger of peace and life, drawing our brethren abroad out of their state of isolation and distress, and proving to them that they are no longer to be forsaken and forgotten."

Should it not be possible for the Evangelical Alliance to make exertions of a similar kind in a practical way? Should the Alliance not be able, somehow or other, to do the same for the Evangelical of all tongues that the German "Gustavus Adolphus Verein" does for those of Germau extraction? Should it not, instead of hearing only words of helping and saving love reported and praised, set up such a work for itself? I would only refer to the convention of Geneva. That is it, dear brethren, which I wish your enlightened considerations to refer to, without presuming to make farther proposals. Only one thing let me observe, before I conclude, that the Evangelical people would form a more accurate idea of the endeavors of the Evangelical Alliance, and would give them a more hearty sympathy, if we could point out deeds perpetrated on the ground of the love which unites us in Christ.

III.

CHRISTIANITY AND ITS ANTAGONISMS.

Monday, October 6th, 1873.

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THEOLOGICAL SECTION.

THE BEST METHODS OF COUNTERACTING MODERN INFIDELITY.*

BY THE REV. THEODORE CHRISTLIEB, D.D.,

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THE question as to the best methods of counteracting modern infidelity is so wide a one—whether we consider it in a scientific, a historical, or a practical and moral light—that it is imperatively necessary for us to confine ourselves in its treatment to two points of view. First, then, we would indicate the chief scientific positions in which attack and defense can be most successfully maintained—especially drawing attention to those points in the great struggle which have hitherto been overlooked; and second, we shall endeavor to sketch out the practical tasks imposed upon us as members or teachers of a Christian community, as well as on the Church of Christ at large, in the great battle against the unbelief of our day. All questions of detail we will leave to free discussion.

We Germans are notorious for making long introductions, but to-day—notwithstanding all that might with advantage be said—I prefer to omit preliminaries altogether. I will not, therefore, stop to give an exact limitation or definition of the term “modern infidelity,” although this notion has not everywhere quite the same extent; as *e. g.*, in England, some opinions are called rationalistic, which in Germany would hardly be so designated. I hope, however, to express the view common to us all, when I say that we comprise under the name of “infidel” all those tendencies and systems which militate against the Biblical and Christian view of God and of the universe, which do

not consider Holy Scripture as an authentic record of Divine Revelation, and which in theory or in practice refuse to acknowledge the central doctrine of our faith, viz., the salvation that has appeared in Christ. The term modern infidelity, then, would designate the same tendencies and schools of thought as they appear at the present day, *i. e.*, armed with weapons furnished them by the philosophy, the historical criticism, and the natural science of our times.

Finally, we pass by the various schools of unbelief with their specific principles, such as Pantheism, Rationalism, etc., since the more important of them will be separately treated of to-day; and we merely glance at the different forms practically assumed by modern unbelief. Among these forms we see every possible gradation of departure from Christian truth, ranging from the indifferentism which still admits of a nominal connection with the Church, to a fanatical and aggressive hatred of all that belongs to it; from a Pilate's tone of haughty despite, to blasphemous mockery; or from the learned investigator and critic, who with immense diligence and acuteness endeavors to reduce all the Divine elements in Scripture to mere natural phenomena produced by human historical agencies, down to the shallow journalist, who is fain to widen his circle of readers by piquant mockery of all “orthodoxy” and “methodism.” Essentially the same tendency of thought is represented by that critic who, as the result of the long conflict, would have us substitute the new faith (by Messrs. Lessing and Darwin) for the old faith, but who, forsooth, ardently desires to see the old order of society preserved at least until his eyes are closed, as well as by those fanatical enemies of the present social order, who already anticipate the logical results of the “new belief,” *i. e.*, a chaos formed by the destruction of society's present frame-work, of all the ideal elements of life, even of the worship of art-heroes still left to us by Strauss, and the proclamation of a gospel of the flesh which shall

* [This essay far exceeds the length of other papers in the volume; but the editor was unwilling to use the liberty of abridging it for the sake of gaining space. It is an able and elaborate defense of Christianity, and made a deep and lasting impression. It was delivered twice (first in part in Association Hall, and then, by request, in full in the Madison Square Presbyterian Church), with unusual freshness, energy, and modest self-assurance, to crowded and intelligent audiences, which listened to it with delight, and with a growing conviction that Christianity had nothing whatever to fear from its assailants. It was all the more effective since it came from a German scholar—one almost unknown before in America.—Ed.]

teach man to cultivate naught but the palpable and sensuous.

If, in view of these increasingly radical and threatening attacks, we inquire after the best methods of repulse, we thereby indicate that there are various methods of differing value. The defense must, of course, vary in its method, on the one hand, according to the nature and extent of the unbelief, the causes of its origin, and the manner in which it conducts its assaults against our faith; on the other hand, according to the position which we desire to defend. But we may safely say that there are, and always have been, certain recognized and well-defined lines and maxims of defense, though differing much from one another in value.

A thoroughly wrong method—one which is diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and has not, sad to say, always been used by the Roman Church only—is the suppression of opposition against certain dogmas by physical force, or by merely appealing to the outward authority of the Church. In the same way we reject—and I think you will agree with me in this—as unevangelical, unfruitful, and productive of confusion, the cognate tendency shown by the extreme ecclesiastical party in the Protestant Church, who would oppose the unbridled independence and subjective arbitrariness of the criticism of our day by an overstrained assertion of the rights of the priestly office, and would endeavor to raise a barrier against the prevalence of free investigation and spontaneous appropriation of truth by laying an exaggerated stress upon the sacramental actions of the Church, which the most advanced of them are already beginning to make into sacrificial rites. These theories and tendencies we reject; for a knowledge or appropriation of saving grace communicated otherwise than by moral (not magical) means is opposed no less to Scripture than to the spirit of our age!

The trust that sustains us in this tremendous struggle, waged not with men alone, but with all the powers of darkness, must not be founded on ourselves, nor on other weak men; not on any outward assistance from the state, nor on forms and ceremonies (for "cursed is the man that maketh flesh his arm," Jer. xvii., 5); but on the Lord himself, who sits exalted at his Father's right hand, as Ruler over all, even the raging of his enemies. His presence is not bound to outward forms or traditions. He is the Spirit (2 Cor. iii., 17), and from him proceeds the Spirit of truth. To this his Spirit we must in the last resort leave the work of convincing men's hearts and minds of the truth of Christian Revelation, without sparing them the trouble of free investigation or of a conscientious decision and self-resolve. In accordance with these principles, our human task in the battle against unbelief can be

no other than to overcome the opponent by moral and spiritual means. First of all, that is, by an earnest, spiritually vigorous testimony for Christ; next, by a truly scientific delineation of Christian belief, as a view of the world and of God, which is strictly coherent and corroborated by history and conscience, while at the same time openly acknowledging all its difficulties and obscurities; and last, by a practical demonstration of its truth in Christian living and suffering.

Keeping this fundamental rule in view, we, on the other hand, see unbelief present itself to us socially in different shapes, either isolated in individuals, or systematically formulated in scientific schools, or practically carried out by the press, clubs, unions, etc., and forming a threatening power in our social life. Thus our subject naturally divides into three heads: How may we best counteract Infidelity—I. In individuals? II. In scientific systems? III. As a social power, practically extending its influence throughout wide circles?

I. INFIDELITY IN ISOLATED INDIVIDUALS.

Under this head we will only give a few suggestions, in order to have more room for the other parts.

The following treatment seems to me the wisest: First, we must endeavor to obtain for ourselves (and mostly for the individuals in question, too) a clear idea of the special causes from which their unbelief has originated. These may be of very varied character. They may exist in received tradition, in discoveries of modern science, in political or social phenomena. Often unbelief results almost as a natural necessity from the whole spiritual and moral atmosphere of a man's surroundings. Let us put ourselves in the place of such individuals, and not forget (as is, alas! too often done) the share of blame which frequently attaches to the Church herself, by reason of her neglect to care for souls, her inward nakedness, her fruitless bickerings about trifles, her narrow-minded party-spirit, all of which constantly do an infinity of mischief by alienating from her the hearts of thousands. Such thoughts will produce in us true humility and hearty sympathy with the inward misery of those who are far from God—feelings without which we shall never be able to gain their confidence, nor to lead them to see the innermost causes of their unbelief in certain moral failings.

It is not for nothing that our Lord classes unbelief with hardness of heart ("He upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart," Mark xvi., 14; cf. Luke xxiv., 25). In the first and last resort, all unbelief springs, not from the hardness and incomprehensibility which the faith possesses for the understanding, but from the hardness and perverseness of the natural heart

of man, which will not bow to the mighty and solemn truth of Divine Revelation. This perverseness is a strange mixture—on the one hand, of cowardice, when a man has not the courage to let his inward failings be uncovered in all their nakedness, nor dares to enlarge his own narrow views according to the great ways and deeds of God, but would fain make these fit to the measure of his own small ideas;* and thus, on the other hand, of overweening self-confidence, when the same man thinks far too highly of human knowledge and accomplishments, and far too little of God's mighty and holy government—when he would attain to every thing by means of his own knowledge and power—in a word, when man would far rather help himself than let himself be helped by God, and thankfully accept the redemption brought by Jesus Christ. In truth, this is the material principle which divides all unbelief and false belief *toto calo* from true belief: on the one hand, there is self-help; on the other, God's help. The pride of the philosophical critic, just as much as that of the natural scientist, is always striving to substitute human activity and spontaneity for human receptiveness before God. Instead of *Soli Deo*, its motto is *Soli homini gloria!*

Last, but not least, among these general inward causes of unbelief come the positively earthly inclinations of the human heart, its proneness to satisfaction in this world, a tendency which is seductively encouraged by the present materialistic denial of another life; or, to put it plainly in a word, the power of the dollar. This is a far greater hinderance to true belief than all the writings of philosophers and critics put together: this worship of Mammon it is that causes a deep and wide-spread disaffection against all ethical and spiritual truth, and a perversion of the moral judgment, against which all mere logical reasoning is of no avail. The causes of unbelief really lie in the heart and will. However strong outward influences may be, in divine things no one errs entirely without his own fault.

If such be the case, then the most effectual method of opposing unbelief in individuals is that which we may term the ethico-psychological or isagogic method; that is, the method which leads inward to the heart and conscience of those addressed. Let me explain myself.

First of all, we should endeavor to lead our brother to a clear and sober recognition of the inward causes and the effects of his unbelief on his own moral development; this, however, not as inquisitors, but with hearty and humble sympathy. "Reflect,"

* "Animus ad amplitudinem mysteriorum pro modulo suo dilatetur, non mysteria ad angustias animi constringantur."—FRANCIS BACON, *De Augment. Scient.*, x., 1.

let us say to him, "on the first beginning of your doubts. From what region did they come? Is not, perhaps, your present creed merely the theology of the natural heart? And can you say that this unbelief has been a real blessing for your inner life? Does its increase denote a true moral progress, moderation in happiness, comfort and support in misfortune? Oh, give a true and upright account of all this, not to me, but to yourself and God!"

Later on we should show in how false a manner the doubter usually examines the Divine origin and the truth of the Christian faith. As a rule, he makes the convenient demand first to be convinced by scientifically exact arguments of the truth of Christian revelation before he will accept it. He will first know, and then believe. But this way can not bring him to his goal. We must show the fundamental error of this demand, which consists in a confusion between the region of morals and religion and that of mathematical science. Spiritual truths should not and can not be mathematically demonstrated. First they must be apprehended by the heart and conscience, and they will then prove themselves to the understanding as divinely true and necessary. Were faith a mere matter of demonstration, it would cease to be faith, *i. e.*, a moral act consisting in a trustful yielding up of self to that which as yet we see not (Heb. xi., 1).

Further, we should go on to show that faith and knowledge, far from being opposed, naturally supplement each other, and that true faith is the source of the deepest and highest knowledge. All learning is necessarily preceded by a submission to the authority of the teacher; and this preliminary submission of the intellectual and critical faculties to the truth of Revelation brings light into the soul, and lays the foundation for healthy, sober, and clear views as to God, our own being and condition, sin and its cure, and our final destiny. Thus faith, *i. e.*, the intrusting ourselves to the light of Divine Revelation, leads to the knowledge of the most exalted truth; indeed, it is the beginning of it.

If this way to knowledge seem hard to you, ask yourself whether the Christian faith does not correspond to and supply the deepest needs of the human heart. And this is another important point in the treatment of unbelievers. The question turns upon the recognition of evil in ourselves. For the whole struggle between belief and unbelief, as has truly been said,* is but the conflict between those who treat sin as a light matter and those who are heavily oppressed by it until they come to Him who takes their burden away and lays His light yoke upon

* Cf. A. Peip, "Das Credo der Kirche und die Intelligenz des Zeitgeistes," 1872.

them. Do you glory in your upright moral life? Have you, then, ever turned the whole energy of your moral consciousness inward in a strict self-examination? Even a great thinker like Kant once thoughtfully paused before the universal and unquestionable fact of a "radical evil" within us. And no upright man can help doing the same. But the depth of this conviction depends upon the standard which a man applies to himself, upon the idea which he has formed of his aim and destiny. Are you not, perchance, in the habit of comparing yourselves with other *men*, who are at best but imperfect? In so doing, you degrade your own dignity as one created in the image of God! Your destiny is the highest imaginable—higher than ever philosopher or poet placed it. "Be ye holy, for I also am holy." "Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." Does not a presentiment of this immeasurable destiny live in your soul too? and have you not the irrepressible feeling, that to be truly free, happy, acceptable to God, and like him, you must be free from all sin?

Now we have seen that the strictest moralists, such as Kant, confess that no natural power can suffice for this; that even with the greatest moral energy in wrestling with evil your morality remains full of defects, and therefore your own exertions can not satisfy the wants of your heart. And, on the other hand, in the person of Christ you see a moral grandeur, in which healthy eyes, at least, have been able to discover no blemish; an ideal of perfection respecting which even rationalistic critics have confessed that all human standards vanish before it. What, in view of this, is more reasonable than to conclude that you, poor, fettered, but struggling spirit—unable to free yourself, yet destined to the highest Good—must, to attain your destiny, enter into a personal and living communion with the only perfect One who has appeared in the history of our race—with Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Man, the Sin-destroyer and Redeemer of the world? And this is the sum and substance of our Christian faith and Christian life! We believe that the free grace and mercy of God has come to the help of poor man, vainly struggling to free himself from sin and evil; and this great and all-sufficient Divine Help is Christ Jesus.

If you still wish to be your own saviour, beware lest you fall into a delusion as to the fatal power of the evil which is in you and its conquest. Such delusions may flatter our human pride, but are belied by the actual experience of all straightforward men. But the hand of the Divine Redeemer has long been knocking at the door of your heart, in answer to all its anxious questionings and complaints, and if you now grasp this hand and intrust yourself to the guidance of the

highest and purest Light that ever shone in this world, to the God of holiness and his saving grace in Christ, then this act of faith will be your greatest moral achievement: it will be in you a root of all the goodness and greatness attainable by man; you will receive with this act the Christian assurance of the Divine truth and immutability of your faith, because it substantially approves itself to your conscience in the "demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

These, in short, are the chief features of the "isagogic" method of treating unbelief in individuals. I consider it to be the best and most effective, because the most trenchant and impressive. Of course, however, it must be varied according to the measure of education which the individual has enjoyed, and especially according to his moral condition. The surest way to awaken a response in the other's breast is the personal testimony of grace received, which can throw itself and its spiritual experience into the scale, and stand surety for the truth of Christ's salvation. Another very important point, especially with scientifically directed minds, is to show them that, with their transposition of the relation between faith and knowledge, they will never escape riddles, and must, *notens volens*, accept many things which are utterly without proof, or even absolutely inexplicable. Ay, we may go so far as to say that, without the facts of Biblical revelation, the enigmas of our existence, the world, the Church, and history, are increased tenfold. This indicates to us the weak point of

II. THE SCIENTIFIC SYSTEMS OF UNBELIEF.

These, nowadays, conduct themselves more than ever as if they represented science *par excellence*. They will hear of none but scientific arguments, and so against them none but a strictly scientific procedure can avail. From the very beginning the Church did not shrink from this struggle, and by means of it she constantly attained a clearer consciousness of the substantial elements of her own belief. Apology was the mother of dogmatical science. However great the harm may be which is done to whole generations by the systems of unbelief, yet it should be borne in mind that every earnest and honorable contest with scientific opponents has, in the end, always enriched the Church's store of truth, brought to light new weapons from her inexhaustible arsenal, and demonstrated anew the steadfastness of the foundations of our faith. "Forward!" then, must be our motto, as against modern unbelieving science too. The hotter the battle, the more gainful its issue!

In answer to the question as to the best scientific methods of defense, I pass by all matters of detail (which will be separately treated of in our conferences), and will now

endeavor to delineate the fundamental positions which we must take up, in order successfully to defend our faith, and at the same time to expose clearly the scientific and practical weakness of the opposing systems.

The first question is: How far does the ground extend which must under all circumstances be defended? Which are the absolutely indispensable articles of our Protestant Christian faith? This brings us to a point that is most important for our subject, and which it should be the chief business of our dogmatic theology to settle: I mean, the clear definition and limitation of the essential and fundamental articles of our faith, in contradistinction to those which are less important and may be left to the free judgment of each individual Christian. In order to carry out its task, our science of defense must learn to treat minor points as such. He who defends too much, and represents doubtful things as absolutely necessary to be believed, will no more succeed than he who defends too little, *i. e.*, mere rational truths, instead of the heart of Christian belief. What is, then, the chief object of our defense as distinguished from others? Let me explain myself by means of an illustration.

In every considerable fortress there is a central bulwark or citadel, with various bastions, trenches, etc., the close connection of which forms the strength of this centre. Further out there is the *enceinte*, inclosing town and fortress with its moat; but the largest circle of all is formed by the outside forts, which hinder the enemy from approaching too near the walls. Our Christian faith is a fortress, strong as a rock, with just such defenses. The central position, or citadel, is—as all believing theologians have long agreed—the redemption and atonement accomplished by Jesus Christ. Union of man with God through this Mediator is the end and aim of all Revelation. This central dogma of the atonement requires certain presuppositions and certain consequences—in respect both of God and man—which are absolutely indispensable if it is to stand firm.

The presuppositions are these: our naturally lost condition by reason of sin, notwithstanding the image of God originally implanted in man; and the saving will of God, caused by his merciful love, which carried out the atonement by means of the God-man, Jesus Christ, the Crucified and Risen, and thus crowned his revelation to the world by manifesting himself as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The consequences are: the appropriation of this work by the individual, objectively, through the divinely appointed means furnished by the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church, *i. e.*, the Word and the visible signs and seals of grace; subjectively, through repentance and justifying faith; and, finally, the perfection of our salvation

in the resurrection, last judgment, and eternal life, when the new creation of grace, or the ravages of sin in the heart, shall be made outwardly manifest.

These are, as it were, the bastions of the centre in back and front, the properly so-called fundamental truths, a strong chain, in which no link can be dispensed with, and hence the chief object to be defended. The *enceinte* with its moat is the doctrine of Holy Scripture, as the record of Divine Revelation, inexplicable if assumed to be the product of merely human authors, and hence both human and Divine, surrounding with the benignant influence of its living waters the citadel and town of our faith—*i. e.*, our Protestant Church—and making it a united fortress.

The remaining points, such as the various confessional details—*e. g.*, as to the relation between the two natures in Christ, the action of the sacraments, the relation of Divine grace to human freedom, and a hundred other things—may be left for decision to a truly Christian exegesis, historical investigation, and philosophical speculation, as long as the central truth of the God-man and his work, or the *solī Deo gloria*, is left untouched. These form, as it were, the outer forts, which should not, indeed, be given up prematurely, but from which a wise combatant will, in case of need, withdraw to the centre, in order not to exhaust his strength, but to defend this more securely. The fortress is not conquered though one of the outposts should fall into the enemy's hands; nor, indeed, should even one of his missiles injure a stone of the *enceinte*.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not say that it may not be in a man's power, nor his duty, to defend many outworks. I do so myself; and merely insist on this, that a successful defense must remain conscious of the difference between what belongs to the circumference and to the centre, and may not make a non-essential article of faith a condition of salvation. The true method is that which will not allow a grain of saving truth to escape its grasp, which gives to faith what belongs to it, but also does not withhold from freedom its due.

We now proceed to consider the chief groups of our innumerable adversaries, and to ask after the best and most effectual line of scientific defense as against each one of them. We immediately see that our citadel, the Christian idea of God and of the redemption, is undermined and attacked chiefly by philosophy, the *enceinte* by historical criticism, and the outworks—but, in fact, the whole as well—by our modern natural science.

The chief maxim for our scientific defense to be drawn from the above is—without in the least timidly avoiding matters of detail—at once to reduce all isolated controversies

to a difference in first principles, and to compare the views of the opponents, in all their consequences, with those of a Biblical Christianity. This will invariably result in an idea of God, and a conception of evil differing from that of the Bible. A distorted conception of God lies at the root, not only of the pantheistic and naturalistic systems, but also of the attacks on the truth of the Gospel history, the Godhead of Christ, and the Divine origin of Christianity. And an unbiblical conception of sin and its consequences it is which forms the fundamental assumption of the attacks on the Christian doctrine of redemption and atonement, as well as on the Biblical anthropology.

These turning-points must decide the fate of the battle, and here we should take our stand. And first we should use the broad shield of the united and entire Christian view of the world; then with the sword attack the opponent's position, and fearlessly expose his weak and vulnerable points.

Thus we take our stand against—

1. *Unchristian philosophy*, by demonstrating the inner logical consequence and unity, the harmony and symmetrical beauty of the Christian doctrinal system; the wisely planned and holy progress of the Divine Revelation, from the first creation to the restoration of all things. How sublime and yet how simply comprehensible, how suited to the deepest needs of our hearts, are the teachings of the Bible as to the Divine nature, as compared with the abstract, artificially twisted, incomprehensible, modern philosophical conceptions of God, which leave the heart entirely cold! At the same time, it should be shown—and this I would urgently recommend to the notice of apologists—how the isolated elements of truth contained in the non-Biblical conceptions of God converge in the Biblical doctrine, as in a focus, and how in the latter alone God appears as the All-perfect, in whom the idea of the Absolute is realized, while in the former there is always an important element wanting, either spirituality (as in Materialism), or self-consciousness (as in Pantheism), or the living, omnipresent activity (as in Deism): all of them elements indispensable to the complete conception of the Absolute.*

In all this our position will be a safer one, if we lean more upon the fundamental ideas contained in Scripture than upon terms from the dogmatic schools. This is especially true with reference to the point which philosophers delight to attack—the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Let us at once confess that the expression three *persons* (which is not Biblical) may cause misunderstandings, since it is so easily confounded with

three individuals; as St. Augustine himself has remarked, “tres personæ, si ita dicendæ sunt;” and, moreover, that the expression *Trinity* is but an attempt at a short designation of a mystery, for the clear conception and designation of which in this life neither intellect nor language will ever be adequate. On the other hand, however, let us show how in the triune personality of God is contained both his true infinity and the possibility of his self-impartment in Revelation: the true bridge between God and the world. For in this doctrine the unbending conception of abstract Monotheism has obtained vitality through the idea of a Divine Will of love. Hence this doctrine furnishes a preventive against the deification of nature, and is the only perfect bulwark of vital Theism in the idea of God as the highest plenitude of life and love, and it is only philosophical short-sightedness which can refuse this key to the great world-enigma, a key often well used by many a great philosopher. Only when this gulf between the Creator and the created is bridged over will the breach between man and man be closed. Here only have we a firm ground for the realization of the idea of humanity, the brotherly unity and equality of all men as regards origin and destiny. This shows the immeasurable importance of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity for the world's culture,* a doctrine which is also remarkably attested by the history of heathen religions.

No less firmly and deeply founded should our position in these days be with regard to the defense of miracles. The negation of the miraculous proceeds partly from a false idea of God, partly from an incorrect, mechanical conception of the world; and, we may add, for the most part from the arbitrary assumption that, because no miracles happen nowadays, none have ever happened. If God be, as we Christians believe, a free, personal, extra-mundane Will, whose influence, nevertheless, is omnipresent throughout the whole creation, then the approach to every point of this creation must be always open to him, and this necessitates the possibility of miracles. Doubtless the created world is relatively independent; but can the laws of nature—which only act by God's good pleasure—form a barrier for him, when, in pursuance of the highest moral and religious ends, it is his will to use extraordinary means? You talk of a “breach of the laws of nature.” But first of all tell me, what limit is there to the intensification of natural forces by the power of the Divine Will? And does not the product of the miracle immediately subject itself to the ordinary course of nature? You object that

* Cf. the details of this argument in the author's work, “Moderne Zweifel am Christlichen Glauben” (2d edition, Bonn, 1870), pp. 227–248 (soon to be published in English by Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh).

* Cf. Hundeshagen, “Die Natur und geschichtliche Entwicklung der Humanitätsidee.”

miracles would rend the world's economy asunder. Ay, but the first great rent in the original order and harmony was made not by God, but by the sin of man. The abnormal development of our freedom can not only bear, but imperatively demands the salutary interference of God as a work of pity and love. Miracles, therefore, do not unnaturally destroy true nature, but supernaturally heal distorted nature. Instead of, as formerly was customary, using isolated miracles as apologetic arguments, we should assign to each miracle, according to its evident dispensational aim, a place in the great organic plan of salvation, the living heart of which is Christ.

You object, finally, that no miracles occur at the present day. But can not and must not the periods of the Church's birth and of its growth be governed by somewhat different laws? Cast a glance into the history of modern missions, and you will see how, at this very day, in the course of founding new churches, things happen which remind us of the Apostolic times.

Having thus shielded the Christian belief in God and his personal relation to the world from infidel assaults, let us grasp the sword and attack the weak points of our opponents, by demonstrating the scientific untenableness of their principles. What is Atheism but an arbitrary denial of the universal and immediate certainty of the existence of God, a certainty necessarily following from the conditioned character of our self-consciousness, which we feel to be dependent on an absolutely Higher Being? This view is without any deep insight into the nature of the factors which constitute our own consciousness, and it is condemned by the fact of the universality of religion. What is Materialism but an audacious hypothesis, an unsuccessful attempt to explain the whole complex of our thought, the origin of our self-consciousness, nay, even our moral ideas, as a product of sensations perception and the action of matter? Does it not—in doing away with the freedom of the will and individual responsibility—practically destroy all the moral elements of our life, and render the idea of a spiritual and moral progress illusory? And Pantheism, too—to say nothing of all its other foibles—does it not manifestly move in a logical circle so soon as it endeavors to bring the principle which it presupposes (whether it be the "substance" of Spinoza, or the "absolute Idea" of Hegel) into relation with the world-matter as its *causa efficiens*? God is supposed ever to be evolving the world from himself, and yet He is only realized in its development. Where, in this case, is the *ratio sufficiens* of the reality of the world, and especially of our self-consciousness? and where is there an absolute final purpose in this eternal, aimless circuit of the universe?

And with what unnatural limitations of the conceptions of God do we meet in the ease of Deism and Rationalism! How do they deprive God of his true vitality and divinity, just as much as they do the world of its dependence as a creature! And do not these systems—by their denial of a special Divine Providence—take the innermost nerve out of all moral and religious action, and remove the true key to the understanding of the world's or of individual history?

While acknowledging the isolated elements of truth contained in these systems, we draw the general conclusion, that by their endeavors naturally to explain the world's enigmas they only multiply them; and that they expect us to believe things much more repugnant to reason and conscience than the Scriptures with all their miracles; e. g., a self-creative world-matter; the origin by self-development of the first organisms; the self-emancipation of man from the condition of an ape, etc. He who doubts and denies where he ought to believe will often have to believe implicitly where critical doubts would be most fitting; as, e. g., Strauss, in his last and most radical work, "The Old and the New Belief," has found himself compelled to bow to the most uncertain hypotheses of modern scientists.

Finally, we may embarrass these opponents by inquiring as to the positive and solid results of their speculations. We are very far from wishing to deny the general merits of philosophy. But, we ask, where are the tangible results arrived at by the philosophy which is hostile to Christianity, and which alone we are considering here? Has it solved, finally, any fundamental question? How have the different systems during their various changes struggled with and overthrown one another, while the simple Gospel remains, "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever!" Or is it possible that mere philosophical speculation could be its own aim, apart from any useful results? No; every science which is not *scientia ad praxin*—i. e., which does not bear fruit for our life—is inwardly unhealthy, and no longer nourishes, but only puffs up the spirit.

And what is the present condition of philosophy? Since the systems of "absolute Idealism" have utterly broken down, and the reaction against them has led men into the slough of materialism, philosophy is at a loss. The one party loudly cries that we must return to the old teacher, Kant; others wearily labor to arouse some interest by means of historical representations of past systems, by excursions into the history of literature, or into the natural scientific research of the day. Others, however—and these it is who most attract the world's attention—draw from all that has gone before an awful conclusion, and before the aston-

ished world hoist the flag—or rather let me say the distress-signal—of the most extreme Pessimism. Schopenhauer sees in all existence nothing but misery and suffering, and can find true happiness only in self-dissolution into an absolutely empty Nothing, the Nirvana of the Buddhists. And Edward von Hartmann, who, in his rapidly sold book on the "Philosophy of the Unconscious" (a book of which I shall certainly not deny that it has some real merits), exhibits to us the workings of this great "Unconscious" in the corporeal and spiritual world, declares it to be a mistake that a world should ever have sprung into existence at all, and even an inexcusable crime if it had been created by a self-conscious God. All hope of happiness in this or in another stage of the world's history is, according to Hartmann, a pure illusion: before us stands the seilful age of mankind, in which, after all hope has died away, our race "finally abandons all claim to positive happiness, and only yearns for absolute painlessness; for the Nothing, Nirvana."

Thus far have our most recent philosophers advanced. On the tree of knowledge they now show us, with strange aptitude, the seductively beautiful and variegated tints of autumn, tokens of despair and utter hopelessness, which with silent eloquence once more proclaim, "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity." Are not such views, I boldly ask, the most striking proof that it is only that which Divine Revelation gives and promises to man which makes his life worth living? Here, again, we clearly see that the faith of the Christian is, in the last resort, the only star-banner of hope amidst the gloom of our existence; ay, the only protection of our moral dignity. Boldly, my Christian friends, let us attack our opponents on this weak point, which is fitted more than any other to discredit unchristian philosophy in the eyes of all who feel their deeper needs. Let us show the world that it is not Christianity, but the Antichristian philosophy which finally degrades the dignity of man; that this dignity in its fullness flourishes only on the soil of Divine Revelation, that it is only possible as a deduction from the Christian conception of God, and only to be realized by the Christian plan of salvation; and hence that any unbelieving subtraction from the fundamental Biblical views of God and the Divine destiny of man must lead to an idea of man and the mundane process which most deeply degrades us in our capacity of spiritual and moral beings. For in all naturalistic and pantheistic systems what is the world's history but "the Golgotha of the Absolute Spirit; the fearfully tragic slaughter-house in which all individual life and happiness is sacrificed only that the development of the universe may go forward undisturbed" (He-

gel), and the philosophers who march behind may be able to mark and admire the rhythmic movement of the "Idea" through Thesis, Antithesis, and Synthesis?

Vainly do we dream of man's personal and living value, and nourish a living hope! And inexorable is the dilemma which we see before us: either to receive Him who says, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life," or, rejecting Him, to choose our portion with those other spirits, the most honest of whom must needs declare, "I am the Way, the Truth, and—Death!"

For the scientific defense of our faith against—

2. *Destructive historical criticism*, I would recommend the following measures to insure a firm position:

Above all, do not let us place unnecessary difficulties in our own way, and furnish our adversaries with dangerous weapons, by an exaggerated theory of inspiration, which in its equal application to all the books of our present Canon can be justified neither by Scripture nor by historical evidence. The very limits of our Canon are not an ordinance of Divine right, inasmuch as no prophet ever declared the list of inspired Old Testament writings closed in the name of God; and no apostle superintended the collection of the New Testament books. But must not the Spirit, who leadeth into all truth, have guided those who had to decide as to the limits of the Canon, in order to insure the genuine tradition of saving truth to the later world? As a proof with what correct judgment they acted, we should adduce the fact of the startling difference in spirituality which exists between canonical and apocryphal, or, indeed, all non-canonical writings, even those of the centuries next after the Apostolic Age. Herein the Canon shows itself to be a unique and compact whole.

And from this inner spirit of these writings let us draw the chief argument for the inspiration and normative authority of the Scriptures. The Protestant Church considers the testimony of the Holy Ghost to be the chief criterion of canonicity. First of all, then, we defenders should regard the Scriptures as a whole, and proceed to show how they form a compact organism, although the different authors wrote at such long intervals; how they record the progress of Revelation, unfolding step by step, in history, doctrine, and prophecy, the Divine plan of salvation from the world's beginning to its end, and withal, in a simply sententious style, pregnant with meaning; how they everywhere breathe, in a greater or less measure, the spirit of sacred earnestness, and all tend to one great purpose—the honor of God and the welfare of mankind. What a fullness of light and life is contained in them, like a spring flowing throughout all ages. What wondrous all-sufficiency for

every need, every age, and every stage of knowledge; how infinitely above all mere human products! At the same time, attention should be drawn to the regenerating influences of the Bible in the case of individuals, as of entire nations, to the self-manifestation of its Divine truths in the heart and conscience of the reader or hearer. How can all this be explained without the fact of inspiration?

This criterion of the inward testimony of the Spirit must be kept free from all subjective arbitrariness by its objective corroboration, according to the "analogy of faith," with respect to the several books; and by a historical criticism (in addition to this inner one) as to their actual origin. The testimony of the Holy Ghost and the Church, the attributes of freedom from error, sufficiency, and perfection, pertain primarily to the Canon as a whole.

This objective criterion of the analogy of our faith was clearly enunciated by Luther, who says: "The right touch-stone whereby a Christian man may try all books (of Scripture) is, that he inquire whether they treat of Christ or not, forasmuch as all Scripture telleth of him." We must look at and defend Scripture from its central point, Christ, by applying the above-mentioned central truths, in which all Scripture coincides, as a criterion in judging of the value and authority of the various books and portions. To this kernel of the Scriptures, and this only, does the Holy Spirit bear witness in the hearts of believers, and grants in respect of it an immediate and unmovable certainty.

In matters of detail we should not forget that the Divine Revelation in Scripture is vouchsafed to us in a form not purely divine, but at the same time human; and that even St. Paul distinguishes what he has received from the Lord from that which is merely his own opinion as well-meant counsel coming from one who has the Spirit of the Lord (1 Cor. xi., 23; vii., 25, 40), and that there is certainly an important difference between a portion of Scripture, the author of which distinctly describes his utterances to a direct Divine Revelation or command, and one which is entirely silent on this point. Do not let us forget that no theory of inspiration—however convenient this might seem to many—can dispense us from the duty of a reverent criticism of Scripture, a criticism which must extend not only to texts and translations, but also to a searching comparison of the different types of doctrine (e. g., Pauline, Johannine, etc.), and of the various ethnographical, historical, and other data, with one another and with profane history. And if this criticism should here and there discover later additions, interpolations, chronological discrepancies, and the like, to such we may well apply the words of Luther: "If there be found a strife in

Scripture, and the same can not be settled, let it alone, it is of little moment, so as it runneth not counter to the articles of our faith." We must not be too timid in such matters. If we indeed believe Christianity to be the revelation of the absolute truth, then an isolated truth may occur when and how it pleases; it can not be dangerous, but, in the end, only helpful to the Christian faith. What can not be denied need not be feared!

But if criticism seeks to cast suspicion on the whole for the sake of a few isolated discrepancies, or if it arbitrarily attempts to measure the substance of Revelation by mere human standards, then it becomes destructive, and then we must draw a hard and sharp line against its false pretensions.

Above all things, we demand that *sancta sancte tractentur*, with the becoming reverence, with an upright and humble desire for truth. He who will not let himself be apprehended by the spirit of Scripture, will never comprehend its contents. Spiritual things must be spiritually judged. Scripture, therefore, must be meted with its own measure. To apply the standards of merely natural and human events to the self-revealing actions of God is to begin by doing violence to Scripture. This is the fundamental error of all false rationalistic criticism.

Our first step in opposing this practice is, to expose the false principle on which it rests. Since the days of the Tübingen School, this criticism has arrogated to itself the title of historical, though it is often only philosophical. It claims to examine with historical impartiality, and is often from the first biased by arbitrary philosophical assumptions. These men approach the records of Christianity, imbued with a pantheistic or rationalistic aversion to the miraculous, with the intention of rendering the supernatural facts recorded therein as merely human as possible, by means of connecting them with and deriving their origin from contemporary historical phenomena—and of acknowledging as historically certain only what is perfectly transparent and intelligible to them, because it does not exceed man's capacity; just as if God the Lord could not make history with his deeds, which far transcend our comprehension—he who is Cause and Aim of all history! This, in good sooth, is not impartial historical investigation, but rather the result of looking through highly distorted philosophical spectacles!

This criticism can not, however, compass its ends without innumerable *coups de force* and unbounded arbitrariness. And this is the second quarter to which our scientific defense has to direct its attacks. To say nothing of the way in which the rationalists and Baur have distorted the specific nature of Christianity, we would merely point out how the efforts of the latter and his disci-

ples have been directed toward transferring the origin of Christianity as the universal religion from Christ and the first Apostles to the authorship of St. Paul, just as if he himself had not openly declared that he did not preach himself, but Christ Jesus (2 Cor. iv., 5), and that no man can lay another foundation than that which is laid (1 Cor. iii., 11), as if one who declares even an angel to be accursed if he preach another Gospel than that of Christ (Gal. i., 8) would not indignantly have declined the fame of inventing a new Christianity!

In order to deprive the Founder of Christianity of his specific dignity as the Son of God, this false criticism has, as we all know, endeavored to turn his miracles into natural events or myths, and to give his testimonies and teachings respecting himself the impress of fabrications and opinions of a later age; and especially to cast a slur upon his absolute sinlessness. As if it were not impossible—witness even the confession of a Rousseau—to invent such a picture of Christ as that which the gospels give us! As if—even supposing all four gospels to be spurious—the four unimpeached epistles of St. Paul were not enough to prove clearly the God-manhood and the perfectly holy mediatory character of the Crucified and Risen One! And as if even the most arbitrary criticism of the gospels had not left as genuine some self-testimonies of Christ, in which he lays claim to attributes which positively exceed any mere human standard, *e.g.*, in the passages which relate to his second coming as the Judge of the world! Here we see criticism reach the crowning point of arbitrariness, and talk of “fanaticism” and “unjustifiable self-glorification” (Strauss). Be it so; but let these critics bear the crushing burden of bringing evidence which may give us the faintest glimmering of an understanding how such serious moral and intellectual defects could co-exist in the same individual with the otherwise perfect sobriety, clearness, and quietness of His words and actions, and with the lofty moral dignity of His whole nature. Is it not wholly absurd, we ask, to suppose that the religion of humility and love could have taken its origin from a fanatic so eaten up by pride? But if Christ uttered these testimonies of himself, like all his other words, with deliberation and truth, then he must be the One for whom the Church has ever taken him—the only-begotten Son of the living God.

Time would fail us to detail all the futile blows which this criticism has dealt against the New Testament history, the most fragment of which were the efforts (finally given up by Baur himself) to explain naturally the conversion of St. Paul, even at the cost of making him an utterly inexplicable psychological monstrosity, or even an epileptic! I would only remind you what a

firm barrier we have against all such attacks in passages like 2 Cor. xii., 12, where St. Paul, in an epistle confessedly genuine, appeals to his signs and wonders and mighty deeds before those under whose eyes they had taken place. And, I ask, would not a writer who asserts such things of himself be utterly demented if he were not perfectly certain that they were true?

All these attacks based on an aversion to the miraculous, and especially the denial of the Resurrection, may be consigned to a well-merited grave by the one unanswerable argument: You can never explain the enigma of primitive Christian belief, its world-conquering power, and its world-regenerating effects, nor the existence of the Christian Church itself, if Christ was not and did not do what the gospels tell of him. By trying to explain primitive Christian history as a chain of merely natural occurrences, you turn it upside down, and make it an insoluble enigma. By your denial of the superhuman element in Christ, and especially of his resurrection, you are compelled to seek the mainspring of so immense a movement as that of Christianity in persons, circumstances, and relations which can not bear the weight of such a superstructure; and in the end you ask us to believe that the kingdom of Truth took its origin from misunderstanding, error, self-deception, and dishonesty! The logical law of the sufficient cause makes all your efforts vain.

At this point we may call attention to the inwardly inevitable process, in which this criticism often overleaps itself, and not seldom becomes utterly absurd. Thus, no sooner had Strauss endeavored to derive the chief motive of the myths ascribed by him to the primitive disciples and churches, from the idea then current among the Jews as to the Messiah, than Bruno Bauer treads on his heels, declaring that the idea of the Messiah, as far as regards its existence before the rise of Christianity, is also a myth! Again, after many critics have for years doubted the truth of the reports of the Resurrection, there comes Noack, and informs us that Christ was crucified, not in Jerusalem, but on Mount Gerizim!

Hence negative criticism has been considerably beaten back upon several points. Just compare the present state of results in the criticism of the gospels with that of a few decades since. The Synoptics, which had then been pushed onward into the second century, have already step by step been brought back into the first. Even in the question as to the time when the Gospel of St. John was written, the Critical School has receded from the year 160 (Baur) to the beginning of the second century (Keim 100–117), *i. e.*, a time when St. John may still have been alive. And if Keim in a recent work declares that the prevailing theology of the

day can not, without sacrificing the truth, ascribe to this gospel a direct historical value, he thereby shows that he himself does not object to sacrifice the truth, which is that at the present day more than ever the ascription of its authorship to St. John is being defended not only by such critics as Ewald, Diesterdieck, Meyer, Riggenbach, Van Oosterzee, Godet, but even by Weizsäcker, Ritschl, and others.*

That favorite instance of our opponents, the inner relation of the Synoptics to the fourth Gospel, has far less weight, since the fact has been generally recognized that a superhuman view of Christ's person can not possibly be ignored as contained in the first three Gospels. To say nothing of the account of our Lord's childhood (the authenticity of which has lately been convincingly proved by Steinmeyert), we have passages such as Matt. xi., 27 ("All things are delivered unto me of my Father: no man knoweth the Son but the Father," etc.); cf. Luke x., 22, respecting which even a critic like Renss confesses that "the whole of St. John's Gospel is, as it were, but a circumscription of these utterances." And the works of our day on New Testament doctrinal teaching show that all the germs of the Pauline and Johannan doctrines are contained in the words of our Lord.†

Another help against the arbitrariness of criticism, and the scientific light-mindedness with which it often seizes on mere isolated notices from profane history as proof positive against the Scriptural accounts, is often afforded by the most recent archaeological research. I would remind you, *e. g.*, of the proofs for the truth of many facts recorded respecting Egyptian history in Genesis and Exodus, which have lately been furnished by Ebers,‡ in the interests not of Christian faith, but of science, and the deciphering of old Chaldaic inscriptions respecting the flood by Mr. G. Smith, of London. But especially I would refer you to E. Schrader's late work,|| in which a number of the notices scattered throughout the Old Testament, respecting the history of the Assyro-Babylonian empire and the Assyrian monuments (from the tower in the plain of Shinar down to the fall of Babylon), are remarkably confirmed, even in their details; so much so that Egyptologists have been corrected by Assyrologists in respect of their chronology where it differs from that of Scripture. Have we, then, not a right to say with Gellius: "*Obscuritates*

non assignemus culpæ scribentium, sed incitiae non assequentium?"

In such questions the scientific defense of our faith must not shirk the trouble of going into details, for it is in these that negative criticism seeks its strength. But the representatives of the latter should be shown how often they make small differences into great contradictions; how they endeavor, by means of uncertain hypotheses, to decide questions which it is impossible to settle authoritatively; how often they give themselves the air of being able precisely to characterize the inner development of an author or of his age, so as to be justified, in the case of certain differences between earlier and later writings, to deny the possibility of their originating from the same man. What they announce as a "certain result of theological science," not seldom, in truth, owes its origin to subjective taste and arbitrary choice. They are far too little conscious of the limits to real scientific demonstration; and often, when they suppose that they have produced the *non plus ultra* of scientific acuteness, it is but a flight in the airy regions of imagination. Truly, often "much learning hath made them mad."

In view of all this, we must protest aloud against the arrogance of this modern theological school, especially against the manner in which they present to the public in popular exegetical works—*cf. e. g.*, "Die Protestantenbibel neuen Testaments," a work now appearing under the auspices of the *Protestantenverein*—as Gospel truth, "the ascertained results of historical and Biblical investigation;" while these are accepted only by a minority of theologians, and many of them men of waning credit. And if they go so far as to give themselves credit for being the promoters of greater life in the Church, they should be clearly shown how miserably unpractical and insufficient their stand-point is to attain this end; how, by their denial of inspiration, they utterly destroy the living interest of the mass of men in the Bible, by changing it into a merely historical and literary interest. Not a few students of theology are, by means of this method of treating, or rather maltreating Scripture, becoming thoroughly disgusted with the study of exegesis.

Finally, we should seek to deprive this school of criticism of the charm of novelty. What more is it—with its resolution of actual facts into mere insipid religious ideas—than a new edition of the old Gnosticism? And will it not die away just as this did, if it offers for the religious need of the Christian people evaporating ideas or crumbling stones, instead of the living Bread from Heaven? This school, indeed, seeks to retain Christ as an ideal. But can a mere idea redeem the world? Sin, unhappily, is a mighty reality, and only Divine realities

* And most lately of all against Keim and Scholten, by Lenschner, in his work, "Das Evangelium St. Johannis, und seine neuesten Widersacher." 1873.

† "Die Geschichte der Geburt des Herrn, und seiner ersten Schritte im Leben." 1873.

‡ Cf. Bernhard Weiss, "Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des neuen Testaments." 2d edition.

§ "Ägypten und die Bücher Moses." I. Bd., 1863.

|| "Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament." 1872.

can overcome it. This is the true reason why, as long as there are sinners in need of salvation, the world can not give up the Word of Life.

Our defense against the attacks of

3. *Modern anti-miraculous natural science* will have to be conducted in a somewhat similar manner, since its principle of the denial of the miraculous is identical with that of the destructive critical school. Darwin and his followers are working out the same fundamental idea as Baur and his disciples, viz., to bridge over by natural means all the chasms in history and nature, so as to get rid of all supernatural agencies. And both schools, though originally quite independent of one another, have at length happily met in the person of Strauss, as we see in his last work, "The Old and New Belief."

In order to maintain a firm position against the attacks of natural science, we must first consider the purpose for which the Scriptures, as a whole, were given, and thus draw a sharp line between this aim and that of scientific investigation.

The aim of Scripture is to show us the way of salvation, and this it does by communitating religious and moral truths, which the apprehension of man, darkened as it is by sin, could never have discovered by itself. But in no respect is Scripture intended to play the part of a hand-book of natural history or philosophy, or to give us physical information which is of no essential importance for our faith. The Bible should not, therefore, be called upon as arbiter in questions of pure natural science, which do not in the least affect morals or faith. Not even the highest inspiration could have been intended to lift the Biblical writers above the view of nature current in their day, or to give them the clear insight into natural science which was reserved as a reward for the patient toil of later generations. Its purpose was to enable them to enunciate the truths of Divine Revelation, as far as they were connected with physical relations, in a form which should not militate against the objective truth of these relations, and should leave room for all future discoveries in that region. For this reason the Bible speaks of natural phenomena simply in the language of every-day life, which gives impressions as they are received.

Certainly, however, Scripture, in its enunciation of religious truths, can not altogether avoid touching on physical ground, especially in the history of creation. But where it does enter upon the region of nature, it only does so as far as is absolutely necessary to ground and establish our faith—to instruct man as to his true destiny, and to make way for correct notions of the relation of God to the world, while excluding all false ones. Thus Materialism and Naturalism, as well as Pantheism and Ena-

nationism, are equally excluded. Then the physical processes are fragmentarily sketched in a few bold strokes, as far as they are necessary to form the basis of the history of Revelation, to which the record forthwith proceeds. Evidently, then, this record is by no means complete from a physical point of view. On the contrary, innumerable questions are left open, to be answered by our investigation. But in no case are physical relations brought in for their own sake.* Entire silence is kept on all points which do not form part of the foundation of religious truth. How few physical details do the first and second chapters of Genesis contain in comparison with heathen cosmogonies!

It is important to remark the distinction that, while the statement of religious truth is always precise and clear, that of physical facts is so broad and general that room is left for all later discoveries of details. Indeed, they are given in such a shape as to unfold their hidden truths with the advances of science—and this, I think, is no small proof of their inspiration. Take, *e. g.*, the creation of light on the first, and the sun not until the fourth day—for which statement the Bible cosmogony has been ridiculed by innumerable infidels, from Celsus down to Strauss. How brilliantly has this been justified by modern natural science, which has shown that the earth possesses light in itself, and did so, probably, in a far greater degree at the time when the trees now found in the coal-beds were growing; for these have no annual rings, a fact which points to the conclusion that the earth did not then derive her light from the sun, and consequently had no change of seasons. The sun itself is now generally believed to be an opaque body, the light of which is produced by the combustion of its atmosphere; and light itself is attributed to the undulations of ether, which would account for its not being created, but merely called forth from the chaos to exist in a separate form. Physical discoveries will often prove to be keys to the understanding of Scriptural data, and show how these could not possibly have been furnished by their authors without Divine enlightenment. But we must not be too quick in the interpretation of such passages, and, above all, "not make Scripture say things which it does not distinctly enunciate. How often"—as Whewell truly says†—"has one thought himself to be defending a Scriptural truth, when he was merely fighting for an interpretation of his own, which was presently shown to be false!"

If we have drawn a limit, beyond which

* Cf. Reusch, "Bibel und Natur," 3te Aufl., p. 34.

† Cf. S. Garratt, "Veins of Silver," chap. I.: "Inspired Words and Unfolding Truths."

‡ "History of the Inductive Sciences," 1, p. 403.

the appeal to Scriptural authority should not go, we must also indicate the bounds of natural science as against religious teaching. We must, from the very first, take exception to the claims of natural scientists, when they ignore all religious and moral truths, and apply to incommensurable magnitudes the standard of mathematics; when they commit the absurdity of making our belief in the supersensuous and spiritual world dependent on the results of microscopic or telescopic researches; when they go beyond the investigation of present phenomena, and pretend to give an authentic account of the processes by which the world originated—processes which are entirely out of the reach of exact investigation, and only permit of speculative theories; and when they will not acknowledge the fundamental fallacy of all naturalistic theories as to the world's origin, viz., that they make the present order of things the criterion of the process of creation, and will not acknowledge the influence of other forces than those which are still at work. In all this natural science oversteps its limits, and argues from analogies which we can not allow.

If, however, both sides keep within the limits of their respective tasks, then they must necessarily be united at last. If the Bible and Nature both contain a Revelation from God, they can not really contradict one another. Where this would seem to be the case, it is because either God's words or his works have been misinterpreted. In such a case we must not immediately cast away the Word, in order not to give offense to the cultivated, but quietly wait for a reconciliation; again examine the exegesis of the passage in question; but at the same time see whether natural scientists are not giving us doubtful conjectures, in which they have often been mistaken, instead of really certain results.

This is all the easier for us, from the fact that there have always been distinguished natural scientists who did not believe in the possibility of a contradiction between the Bible and Nature, from pious patriarchs of science, like Copernicus, Newton, and Kepler, down to men of our own day, like A. von Haller, Enler, Littrow, Von Schubert, Wagner, Röper, in Germany; or Buckland, Hugh Miller, Sir John Herschel, Brewster, Whewell, in England; or Cuvier, Lavoisier, Marcel de Serres, La Faye, etc., in France.

Indeed, we can answer the contempt with which the science of the day looks down upon Holy Scripture, by pointing to a number of important matters in which a union has been effected, or at least made way for. As far as we know the chief stages of the earth's development, they agree in point of order with the six days' work of Genesis i. The fact that a fluid state of the earth's crust preceded the formation of the mount-

ains answers to the description of the second day. The first numerous appearance of the terrene flora in the comparatively early coal-period, and the later appearance *en masse* of the terrene fauna in the tertiary period, corresponds in its chief features to the second, third, fifth, and sixth days. Astronomy, again, has proved in a startling manner, by means of the spectral analysis, the unity of the Cosmos, and the near relationship which the elements of the other celestial bodies bear to those of the solar system. We begin to see proof positive for Cuvier's far-seeing utterance: "Moses has left us a cosmogony, the exactitude of which is confirmed day by day in an admirable manner." With regard, moreover, to the Biblical computation of the age of the human race, geologists and paleontologists are declaring that, according to the newest data, the period of about six thousand years is in all probability correct. And, finally, modern astronomy and physics decidedly support the probability of the cessation in due time of the motion of our solar system, and the destruction of the earth through the exhaustion of the forces hitherto at work.

No wonder that, as things stand, a considerable number of theologians declare the harmony between Scripture and science to be complete, or at least capable of becoming so. And we may at least gather, as the result of their efforts, the declaration that an ideal harmony in respect of the chief features may be established without doing violence to either side.

Meanwhile, truth demands that we should confess that this harmony at present does not extend to all details; *e. g.*, theologians are not agreed as to whether the days of Genesis i. may be stretched out so as to meet the requirements of the immeasurably long period postulated by geology. The first specimens (not the masses) of the different stages of creation do not, as far as scientific research has extended, follow strictly in the order of the six days, for the lowest plants and the lowest animals appear simultaneously in the geological strata; and to bring all the data in the Scriptural account of the deluge into accordance with the present results of science would be rather difficult.

But may we not hope for a future solution of these difficulties, seeing that neither exegesis nor, still less, natural science, are by any means complete? God does not grant to one generation to solve all enigmas: coming ones will have to work at them, too. But the measure of corroboration hitherto afforded by science to Scripture gives us a right to treat with well-merited contempt the ridicule cast upon Scripture by so many scientists.

And as against such attacks we may proceed to point out the foibles of natural science, which she has of late often exhibited

with the rashness of youth, especially in her younger departments.

How categorically, *e. g.*, was the volcanic theory in geology pronounced to be the only true one, in opposition to the Neptunian, and how signally has it been deposed from the position of sole ruler by the chemical investigations of Fuchs, Schafhäütl, Bischof, and others!* What uncertainty is shown in the calculations of geologists—*e. g.*, as to the time required for the cooling of the earth's crust, their estimates differing, not by thousands, but by millions of years! How much jugglery, in fact, has been carried on by natural scientists in respect of enormous numbers! How often have they endeavored to give their calculations as to the formation of the different strata a learned gloss by amounting to millions of years! And now sober investigators are, on the ground of careful observations, beating a retreat; and, instead of the favorite millions of years usually held up to the astonished public, are computing much more moderate periods. The age of the mammoth, the great bear, and the reindeer, which scientists (especially Frenchmen) have been trying to separate by thousands of years, are now by thorough investigators, like that of Fraas, placed quite close together. And the lake dwellings, too; how has their origin been relegated to immemorable antiquity, in order to throw discredit on the Biblical account of man! And now scientists are beginning to turn up their noses at the idea of the stone, bronze, and iron agés being successive epochs; so that we may confidently assert that none of these remains extend back more than a few centuries beyond Cæsar, and hence are not even older than historical times. And so, after all, the six thousand years of the Bible are not so utterly insufficient to accommodate all the remains of ancient civilization! But in what hot haste were scientists at the time to spread these now exploded notions in all kinds of popular publications!

Without heeding the outcry of the scientific rabble against our "vulgar belief,"† let us quietly expose before the eyes of our flocks this mode of proceeding, and let us show them how large a portion of scientific "knowledge" is based only upon grounds of likelihood, which may very well some day give way.

And how has our task been lightened in the chief controversy of our day—that as to the origin of man—by the extravagancies which naturalists would have had us believe. Our firm defense of the Biblical doctrine is this: That the derivation of man's existence as a religious and moral being

from the creative act of God, who formed him in his own likeness, and destined him to attain to it, agrees so clearly with our whole moral and religious self-consciousness, with the historical development of the human race, and with the personal experience of all true Christians, that it is the only reasonable doctrine, and alone worthy of man's dignity. We need but place it side by side with the scientific fancies of former times on this subject, now often ridiculed by sober naturalists themselves, and the choice will not be a hard one.

But the controversy has assumed a more serious aspect since Darwin and his school have endeavored to connect the genealogy of man with the highest mammals, *viz.*, the anthropoid apes. The counterproof is not our affair, but that of savants by profession. Fortunately, the most recent discussion of the question seems unfavorable to the relationship.* But, even supposing the outward differences were proved to be ever so small, would not the present intellectual and moral (to say nothing of the religious) condition of man, notwithstanding the small superiority in his organism, be all the more a riddle? No representation of the psychological processes in inferior animals, their instincts, notions, memory, etc., however it may sublimate them, will be able to disprove that in this respect the lower animals have made no progress for the last several thousand years; that they have never discovered the inner laws of these phenomena, nor have been able to distinguish their individual Ego from their momentary condition.

For such facts—and this is our firm position of defense—there is no other explanation than this, that in the soul-life of the beast there is no comprehension of the individual Ego; there is no self-consciousness of the spirit distinguishing itself from its isolated affections, functions, conditions, as well as from all objects without it. And this is the specific distinction, the impassable gulf between man and beast. The same is no less absolute from a moral point of view: on the one hand we see free, personal, self-determining life; on the other the iron rule of nature's law, by means of sensual affections and instincts. Even millions of years, and the innumerable minute stages of progress which naturalists postulate, can never bridge over the chasm which divides the natural from the moral law. And if these men (and Strauss also) flatter themselves that it is the greatest possible honor for man to have raised himself from the depths of animal life to the present height of moral consciousness, we reply: If man is,

* Proving, *e. g.*, that the formation of quartz could only have originated from the action of water.

† "Köhlerglaube," an opprobrious epithet applied by German infidels to the Christian faith.

* Witness the defeat of Carl Vogt at the Stuttgart Conference of Natural Scientists (autumn, 1872) by Virchow, Luschka, and others at the head of a large majority.

as you say, a mere creature of nature, then all that he does takes place by virtue of absolutely binding natural laws, and it is no merit in him thus to have raised himself, since he could not help it. Unless our moral consciousness proceeds from an absolutely good and holy will of God, all our moral ideas are merely conventional and changeable, and there is no such thing as good and evil *per se*. Thus all morality is radically destroyed, and he who believes in a generic difference between the morally good and evil must also believe in the specific pre-eminence and Divine origin of man.

Similar moral arguments obtain against those who deny the homogeneous descent of the human race from a single pair. He who tears asunder the human race in its origin makes the different branches of it enemies instead of brothers, and destroys with their consanguinity the last bond of mutual love and esteem.

The physiologists, however, who maintain this* may fight our battle against the Darwinists; for, if the latter are trying to annihilate every boundary between the species, the former make demarkations where, according to Scripture, none exist. We may quietly allow our opponents to direct their attacks against each other, till the truth which lies in the middle alone remains. Darwinism may perhaps result in the reduction of the present multitude of species to considerably fewer principal types (which can only be favorable to the Biblical account of the Flood), but the weighty arguments of polygenists will prevent these types from being annihilated. The latter class of naturalists should, however, remember that the question as to the origin of the human race is, in the last resort, a matter of history; and this science, as applied to languages and religions, is pointing with increasing probability to one original tribe, the cradle of which lay in Western Asia, so that the possibility of the Biblical theory is becoming more and more established. Here, too, we may say, What God hath joined, let not man part asunder.

As things stand, we shall not join in the apprehension expressed by Schleiermacher, that natural science, when fully developed to a complete system of cosmology, might result in an intellectual starvation of theology. Nay—if I am not deceived—the relations between natural science and theology appear of late to have taken a turn for the better. This, because the stand-point on either side is beginning to become clearly marked. Many prudent and far-seeing natural philosophers have begun to acknowledge that their science has, in many cases, overstepped its boundaries, and therefore warn their younger or more hot-blooded colleagues

to abstain from undue interference in other departments. May we, then, not nourish the hope that in due time both these bright stars shall revolve around a common centre, in mutual harmony and friendly rivalry discovering the great deeds of God?

But, besides these comparatively detailed methods of offense against the different scientific attacks, there remains to be considered the defense of our whole line against infidel theory and practice combined. For these tendencies are now showing themselves in practice and form as—

III. A GROWING SOCIAL POWER IN THE LIFE OF OUR DAY BOTH IN CHURCH AND STATE.

This form of unbelief is, without question, far more dangerous than infidelity in individuals or in philosophical systems. I would recommend, in this respect, a double method of defense. First, a more negative one, which has hitherto been carried on only sporadically, but which, in order to take due effect, should be treated as a whole: viz., an *exposure of the miserable consequences of infidelity as shown in history*, in contradistinction to the wholesome effects of healthy Christian faith. This may be called the *historical method* of defense; it is, however, at the same time a cutting attack. Our Lord himself pointed it out when he said, "By their fruits ye shall know them" (Matt. vii., 16); and the proof of the actual corruptness of these fruits will make impression upon many who are deaf to all other arguments.

How should we furnish this proof? Not by setting up ourselves as judges over the persons of our opponents, nor so as to do them injustice, by forgetting how many of them are upright and learned men; but by showing the influence of their tendency of thought as actually exhibited in the collective life of Church and State since the last century, and comparing its effects in the different spheres of society.

On an attentive consideration of the spirit which animates our opponents as a body, the first thing which strikes us is the extraordinary overweening pride with which most of them treat all positive believers.* They lay claim to be the only representatives of science, and have repeated this so often to the people, that in Holland, Germany, and Switzerland the greater part of the press echoes this opinion as a matter of course, and lays all "orthodoxy," *i. e.*, belief in the Bible, under the reproach of ignorance and narrow-mindedness. And with this haughty spirit the theologians among them plentifully imbue their congregations. They flatter the spirit of the times, and puff up the "educated" consciousness of an age already intoxicated with culture, till its pride reaches

* As Edwards, Forbes, Agassiz, Burmeister, and others.

* Cf. Hofstede de Groot, "Die moderne Theologie in den Niederlanden," 1870, p. 29, et seq.

an unbearable pitch, by means of their high-flying critical treatment of the Gospel history; indeed, many of them often go so far as to rouse all the passions of intolerance against the "parsons," *i. e.*, the representatives of the old faith. When they are in a minority, they cry for tolerance, and preach the doctrine of equal rights for every persuasion. But when they are the ruling party, sovereign Reason shows herself to be most intolerant, and denounces those who cling to the old faith as the enemies of progress, and of all truly humane culture.

If we go on to consider their method of attack (and except the merely scientific representatives), we can not help seeing what a despotism of phrases and commonplaces they have founded, so that thousands blindly applaud the half or not at all understood mottoes of the day; and what a confusion of ideas must be laid to their charge! The clear meaning of sharply definite Scriptural ideas accepted by the Church is gradually put aside, and another meaning substituted for it, so that, while the shell remains, the true kernel is gone. During one thousand eight hundred years, *e. g.*, the word "resurrection" has been understood in the whole of Christendom to apply to the body of Christ; now, however, they change the meaning of the word into that of a continued existence of any kind, and declare as irrelevant the question whether our Lord's body was raised to a new life or not. In the Church the old forms are for the most part preserved; and in this case they continue to pray to Christ as ordered, though otherwise they consider him to be only the son of Joseph, and prayer itself a subjective outpouring of the heart's emotions, without objective effect on the course of affairs. Is this perfectly upright and truthful? Some are soon tired of this incongruence between the rites and liturgy of the Church and their own inward convictions, and enter other more congenial callings; but the growing generation is by these means (though not exclusively by them) disgusted with the study of theology. In many, however (especially during the first half of this century), this incongruence has been overcome by the earnest demands of life and holy office, which, though they left the university as Rationalists, convinced them of their error, and led them to preach salvation through Christ alone. Does all this bear witness to the healthy character of unbelieving principles?

But let us look more closely at their fruits in the inner congregational life of the Church. Infidelity has of old emptied the churches and given an impetus to schismatics, because it can not satisfy the deeper spiritual needs. What a display has infidelity made of its weakness in the pulpit by reason of its denial of the miraculous ele-

ment in the great facts of salvation! Let him who wishes to see instances take but a look at the utilitarian preachers of the times of "illumination." It is well known that these men did not disdain, even on high festivals, to stoop so low as to instruct the people in their sermons about farming, hygiene, vaccination, or cattle-feeding. And now? There is no scarcity of high-flown words. But does the one thing needful—faith in Christ, conversion, and regeneration—still form the central object in the modern pulpit? Alas! not even for an earnest penitential sermon can one of these men collect his energies. Is not this a serious state of affairs?

And what of the liturgical fruits of unbelief? Just glance into the liturgies current during the zenith of Rationalism in the last century; read those finely rounded phrases and paraphrases about God, virtue, and immortality, self-ennoblement, and Jesus Christ, the Eastern sage of olden times, and confess that you would hardly have believed so utter a want of taste to be possible. Or glance over the hymn-books of that time, with their miserably watered old hymns, and their practically as well as theologically shallow and pitiable humanitarian odes. And how is it in our day? Why, if formerly there was at least the shadow of a worship, now the attempts made in Haarlem, Gröningen, Neuchâtel, to establish a truly "modern" Divine service, have, by their miserable failure, gone far to prove the utter futility of all such endeavors. In due time, then, worship would have to cease altogether.

In the matter of Church constitution and government (in which believing theology, it is true, has made many mistakes also), the chief historical achievement of unbelief (in Germany) is the "Territorial System"—a theory which considers the Church and its government to be only a part of the State and its constitution as such, and must lead to the former being entirely merged in the latter. And at this day unbelief seeks to betray the inalienable rights of the Church to the State, and to prove the omnipotence of the latter, as against any act of Church discipline meant to defend the positive doctrine, hoping that the State may soon pronounce for the equal rights of all parties within the Church. Modern unbelief seeks to efface the specific distinction between Church and State, and thereby robs the former of its vital power.*

Again, look at the influence of unbelief in the active congregational life of the Church, in the institutions for the extension of God's kingdom, and see the paralysis which follows its ascendancy. The German-Danish

* This paragraph applies more especially to Germany.

mission in Tranquebar flourished vigorously during the former part of last century, till the triumph of Rationalism at home dried up its supports and caused it to wither away. And how do these liberal unbelievers seek to hinder and malign the work of missions at the present day by distorted criticisms! But as to doing better themselves, which would be the best criticism, they have not lifted up a finger. The institutions of our inner missions, too, have almost all of them been founded and supported solely by the love and liberality of believers, while unbelievers have done little else than embitter their existence by repeated attacks.*

But perchance unbelief has proved itself to be a firm support of the State, and a source of moral strength in public and political life? The best tests of a principle are furnished by times of public distress and danger. As soon, *e. g.*, as a war is imminent, the power of unbelief in a nation immediately sinks in a marked manner, and even unchristian journals at once begin to speak more of God and divine help. An involuntary instinct fills the churches; the need of a higher assistance is plainly felt, and the fine phrases of unbelief can not give this. These facts are questionable enough for the support under trouble which unbelief can afford. And when the thousands upon thousands of wounded need spiritual consolation, how little can unbelief afford this? In the last war—I say it deliberately, for I have witnessed it myself in the war—this task devolved almost entirely on believing ministers, often at the request of their free-thinking colleagues. Here the pastoral bankruptcy of the rationalistic clergy was clearly evident in their total inability to satisfy the spiritual cravings of the suffering and dying. It would be laughable, were it not rather to be wept over, that unbelief should ever attempt to minister to the spiritual needs of man.

But, putting aside such seasons of distress, what are the political and social fruits of unbelief in a general way? History very plainly tells us that apostasy from the faith very soon deprives a nation of its power and authority. As in the family, when its life is not based upon the fear of God, all domestic bonds are soon destroyed by the unfettered power of selfishness, so that dangerous laxity or arbitrariness is substituted for earnest discipline in the education of children—so, too, in civil and national life. The people that will not bow to divine authority will eventually break through the bounds of all human order in endless revolutions. The self-love, which would fain be wiser than divine revelation, at last snaps all the bonds of society. The new faith (of Strauss), prac-

tically carried out, is the Commune, which during its ascendancy was always talking of philosophy. Unbelief will ruin every nation which does not in time resist its all-poisoning influences.

The result of historical investigation shows that all these results of unbelief have the same inner ground, viz., that it is without the Spirit of God, which alone creates and preserves all true life. But if the fruit be evil, then the tree and its roots are evil also; and foolish, indeed, is he who would gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles.

In our attack on unbelief we must expose these its fruits: It boasts itself of helping progress, and hinders it; it inscribes "enlightenment" on its banner, and threatens us with a new and a worse barbarism; it promises to bring in the age of true humanity, and yet it injures the dignity of man, so as to deprive him of any specific moral value, because it overlooks the fact that humanity can only be saved and prosper by means of Divinity.

We must protest, then, against unbelief in the name—not only of Scripture, of faith, and of God's honor, which it tramples in the dust; not only of our spiritual experience, which it does not understand—but also of reason, which it leads astray. We must protest against it in the name of a healthy Church life, of fruit-bearing preaching and care of souls; of the truth and purity—ay, even of the good taste and æsthetics of our worship; in the name of a healthy discipline and constitution of our congregational life; of the independence of the Church, which by it is betrayed to the State; of the Church's energy and power of increase; of self-sacrificing and self-denying love; of Home and Foreign Missions, which it tries to paralyze; in the name of all practical tasks of the Christian life, for which it has neither a deeper understanding nor yet energy to carry them out; in the name of morals and all true humanity, which it undermines and destroys, since it separates them from religion, and saps its divine foundations. We must protest against it, not only as Christians, but as citizens and patriots who truly love their country, because the prosperous future of a nation, its freedom and power, its flourishing and healthy development, essentially depend upon its honestly holding fast to the Gospel as the Truth and the Life from God.

But this historical defense will not meet all objections, by reason of its negative nature; and I would therefore point out to you a more excellent, positive way, which I may call the *practical religious method*—I mean the *actual proof of the Christian truth by means of a Christian life*.

When we look at the growing power of unbelief, and the infinite variety of agencies employed in its propagation, from the jour-

* Witness the venomous attacks on the "Rauhe Haus" at Hamburg (Dr. Wichern's institution).

nals and associations of mere Humanitarianism, down to those of the most radical Communism, with its secret societies, and traveling agents and lecturers, it is evident that such a social power can not be met merely by scientific and historical arguments. These may suffice to convince individuals; but against the close columns of unbelief the Church must use her last and most effective weapon, *i. e.*, the practical and moral superiority of her representatives in an all-embracing love and holy life. This practical religious method is the most convincing of all, and truly irresistible, and must in the end gain over all those who are of the truth. This it was that worked so mightily in the first ages of the Christian Church, and will continue to do so to the end. Without it, infidelity will nowhere be defeated; and the growth of the latter is owing, in a great measure, to the fact that the Church has too much neglected this branch of testimony. Truth is plentifully witnessed for in words and books, but not enough in life.

But speaking as I am before those who, I trust, have long since been striving to give practical effect to this testimony, I may confine myself to a few hints as to the way in which it may be rendered most effectual.

And, first of all, let us remove from theological and Church life the stumbling-blocks which have hindered so many from believing—the everlasting quarrels about things upon which salvation does not depend; the jealousy of one another; the narrow-mindedness at home and (alas, too) abroad, which can not lovingly enjoy the brother's success, because he does not wear quite the same ecclesiastical uniform; and, instead of all this, let the flame of believing and wide-hearted evangelical love among the various denominations burn more brightly than hitherto. A great, positively believing Ecumenical Evangelical Alliance—notwithstanding all variety in matters ecclesiastical, and esteem for the forms of faith delivered to us—is in itself a practical apology, which makes impressions upon thousands, a justification of the indestructibility of our fundamental faith, a Christian Evangelical International, which may oppose the atheistic International with superior spiritual weapons. Let us, in order to establish more firmly the unity of our one fundamental position, ever draw more clearly the line between the Essential and the Non-essential; and let us protest against the destructive error which maintains that no such line is to be drawn, but that all tendencies have equal rights in the Church. Our German liberalism has not, in this respect, attained to so correct a judgment as the same party in England and America. These would say to those in our Evangelical Church, who, *e. g.*, attacked the Apostles' Creed, "Why do you not go to the Unitarians?" while with us they are strug-

gling to prove the admissibility of their continuance in a Trinitarian Church, by which means we shall eventually legalize Rationalism. You must help us to attain greater precision, even at the cost of a numerical diminution in the Church. Better for a Church to be small, but united and decided, than large and broad, but inwardly torn and divided against itself.

And when we have drawn the necessary boundary lines, let us, for the sake of the unity, seek to give a more extensive visible representation of it (by means, *e. g.*, of an interchange of pulpits), so that the various Churches may be strengthened by the faithful testimony of men of another communion. Let us force the unbelieving world to confess, as did the heathen of old, "See how these Christians love one another," and thereby we shall overcome a hundred prejudices.

This spirit it is which we should seek to implant in our evangelical congregations and people. Let us seek to bring about a more living communion between the churches, a greater interchange of their special gifts and experiences, and place the single congregation in connection with the course of events in the universal kingdom of Christ. We should make them better acquainted with the most important of these events, so that, if one member suffer, all the others may suffer with it; and if one be glorified, all the others may rejoice, as belonging to one body whose head is Christ.

In addition to this, it is our duty at the present day to arm the members of our churches more fully against the specious arguments of infidelity. This should be done by laying a deep foundation in religious instruction, especially in that for Confirmation and preparation for Holy Communion, by weekly Bible classes or lectures, in which the members of our flocks should be taught more of the unity of Scripture, by Sunday-schools, young men's associations, reading-rooms, circulating libraries, associations for missions, the poor, the sick, etc. Thus a vigorous Christian social and congregational life would be put forward in opposition to the infidel associations, and it would act as a firmly forged chain, from which one link could not easily be lost.

When we have, by all these means, built a powerful dam of Christian life against the swelling floods of unbelief, we should—while not forgetting always to keep these our foundations in repair—strive to win back lost ground by words and deeds. We must fearlessly witness for the faith, not only in the pulpit before our own congregations, but also in public lectures (as is now frequently done) before the unbelieving world. The mere fact of a man standing up, in the face of all the scorn of an infidel press, and openly declaring his belief

in the Christian faith, notwithstanding his perfect acquaintance with all the arguments of its opponents, is an encouragement to many undecided ones. Then, again, let us confess what a mistake in many places Christians (especially in Germany) have made in leaving the development of the public press almost entirely in the hands of infidels or semi-infidels, especially of Jews and their confederates. To meet this need we must found Christian journals, which shall correct the lamentably misguided public opinion; and, since this is beyond the power of isolated persons, we should form more Evangelical Societies, whose object it must be to spread Christian literature in every form, from the largest to the smallest works. And let us seek to connect all these associations, as much as possible, for the sake of mutual assistance. In this respect I would recommend to your notice a proposal, emanating from Holland, to form an "International Association for the defense of the Christian faith against its actual aggressors."

A most important point in this practical work (especially for Germany) is that laymen should be more induced to assist in the work of the Church, and that the latter should not tire in laboring for the better keeping of the Sabbath, and for the release of millions of white slaves kept in bondage by Sunday labor, which can only be accomplished by a legal protection of Sunday rest and freedom.

But, amidst all this work, never let us forget the personal preparation in secret. If we are to conquer in our struggle against unbelief, it must be less exclusively than hitherto with word and pen, and more on our knees. Often while we fight hard we pray too little. Instead of at once fulminating against unbelievers, let us first wrestle for them with the power of intercessory prayer, that they may be enlightened by the Lord. No word or writing should go forth in this Holy War unaccompanied by prayer. Let no combatant enter the arena without putting on the spiritual as well as the intellectual panoply, that he may not fare as did the seven sons of Sceva. And let none who strive in the right spirit be left alone. Though we may not everywhere be able to succor and defend, yet the arms of our prayer can embrace the whole globe. Thus only can we become so filled with the Spirit that the image of Christ, the great Captain and Conqueror in the battle, shall shine out of every action and victoriously enlighten our opponents, when they see in our whole walk and conduct greater love and self-denial, greater self-sacrifice, greater quietness and firmness in distress and danger. The Christian is the world's Bible, and the only one which it reads. If we take care that in this book be plainly shown the loving spirit, the

grandeur, and the winning friendliness of Christ, then we shall see many hearts open to receive this actual testimony of Christian life and suffering. For many of our opponents in secret envy us our Christian comfort in misfortune and under heavy losses. Their hearts are often stirred by a deep yearning after the support which bears us up, and this superiority of Christian life can often drive the hardest heart to seek help of our Lord.

In fine, only life can beget life. Where we wish to defend the Word of Life, our own life can not be separated from the Word. The strongest argument for the truth of Christianity is the true Christian, the man filled with the Spirit of Christ. The best means of bringing back the world to a belief in miracles is to exhibit the miracle of regeneration and its power in our own life. The best proof of Christ's resurrection is a living Church, which itself is walking in new life, and drawing life from him who has overcome death.

Cyprian writes of Christians in the third century: "In their dress, their food, their manner of life, they follow the customs of the country, and yet they are distinguished by a universally remarkable way of living. They take part in every thing as citizens, and they endure every thing as strangers. Every country is their native land, and in every country they are foreigners. They live in the flesh, but not after the flesh. They dwell upon earth, but they live in heaven. They love all men, though all men persecute and malign them. When they are cursed, they bless; and when they are killed, they hail the day of their death as their true birthday."

Before such arguments ancient Rome herself—the mightiest empire of the world, and the most hostile to Christianity—could not stand. Let us live in like manner, and then—though hell should have a short-lived triumph—eventually must be fulfilled what St. Augustine says, "Love is the victory of the truth."

Already the world is beginning to be divided into the two great camps of the unbelieving and the faithful. In many, unbelief has probably become incurable. Before such we can only confess the truth for a testimony against them. The Antichrist who denies Father and Son can be destroyed, not by men, but only by the Lord in the brightness of his coming. But the holy task that falls to the lot of every Christian is to continue to do battle for the truth after the measure of his strength, in the power of that victory which Christ has already gained for us, and which he has promised one day to complete. May not only individuals, but may every Protestant people recognize that it ought to contribute its special gift toward the great world-apology for Christianity:

Germany, her deep and earnest science; England, her trustful meditation on Scripture, her faithfulness in pastoral work, her open-handed charity; America, her energetic activity and liberality, her fearlessness in public testimony for the truth, her indelible love of freedom; and all others, great or small, the talent intrusted to them. If all thus

unite in holy zeal for God, the victory can not be wanting. Forward, then, my brethren, and let us not weary of the strife! Our field of battle is the wide world; our aim, the honor of God; our support amidst strife and suffering, the certainty that our faith already is the victory which hath overcome the world!

THESES.

I. To be true to her essential spirit and character, the Evangelical Church must eschew all methods of defending her faith which do not rest upon a spiritual and moral basis, and do not aim at bringing opponents to accept the truth as it is in Christ by means of free personal persuasion and conviction.

II. The most effectual method of combating *unbelief in individuals* is the *moral isagogic*, i. e., that by which the conscience is touched, the religious need awakened, and salvation in Christ heartily and lovingly testified, from personal experience, to be the truth which alone can satisfy the inward cravings of the soul.

III. In combating the *systems of unbelief*, success is only to be hoped for from a really scientific method of defense. This consists, on the one hand, in a constant employment of the ever-improving apparatus of modern investigation; on the other hand, in that quiet objective spirit, the only aim of which is to attain to the truth; both these being combined with the joyous certainty that the scientific struggle has in all ages contributed not a little toward grounding the Church in her holy faith, and showing how firm are its foundations.

IV. The chief systematic tendencies of modern infidelity may be comprised under these three heads: Unchristian philosophy, destructive historical criticism, and anti-miraculous natural science. The first step in an effectual scientific defense against these must be to *define clearly the extent of those doctrines which constitute the specific, and therefore inalienable nucleus of the Christian faith*, and thus to distinguish plainly between the fundamental and central truths necessary to salvation, and those less central ones, which allow of various shades of subjective opinion; in a word, to recognize the difference between the *Biblical substance* of our religious belief and its *dogmatic formulation*.

V. Against *Antichristian speculative philosophy*, our scientific apology should especially defend the Christian idea of God, as that which alone corresponds to the conception of the Absolute, and the Christian view of the world in general, as a compact and organic unity in all its beauty and grandeur. The central truth of this system we take to be the help vouchsafed by God in Christ to a sinful world, which approves itself to our conscience as an inward necessity for the true satisfaction of our religious and moral needs, in view of the impotence of all human self-help in overcoming evil. The uncertainty and untenableness of all, even modern philosophy, should be proved from the constant fluctuation and change of its principles, the undemonstrated char-

acter of its assumptions, the inner contradictions in its construction of the relations between God and the world, and its failure to yield any positive and lasting results.

VI. The duty of our scientific apology, as against *destructive historical criticism*, is to show that the Scriptures become unintelligible if their inspiration be denied, while at the same time we should uphold their human-divine (not solely divine) character, and distinguish between a justifiable and reverent criticism, and one which shows a false aversion to the miraculous. The latter must be combated by exposing its false philosophical principles, which apply merely human standards to incommensurable divine magnitudes, its subjective arbitrariness and *coups de force* in the treatment of details, by pointing to the growing testimony of modern archaeological research in favor of Scripture, but especially by demonstrating the impossibility of inventing the picture which the Gospels give of Christ, or of any sufficient explanation of the original Christian belief, or the existence of the Christian Church, without accepting the Gospel narrative as historical fact.

VII. Against the attacks of *anti-miraculous natural science*, we must first of all draw a sharp line between the aim and object of the Scriptures and that of natural science, showing that the former, as a record of Divine Revelation, only touches upon the region of physics in a fragmentary manner, and with a few general outlines, for the purpose of laying a foundation for its moral and spiritual teachings, while the latter is confined to an empirical observation of things as they are, and can therefore only make conjectures as to the processes by which the world originated, but can not possibly render the existence of a spiritual and invisible world a doubtful matter by any results of microscopic or telescopic investigations. After having rejected the anti-miraculous axioms of modern science by resting on the Christian, as the only reasonable idea of God and his relation to the world, we should proceed to take our stand upon the harmony which has already been established in general outlines between the Biblical cosmogony and the results of natural science, as a fact which justifies the hope of a future solution of all differences which yet remain. Further, we have to expose the uncertainty and rashness of many of their conclusions, which, though supposed to be exact, yet rest upon mere hypotheses, and are constantly being modified by stricter investigations. Finally, we must repulse their hypothesis as to the generation of man from mere natural forces, as being an attack on his true dignity, by argu-

ments drawn from our moral and spiritual self-consciousness, confirming the Scriptural doctrine of the divinity of human nature, and by pointing to the physiological, but still more to the historical, arguments for the unity of our race.

VIII. Our defense against the appearance of *infidelity as a social power* must, in order to be effectual, be conducted according to the rule, "By their fruits ye shall know them." To this end we must furnish *practical historical proofs of the destructiveness of infidelity* far more extensively than has hitherto been done, by a fearless exposure of its positive fruits in spreading an unlimited pride, confusing all moral and religious ideas, and founding a despotism of hollow phrases: further, in exhausting all vigorous and independent congregational life, as regards both worship, discipline, and Church government; in paralyzing all energetic and self-sacrificing work for the extension of God's kingdom. Especially we should point out the utter inability of unbelief to minister to the wants of souls, or to supply any practical religious need, particularly in

times of trouble, and its destructive effects in undermining and ruining education and family, civil and political society, and all national or social prosperity.

IX. The *most irresistible method* of defense against the last-named, and all other forms of infidelity, is the *actual proof of a Christian life*. The duty of furnishing this proof falls partly to the lot of the *Church*, by the removal of all unnecessary quarrels and jealousies at home and abroad, and by cherishing a wide-hearted brotherly love and union among all evangelical denominations: partly it falls to the lot of the *congregation*, by openly and joyfully witnessing, in word and deed, for Christ before the world, by developing a vigorous Christian associational life, by exercising a Christian influence on the press and popular literature: partly, also, it falls to the lot of *individuals*, by arming themselves more fully with spiritual weapons through prayer, by moral and religious personal conduct which shall outshine that of the opponents; by faithfulness in work, patience in suffering, and peace in death.

BEST METHODS OF COUNTERACTING MODERN INFIDELITY.

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WHAT may be the best practical methods of counteracting the unbelief of the present day is a question at once so large and so important that we may well shrink from attempting to answer it. For is not that unbelief itself hydra-headed? No sooner is one head destroyed than many others appear in its place. There is unbelief on metaphysical grounds, and unbelief on natural grounds. There is moral unbelief, and historical unbelief. There is the unbelief of criticism, which may be called a *posteriori* unbelief, and there is the unbelief of abstract and preliminary objections, which may be called unbelief on *a priori* grounds.

It is probable, however, that, despite the various forms unbelief may assume, there is more or less unity in the ultimate cause producing it. When, moreover, we speak of modern infidelity, it must not be assumed that the relative growth of infidelity is greater now than it was of old, or that the forms it exhibits in the present day are altogether original, and have never been presented before. To say at once that the growth of modern unbelief is greater now than it has hitherto been, would be to allow that the battle of faith is declining to the side of our adversaries, and that our own cause is failing, which would, at least, be impolitic, if it were not untrue.

An essential preliminary step to deciding upon the best methods of counteracting modern unbelief is to arrive at some definite notion of what is meant by unbelief, and what are its essential characteristics. Now it appears that the essential virus of the several forms of unbelief that are prevalent nowadays is the refusal to acknowledge that an actual divine revelation has been in any sense vouchsafed to man. This is apart altogether from any questions which may legitimately arise on the wide and delicate subject of inspiration. We may well have a revelation that is authoritative and final, and yet be totally unable to define what inspiration is or how it works. These are very reasonable questions, which may be reverentially handled, and decided in various ways; but the prior question, "Have we a revelation at all?" is vastly more important, and must really involve all that is essential in the others.

And it is needless to observe that the question, "Have we a revelation?" is one that does not admit of any answer that can be proved to demonstration either way. Even the most strenuous opponents of Christianity are not prepared with any demonstration of a negative answer. This is too often forgotten by the disputants on either side. It has been admitted, over and over again, that the proof for revelation is not, properly speaking, demonstrative; but it is too often overlooked that the disproof of revelation, or the proof against revelation, is not demonstrative either. The question must, after all, resolve itself into a balance of probabilities.

But then, again, from the nature of the case, the answer to the question, "Have we a revelation?" must really depend upon facts rather than theories. This also is a point that is habitually disregarded by the opponents of Christianity. And it is here that we would endeavor to find one of the first answers to our thesis—What are the best methods of counteracting modern unbelief? First, we would say, "By always maintaining that the question of revelation is not really a matter of opinion, but a matter of fact." It is a question of the interpretation of facts. There are certain broad and patent facts which are virtually independent of the various doubts that have been advanced on critical or other grounds, and it is on these that the proof of revelation actually rests. For example, to take one notorious fact which is patent to all. There is no question as to what has been the condition of the Jewish nation for the last eighteen hundred years. There is no question as to what their state is now. They are a distinct and separate people, and yet they have no national existence. They are a people dispersed throughout all the nations of the earth. This has been more or less their condition for upwards of two thousand years. It first began from that dark period of their history which is known as the Captivity, which took place under Shalmaneser and Nebuchadnezzar. And it is perfectly certain that this condition was very significantly portrayed in their national literature many centuries before it was realized in fact. There are many passages in Leviticus and

Deuteronomy which declare distinctly what *is to be* the condition of the people, which on no critical theory can be brought down low enough to be drawn from the life, and yet which are not less graphic than if they were. These passages are cast in the form of prophecy, and obviously profess to be prophetic. But it can not for a moment be pretended that they are prophecies after the event. If, however, they are not prophecies after the event, they must be prophecies before it. But if they are prophecies before the event, nothing is more certain and manifest than that the event has fulfilled them to the letter.

If, however, it is affirmed that the whole theory of prophecy is one that requires to be remodeled, and that it must not be propounded in a form too bald or naked, yet this fact remains in its broad and evident features—"That alike in the Old Testament and in the New, there is to be perceived continually the latent consciousness of a coming future for Israel, which shall be in painful contrast with the past." This is stated in a manner so marked and special, and in forms so various, that it can not be disregarded. It is impossible that the expression can be fortuitous; and seeing that we have before our very eyes now the evidence of the correspondence of the events with the enunciation of them ages and ages before their occurrence, there is but one conclusion possible—that these denunciations, which claimed to be prophetic, have, in the long result of history, established their claim to be so regarded.

Now, I have heard it asserted that the ethnological characteristics of the Jewish nation are not so exceptional as commonly supposed. But here it must be borne in mind that we have not only the singularity of the fact to rest on, which may or may not be unique, but we have also the previous declaration of the fact, which is absolutely and entirely unique. To take an illustration: Professor M. Müller, in his recent work on the "Science of Religion," has shown in a very interesting manner the very remarkable parallel that exists between the descent of Buddhism from Brahmanism, and of Christianity from Mosaism; and he has shown, also, that just as Buddhism became the prevailing religion of those races among whom Brahmanism was not indigenous, so also Christianity struck root, not among the Jewish nation or the Shemitic races from which it sprung, but found its home among the Gentile nations of alien origin. Now this is an historic parallel which, no doubt, more or less accurately holds good, and is very remarkable. But the parallelism is incomplete, because in Mosaism and Christianity, we have not only the natural pedigree which may be traced in Brahmanism and Buddhism, but, much more than this, we have in Mosaism

the distinct germ of Christianity, which can not be said of the other two; and yet, further, we have also in the Scriptures of the Jews the definite assurance that, while that people themselves are rejected, the Gentile nations shall inherit their spiritual wealth, and become heirs of the promises which they have not believed. And it is this explicit announcement which differentiates altogether and conclusively the relation between Mosaism and Christianity from any historical parallel which may be drawn to illustrate it.

And it is the same with the historic condition of the Jewish people, and the circumstantial portraiture of it which their Scriptures contain. If the one find any true historic parallel elsewhere, the other most assuredly does not; and it is the co-existence of the two which, being as it is equally broad and definite, constitutes that moral evidence of divine foreknowledge and design which it becomes impossible to set aside.

The same may be said likewise of the broad and general characteristics of the Jewish literature. There is no literature which has been subjected to so severe and searching a criticism as that of the Jewish nation. It has been tried in a fiery ordeal. Its several parts have been torn piece from piece, and the authorship of them assigned to all conceivable writers; and yet, in spite of all this, the broad features of them are undeniable and indestructible. For example, there is no nation possessed of so remarkable an historic record as the Jewish nation. I speak now not of the facts comprised in the history, but of the historic record itself; and yet this record, as a whole, is undoubtedly trustworthy. We dare not on critical grounds assume it to be otherwise, because, if so, we cut the very foundation away on which our criticism itself must rest. But this historic record is confirmed both by the national songs which we possess in the Book of Psalms, and also by the independent writings of the fourteen prophets. It can not be affirmed that in any important respect this threefold testimony is divergent; and yet, taking it as we find it, the salient features of it are so marked and so exceptional, that it is impossible to say that we are dealing with facts or circumstances of no more than ordinary significance. For example, the narrative of the Exodus, treat it as we will, and pare down the supernatural as we may, becomes after all indicative of agencies at work which are not those of every-day life, or of godless, undirected chance. It is impossible to divest the narrative of the Exodus of the evidence of purpose, and it is equally impossible to accept even the framework of the narrative as true, and not see that the only explanation of the facts is the assumption of a purpose.

The only way in which it is possible to ac-

count for the phenomena we meet with in the Jewish history on a merely natural basis, is by saying that the special characteristics of the history were the creation of the faith of the people. It was their mental habit to discover the supernatural every where, and to recognize divine interference on their behalf; and, starting with this assumption, even the most ordinary events became transformed in a marvelous way. But it is impossible to affirm that the redemption of an entire nation from the oppression of a hostile and warlike people is in any sense an ordinary event; and it is just this event which remains the surest and most obvious after every thing of a miraculous character has been rejected. The redemption of Israel out of Egypt was, as a matter of indisputable fact, accomplished by Moses. It was accomplished on his part reluctantly. It was accomplished, as he believed, in obedience to a divine command. It was accomplished without bloodshed or the drawing of a sword. It was accomplished at once, and without failure or delay. It was accomplished in connection with certain circumstances—such as the institution of the Passover, for example—which gave it a peculiar significance. For fifteen hundred years the Passover was kept, and it was utterly devoid of meaning if it did not point backward to the deliverance out of Egypt. But, unless the record of its institution is altogether untrustworthy, it rested on precisely the same authority as that deliverance itself; and yet that deliverance is the most remarkable event in all history. The Exodus can not be reduced to the dimensions of ordinary history, if in all its features it transcend them; and yet, if it transcend them no less in the features of its details than in the principles on which it was accomplished, it is hard to say that it affords no illustration or confirmation of its principles, and is to be regarded merely as ordinary history, which does not claim to illustrate or confirm a given principle.

But that which is true of the Exodus is true also of many another episode in Old Testament history; and, in fact, from beginning to end, it is developed so clearly in obedience to enunciated principles, that the principles and the history must stand or fall together. It is not easy to reject the history, and consequently the acceptance of the principles is inevitably involved in any fair treatment of the history. Every great stage in the historic development of Israel is distinctly announced beforehand. The thralldom in Egypt was announced to Abraham; the deliverance from Egypt was announced to Moses; the establishment of the throne of Judah was announced to David; the captivity was announced to Hezekiah; the return was announced to Jeremiah; the ingathering of the Gentiles was announced

to Hosea and to Malachi. The fulfillment of the last elucidates the fulfillment of the others. Hosea's prophecy was eight centuries before the fact. We dare not, in the face of that, assert that the record of all the others was written after the event to which it referred—to say nothing of such a theory involving so much acquiescence of the nation in the open falsehood of the writers as is absolutely inconceivable. In short, it becomes a balance of probabilities between the requisite amount of intricate collusion and the admission upon conclusive evidence of the communication to chosen recipients of the divine foreknowledge. It is not easier to maintain upon mere *a priori* grounds the abstract impossibility of prophecy than it is to receive upon an accumulation of moral evidence which points to it the fact that such prophecy has been vouchsafed upon highly exceptional occasions, when the importance of the matter communicated was in harmony with the exceptional character of the means employed.

In dealing, then, with the flippant and superficial infidelity which too often seeks to commend itself to popular favor in the present day, it is highly essential to dwell upon broad facts which are above the fluctuating results of an uncertain criticism. It is never safe to trust ourselves to a too narrow issue, when one that is very broad and general is near at hand. If God has not written the evidence of his truth upon undeniable facts and the wide current of history, he has written it upon nothing. The Bible as a whole is precluded from the possibility of bearing witness to itself, because the Bible can not define its own limits, but is dependent upon other authorities for the definition of its limits. But the Bible as a whole is sufficiently distinguishable from all other productions, and to the substantial truth of the Bible message as a whole there is a testimony borne by history such as is borne by it to nothing else. We must decide in the face of this clear and unimpeachable testimony, if we would decide that the substantial truth of the Bible record and message as a whole is undeserving of credit. There is a mass of corroborative evidence in support of the framework of Old Testament history such as does not exist in support of the narrative of Tacitus or Thucydides, and the mass of this evidence is continually becoming greater, and continually receiving fresh elucidation. The strength of unbelieving criticism consists in the pertinacity with which certain points of detail are dwelt upon; but the strength of that which is opposed to it consists in the breadth of the issue, which is based upon the broad and general principles and facts which are untouched by criticism. The mass of evidence for the fact of a special and unique revelation being contained in the Scriptures

of the Old and New Testaments is so great that it is impossible for a rightly instructed and unbiased mind to resist the force of it.

The example of the relation between the Old Testament and the New is of such a kind as to be entirely without parallel. There is no other instance in literature of one book of a highly composite nature, which was yet regarded as one, being the origin, and becoming the literary parent of another book, also composite in its nature, and that after an interval of four hundred years, as in the case of the Old Testament and the New. The one is in some sense the natural descendant of the other, and yet no one could have anticipated such a development as likely or possible. All this is an instance of the kind of facts upon which the theory of an actual God-given and authoritative revelation rests. They are at once broad, deep, and solid in their character. They are invulnerable to the attacks of criticism, and they are inexplicable on any merely natural principles. They point clearly, naturally, and conclusively to one explanation, and to one only; and though they do not mathematically demonstrate it, they offer a moral proof which is much more nearly complete than any disproof that can be set against it. Not only is revelation in its subject-matter a witness to its own origin, but so also is the record in which the revelation is set forth in its generic and unalterable features a witness to the fact that a similar combination of phenomena, equally significant and various, could not have been produced by chance. And, from the nature of the case, there is no alternative between a denial that these phenomena have any meaning at all, and an admission that the meaning they have is the one alleged.

In attempting, then, to stem the tide of unbelief which rises in all directions around us, it is essential to plant our feet firm upon the rock whose foundation is as far beneath its deepest channels as the summit thereof rises far above its roaring waves and foaming billows. Unless we stand upon the rock that is higher than we are, it is impossible not to be borne away by them. It is not in ourselves, or in our arguments, our logic, and eloquence, that our hope lies, but in the revelation of the arm of the Lord. If he do not manifest himself in his revelation, it will speak in vain; but revelation is a thing of the spirit and the heart, and not of the reasoning. When God has revealed himself to the conscience and the heart, the reason brings her offering to attest and to confirm the message; but when the conscience is deaf to the voice of God, the reason also is blind to the grace and message of his truth. The destructiveness of a skeptical criticism must be met by a constructive association of facts that are independent of it. This and that denial may, as occasion serves, be met and answered in detail; but special controversy of this kind is within the reach only of a few, and that which is to operate on the public at large is the exhibition of the broad front of truth in its many and manifold bearings; and whenever this is given in faith and sincere dependence upon God, it brings forth its fruit in due season. The word of truth, spoken from a believing heart in the spirit of earnest love, will not die, for it is the word of the living God, and of that word he hath said, "It shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

THE CAUSES OF, AND BEST METHODS OF COUNTERACTING, MODERN INFIDELITY.

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A SUBJECT so extensive as has been intrusted to me for discussion can only be treated in a fragmentary way, and with a view to supply materials for further consideration to those who are present at this day's proceedings, or who may read the Reports of the Conference. A separate essay, and that a long one, would be required for the full elucidation of such a topic.

I limit the infidelity the causes of which are to be inquired into to unbelief in the Christian revelation, excluding inquiry into the causes of Atheism, Pantheism, and spurious Theism, except in so far as these bear upon the rejection of Christianity as a message from God. Even with this restriction, the inquiry is very extended, and this search into causes is only the half of it; for much would need to be occupied with consideration of remedies.

The infidelity whose causes need to be opened up is in this thesis designated "modern." It is not like that against which the early defenders of Christianity contended—a rejection of Christianity founded on adherence to another positive religion, or to the supernatural in some other form, but a rejection of it, without leaving room for, or at least embracing, any other professed revelation. It has, therefore, more affinity to the philosophical unbelief of the ancient world, against which also the early apologists, though to a less degree, used their weapons; and we may include in it the forms of Christianity itself vaguely comprehended in the general denomination of Rationalism, which, professing to admit Christianity in some exalted sense, really deny its supernatural origin and strike out its distinctive features. No very definite idea as to extent of time is suggested by this epithet "modern," as employed in the heading of the paper offered me for discussion. It evidently can not denote the whole period included in modern history, leaving behind the entire manifestation of unbelief in Christianity before the close of the Middle Ages, and taking up its whole appearance since the Reformation. I think, rather, that the word "modern" is intended in the sense of "recent," and at least shall so take it. I shall not, however, be careful to distinguish

between the infidelity of the last century and of the present. To me the contrast often drawn on this head is less evident. No doubt there is more reverence and tenderness toward Christianity, on the whole, even on the part of its deniers, than in the English Deistic period or at the French Revolution. But as great concessions to Christianity were made in the eighteenth century by writers unhappily negative on the whole, like Lessing and Kant, as have since been yielded; and the tone in many places of Francis W. Newman and of Renan is as deeply painful to Christian sensibilities as that of Reimarus or of Voltaire. These preliminary explanations, limiting the object of our inquiry to the more recently originated and still continued forms of the denial or non-admission of supernatural Christianity, will prepare us for the adduction of their causes.

I. Of these causes, the widest classification is that which ranks them as *inward* and *outward*, or, in technical language, *subjective* and *objective*. The first and deepest class of causes lies in the state of mind which deals with Christianity; the second, and far from unimportant, lies in the kind of exhibition of Christianity and its evidences which is made to that receiving mind. We all hold that if the state of mind were right, and if the Christianity presented were true Christianity, unbelief would be impossible—as impossible as unbelief in heaven. It is from the wrongness in the mind or in the object, or in both variously combined, that all unbelief emerges; and it is to this that its recent, like all its past manifestations, are to be ascribed. I am at a loss for words adequately to designate these two kinds of causes of unbelief; but, for want of a better, I shall call them *prejudices* and *scandals*, using the word *scandal* more in the Greek sense of outward hinderance or stumbling-block.

1. Taking up, then, *prejudices*, or states of mind which predispose against Christianity, or even preclude it altogether, they may be reduced again to two classes—intellectual and moral; or, rather, as these never exist separately, those in which intellectual predisposition against Christianity, and those

in which moral predisposition, is the preponderating element. There are other ways in which intellectual preconceptions operate on the side of unbelief, but they chiefly lead to the rejection of Christianity as a revelation in common with all alleged revelations; while the moral predispositions lead more to the rejection of Christianity because of its substance and peculiarities.

Looking, then, to intellectual prejudices which lead to infidelity, the most common in our times is the disbelief of the possibility of any revelation, or such a persuasion of its extreme unlikelihood as nearly amounts to the same result. Much of this, no doubt, springs from an atheistic or pantheistic root. Revelation is a miracle; and, on the scheme either of atheism or pantheism, a miracle is an absurdity, for it is an effort of nature to transcend itself; and hence Spinoza justly remarked that the admission of a miracle such as the resurrection of Lazarus would shatter his whole system. But even on the ground of professed theism, so defective and incoherent are the views of many theists in our times, that they regard a miracle, and hence the fundamental miracle of a revelation, as incompatible with the reign of law. This tendency is greatly confirmed by the wide diffusion of scientific culture, fixing the mind on the uniformity as a matter of fact of sequences in the physical world, and even to a certain extent in the mental and moral world; whence it is hastily concluded that the thing which is, must have been always, and ever shall be. It is not considered, as Mozley in his Bampton Lecture on Miracles has so strongly urged, that the belief in the uniformity of nature is not a principle of such intellectual rigor as to exclude the admissibility of evidence as to exceptions; and, still more injuriously for the Christian cause, it is not considered that the reign of law in the moral world is in point of fact a reign of disorder, which the exclusion of divine intervention would stamp with dismal and eternal uniformity. Notwithstanding the assertion of all Christian apologists that revelation is in the highest and best sense an example and vindication of law—notwithstanding the presence of a disturbing element in the universe which all but the atheist, the pantheist, and the moral skeptic must admit, and with which a living God, in whose nature sovereign and righteous will is included, may be expected to deal—and notwithstanding that the highest names in philosophy, even of opposite schools, as Hamilton and Mill, with equal frankness admit the possibility and credibility of miracles, a position which is taken with not less decision by equally eminent leaders in science—there can be no doubt that this intellectual prejudice as to the reign of law excluding miracles lies deep at the foundation of much of our current unbelief,

especially among minds of a one-sided culture, and has to be grappled with before a revelation can be received. It is not allowed that any thing has been added to the objections of Hume on this point. The essay of Mr. Baden Powell, in "Essays and Reviews," simply reaffirms with prolonged utterance the uniformity of nature, as our present science reveals it; and here the Christian and unbeliever are perfectly at one, the sophism lying in translating this and other experience, numerically all but overwhelming in point of extent and duration, into the "all experience" of Hume's theorem. But it is easy to see how minds not strictly fixed on the confessedly exceptional character of miracles, and on the demand on science to scan exceptions, not less than rules, may be carried away by the appearance of absolute uniformity, and on this ground may widely refuse Christianity as a revelation so much as a hearing.

In thus representing the prejudice against any revelation as the prevailing intellectual habit of our times which generates infidelity, I may seem to some to be overlooking the intellectual difficulties in Christianity itself, which, when looked at from a one-sided point of view, undoubtedly strengthen the previous bias against it. These are such doctrines as the Trinity and the Incarnation, which, probably, to the mere intellect, are the hardest mysteries in Christianity. Yet I can not look on these difficulties, though undoubtedly they have some adverse influence, as exerting nearly so much influence as the original prejudice against any revelation. They are, in some respects, a mere continuation of that original difficulty; and if it be overcome, they do not emerge as difficulties, since it is justly felt that a revelation, which really is such, must involve things as incomprehensible as the data, already granted, of natural religion. And hence, in point of fact, where revelation as a postulate is *ex animo* granted, the hardest mysteries of Christianity are generally received; and the older Unitarianism, which less logically allowed revelation and excluded the Trinity and the Incarnation, with other mysteries of Christianity, has for some time been approximating more and more, with the Continental Rationalism, to the entire negation of a revelation in any genuine and effectual sense whatever.

If, now, we turn to the moral class of prejudices against Christianity, which either neutralize the force of its other evidences, or become the sources of positive objection to it and the causes of its rejection, we shall find them to be of a various character; but perhaps all reducible to two classes, viz., such feelings and sentiments as are morally wrong in themselves, and such feelings and sentiments as are right in themselves, but wrongly directed against Christianity. We

may call these the darker and the brighter of the morally predisposing causes of infidelity.

To the darker class of moral prejudices against Christianity as a revelation, we must refer those sinful lusts and passions which Christianity so strongly condemns. No doubt many unbelievers have been and are men of outwardly pure and decent life. And it is also true that multitudes of nominal Christians have not been urged on to open infidelity by the love of forbidden indulgences which they cherished or displayed. Still the natural landing-place of all sin which Christianity denounces is open rejection of its authority; and it would be affectation and false charity to conceal the belief that, as in other ages, so in our own, vast masses are precipitated to this result by their conscious disconformity to the Christian standard. The innumerable laxities and transgressions by which the moral state of the Continent of Europe, and also of Great Britain and America, is deformed, furnish a soil in which unbelief in Christianity, together with atheism, materialism, and denial of judgment to come, must arise as the reflex in doctrine of license in practice; nor is the evil influence confined to the less educated section of society. As in the last century, so in the present, names of commanding place in the world of letters, and separated by strong disavowals from all distinctively Christian belief, have revealed in their lives the secret of this antagonism, and have shown how impossible it was for the Christian demand of self-crucifixion to meet in their case with any thing but violent antipathy and recoil.

Where the reception of Christianity may not be obstructed by the prevailingly sensuous tendencies of human nature, a hindrance not less formidable is found in our day, as always, in the protest of human pride against a scheme so humbling and adverse to every form of self-righteousness. This is the Pharisaic, as the other is the Sadducean origin of unbelief. The need of a revelation involves a reflection on the inherent capacities of our nature in its present state, which is not easily borne; and the whole structure of genuine Christianity, including as it does such stupendous provisions for the pardon of guilt and the renewal of the soul by the atonement of Christ and the grace of the Holy Spirit, demands such a recognition of the deadly evil of sin and the lost condition of a world of sinners, as is most unwelcome and mortifying to human pride. Hence Pelagianism is an ever-recurrent corruption of Christianity, and where it exists, as it always does beyond the Christian pale, it is a most prolific source of infidelity. In our own times there is much that specially favors these Pelagianizing tendencies. The advance, so rapid and wonderful, of science

and art, the progress of education and diffusion of literature, the self-assertion by long-oppressed nationalities of their rights and liberties, the approximation to a commercial and political unity of the human race—all tend to foster the idea of man's inherent capacities, and to set afloat wild and chimerical schemes and hopes of moral regeneration, irrespective of Christianity. The dream of an independent morality finds countenance. Theories of spiritual development, more exaggerated and fictitious by far than those of physical development, are accepted. The march of intelligence or the revolutionary impulse is to make all things new. Meanwhile the sad and humbling aspects of the nineteenth century—its hideous vices and crimes—its luxury, selfishness, and greed, set over against pauperism, debasement, and discontent—its wars and international feuds, with ever-increasing conscriptions and standing armies—are overlooked. The remedial influence of Christianity in abating many of the evils of the century and accelerating its best triumphs is disregarded. The very victories of the Gospel are claimed as the evidences of the needlessness of a revelation. The stones from its quarry are exalted to a chief place in the temple of reason; and the Christ of God is converted into the crowning witness of the inherent capacities of man and the leader in the race of natural perfectibility. However we may rejoice in the progress of the nineteenth century, this perverted application of it, in aggravating the natural reluctance to accept a divine remedy for sin and evil, is most deeply to be deplored. It is a profanation of the same kind, as when the Roman Empire, providentially raised up to prepare the way of Christianity, was served by Josephus heir to all the prophecies of a Messiah. It is a fresh verification of the words so profound and far-reaching, which prove their author to be no mere human teacher, but a divine Healer: "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick."

As a moral hindrance to the reception of Christianity as a revelation, a sense of duty constrains me to touch on the abated sense of the obligations of truth which unbelievers still indicate. Christianity has exalted beyond all parallel in its successive martyrologies the absolute claim of truth on the human conscience. But while it would be un candid to deny that some unbelievers have displayed also rare self-sacrifice, and while the penal laws against unbelief which once disgraced Christian statute-books may be pleaded as some excuse for the suppression of convictions adverse to Christianity, it must also be contended that the history of unbelief as a whole has been barren of manly and avowed confession, and fertile of insinuation, innuendo, and accommodation to Christian phraseology, almost without

precedent in literature. Such a state of mind is not open to Christian light and evidence. The indulgent and almost admiring strain in which Reuan treats our Lord's alleged accommodation to Jewish errors, reveals an obliquity in the pauegyrist which nufits for all genuine appreciation; and the appeal to the skeptical among the French clergy to suppress their doubts and keep their places, indicates a moral paralysis on which the sublime appeal of Christianity to forsake all for truth and for Christ can fall with no quickening power. It is but fair to add that from this degradation of truth the more stoical nature of Strauss is free, and that no unbeliever of our age is more outspoken and resolute; still the wide-spread relaxation of this supreme law is without doubt a great hinderance to the acceptance of the Gospel; and the languid and shallow waters of that indifference which over-spreads so much of the ancient territory of faith have sprung also from this source.

If now we speak of the less censurable moral prejudices which give rise to unbelief, we shall find them, I think, chiefly in tendencies to make too much of supposed deviations of Christianity, either in the mere fact of its being a revelation, or in its special doctrines and records, from those moral laws and principles which a pure theism inculcates. The Christian advocate never can concede that these deviations are made out, or can be supposed to be so, without some working of unfairness or prejudice; but as, in point of fact, many do hold them, however mistakenly, to be made out, or at least do not see the difficulties connected with them to be adequately met, these preconceptions and adverse tendencies must be regarded as ranking in no unimportant degree among the causes of infidelity. The briefest enumeration of these less ignoble sources of doubt and opposition is all that can be given. It is not necessary to do more than glance at the objections raised by the theist to Christianity as partial in its very idea as a revelation, and in its ultimate success as a remedy, and therefore inconsistent with the divine goodness. The answers to this class of difficulties by Butler and other great apologists still fail of arresting the haste and eagerness with which men pronounce on points not competent to human judgment, and even hold, as conclusive against Christianity, arguments which equally destroy their own theism. There is, however, nothing specially "modern" in these difficulties. They are as old as abortive efforts to solve the great mystery of evil. The only "modern" aspect of them, as Isaac Taylor has justly remarked, is the prominence which they assume, not from any increase in their own magnitude, but as seen through the more tender atmosphere of Christian philanthropy so generally diffused. The remedy for this

in Christian minds is not to deny the limitation of the Christian remedy, or by any fruitless speculation to lighten the mystery, but to seek relief in a deeper faith, and to "wait the great teacher Death, and Godadore." But, unhappily, on the ground of mere theism, multitudes illogically demand from Christianity a present solution, and that in the direction of universalism, and because this can not be given, they refuse its actual remedy and the only universalism which it offers them—a universalism co-extensive with its own reception by faith.

Of objections to Christianity founded on the divine justice, I do not think that recent unbelief has made any special handle. There still continues, in many quarters, the declared opposition on this ground to the central Christian doctrine of atonement; and perhaps the unhappy tendencies in the Christian Church itself to relax this cardinal article or bring it into debate may have aggravated the evil. But, so far as I am aware, neither in regard to this nor to any other vital part of Christianity has any peculiar difficulty been urged of this nature; and therefore we may hold that Christianity as a doctrinal system, abating however its decisive limitation of salvation, has not in our days given rise to more than the reaction and recoil of human prejudice, which it has always had to encounter even from the best of unrenewed men in all ages.

On its strictly ethical side Christianity has not been recently assailed with objections that have found much currency. The most noticeable are those of John Stuart Mill, complaining of its defects in the direction of asceticism, and its discouragement of the social and political virtues, and those of Strauss, in his last "Leben Jesu," in a somewhat similar strain. But it is equally needless to refute these allegations and to trace their causes. The much higher authority of Kant that Christianity has practically exhausted the moral law—though, doubtless, in excess of prevailing opinion on this head in more negative circles—better represents it than the language of depreciation; and the complaint is rather against the doctrines and institutions with which the morality is supposed to be encumbered than its constituent precepts. But of this complaint, as the causes have been already touched on, no farther investigation is required.

There may be mentioned here last, at this point, the opposition to Christianity from supposed loyalty to truth, and the God of truth, on matters of fact and history. Geological and ethnological difficulties come in here, and the various alleged divergences of the Bible records from secular history, or their internal contradictions. It is the duty of the Christian to respect and to rival the love of truth from which it can not be doubted that these difficulties so far spring.

But at the same time it is only just to animadvert on the signs of prejudice by which it is alloyed. It is not fair to argue conclusively from sciences so unsettled, more especially when it is not proved that their testimony is irreconcilable with every legitimate construction of the Bible documents; and it is still more unfair to set aside on such grounds the whole body of Christian evidence, equally resting on fact and history, unless the prejudice be yielded to, that the supernatural can not be matter of fact and history—either by its not occurring at all, or not being capable of historic verification. It is not fair to confound the general credibility of a revelation with the infallible accuracy of its records, questions which the strictest advocates of inspiration justly keep distinct; and it is not fair to overlook the innumerable points at which the Bible records coincide with history, and even with science, and the constant tendency of research to multiply harmonies, and also to eliminate apparent intertextual discrepancies. It is, therefore, impossible to deny that prejudice largely mingles in the absolute rejection of Christianity on such grounds; nor could a dispassionate student of the Gospel history, if asked, whether that history, even with all its alleged and unresolved contradictions, or the mythic theory of Strauss, or any other, were the most credible (as of such alternatives one side only can be true), fail to give but one answer.

2. When we proceed to the second division of causes of infidelity—those which I have denominated *scandals*—it must be borne in mind that not even the best and purest exhibition of Christianity and its evidences will repress unbelief. The history of the Saviour is itself decisive on this point; for a doctrine and a life so remote from human wisdom and greatness, so adverse to human passion and pride, necessarily caused him to be despised and rejected of men. The faults and errors, then, of his Church never can be pleaded as the sole or even chief cause of infidelity, which grows rather out of what Scripture calls the "evil heart;" but still they have exerted a mighty and disastrous influence in confirming its workings, and in giving it some kind of justification, so that it does not stand self-confessed as a crime and outrage against the Holy, such as naked unbelief in the presence of the Son of God must have been.

In considering the *scandals* which may be supposed to have had the chief part in aggravating the natural aversion to Christianity in recent times, I shall not attempt any more philosophical classification, but shall enumerate a few as these group themselves around the two great aggregates which represent modern Christianity—Romanism and Protestantism.

It would be unjust to deny that Roman-

ism has trained some excellent defenders of Christianity; and the greatest, perhaps, of all Christian apologists, Pascal, sprung up—though more like an alien than a native—on Romish soil. But it can not be concealed that the whole strain of that system is adverse to the proper exhibition of the evidences of Christianity; while its doctrinal errors and practical abuses have interposed a positive hinderance to faith of the most lamentable kind, alike in respect of degree, extent, and duration. To concede and practically to carry out the right of private judgment in the discussion of the Christian evidences, and more especially to allow the self-evidencing light and clearness of the Bible, would be practically to abolish the initiative and the infallible guidance of the Church; and hence Romanism, true to its own genius, habitually neglects this divine bulwark, and trusts all to the citadel of its own infallibility. A striking instance of this in more recent times is the exclusion by Romish influence from the Irish schools of the admirable and perfectly unsectarian manual on Christian evidence by Archbishop Whately. And in many cases the advocates of Rome have not been satisfied with excluding Christian evidences, but have openly assaulted them, and played dangerously into the hands of unbelief in the hope of driving the unbeliever to their city of refuge. Nor are these the only injuries which this system inflicts on the Christian argument, properly so called. The argument from miracles, through perpetual counterfeits, becomes cheap, common, and frivolous. The argument from prophecy is annulled by the withholding of the Scriptures; and the whole appeal founded on their moral and spiritual qualities is made void by the same prohibition. These conditions of faith, insisted on in the Church of Rome, act in a way the most unfavorable to its intelligence and permanence; and those who have come up to the ideal of Bellarmine, and adopted at the bidding of the Church the Bible, *sine examine*,* are often found, on the starting of any difficulty, or from any other disgust, as readily, *sine examine*, abandoning it, and sinking into the crowd of unbelievers. These evils are all likely at this moment to be greatly increased; and the first effect of the recoil from the dogma of an infallible popedom will be the multiplication of deniers of an infallible Bible.

Were the overstraining of the miraculous to the extreme of irrationality and superstition the only grand vice of Romanism, this evil, reaching its culmination in the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the virtual deification of the priesthood, might, besides the mischief—which, however, can not be too gravely estimated—of shutting out the simple Bible doctrine of reliance for pardon on

* De Verbo Dei, iii., 10 (§ 12).

a finished sacrifice without priestly intermediation, call forth only an intellectual protest against a Christianity thus misrepresented and caricatured. But, unhappily, the grand doctrinal errors of Romanism, which all centre in this priestly perversion of sacrifice, have been associated with moral evils more or less growing out of them—with hierarchical ambition and avarice, with a moral unscrupulousness of which Jesuitism is not the only manifestation, and with a traditional and inveterate habit of co-operation with every despotism to resist the enlightenment and liberty of mankind. When the remnant of living Christianity, which has always clung to this mainly anti-Christian system, has become more than ordinarily feeble, and when the contempt generated by its childish and legendary elements and the deeper incredulity stirred by its doctrinal extravagances and pretensions have been re-enforced, by some unwonted excitement of indignation against its oppressive and despotic tendencies, there have arisen periodic revolutionary crises, and of these Romanism has always been the first martyr, and with it the whole fabric of Christianity. The unbelief of men reared in quieter times, like Hume, might be even tolerant of Romanism, or, like Bayle, might assail it without holding Christianity responsible; but in a revolutionary period, the fierce antipathies of a Voltaire and a Rousseau extend along the whole line, and the blessed religion of mercy, purity, and love is confounded with its worst adulteration and counterfeit. The tendencies of present revolutions are still mainly the same. Let us not be deceived by compliments to Protestantism, and by the professed admiration of the religion of Protestant nations. The Protestantism and pure Christianity that are admired are seen only on their negative or political side. Let Protestantism turn round its doctrinal and institutional side—its homage to revelation—its salvation, if not by rites, yet by mysteries—its Church, with a creed, a ministry, a discipline—and let it commend this system as simply, wisely, and lovingly as it will to a people first Romanized and then revolutionized, it will still find to its cost, as in France, Italy, Austria, and even already in Spain, how terrible is the scudal created by the perversion of centuries, and how the very soil seems destroyed on which alone vital Christianity can grow. The inundation of the Nile leaves behind fertility; but the lengthened overflowing of Romanism, as of some bitter sea, though at last exhaled in the heats of revolution, leaves a harsh and saline quality, which threatens long to doom the lands thus visited to barrenness.

The scandals of Protestantism have not equaled those of Romanism, but still they have been very great, and have ministered to a sad extent to infidelity. The Protestant

Church in all its sections has never sufficiently realized this heavy responsibility. The unbeliever has not been justified, but the Church has not been guiltless. A very rapid enumeration of these stumbling-blocks—which all arise from the deviation of Protestantism from its own ideal, and which make it in practice lame and inconsistent with the perfect Christianity of which it professes to be an exhibition—is all that is here required.

I do not enter at large into the *doctrinal exaggerations or defects* of Protestantism, which have tended to prejudice the minds of men against the Gospel. The greatest danger on the one side has been in an exaltation of doctrine, and the assertion of a strict and inflexible orthodoxy, without sufficient stress being laid on life and practice, till it has almost seemed as if mere accuracy of opinion were the only ground of difference between believers and unbelievers; and on the other side, and even more fatally, in a descent from all the doctrinal peculiarities of Christianity, till its essence was laid in a good and virtuous life, in which case the unbeliever was only fortified by its negations in his own position. Speaking broadly, the charge of doctrinal exaggeration lies most heavily against the older Protestantism, that of doctrinal defect against the later; and in regard to the relations of doctrine and practice, the Protestant Church has still much to learn, that these may be a visible source of strength and not of weakness.

Among the scandals of Protestantism, a prominent place must be assigned to its *divisions*. The scandal of its first separation must be laid to the door of Romanism, which enforced it; but can the long series of its own strifes and controversies and separations be exempted from blame and from just lamentation, more especially when it has stood forth as a re-exhibition of Christianity freed from its corruptions? No doubt it has had a hard problem to solve—to reconcile unity in essentials with liberty in non-essentials; and the unbeliever is to blame in expecting, in a humanly composed society, even with divine light, a perfect practical solution of the questions which distract all other societies. But it can not be maintained that the Protestant Church, as a whole, has so visibly outshone all other societies in the settlement of its differences, as might have been expected from a society having a divine revelation to begin with, and a divine Spirit in the midst of it to help its infirmities; and this defalcation, which is due to human sin, is to this day one of the greatest handles of infidelity. This is often forgotten as a practical argument for Christian union. Protestantism can not too soon repair its breaches; and where these remain, the spirit of its separated sections can not be too loving and brotherly, as a

set-off to the hinderances and scandals of centuries.

Another not inconsiderable cause of unbelief has been the *unsatisfactory relation of the Christian Church to the State*. I do not enter here on the general question of alliance between Church and State—I only mention, what I have no doubt will be concurred in by all intelligent advocates of the closest union between these powers, that Protestantism, having from the first had to fight the Church of Rome by State protection, has fallen too much under State dictation, and concealed too much from the unbeliever its spiritual independence and glory as a kingdom not of this world. A Church like that of our times—happily awaking in all lands and in all communions, established and non-established, to a sense of its own strength and freedom—must deplore the unfavorable impression so widely made on minds otherwise prejudiced against Christianity by the spectacle of its most sacred affairs being visibly regulated by worldly statesmen for political ends, and of its very doctrines being in times not very remote guarded by penal laws against the utterance of infidelity. Many of these scandals the march of toleration has abated; but the autonomy of the Christian Church is not yet so universally recognized and acted on as to have swept all away.

As a great and constant scandal, not peculiar to Protestantism, but resting upon it with Christianity in every age, I would mention *moral inconsistencies within its pale*. These are, through the falls of real Christians, and the confusion of the nominal with the spiritual Church of Christ, so various and multiform as hardly to admit of any arrangement. The innumerable sins and shortcomings of individual Christians are all placed, however illogically, as an argument on the side of infidelity; and in proportion to the influence and standing of those who offend is the burden which lies on Protestant Christianity hard to bear. This holds especially true of the ministers of religion of all denominations. No one at all acquainted with the literature of unbelief can fail to have noticed what a deeply hostile spirit toward the clerical body has for the most part pervaded it; and, however unjust and censurable this may have been, it can not in candor be denied that the worldliness, the laxity, and the insincerity of too many of those assailed—though in some ages more than in others—have given too much ground for the allegation that their Christianity was only a cloak of selfishness, and that the unbeliever in orders differed from the unbeliever without them only by the addition of hypocrisy. The noble reply of Richard Baxter to Lord Herbert of Cherbury may be accepted by the earnest of Christ's ministers in all ages as their sufficient vindica-

tion. But without uncharitableness it may be conceded that offenses still come which bind all Christian teachers to do their utmost to abate the charge of hireling and professional advocacy brought against their support of Christianity. I mention last in this connection the inconsistencies of professedly Christian nations. Unjust and aggressive wars, unrighteous colonization and commerce encroaching on the possessions of unprotected races, and infecting them with the vices of civilization; class legislation oppressing and irritating the poor; and, to crown all, the terrible evil of slavery casting its shadow over all Protestant nations, have darkened in them the light of Christianity, and strengthened every prejudice adverse to its claims. May I, in mentioning this last offense, congratulate this great country and the human race on the mighty sacrifice, unparalleled in the history of any Christian people, whereby it has been finally and forever put away?

The last set of hinderances in Protestant Christianity which I shall touch on have been *mistakes in dealing with unbelief*. A very common error has been to separate the evidences of Christianity too much from Christianity, so as to exhibit them in an isolated and one-sided manner, laying too much stress on the so-called external or historical evidences, which then have to bear the whole weight of the building. Another error has been to commit the Christian cause too much to points of detail—supposed difficulties emerging in relation to science, or history, or otherwise, raised by the Bible record—without weighing these against the whole mass of the evidences, and showing that Christianity could afford, from time to time, to leave these points unsettled till further investigation of itself cleared the matters of doubt away. And the only other error which I mention—and it is not so much an error of procedure as of spirit and temper—has been the unsympathizing and dogmatic spirit in which the conflict with unbelief has too often been maintained. I am not forgetful of the great provocation given by the unfair and disingenuous style in which Christianity has been attacked. But too often the Christian argument has been lowered by the tone adopted in reply, which, if it has not rendered railing for railing, has been very sparing in blessing, in tenderness, and in pity for those who erred so much, to their own grievous loss and injury. The trulent spirit of a work like Bentley's reply to Collins—a work otherwise almost unmatched in vigor and brilliancy—has not yet altogether disappeared; and though happily examples also exist which show that the finest raillery on the Christian side can be combined with the purest sympathy and the fairest argument, the danger is constant, not only for writers

thus gifted, but for all others, of wounding and repelling where it is so desirable to win, and of falling short of that "meekness and fear" which the apostle represents as the ideal spirit of the Christian apologist.

II. Having thus endeavored, however defectively, to lay open some of the causes of our modern infidelity, it would be necessary to speak at almost as great length of remedies or counteracting agencies. But happily this fullness is not required in such a paper; and if the causes have been rightly indicated, a few hints will suggest where the means of escape and redress are chiefly to be found. I shall enumerate them under *three* heads, arranged according to the order of their importance, viz., prayer, the general improvement of the Christian Church, and the use of specific measures for the defense of Christianity against unbelief.

1. I begin with *prayer*, as of all remedies the most important, needing to be used with every other, but itself, in regard to all the deepest sources of infidelity, the one and only remedy which exists. It is quite plain that in regard to the most rooted and darkest class of prejudices against Christianity, which are moral in their origin, nothing but the direct, gracious action of God can favorably influence the human heart; and as the only means whereby man can elicit that action is prayer, this consideration is enough to show that, beyond all instrumentalities whatsoever, prayer demands the most earnest and zealous employment on the part of all true Christians. This state of matters, it is to be feared, is not sufficiently realized; and hence direct and specific prayer for the conversion of avowed rejectors of revelation occupies generally a subordinate place even in schemes and topics of Christian supplication. This charge can not, however, be brought against the appeals of the Evangelical Alliance, which has hitherto acted in the spirit of that noble Good Friday collect of the Church of England, to which all Christian hearts must respond: "Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word; and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord."

2. The necessity of the *second* remedy indicated—the general improvement of the Christian Church—must be not less obvious. If any thing is certain in the history of unbelief, it is that it has been nursed and strengthened by Christian errors and abuses. Exactly in the degree, therefore, in which Protestants can work for the repression and downfall of Romanism, are they abating also the prevalence of infidelity; and as they naturally have much more influence over their own churches, they are bound to seek

in these a still nearer field of warfare with every corruption and every evil. The exaltation of the authority of Scripture in matters of faith; the assertion of the harmonies of all Protestant confessions, more than the development of their differences; and the cultivation of kindly intercourse among all sections of the great Protestant family, would have a powerful effect, not only upon the Romanist, but upon the skeptic. The differences of Christians, which have been a favorite argument of unbelief ever since the days of Celsus—who not only enumerated existing sects, but even added new ones unknown to Origen—would thus be reduced to their true magnitude. Nor would doctrinal unity at all suffice; but, where possible, such unity of organization as has happily lately been attained by the Presbyterians of this country—since this strikes the eye even of the unfriendly, and gives doctrinal unity the prominence of a visible and tangible reality. Whatever vindicates the independence and self-sufficiency of the Christian Church should also be encouraged—not certainly with a view to lessen the influence of Christianity over the State, but to open a wider path for the exercise of that healthful Christian opinion which is sure to stamp its impress on the legislation and public acts of all free nations. Even more than in relation to nations which are not formally, and as such, members of it, should the Protestant Church strive vigorously to carry out the law of Christ in regard to those individuals who are directly within its own pale. The evils of lax communion, of decayed discipline, and of prevailing formalism and apathy, should be more strenuously warred against in all sections of Protestantism, and a general and sympathetic effort made to exhibit the Gospel of Christ as a living, purifying, and conquering power. The tone of Christian example should be elevated, and thus each living epistle of Christ would become a better apologist of Christianity. Nor can a secondary place be here assigned to Christian missions. Undoubtedly the multiplication of missionary and philanthropic effort at home and abroad has within the last seventy years immensely strengthened Christianity against unbelief. It would have been impossible to vindicate a stagnant Christianity; but by movement it became not only more diffused, but more vital. Protestantism, awaking from its torpor amid the convulsions of the French Revolution, accepted the challenge of infidelity, rose up and walked, and, going into all the world, renewed the early miracle of propagation. Its great and growing successes in the mission field are far more than a counterpoise to recent difficulties created by science or minute criticism. Strong, and ever strengthening itself in these, it can calmly await the solution of more formidable

questions than have ever yet been raised. Unbelief will point in vain to notches in its sword, while it is daily extending its conquests; and alleged flaws in its title-deeds will avail little in the teeth, not only of possession, but of ever-growing acquisition at the expense of its most inveterate enemies.

3. The third and last class of measures for the counteracting of infidelity, viz., direct efforts for the strengthening of Christian evidence, involves two things—the improvement of apologetical science, and the increase of means for the diffusion and assertion of its results. Leaving the latter to the care of churches and voluntary associations, as it may so safely be left in an age which fails less in the organization of philanthropy than in many other practical virtues, I shall close this paper with a few hints on the improvement of apologetical science, as still demanded by the necessities of Christian warfare. It humbly seems to me that chiefly at three points our apologetical science at this time needs most attention to its culture. The first is the settlement of what I may call the postulates of Christian evidence; the second is the unity and concentration of evidence; and the third is the exhibition of Christian evidence in relation to its own history.

Nothing is more urgently demanded in our times than the settlement of the postulates of Christian evidence, and the rigid adherence to them. Our apologetical science has wandered vaguely into a boundless controversy with atheism, pantheism, and every form of defective theism. This is no more its business than it is the business of philosophy or rational theism. And the result is not only the loss of time, but a great confusion and weakening of the Christian argument; as if objections which lie no more against Christianity than against all theism were some special burden which the Christian apologist needed first to remove. Our greatest English apologist, Butler, has taught us a better lesson; and it is specially needed in our days. The fundamental objections of Strans to Christianity rest on pantheism, and of Renan on a distorted and immoral conception of God. For these men the Christian evidences, properly so called, have no place; and it is not, properly speaking, a defense of Christianity that they need, but a defense of theism. This state of the question they mask or virtually deny; and no doubt much that they say is also directed against the special evidences of Christianity. But this only makes it the more indispensable that the Christian apologist should clear his ground; and, though he may be and ought to be also in some place or other the apologist of theism, to keep it ever before his own mind and the minds of others that this is not his special work, and can not be rigorously asked at his hands. It

would immensely simplify the Christian argument in our days to take ordinary theism for granted, and to resolve some of the most pretentious attacks on Christianity into their elements, and to show that their authors are only assailing the Gospel through the sides of Plato and Kant, or even of Tindal and Voltaire. No greater service could in our times be rendered to Christianity than to go through the leading schemes of unbelief, and to show that they either directly or indirectly threw themselves beyond the pale of any argument for a revelation by denying a Deity from whom alone it could come, or such a Deity as could possibly send it. The antithesis between Christianity and atheism would then be palpable, and would be in itself a powerful argument.

The next point at which the Christian evidences seem capable of strengthening is by presenting them with greater unity and concentration. Hitherto they have for the most part been exhibited in separate array, without any effort to group them under one consistent and coherent scheme. Miracles, prophecy, morality, adaptation, experience—these have been some of the headings generally chosen; and the character of the Saviour and the success of Christianity have come in at some point or other of the argument. It has occurred to the present writer that a more connected method might be pursued, and this, in lecturing on his special branch as a Professor of Apologetics, he has attempted to carry out. He has sought a starting-point and principle of classification in the manifestation of the divine attributes which the Christian evidences involve, and by the sense of which they carry conviction to the human breast. Hence, according to the appeal connected predominantly with each attribute, he has arranged the evidences; ranking under the head of Divine Power—the arguments from miracles, from the propagation of Christianity in general, and from the personal experience of its saving efficacy; under the head of Divine Knowledge—the argument from prophecy, and other indications in Scripture of supernatural knowledge; under the head of Divine Wisdom—the visible adaptation of Christianity to human want and ruin, with the historic manifestation of the same attribute in preparing the world for its introduction; under the heads of Divine Holiness and Love—all the transcendent moral excellences of Christianity, and those features of benignity whereby it outshines all philosophy and natural theism, and makes a virtual, though only provisional reply to the difficulties connected with the origin and prevalence of evil; and, last of all, the combination and summation of all these elements of the supernatural and divine in the life and history of Jesus Christ, as presented in the Gospel narratives. These statements

are submitted, not as an example of the best possible method of redressing the evils of presenting the Christian argument in a detached and isolated form, but as an indication of the work which remains to be done in this field, and an incentive to other laborers to reach after that unity in variety which strengthens, while it adorns, all sacred, as all secular science.

The third point in which the treatment of the Christian evidences might be improved is in the exhibition of the whole argument in the light of its own history. We no doubt have excellent histories of Apologetics, though there is much in this department still to be effected. But these histories fail most in making the history of the defense of Christianity on this field itself a defense of Christianity—a task which has hardly yet been systematically attempted. It might be shown with great advantage how much of the lengthened and apparently endless attacks on the divine origin of the Gospel, from Celsus to Renan, is mere reproduction; and that, while there are a few original minds, like Spinoza and Hume, that give the faded arguments some air of originality, the great mass of the negative literature—their own part of it not excepted—is repetition. In like manner the variations of infidelity might be handled with much force; the variations of the ancient and modern schools—the one accepting with Porphyry and the Jews miracles and oracles to any extent, the other rejecting the supernatural at one stroke; the variations of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth—the one in almost all its organs, English, French, and German, treating Christianity with intolerant rudeness, the other according to it, though by no means invariably, a measure

of reverence and recognition; and even the variations in the works of the same assailant—as where Spinoza bases his earlier negations on theism, and his later on pantheism; where Voltaire passes from an ardent deism, to a satirizing of natural religion as well as revealed; and where Strauss begins as a Hegelian enthusiast to end in materialistic atheism. A large place in such a historico-apologetic argument might be given to the use made of the corruptions of Christianity to invalidate its authority, and to the dependence of infidelity not only for its objections, but for the whole form and color of its existence, on the diseased and defective state of the Christian Church at any particular time. The reactions of unbelief upon Christianity, Protestant and Romish, and even upon Judaism, as well as upon the moral and social state of nations, might also be illustrated in this point of view; and the failure of its greatest experiments as a reforming and reconstructive power would confirm the divine mission of the Gospel. It is believed that, in these and other ways, the history of the defense of Christianity against its numerous and successive antagonists—vindicating, as it would also do, the unity of the Christian cause from age to age, and the fertility of the Church of Christ in competent and zealous advocates, as also its power to convert as well as silence gainsayers—would, if rightly presented, exert a salutary influence in arresting the course of infidelity, and would give that crowning verification to argument which history can alone afford, and which in the case of the greatest history of all—the history of the conflict between the truth of God and human error—may be expected to be most emphatic and decisive.

THE GOSPEL HISTORY AND MODERN CRITICISM.

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THE subject on which I am permitted, though but for a few moments, to speak to you is *Gospel History and Modern Criticism*. Surely the mere mention of the subject will suffice to fix your attention and interest; for the history of the Gospel is, indeed, the greatest treasure that faith possesses, and modern criticism is the enemy that evidently threatens to rob us of that treasure. I shall immediately enter upon my subject. Allow me, however, to claim, not only your usual indulgence, but a double portion of the same, for, first, I am addressing you in a language which, though not unknown to me, is, nevertheless, not my own; and, secondly, a few moments only are allotted me to speak on a subject that would require days to discuss, and perhaps years to be thoroughly examined into.

We have a proverb that says, "He who distinguishes well, teaches well." It is of the greatest importance that we should bear this in mind at the very outset. The critic and criticism, though often confounded, are things of a very different signification. He that is spiritual judgeth all things (2 Cor. ii., 15); and in so far he is also, at the same time, the greatest and soundest critic.* There does, indeed, exist a theological criticism, which is the offspring of the spirit of truth and liberty, and which has rendered, from the first, the most invaluable services to the science of faith. But, my hearers, citizens of this hospitable land, modern criticism is as much distinguished from this in substance and form, in reality and appearance—essentials and non-essentials—as your political and religious liberty differs from revolution and radical licentiousness. *By modern criticism we understand that peculiar tendency of the mind which, proceeding from hypotheses foreign to Christianity, and devoid of the capacity of regarding sacred history as a whole, nevertheless, under pretence of impartiality, submits parts thereof to a so-called critical examination, in reality, however, endeavoring to demonstrate that the entire historical fundamental view on which the whole Church and its theology is based can not be upheld.*

Though we call this criticism *modern*, we however by no means wish to imply that its origin and influence dates from to-day or yesterday. It already existed when *Celsus* branded rising Christianity as one of the

greatest follies in this great world's mad-house; nor will it ever be annihilated as long as this world contemptuously regards the Gospel of the Cross as folly and as an offense. But although throughout all ages the conflict between light and darkness has always been the same in principle, yet the *form* in which this struggle is at present being carried on is a very different one; so also its tactics, its weapons, and the armor in which it so vaingloriously appears. Like the Proteus of mythology, so the Spirit of negation is continually changing its shape and color. It is especially in our times that the word of the apostle is applicable—that even Satan himself transforms himself into an angel of light (2 Cor. xi., 12). It is, therefore, the calling of those, who understand the signs of the times, attentively to observe those shifting forms, carefully to watch against the deception which appearances produce, and to submit modern criticism again to a second criticism, which never should be found transgressing either against truth or charity.

It is now our wish to contribute something in elucidating this subject; and thus to speak to you on two important questions: I. *How does Modern Criticism stand in regard to the Gospel History?* and, II. *How does the Gospel History stand in regard to Modern Criticism?*

I. *How does Modern Criticism stand in regard to the Gospel History?* In order to answer this question, it is absolutely necessary that we should choose some chronological date or other to proceed from, which shall not reach too far back, but still be distant enough to enable us to obtain a sufficient range for our view. In addressing this assembly, we are most naturally brought back to the year 1845—the year in which the Evangelical Alliance held its first meeting, as it now celebrates its sixth. As we look back, as from a bird's-eye view, upon a period of something more than twenty-five years, we ask, What position has modern criticism been taking during that time in regard to the history of the Gospel? and, consequently, in what position does it at present stand? Criticism—modern criticism—stands opposed to the history of the Gospel in *mightier array*, with *greater forces*, or numbers, and *more powerful allies*, than has ever been known to be the case in the annals of the Church or of theology before. These forces are arraying themselves at present against the Gospel; and, in order to

* "Spiritualis homo κριτικώτατος."—Bengel.

survey them, we have, first of all, to direct our eye to Germany, from whence, as the chief point, the impulse has been given to that great movement which now divides so many hearts and lands. Already, at the time when the Evangelical Alliance was first established, it seemed as if the star of the most famous apostle of unbelief of our age—of D. F. Strauss (1835–1840)—was on the point of setting in the hazy atmosphere, after his work, “The Life of Jesus,” had passed through four editions, and after his “Glaubenslehre” (1840) had most arrogantly threatened to inflict on Christian dogmatics an irreparable breach. But a light of another hue was about to break forth, and to illuminate the gloomy sky of criticism. Its first rays were shed on the University of Tübingen, in Würtemberg. A new period commenced with the labors of the eminent head of this school, in Dr. Ferdinand Christian Baur, who, just in the year 1845, published his work on St. Paul. Positive criticism was, in future, to take the place of purely negative criticism—so, at least, it was said—and it was to solve all the enigmas of the apostolic age and the one immediately following it. It is well known to us all how that history was reconstructed *a priori*, and how, with a degree of audacity till now without its parallel, the whole of the New Testament, with the exception of four Apostolical Epistles and the Apocalypse, was declared to be spurious. But there is another thing that should not by any means be lost sight of, namely, that the reconstruction of primitive Christianity had an all-important influence on the treatment of the Gospel narratives themselves; for our four canonical Gospels, too, declared to be as little authentic as the greater part of the Epistles of the Apostles, were ignominiously placed on the list of the so-called “Tendency Writings” of later times, and were declared to have been written by an unknown hand, thus depriving them, for the greater part, of their historical character. The progression followed in this system of decomposition consisted in simply abandoning a former assertion that the holy writings consisted of merely “tales unconsciously forming,” and by now, on the contrary, acknowledging that the pseudonym evangelists had composed their miraculous stories “with a spontaneous consciousness”—that is, had intentionally invented them, and consequently had not been ignorant fanatics, but sly deceivers. Entire Christianity was regarded as a purely intellectual and dialectical development of parties and opinions of the second age of our era. If the celebrated Baur himself had always spoken with the greatest degree of reserve on the founder of Christianity itself, this was much less the case with his more advanced disciples or scholars, who saw themselves compelled—forced by pure consistency with their own system—to assign

the date of the beginning of Christianity with St. Paul, thus robbing our Lord of every higher title than that of “the first Ebionite.” It is true, the science of faith vigorously opposed many points, and when, in 1860, the theology of Tübingen beheld its crown fallen from its head by the death of Baur, many a one could not conceal from himself that this school, regarded as an entire system, would not long survive its master and chief; but, nevertheless, the seed shed abroad by Strauss and Baur had produced fatal effects, not only in Germany, but also in many other countries of Europe, as well as in America. Like a fearful pestilence, causing death and desolation in its course, it hastened from land to land, from city to city. In reference to my own country, which I here mention merely as an instance, and not by preference, I vividly remember how, full thirty years ago, the most liberal theologians gave one another the hand of brotherhood in unequivocally acknowledging the supernatural character of Christianity, and the veracity of the Gospel History, giving to their opponents no other name than that of Apostles of Unbelief. Gradually, however, there came a change in the minds of many, especially after 1858, the natal year of so-called Modern Theology, when one of his disciples, living in our country, declared that if Strauss were to honor our church with a visit, he would—among the theologians, at least—be much more troubled by his *friends* than by his *enemies*; and it soon became evident, especially on Renan publishing his historical novel, “The Life of Jesus” (1863), how immense a territory the doctrine of Naturalism had conquered within a short space of time. True, there was no lack of protestations and opposition; but no less of sympathy and applause, both *within* and *without* the Church. It is true that some preachers did complain that, in some matters, their “cher et savant ami” had really gone a little too far. Others—for instance, those of the “progressive party”—declared Renan was far too conservative, especially as regards the fourth Gospel, in particular. Still he was regarded by many rather as a collaborator than as an enemy. Not a single cry of pain, of indignation, did this party utter at the blasphemy; though here and there somewhat opposed against the excrescence of the parasite, no sincere objection was felt, in reality, against its root and its soil. It was especially in 1864 that modern criticism could vaunt of many a triumph—if, at least, rebellious cries against the truth can really be regarded as notes of triumph. It was in that same year, too, that an edition of Strauss’s “Life of Jesus” for the million (people) was published, while Dr. D. Schenkel, a former apostle of the faith, but afterward an apostate, could not resist the temptation of becoming “in diesem Bunde der dritte;”

and, although well-nigh annihilated, but not rendered better, by a fearful castigation of Strauss, he published in his "Characterbild Jesu" a caricature of the history of the Gospel, which he misrepresented with demagogic aspiration, thereby doing good service to the party spirit reigning in the Church. About this time, too, the lectures on the life of Jesus left by Schleiermacher († 1834) were published, and they evinced more leaning toward Rationalism—considered by many at that time as a worn-out thing—than seemed desirable for the honor of the late celebrated divine. Owing to these opinions, and the influence they exercised, it was a matter of course that the conflict involving principles concerning the supernatural and natural interpretation of the history of the Gospel was daily becoming more and more vehement. Though the conflict varied in form, yet the thesis put forth by Strauss, and which was proclaimed as if it were an axiom when he first published his opinion "that, according to sound philosophy, as well as experience, the regular chain of conditional causes is never interrupted by the absolute Causality through special acts," and that therefore every incident or fact which is said to have been produced by God himself can not be called historical. Did not even some who confessed this theological Machiavelism go to the length of asserting that the "supernaturale"—i. e., the belief in a God who stands independently raised *above* the laws of nature, and who remains Lord in his own creation—was declared to be not only anti-Christian, and against the spirit of Protestantism, but—however incredulous it may sound—unscriptural? What would have been the fate assigned to Gospel history, if it had been left in such hands, is no difficult matter to foretell. It was particularly against the Gospel of St. John that the arrows of infidelity were hurled, producing a shock which was not only felt in all Protestant churches on the Continent, but its vibrations were felt on the distant shores of Iceland. Well-nigh superhuman efforts were made, no cost was considered too great, to do away with every internal and external evidence of the authenticity and trustworthiness of the "unique tender Gospel" (Luther). The apologetic Gospel of St. John (since, regarded as an apology, it bore in itself every trace of being unscientific), and, soon afterwards, every thing in the other three Gospels relating to Christology and breathing too much of St. John's spirit—that is, having too metaphysical an appearance—were expunged. In the same way now as this kind of criticism treated the *miracles*, so it did the *sources* from whence they had been taken, and concerning the mutual relations between the synoptical Gospels, hypothesis was built on hypothesis, like in ancient my-

thology the Ossa on Olympus and Pelion. The grand object was to reach, by dint of diligent delving in the sacred writings, a purely historical *stratum*, so that the troublesome restraint which the miraculous always causes might be removed; but at the same time to retain *such* historical facts as would be considered sufficient to explain Christian faith in a purely natural manner. These men endeavored to strip the tree of history of all the luxuriant lotuses of creative fancy with which it has been adorned during centuries, and once more to place the original trunk, though weak and tender it might be, in such a place that the light of the sun might once more completely shine upon it. With sovereign contempt for the intimate connection existing between each portion of the sacred writings, each separate part was placed under their microscope with colored lenses; nay, more, with unflinching hand the scalpel was wielded in sounding the most delicate arteries of this organic body, every where destroying life in the vain endeavor to discover where life's remotest source lay. It is, however, impossible, and even unnecessary, to follow the operation step by step. Suffice it to say, the result of the examination was the same as the supposition from whence the examination had proceeded, and the Christ of the New Testament dwindled down to a person of the greatest insignificance. What remained of this Christ was the figure of a Jewish Socrates in the garb of a Galilean rabbi. No more is he the Christ of Bethlehem, but Jesus of Nazareth; if not a bastard, yet the son of Joseph, the carpenter—in every respect the child of his age, but only in religious conceptions and ideas far advanced beyond his own and future times—truly excellent, but not without sin—a head taller than ourselves, but in all things human, and nothing more—by no means exempt from the weaknesses of the flesh—above all things, a friend of the people and of children. Partly through misunderstanding, partly by his own fault, he became the victim of the inrooted hatred of the great; and after having fallen into their hands, he died in the most sublime manner, was buried, and continued to live—that is to say, in the adoring *memory* of his disciples. Thus it remains permitted for us to speak freely of this Jesus Ben Joseph, in many respects a most mysterious personage; his sepulchre is with us unto this day (Acts ii., 29); but through some mysterious cause or other, his body was not found after it had a short time before been laid in it. At all events, the account of his resurrection and ascension do not belong to the history of his life, but to the life and faith of those who were his followers. Every possible supposition may be freely ventured on by way of explaining this fact, *except* one, namely, that there was

any supernatural agency employed—that is, that a miracle occurred. Every thing that can not be explained on natural grounds must, once for all, be regarded as spurious—credible, in short—as not worthy of consideration. These critics maintained that the only true *historical* (that is, merely natural) account of Jesus, was to make, to force the facts or sources to speak for themselves.

If it be asked, What is the scientific and moral value of this modern criticism? we answer: To give a satisfactory answer to this question, it is necessary to distinguish two things. To be impartial, we must well observe that this school is represented by two parties, each following a different direction. The first, whose road evidently tends downward, ultimately leads into the abyss of negation. The second, though undoubtedly proceeding from naturalistic principles, shows a higher aspiration to be its object, “something beyond its own sphere.” This latter direction is especially distinguished for the earnestness and depth it displays in a scientific point of view. There is a desire to be and to remain religious, even where the name of Christian has lost much of its primitive signification, or at least is no longer used in its former sense; and its object is not only to pull down, but also to build up, as well and as far as it can possibly do so. Here and there anatomical criticism has employed a vast treasure of learnedness and acuteness in its labors, of which it may be said that it is truly lamentable it has not been dedicated to better purposes. The renewed historical researches concerning the times of Jesus and the Apostles, especially encouraged by the school of the moderns, have produced rays of light to which the science of faith should not close its eye, and it has raised considerations which a conscientious system of apologetics should most carefully weigh. On the other hand, there is every reason to repeat the complaint uttered by Vinet: “On nous fait une histoire nouvelle au profit de la théologie nouvelle.” And in this work of radical restoration there has, indeed, been no lack of big words, called in America, I think, “humbug.” The following may certainly be reckoned as such: “The post-apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel is among the most certain results of modern theological science” (Hilgenfeld); and even the assertion is put forth that the Gospel of St. Mark, which had till then been considered by the ablest theologians to be the most ancient of the Gospels, by no means contained pure history, as so many had till then most foolishly fancied, but that it is merely a moral poem, in which the Christ is delineated—half a century after his death—as he lived in the *fancy* or *imagination* of the early Christians (Volkmar). Indeed, all the tricks of which the former doctrine of Gospel harmony has, not unjustly, been accused, are as

nothing compared with the arbitrary combinations in which these would-be critics (in reality nothing more than mere romancers) do not find the slightest difficulty in indulging. Nevertheless, this inebriated science appears before us with the arrogant assertion that through the medium of *its* operations or agency, the problem, if not entirely, is at least on the way of being most satisfactorily solved; and it is almost amusing to observe how, from time to time, the most violent opponents, both in folio and duodecimo—great and small—most solemnly, though without any real authority whatever, maintain, on the assertions of their chief men and leaders only, that the most renowned apologists are miserable ignoramuses, and that a man like C. Tischendorf, for instance, has not the slightest right to put in a word on isagogic and patristic questions. On the whole, the boldness with which modern criticism declares that it is, once for all, a settled matter that a miracle is an impossibility, has attained a degree of audacity of which some years ago we should hardly have been able to form any adequate idea. Voices like those which were heard in the second half of the eighteenth century in the saloons and writings of the French Encyclopedists and their followers only, may now be heard proceeding not only from Christian chairs, but also from hundreds of pulpits; and it is at present nothing unusual for members of a Christian congregation, on meeting in their places of worship on the festive days of the Church, to hear their pastors contradict, and not seldom ridicule, the belief of the congregation; and even in many lower schools, the miracles contained in the Gospel are put on a par with the fables and legends of the heathen world. I could mention worse things, but let this suffice. However desirous I may be of being lenient and tolerant toward *persons*, still my opinion concerning the *principles* put forth can not be else but the most unfavorable possible, for unto us the day uttereth to the day that systematic miraculophobia is being continually punished with periodical absurdity. The criticism we speak of is in reality nothing else but a system of bad tactics, which, based on so-called philosophical premises, boasts of being free; but in reality it is the slave of in-rooted prejudice, and under the influence thereof it decides beforehand, in advance, and “as it pleases,” what is and what is not history. It is a system of criticism that takes the present as a standard for the past, what is human as the touch-stone for the divine and eternal, effacing the line which separates the profane from the sacred, and, while promising to heal its most holy patient, first amputates its most precious limbs, and then plunges its dagger into its most vital artery. Again, it is a system of criticism that has banished itself within a magic

circle, and now, by way of punishment, is condemned to see naught but livid spectres in all that is without and above that circle. In a word, it is the criticism of Festus on the conversion of St. Paul; of Bahrt, by Goethe, on the four Evangelists; it is the criticism of the purely analytic mind and of unsanctified science concerning things that "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man" (1 Cor. ii., 9).

It would very reasonably excite much surprise if so much arbitrariness, splendidly arrayed in the garb of science, could meet with so much and such loud applause if modern criticism was a perfectly isolated phenomenon in our times, abounding in enigmas. But it should not for a moment be forgotten that never were more powerful writers supported by mightier allies. Freely call their number legion—for, indeed, they are many. Here I will briefly mention three of them. First, the present tendency of *philosophy*. I do not wish to say or to assert that philosophy was formerly so much more favorable to the good cause of Christianity and of Christ than at present. The false peace between a fraction of the school of Hegel and the Gospel lasted but a short time, and has brought forth bitter fruits. Yet I fear the present contempt for metaphysics, in addition to the exceeding partiality evinced for the method and result of so-called natural philosophy, will be still more fatal in its consequences. Not that a profound study of nature is in itself inconsistent with the Christian faith of Revelation. A vast number of instances prove the contrary, and it may be considered as something very remarkable that generally the word *impossible* is heard to be pronounced much sooner by naturalistic theologians, than by naturalists who have made a profound research into their subject. But it may be considered as a fact that when spiritual sciences are treated in the same way as the exact sciences, and the experience of to-day and yesterday is taken as the highest standard whereby sacred history is to be judged, that ultimately there will not remain the slightest room for the so-called supernatural contemplation of the world. He who only and alone regards and portrays the history of man, of civilization, and of religion exclusively from the standpoint of natural science, does away with every thing like the free exercise of the will, either divine or human. Morality becomes the ally of determinatism, determinatism determines not only man but God to be the slave of his own laws of nature. If now empiricism becomes the highest wisdom, then the whole question concerning the miraculous becomes a thing of sheer folly, which these wise people simply put aside as not worthy of discussion—a thing as little to be considered as the question whether once Si-

renes and Centauri really existed. And so eventually it becomes no difficult matter to conclude, with the disciples of the Positivists, that all the grand questions that belong to the realm of things invisible are to be placed in the sphere of fantastic, dreary visions, and to declare with the disciples of Materialism that all fundamental moral notions are merely natural products, just in the same way as we speak of the origin of sugar or of vitriol. Here I do not speak of the fatal doctrine of Pessimism and Nihilism, which, under the influence of unbounded pride, is proclaimed by celebrated philosophers and applauded by millions, tending, however, to the misery and destruction of individuals and of society in general. Well, then, I ask what room is there, when we behold such a philosophical direction, for the doctrine of sin as guilt, and for a belief in the necessity, the possibility, and the acknowledging of a special historical revelation of salvation?

We may mention, as another fresh ally of modern criticism, the *present condition of the Church*. Of course there is no particular Church that I now have in view; but I speak of the Christian Church as a whole, and its principal divisions, and then I maintain that in many respects its present condition is in a high degree most subsidiary to the criticism of negation. Roman Catholicism, that as a punishment for its unprecedented hardness of heart, has been struck with perfect infatuation, has by its assumption with which it has, in the face of the 19th century, ventured to defend the fantastic doctrines of the Immaculate Conception of Mary and the Infallibility of the Pope, and by manufacturing miracles by dozens, rendered the chasm which existed between it and many thousands of thoughtful minds an unfathomable abyss, drawing an innumerable number of men out of the lap of superstition, and casting them into the arms of unbelief. Naturalism has become the place of refuge for all who desire with all possible speed to escape from bigotry, and every effort to justify it on scientific grounds is loudly applauded. Protestantism, on the contrary, internally divided and enervated, severed from the foundation of the Holy Scriptures and her own Confession of Faith, is in the eye of the greater part of the people something quite negative, so that her criticism of negation is considered to be nothing else but the legitimate development of the Protestant principle, and the most emancipated spirits of the nineteenth century are but the bold continuers of that work of the sixteenth century. As among the conservative party, too, there is nobody who considers himself bound, entirely and literally, to the Confession of Faith, and it therefore seems impossible—even as regards the leading facts of Christianity—to fix any positive limits to the liberty of instruction to the en-

tire satisfaction of all parties. Here and there, again, the life-giving doctrine of the Church has become a petrification of such rigid orthodoxy that materialism may certainly be expected to be embraced by all who begin to doubt in the doctrine of a mechanical inspiration of the sacred writings. I doubt very much, indeed, if the "Essays and Reviews" in England would have met with such warm sympathy if the theology of that country had borne a more progressive character—that is, in the right or sound sense of the word. But wherefore expatiate any longer on this subject? If, now, in such a condition of the Church, in which we meet with such perfect rigidity, on the one hand, and such confusion on the other, talented preachers, as, for instance, some years ago, your Parker, declare that only and alone in the interest of *true* religion and morality they are desirous of delivering the world from the antiquated notions of supernaturalism, then it is a matter of course that they should find sympathy among serious, more noble minds, and, above all, among the multitude, that, although on the whole pretty indifferent to truth, immediately feels its zeal kindling, if but a finger be stretched forth to deprive an individual of his liberty to negate whatever he lists.

And now I have not yet spoken of the present *tendency of literature*, which so powerfully assists modern criticism. All honor be rendered to the powerful development which Christian literature, especially in England and America, has lately displayed for the welfare of the people. But, on the other hand, there is no possibility of denying that anti-Christian and atheistic literature has displayed, and, indeed, is still displaying, a degree of development that may be considered truly appalling. Nothing would be easier than to mention here names and titles that would make your blood run cold. Those productions of unbelief and immorality have the more pernicious influence inasmuch as they are presented to the public decked out in the most brilliant colors and in the most attractive forms; these self-same productions are disseminated by a journalism that, for the greater part, is either directly or indirectly in the service of anti-Christianity. Among these men no weapon is considered too base to combat divine truth. The fanaticism of negation often makes men liars, and often against their own consciences, at least as long as their consciences are not seared as if by a branding-iron. Whole novels are fabricated, also, concerning the Founder of Christianity. They are, as it is pretended, based on old manuscripts, that, however, have never existed. These productions are sold to tens of thousands—from which fact we clearly see how the world will be deceived. I am not saying

too much when I here maintain that there is existing a systematic propaganda of unbelief and doubt, which considers no means too abject to obtain its object: at present Christians are not only threatened with the sword, but they are beaten with sticks, as, in the passion-night, the Lord in Gethsemane. Add to this—for I must necessarily be brief—the entire tendency of society, with its restless striving after sensual pleasures, and its tangible longing to level every thing that rises but a *little* above its every-day notions and ideas. Consider, too, the influence of the instruction governments provide for in the schools—both high and low; in appearance it is neutral, but in reality inimical to the Gospel. In conclusion, add to this the profound ignorance in matters concerning religion, not only among the lower classes, but also among the higher spheres of society, that considers mental and moral development quite satisfactory, if it can but show a broad surface, whereas depth and height are daily becoming things of less importance. Put all these things together, and tell me now if it can surprise us that modern criticism places itself in the position of a victor, of a conqueror as regards Gospel history; of a conqueror who has already gained the ramparts of the fortress, has made himself master of its gates, has opened a passage to the very centre of the place; and now, drunk with his feelings of superiority, prepares himself to plant the unfurled banner on its ruins, which are well-nigh undefended.

II. And yet, notwithstanding all this, we venture calmly to look into the supercilious enemy's face, and to exclaim with the words of Holy Writ: "Take counsel together, and it shall come to naught; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God is with us" (Isa. viii, 10). So it is, my hearers, and we now turn over the leaf and ask: *How does, amid this all, the history of the Gospel stand in regard to modern criticism?* In reference to this question, too, we desire to give an answer that may be contained in two or three words. *It stands as firm as ever*; the second answer is—but this we shall mention somewhat later. It was an affecting moment in the newer history of my fatherland, the heroic period of which has been so masterly depicted by your Motley in his "Rise of the Dutch Republic," when, in 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, and after the Prince of Orange had been dangerously wounded, on his being asked how he felt, he gave this striking answer: "God be praised, we have not lost an inch of ground." And may the science of faith not employ the same words as regards the *entirety* of the Gospel history? We appeal to your own understanding, feeling, and conscience. Whatever may be enigmatical or doubtful as regards some minor points, the well-known words, "Ce n'est pas ainsi qu'on a inventé," are still

even true and certain, as in the time of Rousseau, concerning the *whole* of the Gospel. Nothing is so inexorable as a fact, after it has been undeniably, unquestionably proved. Thick and dense clouds of fog may for a time hide the mountain summits of Switzerland from our view, but never—never will those clouds destroy them! Or is it really become something doubtful, something inconceivable, that the Son of God became flesh, was conceived in miraculous manner, came into the world, died on the cross, rose again, and now is dwelling in glory, because a certain number of men, at such and such a time, chose to decree “*nous avons changé tout cela*?” Have all the innumerable internal and external evidences of the credibility and veracity of this history all been annihilated, as if by magic, because a certain school of criticism, that changes with the day, and that is continually contradicting itself, does not choose to affix the seal of its approbation thereto? But you yourselves feel that here the question is not whether few or many contradict a thing, but whether this thing can be justly contradicted; here it does not depend on the enemy himself acknowledging his defeat, but on his being obliged to keep silence, convinced by the inexorable force of logic and honest argument, and though he positively refuse to acknowledge himself vanquished by that truth. And this is now here the case, if we are not quite mistaken. If there be any thing positively sure and certain in this undermined position, so fiercely assaulted, it is this: that, according to the testimony of the Epistles of St. Paul, universally recognized as authentic, there were in the Apostolic age, and especially in the Church of Corinth, certain phenomena, which one has never been able to explain in merely natural manner (1 Cor. xii., 9, 10, 28; see also Gal. iii., 5; Heb. ii., 4). Paul himself, who affirms this, was a person who will everlastingly remain an enigma, unless we attribute the receiving of his spiritual life to a superhuman operation. Signs, wonders, and mighty deeds he mentions among the signs of the coming Apostleship, revealed also in himself (Rom. xv., 18, 19; 2 Cor. xii., 12); and all these signs find life and foundation in the personal faith in the resurrection and glorification of Christ. To explain this declaration of St. Paul concerning this matter—an explanation of considerably earlier date than the Gospels, and probably originating some ten years after the first Pentecost—to explain this declaration in any other way than a bodily resurrection from out of the grave, is only and alone possible from the stand-point of exegetical arbitrariness, testifying of the most wretched embarrassment. This fact must, therefore, be accepted on his testimony, and on that of the Apostles, because otherwise

their belief in the resurrection is perfectly incomprehensible. Never has it been so evident as in our days that the theory of the so-called vision-hypothesis, defended in all kinds of ways, is not to be maintained, and it may be considered at the least very remarkable that the most recent biographer of Christ* has seen himself obliged to put a hypothesis of *objective* Christophanic at the place of mere *subjective*, defended by Strauss and others. He admitted such revelations and operations of the spirit of the deceased Saviour on his first followers, that he himself made the impression on them that he had really risen and was glorified. According to this sentiment, which Weisse and Schenkel had already adopted in former times, the deceased Nazarene himself appeared from time to time to the eye of his disciples in the form of a *ghost*; in other words, the supernatural, which had been shown the *front* door, enters again by a *back* door. Will it now last long—matters standing thus—before we shall be obliged to put our signature to the thesis of the Tübingen professor Baur, when, spite himself, and in an unguarded moment, he wrote: “Nur das Wunder der Auferstehung konnte die Zweifel zerstreuen welche den Glauben selbst in die ewige Nacht des Todes verstossen zu müssen schienen?”† This, at all events, becomes clearer and clearer that the greatest difficulties present themselves on the side—not of those who recognize this miracle—but on the side of those who deny it; and that from the stand-point of negation one must accept a psychological miracle, which positively is not *less* great than the metaphysical miracle which one resolutely opposes; in other words, the opposing party gives that which is incomprehensible only another place, but does not take it away, and much less satisfactorily explains it. Thus the struggle concentrates itself more and more round the tomb of Christ; the enigma can only be solved in *one* way, the only way which modern naturalism obstinately refuses to accept, inasmuch as from its point of view it *can not* accept this miracle, though it should be substantiated not by 500, but even 5000 or 50,000 witnesses. As long as the opposite party will obstinately maintain this point of view, the maxim, “*Contra principia negantem non valet disputatio*,” may be applied to them. It is thus evident to every one open to reasonable conviction, that as soon as the miracle of the resurrection *must* be conceded, that the doctrine and the triumph of Christian supernaturalism is secured, in principle at least. For as then the supernatural no longer appears to us as merely a philosophical hypothesis, but as an undeniable fact, on which the light clearly shines,

* Professor Keim.

† F. C. Baur, *Das Christenth. und die Christl.-Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2 Aufl. (1860), § 39.

it has become an historical fact, and thus it will become possible, after having obtained that strong position, to conquer step by step, as it were, the fiercely attacked territory. Now it is evident that, as regards a vast number of *details*, many difficulties, seen at a distance, seem giants, but on their being closely inspected they dwindle down to mere dwarfs; while others, though they can not just now be perfectly and satisfactorily explained, the science of faith is nowise really impaired thereby. We can already mention with pleasure the names of Apologists who have most brilliantly maintained the honor and veracity of sacred history against the contempt with which it is most arbitrarily treated, among the less recent ones, for instance, Tholneck and Lange and Ebrard; among the more recent ones, Luthardt, Christlieb, Anberleu, Riggenbach and Presensé, also Godet. Names of most excellent repute, belonging to the New World, can be added to these ornaments of the Old World, and it is just this contemptuous hatred with which some of the modern critics regard it beneath their dignity "to fight such a mob," because their empty-sounding arguments are not worth refuting—it is exactly their bitterness which proves that we do not fight as those that beat the air (1 Cor. ix., 26); it is only when the enemy feels he has received a mortal wound that he feels infuriated. If in former times it was a rule that he who denies must also prove ("neganti incumbit probatio"), now this very rule seems to be reversed, for he who believes and confesses is also expected to give an account of the right he has to do so, but—be it said to the honor of Christian faith—till now it has by no means shown itself incompetent to fulfill this arduous and vitally important task; and though daily called to struggle and to fight, the conflict is not without victory attending it. Do you desire us to show what we mean by the well-secured advantages it has gained in the most recent times? We voluntarily venture to do so, at all times ready to defend our most holy conviction, although we by no means lay claim to that praise which the complete accomplishment of such a task might well deserve. It has been most clearly shown, as regards the criticism of the New Testament, that the historiography of the New Testament bears far more evidences of antiquity and authenticity than is generally supposed, so that the friends of classic literature might well speak of good fortune if the authenticity and integrity of many of their treasures could be so clearly proved as that of the four Gospels. It has appeared that the opponents of the Gospel of St. John play the unenviable part that the hammer does to the anvil, and that its assertion that the origin of this Gospel dates from the middle or even beginning of the second cen-

nury is not only undemonstrable, but quite inexplicable. It has been seen that the few things which negative criticism has left us of the first three Gospels—I mean the appointed declarations of the Lord in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the supposed original writings of St. Mark—are more than sufficient to combat unbelief with the desired effect, and to render a merely human history of the Prophet of Nazareth an impossibility, so that the enemy will at last see himself obliged unblushingly to deny the small remaining minimum of the Gospel if every obstacle in the high-road of negation is determinedly to be got rid of. And in respect, again, to the historical narratives themselves, transmitted to us through the same sources, we attach high value to the result of the most recent researches—researches that now have almost the force of an axiom. More than ever it has become evident that it is perfectly impossible, on purely historical grounds, to make in the history of the Lord a separation *between* its natural and supernatural elements without being most unjust or dictatorial, inasmuch as both are not only closely interwoven, and proved by the same evidence, but are so intrinsically and inseparably *one*, that in this case the denying of the supernatural renders the other, the natural, perfectly incomprehensible. Show us, we reiterate to the heroes of Modernism—show us, after you have foresworn religion, what remains of your natural Christ if you deny the God-man? but till thus far no satisfactory answer has been returned. Rationalism, Mysticism, Naturalism, have each, in their turn, during the course of this century, ventured the trial, but it has so unmistakably failed, that none of the spectators—nay, not even one of the artists themselves—have felt satisfied with the newly sculptured figure of Christ. Neither the wise rabbi of Rationalism, nor the vague, shadowy, and nebulous figure of Mysticism, (a ghost without flesh or bone), nor the Galilean woman and national friend of Naturalism, seem to be permanently able to replace the Apostolic Christ, much less to satisfy the want felt in him, and which he only is able to satisfy. And when they proclaim to us a Christ, who is the most perfect man in the ethical, but not the Son of God in the metaphysical and historical sense of the word, then it very soon appears that all these unfounded assertions lead to the most pitiful contradictions, and that one has placed one's self on an incline, on which it is perfectly impossible to remain standing, but that, on the contrary, inexorable logic necessitates a person to take a step—backward or forward. If miracles are positively rejected—and how is it possible to believe in miracles from a purely naturalistic stand-point?—it follows that the doctrine of the man Jesus Christ being *without* *siu* must be contradicted, for, as it is

maintained, it is contrary to all analogy and experience that there is a single instance, from first to last, that through medium of a purely natural development *one* perfectly *pure* should come forth from among and from the *impure*. If, on the contrary, Christ be acknowledged the perfect man, the ideal of humanity, then sooner or later we shall feel ourselves constrained to a change of the *Ecce Homo* in an *Ecce Deus Homo*, as such an individual can only be regarded as *the* new shoot on the diseased trunk of humanity; thus a moral miracle, the key to all that is natural, a peculiar *gift*, and at the same time the highest degree of *self-revelation* of a God who performs miracles and wonders. To this latter conclusion every one must necessarily come who, without prejudice, gives himself up to the purely ethical impression which the harmonious figure of Christ, as displayed in the Gospel, produces on the heart and the conscience, whereas those, like Renan, among others, who have but an eye for the æsthetic side of sacred history, prove on well-nigh every page of their writings their internal incompetence to form any thing like a right judgment in this matter. And if in this conflict of principles this only true stand-point is thus gained, if one has once more learned to confide in the personal testimony of the historical Christ concerning himself, even there where the understanding can not fully fathom its complete contents, because our hearts and our consciences must unconditionally assent to it, and deem it inconceivable that this Son of man should deceive himself and us, if we once more begin to contemplate the other words, deeds, and declarations of the Lord by the light of Christ's own testimony, then—and who does not feel it really to be so?—then the magic of the grandiloquent assertions of modern criticism have lost their power, at least in principle. A just, a proper view is obtained of the whole in all its indivisibility and preciousness. That whole casts its light on each of the remaining parts, be they near or remote; that which regarded, singly and alone, might justly excite surprise, becomes clear to us in its characteristic connection with the whole, not only clear, but worthy of God. Behind every seeming contradiction to which the finger of criticism points us, we soon discover a higher harmony, and on this harmony again rays of heavenly beauty, truth, and holiness fall; then at every turn we feel repeatedly convinced that not only of the whole, but also of each of its indispensable parts, that *it stands as firm as ever*.

And now we feel ourselves at perfect liberty to add, in the second and last place, *it demands more than ever*. Or will a lengthy demonstration be necessary to show that it is only possible to wrench the holy land of sacred history—which the enemy has most illegally taken possession of—out of his

hands, if every one of us is faithful to his most holy calling? The words of Lord Nelson before the battle of Trafalgar—"England expects every man to do his duty"—are, in a higher sense, the order of the day of the King of kings in this great conflict of the present day. Never has the Church—never has theology—known a more critical period in reference to this struggle than at present; and it would, indeed, be a source of intense regret if these *grand* times should produce *little* men only. Nor has the history of the Gospel, so inexpressibly dear to every Christian, ever demanded of each of us so much as at present; and if any body wishes to know what it is that it demands, and of whom in particular it is demanded, I will answer the question in a few words, and beg you, like Shakespeare of old, to regard my couple of soldiers as a whole army.

If I now had the honor of exclusively addressing in this place, and by preference, only priests and Levites in the Temple of Theological Science, I would as energetically as possible, both for my own and their sakes, exclaim: Behold a field without compare—a field in which we are at liberty to exercise our noblest mental energies! Men and brethren! let us avoid even the appearance of leaving, for the sake of our ease, the discussion of these litigious questions to those who are inclined to follow a road that leads to destruction. Christianity was introduced into this world without any show of learnedness, but not without the powerful support of science can its good cause be possibly maintained in our days. "Knowledge is power." This is more than evident in those who at present, with mighty hand, shake the pillars of the divine building; but knowledge sanctified by faith affords superior power, in which we should not by any means allow any body to surpass us on account of our own neglect. We must oppose false science with true science, and we can do so at present the more easily as the time of false mediation and transaction seems to have passed for good. In this sense, the last work of Strauss, "*Der Alte und Neue Glaube*," seems to have vast significance; and the science of faith has good cause to be thankful to the aged Apostle of Unbelief that he has at last, and with perfect honesty, called things by their right names. As clearly as every eye can at present see the chasm between Modernism and Christianity, as evident it is that it is positively necessary that apologetical labors should be continued with renewed energy. More than ever the present times require that the line of the Pascals and Vinets, on the one hand, and of the Grotiuses, Lardners, and Paleys, on the other, should be continued with energy, and in that direction—in that characteristic direction—which the wants of the time require. The conflict that has been

raging so long, and that is now being renewed with fresh vigor, must be waged, it is true, with our former arms, but not without their first being examined and whetted anew: as far as it is possible, they should also be increased with new ones. The question as to what is the best method of Apology should be repeatedly inquired into; all private differences should be waived and forgotten for a time in the momentous struggle of principles. Awake, ye Christians!—especially ye Protestant theologians—rise to the battle! Many an honorable wound may indeed be inflicted by the enemy, but an incorruptible crown is the prize held out to you!

But, in thought, I am mixing matters belonging to science with those of the Church—both, indeed, most intimately connected with each other. It is true, I am here speaking to men of the *Church*. I do not speak of any particular community or denomination; for in this great struggle in which we all have a common interest, every kind of party badge should disappear. In my heart is deeply engraven the words of your eminent theologian, Dr. Nevin, “The sectarian spirit is always fanatical, or affects strength and has none.” I have now in view the men of the Holy and Catholic Christian Church, built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, who have their servants on this side, as well as on the other side of the ocean; and I do not hesitate to exclaim in the name of their holy and everlasting King: Assist the Church in keeping the treasure that is committed unto her; and assist her in giving a good account of the faith in the historic Christ. There is *no* truth in the assertion often, but so thoughtlessly, and by hearsay, repeated—that faith is perfectly independent of the course of historical, critical examination. On the contrary, Christianity is either seriously disturbed or established thereby; practical Christianity stands or falls with the recognition of the miraculous character of the historic revelation of salvation. But if this now be the case, then the Church, that is watching this struggle with profound emotion, and often feels her very foundation rocking, ought to be suitably armed. In the present time the Church has wants that can not be met or satisfied with preaching, catechizing, or pastoral addresses only—however excellent these may be in themselves, and however faithfully those duties may be performed. She requires a more decided prophylactic against the venom of infidelity that is presented to her on all sides, or there is every cause to fear and to believe that the present crisis will lead to a more fatal phthisis. In what form must this preservative be administered to the Church? Perhaps in that of popular scientific lectures; of apologetic societies; of polemical litera-

ture. I do not venture to give any positive answer to the question, seeing that in this case so much depends on special talents and circumstances. I merely put forth the general principle that *extraordinary circumstances require extraordinary measures*, and that we who are thoroughly acquainted with the subject should zealously endeavor to enlighten those who are relatively placed below us, as well as the more enlightened among the community. Through our medium the conviction must also be established in the Church that, behind the unbelieving science, there is also a believing science, which, if not able to obtain the *assent* of its adversaries, still does obtain its respect and regard; and that we ourselves, at all events, do not doubt or despair that victory will be ours—a victory that will the sooner be obtained if we but exert ourselves to the utmost. The modern critical direction demands great things of intellectual and moral life, which demands it is, however, unable itself to satisfy. These requirements we must, however, not meet with other demands, but endeavor to fulfill them in a better way than it is possible for the opposing party to do. Like a violent and turbulent stream of a Mississippi, the flood of infidelity is rising; but it must be curbed, purified, and eventually compelled to pour its waters into the ocean of the faith of the Church—that, by this fresh supply, must at last increase in depth and volume.

But wherefore should I continue to address individuals concerning a matter that is of most vital importance to every Christian? No, indeed; here is no difference between Church and theology, between the pastor and the members of the Church. The evangelical history demands of *every believer*, without any distinction, increasing *interest*, and the positive conviction that it is the sure foundation of Christianity, resting not on abstract ideas, but on facts that are incontrovertible. Christianity demands renewed *examination* of its contents, of the grounds whereon it rests, of its connection with the grand whole of the revelation of God's plan of salvation, so that none may despise it. Alas, matters are come to such a pass in the present time that *the most exalted truth—queen by birth—has to go about as a beggar already condemned, saying to judge and witnesses: “Do not condemn me, at least before you have heard me once more.”* And what does truth demand? First and foremost a *confession* which every Christian is capable of giving—the testimony of a life which is at the same time the most supreme revelation, the highest revelation of the truth. Would infidelity venture on such bold negations if it did not, on beholding so many of its so-called Christians, constantly receive the sad impression that the fact of facts stands so completely above

and beyond them that it may be denied or contested without any real harm to any one, as it seems merely a matter of contention, and not golden fruit of the Tree of Life? Christians—brethren, sisters in Him whom unbelief would willingly rob of his crown, in order to place it on the sullied head of whole Humanity—never was there a more glorious opportunity than the present one, but never was your calling so holy, too, as just now, to show the world that your faith in the complete, historic Christ is not a hollow sound, but a living power, which can impossibly be explained by nature and matter only. I say to the Christians of the *Old World*: The more friends and enemies see that all that is old is passing away from you, the less will they have the courage to repeat that the Gospel with all its miraculous narratives did very well for *former* times, but that it is worth nothing for the *present*. I speak to the Christians of the *New World*, and add: You would be breaking with your own glorious history if ye were to abandon your belief in the Gospel history—that divine and miraculous history which was the life-giving stream and the dying consolation to the Pilgrim Fathers, of the friends of liberty, of Washington, of Lincoln of imperishable memory. America, thou art a Republic, but thou hast a *King* in the Heavens, who alone giveth and preserveth true liberty; watch well that thou dost not forsake him, and become one commonwealth of Christ. I speak to the friends and members of the Alliance of the *Old and New World* assembled here in the bonds of brotherhood, and I comprise all in these words, which I also address to myself, “Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown” (Rev. iii., 11); give each other the hand of fellowship across every barrier—even across the barrier of the waves—in the united struggle against falsehood, unrighteousness, and sin. The times are becoming very serious—a crisis is certainly approaching; exercise criticism; above all, search and examine *yourselves*; become truly modern—that is, in a higher sense of the word—be regenerated in the inner and outer man, and form one great nation that rises as one man to take up arms, perfectly pre-

pared when the last—the last all-deciding struggle of the future must be fought.

There is one thought more that arises within me; allow me to express it. The sixth general meeting of the Evangelical Alliance beholds the conflict between Belief and Unbelief, which—to employ the words of a well-known writer—“is a theme of most profound depth: in reality, the all-absorbing theme of the history of the world, taking dimensions as never were known before.” How, I now ask, will matters stand when the time for the seventh meeting comes round? Shall we enjoy, after six days of labor, a seventh day of comforting and refreshing rest? And when will that great universal Sabbath break forth for the struggling Church, for the whole creation that now groaneth? a Sabbath on which the eye of Faith and Hope can not avoid gazing with ever-increasing longing. We can not say; but before parting, before that peace is concluded, let us give each other the hand of fellowship, and then let every one of us renew the combat at the post assigned him. But let it suffice. When above us the clouds of Infidelity become darker and darker, and still more threatening, may both America and Europe remember the words of John Eliot, the apostle of the Indians: “*Those are some of the clouds that must be seen before the Son of man appears.*” And indeed the night seems descending upon the wrestling Church; and sometimes it would seem as if the word of the poet was becoming verified as regards the kingdom of God: “Westward the star of empire takes its way”—words generally applied to America. But this fear, the offspring of little faith, shall not be fulfilled; this star is not destined to sink in the West, but, after having in appearance set, it will rise again in the East. Or, rather, like the Polar Star in the North, it glows in ever-refulgent glory; it is *the* star which evermore will lead every mariner who intently fixes his gaze upon it into a haven of refuge and safety; and when at last this star shall illuminate the whole world with the splendor of the sun, then in its transcendent rays the united shout of friend and foe will be heard: “*Christe, victisti!*”

AMERICAN INFIDELITY: ITS FACTORS AND PHASES.

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WHAT are the forces and forms of American unbelief? Whence have they proceeded? What is their relation to American Christianity?

These are some of the questions which naturally thrust themselves upon the attention of the first Ecumenical Conference of the Evangelical Alliance convened on American soil.

To answer them intelligibly, especially to our foreign visitors, it will be necessary to glance at the genesis and development of the social and religious life of the nation. Historic forces and effects can only be understood historically.

Going back, then, to the colonial period of our country's history, we are struck at the outset by the remarkable fact that the first effective preparation of the original British American colonists for social and political unity was due to a great religious awakening, the revival which commenced in 1740. Down to that time, the spirit of intercolonial jealousy, isolation, and repelency had prevailed over every centripetal and nationalizing influence. Till that time there had been neither ethnological, political, social, nor religious unity. On the contrary, the numberless international, civil, social, and religious antagonisms of all Europe seemed concentrated upon a narrow strip of this Atlantic coast. Shut in between the territories of France upon the north and west, and Spanish Florida on the south, bisected near the middle by large Dutch and Swedish populations in New York and Delaware, overdotted with settlements of every European nationality, the little British colonies of two hundred years ago presented in most respects the least hopeful aspect of all the European dependencies in the New World. No two existed under a common charter, scarce two had a like religion. Here a Romanist colony was nearest neighbor to settlements of fugitive Huguenots, there the plain and quietistic Quaker was separated only by a boundary line from the formal and rite-loving Anglican. Noblemen and peasants, Papists and Protestants, Roundheads and Cavaliers, Royalists and haters of royalty, believers and unbelievers, all found themselves standing on a common platform — all faithful to their Old World affinities. Out of elements so utterly het-

erogeneous, whence could unity and order come? It could come only from that Author of peace and Giver of concord who delights to reconcile all antagonisms and unify all that sin has dissevered.

Toward the middle of the last century came the fullness of God's time for generating a new Christian nationality. First a soul was needed to organize the rich though motley elements into one living national body. That soul was communicated, as by a divine afflatus, in the great Whitefieldian Revival. In its mighty heat the old intellectual and spiritual partition walls, by which the colonies had been so long isolated, fused and let one tide of gracious influence roll through the whole domain. For the first time in their history, the British colonies were agitated by one thought, swayed by one mind, moved by one impulse. Again and again through all these colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia, this most famous evangelist of history moved in triumph. Puritan New Englanders forgot that he was a gowned priest of the very Church from whose oppressions they had fled to the wilds of a new world. Dutch New York and German Pennsylvania almost unlearned their degenerating vernaculars as they listened to his celestial eloquence. The Quaker was delighted with his gospel simplicity, the Covenanter and Huguenot with his "doctrines of grace." The Episcopalian was his by rightful church fellowship, and thus it came to pass that when, after crossing the ocean eighteen times in his flying ministry, he lay down in death at Newburyport, he was unconsciously, but in reality, the spiritual father of a great Christian nation. The fact has never been duly acknowledged by the historian, but a fact it is.

The outward providential discipline by which the new national spirit was nurtured and strengthened, and gradually made to take on the form and functions of an organic body politic, was admirably fitted to its end. From 1744 to 1762 the French and Indian wars drilled the young nation in the use of arms, preparatory to the great struggle of the war of liberation. The soon-ensuing agonies of the revolutionary period substantially completed the work of national unification.

Thenceforth there was an American peo-

ple—a self-conscious nationality. Colonies had given place to emancipated States, these to a unified, consolidated Republic.

How now stood the Evangelical and anti-Evangelical forces in this nation at the commencement of its political independence? Ecclesiastically considered, by no means unfavorably. Almost the entire population belonged to Evangelical churches, and what was still more favorable, to Evangelical churches with which they were identified by all the ties of education and long-standing tradition. In New England, Puritan independency, or Congregationalism, was not only the religion established by law, but the real faith of almost the entire community. In the Middle and Southern States, with the exception of Pennsylvania, the Church of England had been the established Church, though in many sections the Reformed Church, including its three great branches, the Scotch, Dutch, and German, equaled or surpassed in numbers and influence the communion established and favored by law. Though the disruption of the new nation from the mother country left all communicants of the Church of England disorganized and churchless, they remained so for a very brief period only. In 1784 and 1789 they organized themselves into two new Episcopal Churches, the Methodist Episcopal and the Protestant Episcopal, each retaining, with slight modifications, the Articles of Religion, the Liturgy, and many of the traditions of the Anglican mother. Lutheranism at this time was not strong. Even including the ten or twelve Moravian societies, the whole strength of the American Lutheran Church did not exceed some seventy-five parishes. Still it was not greatly disproportioned to the German population. To sum up, with a population of about three millions, there was very nearly an Evangelical minister to every two thousand souls. There were healthful traditions of the godly character and Christian heroism of the original settlers; there were living recollections of the mighty revivals of the last generation. Such were the hopeful elements in the new national life, religiously considered.

Notwithstanding this favorable religious aspect and prospect, however, the cause of Evangelical religion has probably never seen darker days in America than precisely at this period.

The French infidelity of the era of Voltaire was a formidable antagonist. The soil of the American mind was peculiarly fitted for the reception of this form of false doctrine. Almost half a century had passed since the great awakening of 1740-44. Nearly all of this period the country had been the theatre of exciting warfare. The demoralizing influences of camp life had been experienced to the full. The Revolution through which the people had passed had

broken the prestige of ancient institutions. The intoxication of success had drowned serious thoughts of eternal things. The French allies had brought along with their friendship and aid the frivolity and unbelief which characterized the French mind at that period. The religious life of the people was at so low an ebb that they were ready to contract any and every contagion of error. French deism, witty, sentimental, brilliant, revolutionary, chanced to be the ruling epidemic of the Christian world, and America did not escape.

Three men stand out in history as the hierophants of this new gospel in America. Two of them were of English birth and education, one only of American. Singularly enough they all had the same Christian name, and that the name of the skeptical apostle. The three men were Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Cooper, and Thomas Paine. These three doubting Thomases were born democrats and social revolutionists. Their opposition to the Church was largely a result of their iconoclastic natures. The first was the political, the second the scientific, the third the social representative of the contemporary Antichristian movement. The first was influential by virtue of his political station as President of the Republic, the second by reason of his office as educator, the third in consequence of his early and ardent advocacy of the cause of American Independence. On one occasion, Jefferson sent a government vessel to France to convey Mr. Paine to this country as the nation's guest. Favored with such an historical preparation, so related to the national sentiments, so adapted to the national aspirations, so sanctioned and advocated by popular favorites, it is little wonder that the gospel of the "Age of Reason" became a great popular power among the American people during the last two decades of the closing century. Its powerful sway was first but effectually broken by the widespread and sweeping revivals of 1801 to 1803.

The next notable movement in the religious history of the country was that momentous one which gave to the latent Unitarianism and Universalism of the New England Churches ecclesiastical organization and conscious aggressive power. This was in the years 1800 to 1815. A graver movement has never marked our history. In Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, it carried away the oldest, wealthiest, and strongest churches. It bore away from evangelical control the oldest, richest, and most influential college of the whole land. It gave to the new denominations, particularly to the Unitarians, all the prestige of Boston wealth and culture. Though originating in a justifiable reaction against the dead scholastic orthodoxy of the period, with no thought of overturning the normative authority of the

Bible or of denying the Divine mission of Jesus Christ, it soon became apparent that neither the reprintated Arianism of Channing nor the novel theology of Ballou could long constitute a tenable standing place for bodies of men and women so intelligent and thoughtful as those of whom we speak. Just here, however, before these new, reactional churches could undisturbedly ripen the seeds of error in them, a new historic force was introduced into the spiritual life of the nation, which, both on account of its relation to our theme, and also because of its potent effect upon the development of New England thought, must here be mentioned. I allude to infidel Socialism and its American propagandists.

In 1824, the great English Socialist, Robert Owen, landed upon our shores to proclaim his "New Moral Order," and to practically initiate the reconstruction of human society. In October of the following year he was at the head of a "Family" of nine hundred souls, on a fruitful domain of thirty thousand acres on the banks of the Wabash. On the ensuing Fourth of July, being the semi-centennial of the declaration of National Independence, he issued a pompous manifesto, entitled "Declaration of Mental Independence." This was the commencement of a Socialistic fever, amounting at times and in places to a genuine mania, which for twenty years, in one form or another, inflamed the public mind. Its first phase was its most outspokenly antireligious, its last its most obnoxiously immoral. Beginning with the Owenist excitement (1824-30), blossoming out in the infidel association at Northampton, in Unitarian "Brook Farm," and Universalist "Hopdale," all founded in 1842, running to seed at last in the extravagances of Fourierism (1843), the Free Love of Oneida (1847), and the necromantic diabolism of late-born Brocton, it was, all in all, the most formidable demonstration which the spirit of Antichrist had ever made among us. The latest historian of the movement enumerates no less than eleven experiments at social reconstruction during what he calls the Owen period, and thirty-four during the Fourier one. Nor is this an exhaustive list. As nearly as can be ascertained, not less than eight to ten thousand people actually broke with conventional Christian society and entered these communities. Many periodical organs were established, and tons of Socialistic literature circulated through the land. Their domains in the different States where they existed amounted to over 130,000 acres. Nowhere in Europe were the wild dreams of Owen and the French Socialists so magnificently tested as in this country. Their quick-succeeding failures were all the more conspicuous. For this, among other reasons, Americans have far less than European peoples

to fear from the belated Communists and "Internationals" of to-day.

Contemporaneously with this Socialistic agitation, often hand in hand with it, yet often entirely distinct, went another which, though it could point to no such striking outward achievements as Socialism, has doubtless more lastingly affected certain strata of our population. This was a grand incursion of foreign Naturalism and Materialism, organized and officered for the most part by German and British apostles of what is called Phrenology. First proclaimed in the United States, from 1821 to 1832, by a Dr. Caldwell, an American pupil of Gall, then re-enforced by the presence and lectures of Spurzheim, further expounded and advocated from 1838 to 1843, by the noted George Combe, this new evangel of natural law and man's self-perfectibility won many adherents among erude and curious and half-educated men. These, aspiring to the honors and emoluments of public teachers, speedily spread themselves all over the country as itinerant lecturers, offering to expound the new science, to demonstrate it by describing with blindfolded eyes, from a mere manipulation of their "bumps," the noted characters of the locality, and finally to examine and advise all candidates for eminence or happiness at twenty-five cents a head. These precious enlighteners of the people gradually gave place first to traveling mesmerizers, and then to the mediums and apostles of spirit-rapping and spirit-trances. As often before, the reaction from Materialism and its unbelief carried unballasted minds clean over to necromantic superstition.

This remarkable transition in the unchristianized elements of our population commenced as early as 1830, if we may believe the author of the "Autobiography of a Shaker,"* who was in that year converted by the agency of spirits, as he alleges, from an Owenite Materialist and Socialist to a spiritualist of the Shaker order. The same writer affirms that for seven years before the new spiritualistic demonstrations appeared in the outside world, namely, from 1837 to 1844, they abounded in all the Shaker communities, that mediums were to be counted by the dozen, and that the spirits foretold the grand and universal manifestations which were about to burst upon the world. In 1844 commenced the seership of Andrew Jackson Davis, and in 1848 the "rappings" at Rochester attracted the attention of the civilized world. Robert Owen himself in his last days became a believer, and his son and successor, Robert Dale Owen, is to-day an influential representative of that faith. By one road or another, nearly all the original communists, phrenologists, and mesmerists found their way

* *Atlantic Monthly*, April and May, 1869.

into the Spiritualistic camp. Here they still plot and pronounce against Christianity, favored, as they believe, with invisible allies.

A little before and after the year 1840 we witness the first considerable effects of German philosophy and criticism on American religious thought. This oceanic current reached us by two channels, one direct, the other by way of Great Britain. The least vital and coherent religions body of the country naturally experienced the first disturbance. In the bosom of Unitarianism there arose new parties. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Theodore Parker strode past Socinus and Channing, the one to the cold heights of a poetic Pantheism, the other to the citadel of an eclectic Antichristian Theism. Emerson's first complete breach with his brother ministers was in his famous address before the Divinity College, at Cambridge, July 15, 1838; Parker's, in his installation sermon, entitled "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity," preached in the spring of 1841. The teachings and personal influence of a German, Dr. Karl Follen, who was for ten years connected with Harvard College and Divinity School, and for five years more was a Unitarian pastor, were not without effect in bringing about the new departures. For a time the denomination was sorely torn by controversy; but, historically committed to the most uncompromising hostility to all "tests," not only of belief but even of authorized teaching, it soon became evident that all who chose to affiliate with the body must be tolerated, however unpopular their beliefs or heterodox their doctrine. The result has been summed up—somewhat over-harshly perhaps—by a recent and sympathetic writer, the editor of *The Modern Thinker*, as follows: "Theodore Parker was a pure destructive. He left no school, no church—only a memory..... Emerson has preached the gospel of individualism, and so doing has helped to exaggerate some of the worst tendencies of the American mind..... The Unitarian movement has spent its novel force, and the sect which bears its name is only notable for agreeing to disagree. Its latest and logical development is in the person of the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, who is seriously at work to make disorganization organic; in other words, he is endeavoring to get people to act together, whose only bond of union is the irreconcilable divergences of their fundamental beliefs: this is the logical outcome of the whole Unitarian or 'Liberal Christian' school."

Unable to obtain a satisfactory control of the entire Unitarian organization, the most destructive and Antichristian ministers and members of the body, without withdrawing from it, have, with others of like sentiments and spirit, united in establishing what is

called "The Free Religions Association," which by means of the press and pulpit, the platform and club, labors to undermine all distinctively Christian ideas and institutions. This is now in its sixth year. It does not pretend to any unanimity touching the proper substitute for the cherished faith of the Christian world, but it seems to believe that the utter demolition of all existing religions is the indispensable prerequisite to the establishment of the true. *Delenda est Christianitas* is therefore rightly represented as the first, last, and almost only article of its creed. This, at the present time, is the only positively Antichristian organization among us of any perceptible influence. Even this has no official organ, and only an annual public demonstration. It differs from the "Freie Gemeinden" of Germany in that it essays to be national, while those are local; it differs from the German "Protestantenverein," in that it does not organize auxiliary associations, or assume to operate in the interest of the Protestant Church.

Glancing back for a moment over these successive waves of opposition to the kingdom of Christ in America, one is struck first of all by the fact that none of them were of American origin. The successive types of unbelief and misbelief which have arisen and prevailed in Europe have in every case determined the successive types of unbelief and misbelief in America. In most cases the first effectual introduction of a new type has been due to Europeans coming to our shores. Thus, our first popular infidelity was directly due to European soldiery, and to such immigrants as Thomas Paine. The great New England defection was, to a certain extent, pioneered by British Socinians, and decidedly aided by the coming of Joseph Priestley and John Murray. The communistic crusade was preached by Owen in person, and seconded by scores of such foreign-born adjutants as G. H. and F. W. Evans, Fanny Wright and A. J. Macdonald. The phrenological revival of naturalism was introduced by a pupil of Gall, and disseminated by the labors of Prussian Spurzheim and Scotch Combe. Mother Ann Lee, whom England gave us, was the early forerunner of American "Spiritualism," while the ghost of Scandinavian Swedenborg appearing to Andrew Jackson Davis in a graveyard near Poughkeepsie, in 1844, so affected the deliria of that "seer" and the whole system of his followers that the historian of American Socialisms declares "Spiritualism is Swedenborgianism Americanized."* Finally, the transition of the "Free Religionists," from a professedly Scriptural Unitari-

* "Spiritualism is Swedenborgianism Americanized. Andrew Jackson Davis began as a medium of Swedenborg, receiving from him his commission and inspiration, and became an independent seer and revelator only because, as a son, he outgrew his father."—J. H. Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*, p. 540.

anism to an open repudiation of all positive revelation, was an effect of German speculation and criticism, meditated partly by such men as Follen, more effectively by American students and tourists abroad, most potently of all by the writings of Germans and of admirers of German literature. Thus all these threatening surges of Antichristian thought and effort have come to us from European seas: not one arose in our hemisphere. Like other peoples, we have erred in the sphere of religion; but our admitted errors, as in the case of the wild exorcisements of Mormonism, Millerism, and Shakerism, are all in the direction of superstition rather than in that of unbelief. America has given the Old World valuable theological speculations, admirable defenses of the faith, precious revival influences, memorable exhibitions of international charity, but she has never cursed humanity with a new form of infidelity.

Confining our view to the present, it is a striking and a cheering fact that no form of infidelity among us can boast of a single champion of cosmopolitan, or even of national reputation. We have no Strauss, no Renan, not even a Carl Vogt. We never have had. The nearest approach to it we ever had was the forceful Unitarian preacher who ministered to the "Twenty-eighth Congregational Society" in Boston, from 1845 to 1859. Even he had not the requisite learning or genius to enable him to propound a solitary new difficulty to the Christian scholarship of his age. We have infidel *littérateurs* of respectable attainments and all-too-wide influence, but in all the ranks of American unbelievers the Christian apologist of learning and ability can nowhere find a foeman worthy of his steel.

The oldest American periodical devoted to the abolition of all religion is *The Investigator*, an organ of pure atheism, of very limited circulation, though now in its forty-third year. It was for some time conducted by the noted Abner Kneeland. The only professedly religious weekly of open Antichristian character is *The Index*, established by a Mr. Abbot in Toledo, Ohio, but recently removed to an Eastern city. It represents in the main the spirit and views of the "Free Religions Association." A monthly of somewhat pretentious character was commenced in Boston under the title of *The Radical*, but it soon died a natural death. Though resuscitated after a few months, its second lease of life was shorter even than the first, and it is now twice dead. The two weeklies above mentioned are, therefore, at present the only proper organs of American infidelity. *The Golden Age*, *The Woodhull and Claflin Weekly*, and *The Oneida Circular* are month-pieces not so much of Antichristian faith as of Antichristian morals.

Comparing our current American infideli-

ty with that of other Christian countries, we find little to distinguish it. It is less learned and systematic than the German, less political and communistic than the French, less chafed and fretful than the British. Still, in all Christian lauds the ideas, and aims, and agencies of the party are essentially alike; in all they labor to rob the individual soul, the family, the school, and the state of all distinctively Christian characteristics, to secularize humanity in every sphere. In one important respect there is a difference. Our larger social, political, and religious liberty gives to American infidels important advantages over their European brethren, but this same liberty of thought and profession and agitation deprives them of half of their power to destroy. The cask of powder which, if exploded within this building, would shatter it to a heap of rubbish, may be exploded without harm to any thing on the distant hill-top in the open air. So half, at least, of the destructive power of European infidelity in past generations has been due to the presence of the party within, instead of without, the Church.

This extra-ecclesiastical position of infidelity in America has greatly assisted American Christians in rightly estimating its nature and remedy. With us more than with any other modern Christian people has unbelief been recognized as the natural, and in a sense normal characteristic of unawakened and unregenerate souls. Its many forms, so far as they are genuine products of a man's own thought, and not mere slavish parrottings, only correspond to different stages of spiritual insight. There is a state of spiritual blindness and insensibility and bondage to sense to which Atheism and Pantheism are perfect counterparts. The atheistic or pantheistic theory of the universe fully and satisfactorily accounts for all the facts coming within the narrow range of such a mind, and clearly apprehended by it. It has a right, therefore, for the time being, to rest satisfied in that system. The fault is not in the system, but in the condition of the mind. If the subject, by his own active or passive agency, induced the condition, or if, born in it, he has persistently resisted the good influences designed by his Creator to deliver him from it, he is blameworthy, but in any case the system must not be disavowed from the subjective state from which it originates. Wherever the subjective state is found, there the system is legitimate; so long as the former is unremedied, so long the latter has a right to exist. The same is true of speculative or naturalistic Theism. It represents a type of intellectual and spiritual experience. If the system is defective, it is because the experience is defective. So long as men stop with such experience, so long will they stop with speculative Theism.

Such being their view, American Christians are not especially disturbed by the fact that there are different forms of unbelief and misbelief in the land. The fact is a sad one, but it is only a small fraction of the infinitely sadder fact of man's universal blindness and corruption.

We expect that there will be infidels and errorists in the world as long as there are unrenewed men in the world. We expect to abolish infidelity only by bringing all natural men into the experience of a spiritual life, whose supernatural facts will admit of no explanation short of that given us in the supernatural Word and in the holy Catholic Church. Believing that there never was a time when so many shared this spiritual life, and the intellectual worldview which properly answers to it—believing also that there never was a time when the leavening progress of Christ's kingdom among men was so rapid and irreversible as

at present, we preach Christ with all boldness, as the grand and only effectual antidote of unbelief. To every taunting query, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" we answer, "Come and see." To every conceited sneer at Christ's authority, we respond, "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." To every candid seeker after truth and righteousness, however lost in error and in sin, we offer Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God. The Holy Spirit attends the word. Blessed be God! Blasphemers are silenced, scoffers are made docile inquirers, atheists are converted to God, deniers of Christ experience his power and shout his praise. Hallelujah! The Lord God omnipotent reigneth. Therefore unto the ever blessed Father, the reigning Son, the world-transforming Spirit, be ascribed all glory and blessing, world without end. Amen and amen.

REASON AND FAITH.

BY THE REV. E. A. WASHBURN, D.D., OF NEW YORK.

IT may seem to some who hear me that my subject is only a renewal of the worn-out theological battle of centuries. Yet, brethren and friends, it touches the deepest intellectual as well as religious want of the time. It is but yesterday since the Council of Latin Christendom met to decree that infallibility, the attribute of the all-wise God alone, is officially incarnate in the person of the Pontiff; and absurd as we may hold it, it is impossible to believe that a decision which bore with it so many learned and devout minds, which swept at last into the tide-able opponents like a Gratry, and is now fighting for life or death with the heroic chiefs of the Old Catholic party, can have come from the mere vanity of a Pope or the craft of the Jesuit. It was the conviction of that Church that here was the only position against the inroads of Protestant freedom. And on the other side you see a modern, growing school of science, which, with a dogmatism as strong as that of the Papal decrees, affirms that our faith in those old-fashioned phrases, God, soul, cause, substance, in any thing beyond phenomena, has no worth for reason at all. In a word, it is the same unsettled conflict between the two powers of superstition and unbelief. The form of it differs with the modes of thought in every time, but the strife was never more earnest than now. And if, then, it be asked, What can be the hope of adjusting the endless quarrel of the past? I reply that the whole growth of Christian thought in the study of the Scriptures, in the history of doctrine, in the relations of revealed truth to science, leads me to believe that we are able than before to meet it. I speak as one of those who earnestly hope for such mediation between the Church and the criticism of the time. I believe that the principle of a Protestant freedom is a sober and sacred one. And if I can so handle the question as to take it out from the older formulas in which it has been imbedded, and reach the living thought of men; if I can help any, however humbly, to know that our faith in a Divine Christ and Christianity is as reasonable as it is heart-felt, I shall speak what thousands of minds are seeking in the twilight of opinion.

I shall begin, therefore, with showing the aim and province of revealed truth, as the way to understand the harmony of reason with faith. It is from a want of a clear view

of this, as I believe, that the mistake arises which seems hopelessly to divide the champions of religion and of science.

It will, then, be the admission of all who hold the divine origin of Christianity, that its essential purpose is to reveal redemption from sin, and the life of holiness through an incarnate Redeemer. In such a view, its truth has a direct bearing on the manifold questions of human thought. It concerns our deepest knowledge of the being of God; the laws of his action in nature and the soul; the inward facts of our own consciousness; and still more, as a religion that comes down to us in its sacred books, it has a connection with our large inquiries of the origin of the world and the primitive state of man. We have here the groundwork of Christian science. Theology is its noblest fruit. We can never fall into that shallow scorn of it so common among the talkers of our modern time. It was the theology of the Church that led the intellectual as well as religious civilization of the world through its great ages of life, as it bloomed in Origen in Athanasius; and fed the whole Latin mind through Augustin, before it became the barren logic of the schools.

Yet we are always to distinguish, although we can not divide, the theology of the Church from the essential truth of the Gospel. The New Testament is not and was not meant to be a system of philosophy. As a revelation of life to men, it is only concerned with the questions of our theoretical study in so far as they affect the one central fact of God in Christ reconciling the world. It is not an absolute knowledge of the nature of God, but as he reveals his incarnate love in His Son; not a psychology of man, but the truth of his divine origin, and his sin as it is broadly evidenced in the moral consciousness of the race; not the science of the globe or the complete history of the race, but the record of redemption. I can not pause here to show how such a view affects in many points our treatment of Scripture, as, *e. g.*, our theory of inspiration. Here it is enough to note its general bearing on the subject before us. We give its true sphere to theology. But we must not forget that it is in its very nature a changing and a partial growth; not echanging, indeed, in its substantial truth, but in the mode in which that truth has been presented by devout thinkers, as the Church has passed through

its great orbit of knowledge, and surveyed one after another the phases of its divine light. The Greek mind was wholly absorbed in the doctrine of the Incarnation; the Latin, in the nature of man, of sin and grace; the Protestant has unfolded the meaning of a spiritual faith in our Redeemer. Athanasius, Angustin, Anselm, Calviu, Sehleiermacher, represent this varied expression. All have their harmony, as they are studied in their relations to the history of doctrine; yet all are but fallible teachers of a system never complete so long as the devout mind of man shall study afresh the mind of Christ. But Christianity is not a gnosis; not a theory, but a living Gospel. It remains the same—yesterday, to-day, and forever. Creeds are its outer walls, but not its sanctuary. Schools of theology defend it against false speculation, but they neither give nor take away its deepest influence over the life of men. We prize the symbol of Nice as one of the truly Catholic landmarks of the historic Church; and we claim it as the wisdom of the English Communion that it has placed it in its Liturgy far above all special articles or confessions; yet we must never make a Nicene Council the doctrinal basis of all Christian theology, and still less rest upon it the central truth of the Incarnation. That truth has a surer evidence. It speaks to the thought, the affections of all in the immortal page of the New Testament, in the perfect holiness and love of the Son of God.

In such an understanding of the character of Christianity, we know the harmony of faith with reason. In whatever sphere Revelation has to do with the theoretical questions of our knowledge—Biblical science, theology, history—reason is organ and arbiter. But as a practical truth which touches other powers—conscience, affection, will—it has another and inward sphere. We may thus briefly consider the place of the reason. It must be plain that, in so far as Revelation contains any truth that asks mental assent, it must appeal to the mental faculty. None denies this, unless he masks clear sense under some vague sophism. The only question is not as to the use of reason, but as to its abuse. What are its capacities and what its limits? We admit with readiness that it is a finite power, and that, as Butler claimed in his immortal work, there are mysteries as well in nature as in the realm of religious truth, in the vital force lurking in the blade of grass as in the problem of the will or the nature of the Atonement. All truth has its penumbra; and a divine wisdom, above all, must have its infinity of shadow with the light. But to say that there are truths transcending the reason is not to deny its use in any sphere where we can exercise the intellectual powers. There is not one mental faculty which

we call reason, and another which we call faith. "Reason," in the clear language of Angustin, "should not submit, unless it decide for itself that there are occasions when it ought to submit. Its very submission is then reasonable." Nothing can be the source of worse confusion than the notion of our popular theology that Revelation is the gift of certain incomprehensible doctrines which are to be believed without any effort at understanding. This is the exact opposite of the Scriptural idea. It is the mystery, hidden from the ages, and now opened to our knowledge, of which the apostle speaks so often; and so far as the Gospel is a revelation of any essential truth, there is in it "no darkness at all." Such an error confounds its simple character with all the glosses of a speculative theology, the perplexities of human theory, the purely critical questions of science; and leads at last to that skepticism which sweeps away the wheat with the chaff. Let us not mistake this point, my friends. In the beginning of the last century the learned Huet, bishop of Avranches, wrote his "*Demonstratio Evangelica*" to show that the ancient skeptics were the masters of philosophy, because they proved that we knew nothing. We have had too many who held that human folly was a Gospel demonstration. Pardon me if I speak specially here of a book which has been much praised in our own day—I mean the "*Limits of Religious Thought*"—as it best illustrates this sad fallacy. It was reserved for an English divine to set up the most thorough system of Pyrrhonism as a Christian apologetic. The position of the writer is this: that we can have nothing beyond relative knowledge, and therefore there can be no certitude in any of our ideas, intellectual or moral. It follows that our ideas of God, his nature, his character, are purely subjective; and thus, whatever may be the representations of him in Revelation, they can not be within the sphere of real and positive truth. We have, he affirms, a regulative wisdom, enough for our practical minds, but no more. It was the honest aim of this thinker to defend the Scripture against the objections so often urged by the unbeliever. But it is not seen by many who hailed the book as the triumph of Christian thought, that the weapon which wounds the Rationalist kills the truth of Revelation. If we can not know that our intellectual or moral conceptions of God have a real basis, then every revelation of him in his Word may be an imagination. I can not adore him as a Father in his blessed Son, for the paternal relation is a purely human idea; I can not know that the love, the pity, the holiness, I only discern by my moral affection have any ground in his own nature. But further yet, this regulative wisdom is folly, for if my faith have no assurance in

reason, then to follow it may be to follow a will-o'-the-wisp along the marshes of human ignorance. And this is the defense of faith! I hold it an utter surrender to unbelief. It is the most pregnant of facts that the leader of English positivism has cited this very reasoning in support of his own conclusion that science can not reach or admit any idea of Cause, or Person, or God. Hume said, with his inimitable sneer, "Our holy religion does not rest on reason, but on faith." Our modern champion gravely repeats it. And is this a sound Christianity? I answer—not in the name of reason, but of the very truth of God and Christ—No! If I must keep my belief by such skepticism, it is lost forever.

And here we reach the right view of faith. What is it to believe? I turn to the New Testament, and learn it from the lips of Christ. It is a personal trust in him, an act of the mind, heart, and will together. Such is the original force of the word always in the gospels. Faith is not opposed to the intellect, but to the sight, the sensuous appearance. "Blessed are ye that see not, yet believe." And so, when we pass to St. Paul, the great preacher of faith, we find him opposing the "philosophy falsely so called," the *gnosis* of Judaizing teachers, but he appeals always to the spiritual mind, the faith rooted in love, ending not in dogma, but life. The thought of personal trust in Christ is the dominant in every chord. There is no such idea as faith in a proposition. We learn hence its Christian meaning. It is not to accept certain opinions about Christ, certain systems of doctrine touching his nature and his offices, the psychology of the will, the theory of redemption, but it is to accept him. It is to come to the New Testament with the simple consciousness of our moral nature that we are children of God, that sin is the root of our spiritual disease, and holiness the want of the soul; to find in him that revealed grace of our Father we need, and to follow him in the renewed and holy life which is life eternal. This is Christianity. It is its beginning and its end. And if, then, you have accepted this definition, you will agree with my whole idea of the office of faith. It is not a special revelation or illumination of the mind. It is not an assent to certain truths which contradict reason, but are given on arbitrary authority. There can be no such assent, save with some intelligent idea of what it assents to. A Christian faith, then, I affirm, is one with reason, but a reason disciplined by and acting with other faculties and within another sphere than that of pure speculative thought. As the revelation of Christ is a practical truth for the life, so it asks the exercise of the conscience, of the affections, and the will. We may construct a perfect system of theology. But to know Christ and his Gos-

pel is a deeper process. No theory of depravity can teach me the meaning of sin, unless I have first felt its reality as a moral fact in myself. No theory of the Atonement can teach the dependence of my soul on the Saviour, until I have felt the fitness of that divine grace to my personal need. It is in this true sense we use that phrase of the fathers, "*Fides præcedit intellectum*"—Faith goes before understanding. All our reasoning must rest at last on certain first truths, at once intellectual and moral, call them what you will, innate or connate, intuitions or cognitions. We see God by this inner eye; we know him not as an inference of our logic, but as the necessary conviction of mind and heart. And thus we know God in Christ by this moral affection, as the perfect holiness, the incarnate grace, and with him all those related truths which are spiritually discerned. Such a knowledge of faith neither contradicts nor excludes nor makes useless the exercise of the highest mental power. The believer is just as dependent as other men on the process and results of Christian learning, when he will pass outside the sphere of this living, practical truth into the domain of theology or criticism. Yet within that sphere he has a satisfying wisdom. There is what Pascal has finely called an "interior reason" in this Christian knowledge, an implicit, harmonious action of the mental and moral powers together, by which instead of a cold analysis the mind seizes the vital truth of the Scriptures; and as it was said of Newton that he could by intuition reach the sum of the most complex reckoning, yet it was not intuition, but only such rapid action of the mind as to lose sight of the steps, so is the synthetic power of faith. It is a knowledge that leads him always, amidst the difficulties of criticism, to rest on the sure foundation. It is a knowledge that keeps him from confounding the Gospel with the theories of men, orthodox or heterodox. And, again, just as the simplest believer receives the truth by the same mental faculty as the scholar, though in a plainer way, so the scholar must gain his real knowledge by the same deep method. An Augustin, although he may range over all systems of philosophic thought, although his own vast genius may have mingled much of the ore of fancy with the gold of his rich theology, comes to Christ, with the deep self-knowledge of a hungering and thirsting heart. A Luther amidst the husks of a scholastic divinity turns to that "*theologia pectoris*" which he has learned upon his knees. Thus faith and reason are one. The *Mécanique Céleste* is a grand rationale of the heavens; yet to the child-like mind, as to the man of science, the stars speak a divine law, a beauty greater than the book, and more reasonable to the former than to a Laplace, who found that "his equation

needed no unknown quantity, no God." Reason may end in the intellectual conclusion; faith ends in Christ and holiness. Reason alone is barren opinion; faith is reason knit with affection and conscience.

And thus I shall pass from the abstract view to what will doubtless have a more living interest, the battle of our time between belief and unbelief. I shall strive to show the grand error of rationalism and the spirit of the Christianity which must meet it.

If, my friends, we have clearly seen the difference between a purely speculative knowledge and that spiritual truth which a Christian faith grasps, it is in the divorce of the one from the other that rationalism consists. It is not in a just use of our intellect in theology or criticism, nor is it in the claim that any doctrines of the Church must agree with the necessary truths of the reason and the conscience. That is the "reasonable service" which the Scripture itself enjoins. But the root of rationalism lies in the assumption that there is already all necessary truth given us in our own consciousness, and therefore we neither want nor can have any divine, special revelation. I do not say a supernatural revelation; for I hold that all within the realm of spiritual life is above nature, and that to limit the supernatural power of God to the age of miracle is a vicious error which opens the way to a gross materialism. Rationalism, in a word, makes the central truths of Christianity—the Incarnation, the Atonement, the power of the Holy Spirit—unreasonable mysteries. We see the steps of this growth in its history. The rationalistic spirit is not indeed confined to one time or land. It is often the ignorant reproach against Germany that its parentage is there, but if it have produced the school of keenest unbelief, it is because it is the home of the highest philosophic power, the noblest learning; and if it have a Baur and a Strauss, it has also a Neander, a Rothe, a Dorner, a host of devout scholars. In its earlier shape rationalism was chiefly an effort to explain away the miraculous character of the Scripture. But after it took a philosophic basis in the Kantian conception of "religion within the bounds of pure reason," it developed rapidly with the changes of speculative thought, until the work of Strauss gave it its most scientific expression. The religion of Christ was only one of the nature-religions of the past. Its divine author was a myth, wrought out of the fancy of the Jewish believers. Yet there was a brilliant charm to many minds in that stately fabric, which seemed to idealize the deepest truths of Christianity into an absolute religion, while it dismissed its legend. But when at last it resulted in making God only self-consciousness, and immortality a dream, it was seen that a rational philosophy which denied revelation must end in denying even the spiritual truths it

boasts. The gorgeous cloud-land set in the darkness of atheism. We reach here the position of our latest rationalism. We need only turn to the views of Strauss in his coarser, later work, or to that romance which Renan has called the "Life of Jesus," to know its type. It has become a destructive criticism. It rests on what it styles the basis of positive science. There, is indeed, in one view a gain, because it has left the ground of myth, and confessed that the person and life of Christ are facts too stubborn to deny some historic basis. But the critic deals with these facts wholly by the laws of a natural science. He comes beforehand with the assumption that there is nothing but a fanciful legend in the gospels; he writes the life of Christ as no more than the history of an Apollonius of Tyana, or a saint like those of the Roman hagiology. The grander fact of such a being as he stands alone in history, the miracle above all else of his wondrous influence over the race, the ideal yet real perfection of wisdom and grace that shine forth in him, the moral convictions of mankind that point to and centre in such a Redeemer, the divinity of a religion that has created a new world of faith and thought and life, all these evidences, as rational as they are sacred, are nothing. Such is the shape of our modern unbelieving wisdom. It has reduced Christianity to that which Baur claims as the solution of the Resurrection—a faith, a church built on the delusion of a few fishermen of Galilee. And even this is but one among all delusions. There is no God in history. There is no personal future. There is no human destiny save this eternal change of races and opinions, of religions and social struggles, which came forth from the unknown, blind force of nature and return to their nothingness. We stand aghast at the open denial of all reality beyond gases and nervous tissues. Yet I hold we are more indebted than we think to our latest form of unchristian science, for it will prove that a sound Christianity alone can save, as it has done before, not merely revealed truth, but the first principles of all spiritual truth whatever.

And thus I reach the last, weightiest topic, the way in which we must defend the faith of Christ against our modern rationalism. I speak it with an earnest conviction that the Christianity we need is that which shall meet it with that science it abuses, and show to a time which asks a clear, positive truth that we are able to give a reason for our faith. Pardon me if I utter with an honest plainness my whole mind here. I should do injustice to the truth if I should fear to expose the error of an irrational belief, as well as of unbelief. Although I reverence the heart of piety even in superstition, yet it is folly to forget that the one vice creates the other. I do not care to choose between

the fever or the chill when both are alternate phases of one intermittent disease. There are those to-day, as there have always been, who, in their dread of rationalism, are ready to deny all just principles of criticism in regard of Scripture or of theology. It is in two forms that the tendency is seen: one the ecclesiastical, in the Roman Church and the self-styled Anglo-Catholic school; the other the theological, which is more akin to the Protestant mind. Yet at bottom it is the same mistaken conception of faith which leads to both. It is the charge always repeated, that the very principle of Protestantism, the right of free inquiry, must make our faith a thousand-tongued speculation; and that a teaching Church, which through its authorized ministers interprets the Word of God, is the only safeguard. I will not confound with the babble of declaimers who tell us that Protestantism is a failure, or with our new-made army of monks, who wrap the dead Christ in the ritualistic grave-clothes of the middle age, those thoughtful and devout men who have been misled into this notion of the Church. I will only answer that the right of intelligent inquiry does not contradict just authority, so long as that authority means, as in all science, that of sound learning. But it is the condition of intellectual and moral life in the Church that its teaching shall be open to criticism. Let the Word of God be in the hands of its doctors only, whose decisions are above question, and call it what you will, the infallibility of a Pontiff, or the voice of the Church, and it becomes the word of man. The infallibility of Scripture is only seen when it is held so divine that it can conquer error. It is in far less peril from varieties of interpretation than from an infallible church. We do not want a faith that comes from the stifling of the mind, for that is credulity; but the faith that enters with the light. And if I have so met the ecclesiastical claim, I can answer as truly the same spirit when it comes in the shape of a dogmatism that fears the advance of modern critical thought. Nothing can be more fatal to the cause of truth. It is the very weapon the rationalist wants, if he can only show that his criticism, however false, is met by a mere appeal to the accepted tradition. Nay, I know no sadder unbelief in the divinity of our religion than is given by those who, from dread of attack, would fain clothe the truth of God in the Saul's armor of their unproved systems. It is because I believe it of God, I can trust in its intrinsic might; because it is not a deposit of dogmas, but one living Catholic faith in the mind and heart of the Church; because I know it is given to be studied through honest effort of the human intellect, and that all its gains have been through struggle, I can know it will conquer the wildest errors of to-day as in the past.

This, then, I affirm to be the aim of a true Christian learning, to bring out those central truths of revelation, in which it addresses the whole spiritual nature of men, and has there its witness. I rejoice in it as the noblest proof of the advance of our theology, that it has so largely entered on this path of Christian evidence. The main assault of the rationalist is against the miraculous side of revelation, as a legend which science can not admit. We must meet him with that living view which shall show the Gospel of the Son of God to be no mere outward history of the past, but the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, because it rests on the living Christ. Although I have all respect for the Paleys, and the whole class of apologists of a former day; although I do not doubt that the external evidences, so-called, have their worth as buttresses of the outer wall, yet I maintain that, for science as well as faith, the enduring argument of Christianity must be in the inward harmony of revelation with the design of its Master-builder. The person and life of Jesus Christ is the one miracle which rationalism can not explain away. It still compels the unwilling homage of the Renans, as it did the Rousseaus of a former day. If we stand on that central truth, we have a miracle which gives a reason for all the wonders which attended His mission. That fact alone explains the history of mankind, as it shows in all natural religions the yearnings of the human conscience after a Redeemer, and opens yet more the meaning of a Church, a Christian civilization, which has grown out of the life of the Son of God. And such a principle, again, will guide us amidst the questions of Biblical interpretation, because it will teach the true distinction between the province of revealed truth and critical science. If we have grasped the one spiritual law of revelation, we shall be in no danger of elinging to some mechanical theory of Scripture for fear of losing its substance. The Book of God will be for us no record of astronomy or geology, no chronicle which a verbal criticism can overthrow. It will be the history of a divine redemption. We shall read in the record of that ancient people of Israel, its law, its prophecy, as a ripe English scholar now with us has done, a preparation for Christ.

And last of all, to condense in a few words what I can not enlarge on, yet can not leave, it will be the aim of a Christian learning to bring our theology to the test of that Divine truth which is above and beyond all theology. I believe it is the grand boon to be gained from all the battles which have been fought for our confessions, that at last we shall arrive at a clearer conviction of their essential harmony. In such a view I can not look on the past of Latin or Protestant doctrine as a wrangle of needless systems;

not even what an ingenious thinker styles it, the robust play of Christian intellect; the throwing to and fro the shuttlecock, where all the good lies in the exercise. No, it has been the earnest struggle of all, from Augustine to Calvin, in which each has advanced some lost or undeveloped side of truth. But we are to learn that theology and life must go together. It was after the first formative period of the Church, when the mass of scholastic tradition—the gold, silver, hay, wood, stubble—had covered the foundation, when the metaphysics of the doctors became the creed, and subtle definitions of sin, grace, and sacrament were petrified into idolatry, that there came a divorce between the head and heart of Christendom. The Reformation was an appeal from Aristotle to Christ. And yet we have too often seen repeated the same history. Whenever faith becomes the acceptance of the traditional glosses instead of living truth, it has been changed to an orthodoxy without its moral power. Nor let us forget that there is a most essential kinship between such dogmatism and rationalism. Rationalism builds its fabric of theoretical notions, dogmatism does the same: rationalism robs Christianity of all that can touch conscience or affection, dogmatism does the same. Let us learn thoroughly this law of theological ethics. When Neander was asked whence was German unbelief, he answered, the dead orthodoxy. We know it not only in the Lutheran Church, but in that of New England. If ever there was a chapter in doctrinal history to be deeply studied, it is that which reaches from the day of Edwards to that of Channing. As yet it has only been superficially written. American Unitarianism was the just reaction against a scholastic divinity, keen, subtle, rigid, as that of the middle age, and, like that, creating the intellectual movement that opposed it. It was when the truth of the Incarnation had been made a subtle enigma of metaphysics that the Uni-

tarian rejected it; when the blessed sacrifice of the Cross had been explained into some mercantile bargain, that it lost its meaning; when a subtle theory of the will had been called essential doctrine, that the moral feeling revolted against it. We are to ponder this fact to-day, as it is brought home to us by the peculiar strifes of our religions thought. It is not a theological culture we are to renounce, for this would only end in a creedless indifference, or in that vague mysticism which emasculates the mind. But our hope is in that larger culture which shows us the harmony of all doctrine, and guards us from mistaking the empiric school of one age for an unchanging, absolute truth; it is in such studies as a Dorner has given in his "Person of Christ," where we can trace the central fact of Christianity through its manifold expression. And, more, it is in the knowledge that all our human systems are but a dim reflection of that "mind of Christ," of Him whose truth is not a philosophy, but the life of men.

This is our power against modern unbelief. This is the Christianity we need in a time when the hungering thousands are asking, amidst the questions that touch the being of any revelation—nay, the being of God and the soul—for a Gospel of positive and living meaning. And I thank God I can hail it as the most significant feature of this great council, although some may very dimly see the result, that we are nearing the age when we shall reach this unity. I thank him for these signs of the time, for every gain of our study in his Word, for every light a Christian science has cast on the record of religion, yes, and even for the torrent of unchristian intellect which has left the soil more fertile for the harvests of a better truth, which will force us out of our little shelters of Westminster and Angsburg, of Anglican and Reformed, to meet at last in the city of God, in the confession of the Christ who is not divided.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOSPEL.

BY FELIX BOVET, PH.D.,

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THE topic of the day is Christianity and its Antagonisms; and you have just been told of the antagonism between faith and reason. My friend and colleague, Professor Godet, who was expected to participate in this discussion, but who unfortunately has been unable to be present, would have spoken to you of *Christianity* and *Humanity*, aiming to show that, properly viewed, there is no antagonism between them, but that Christianity is the perfection of Humanity redeemed from sin and error.

Having been invited, on brief notice, to take his place, and thus having had but a limited time for the preparation of what I have to say, I must beg your indulgence. I propose to treat of the precise relation between *Christianity* and the *Gospel*, and to show that between these two words, apparently synonymous, there is in reality an important distinction; and that the words *Christianity* and *Christian* are insufficient, and, to a certain degree, incorrect, as designating the object of our faith, and as expressing what we are and what we should be.

This may appear a discussion of mere words, but different words express a difference of thoughts; and moreover, in a religion founded upon the written Word of God, words are eminently significant.

And first, it is worthy of note that the word *Christian* is not of Christian origin. Those called Christians were originally so designated by strangers, who gave a name to something they did not and could not understand. The Jews called the disciples of Jesus *Galileans* or *Nazarenes*. And when, for the first time, a church was founded by this new sect in one of the large cities of the Gentiles, the Greeks of that city also invented a name to designate those who belonged to it. These dwellers in Antioch (like the Athenians subsequently, Acts xvii.) saw in the Gospel nothing beyond a new doctrine (*καινή διδασχία*), and in the new religionists only a philosophical sect similar to those which for six hundred years previous had constantly sprung up in the fertile soil of Greece, and which at that time were becoming more and more numerous. They saw that the members of this sect followed a teacher called Christ, as others followed Plato, Pythagoras, or Epicurus, and hence, quite natu-

rally, applied the terms *Christianity* and *Christian*, as they did *Pythagorean* and *Epicurean*. As to the disciples themselves, they did not at once take the name of Christians, as we see that it is found twice only in the New Testament, and never as a word given to themselves by the members of the Church. Once it is uttered by Agrippa when he says, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian" (Acts xxvi., 28); and again it occurs in the passage in which Peter, alluding to the insulting use that the heathen made of this word, says to his brethren, "If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye..... Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters. Yet if any man suffer as a *Christian*, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God for this *very name*"* (1 Pet. iv., 14-16).

The recommendation of the apostle was regarded. This name given by the enemy became a source of glory to God; but it is the more noticeable that, during the whole of the first century, and even beyond that period, the Church, while accepting it, did not adopt it; and that it is not even used in those books of the New Testament which seem to have been last written.

It could be said, *a priori*, that these names, *Christian* and *Christianity*, invented by heathen, could not be absolutely correct, and would throw a light more or less false on what they meant to designate. The appellations might, indeed, have been worse chosen; because these words contain an element of truth, and an essential element, since they bind the Church not to Barnabas or to Paul, as some were tempted to do at Antioch, and as some also are tempted to do in our day, but to Jesus Christ, its true founder, or, to say better, its true foundation. However, they were not without inconvenience; the name *Christians* seemed to designate, first of all, like the name *Aristotelians* or *Epicu-*

* 'Εν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦτου, according to the most correct text as found in the most ancient manuscripts (Sinait., Alexandr., Vatican), and in the most ancient translations (Peschito, Vulgata, *in isto nomine*). 'Εν τῷ μέρει τοῦτου of the *Textus receptus* is very interesting, as it proves that at the time of the introduction of this paraphrase it could no more be conceived that the name of *Χριστιανός* had been primitively an insult.

reans, the men who embraced a certain opinion, or even a certain mode of living, rather than a new people, a race engendered of God, a royal priesthood. And the word *Christianity* (*Christianismus*) gave much less the idea of a gift of God than a certain collection of themes to adopt and precepts to follow.

These names were not without influence upon the Church when at a later period it adopted them. The people of priests had a tendency to become a people of theologians, and with us those two ideas have almost melted into each other. The name *Christianity* indicating a group of doctrines, it could and must be asked of how many articles of faith it was composed. The Church of the centuries that followed counted eighteen symbolic articles; later, the Romish Church counted its dogmas by hundreds (as many as it had canons of councils), and considers it one of its privileges, in every century, to draw new ones out of the treasury of the Holy Scriptures and of tradition. The Reformation stepped back, but did not change its course. The English Church has only thirty-nine articles left. We ourselves, in our Evangelical Alliance, have begun by adopting nine articles of faith. All this has some reason to be, I admit, but, let us admit it also, that it does not satisfy us entirely, because we feel that these articles of faith are not the true expression of our faith itself, and only represent, for better or worse, the intellectual and abstract side of it.

I do not pretend to say, you understand, that these words *Christianity* and *Christian* which have come down to us through our fathers, and which have become dear to us, must be abandoned. They belong for many centuries to the language of the Church, and we must accept that language as it is. But have you never noticed that the comparison of a foreign word with a word belonging to our mother tongue helps us sometimes to complete, to rectify, and always to enrich the idea to which it corresponds? So much the more will this be apparent in the subject that we study at this time, if, forgetting for a moment the name we bear, and which has been given to us by strangers, we will consider the name which has been given to our religion by the men from whom we have it, and the name they took for themselves.

I have said *religion*, but this word also they never used.* A great manifestation of life had taken place (according to the expression of John); and they told of that which they had seen with their eyes, which they had looked upon, and their hands had handled (1 John i., 1), and they called the

testimony which they gave of it *the good news, the Gospel*. It is not they, however, that had first given this name; it was the name given by the angels at the time of the birth of the Saviour: *The Gospel of great joy*.* This is an angelic and heavenly conception, and verily true! This is a name which does not suggest any kind of system, or theory, or dogmatism, not even a dogmatism given from heaven, but that calls to mind something vastly better than that—a gift of God, the good news of God's giving himself to the world, *The Gospel of great joy!*

As to the names by which the early Christians designated themselves, they are no less characteristic. Besides the honorary titles that the apostles gave them sometimes in their epistles, and which called to their mind their hopes and their privileges ("royal priesthood," "purchased people," "children of God"), we find in the New Testament three names which were used constantly in the habitual language to designate those who had believed. These names are *saints, disciples, and brethren*.

The name *saint*, like the word *gospel*, reminds, first of all, of the gift of God; that is to say, something which is entirely objective. *Saint*, in the language of the Bible, means *set apart*.† Applied to God, it expresses the transcendency of the God of Israel, and his absolute independence of the universe, which is only his creation, in opposition to the God of the Gentiles, who is immanent in nature, and is not distinguished from it. Applied to men, it expresses that they have been made themselves independent of nature, free from its yoke, to which the mass of humanity is subjected (Deut. iv., 19), and that they have been consecrated to God. So the *saints*, or the *saints elect*, as Paul calls them, are not, as the name *Christian* would imply, a people who have adopted a doctrine, and have chosen a religion in preference of another. No! They are men that God has set apart for himself. A man can make himself *Christian* as he makes himself Hegelian or Cartesian, Zwinglian or Lutheran, but God makes the saints. The men who are made saints, because they are called of God, must be holy in their life. All grace and all morality are contained in this name. Pelagianism, Molinism, Antinomianism, and many other aberrations are excluded by this single word. *Sancti estis, sancti estote*—"Ye are saints, be ye holy."

But the New Testament does not desig-

* Εὐαγγελίζομαι ὑμῖν χαρὰν μεγάλην.—Luke ii., 10.

† The radix קָדַשׁ was erroneously considered by some authors as analogous to קָדַשׁ, "to germinate, to grow green," and by some others as analogous to קָדַשׁ, "to become new, fresh." The true analogon of קָדַשׁ is קָדַר, used by the Talmudists in the sense of *cædo, scindo, גָּדַר, קָצַר*, "to cut, to separate, to put aside."

* The Greek *θρησκεία*, found only four times in the New Testament, does not correspond to "religion" (as it is translated in Jas. i., 26, 27), but to "worshipping" (as it is rendered in Col. ii., 18):

nate them only by this name that remembers especially that which God is for them. No; the name *disciple*, so often used, reminds of what they are themselves, of the position they have accepted before the Lord. The name *disciple*, which means pupil or scholar, obviates many misunderstandings. What constitutes a disciple is not what one knows, not what he has already learned, but what he is to learn still. The most advanced and the least advanced are the disciples, one like the other, provided they are *at school*. One is not a disciple when he thinks that he has nothing to learn, or when he imagines that he has learned all. When we think we have inclosed heaven in our measure, and the Gospel in our system, we can consider ourselves *Christians*, but not *disciples*. Alas! we, disciples of Jesus—like *sophomores*, who sometimes hesitate to treat as fellow-students the *freshmen*—we hesitate to consider as belonging to us, or more strictly as belonging to Christ, the men (as we find so many in the Church of Rome and in the churches of the East) who only begin to spell the name of Jesus, but who, without knowing yet fully what it means, stammer it already with love, and men (as there are many with us) who are outside of our denominations and churches, but who have already heard in their hearts the Master's voice, and have listened to it without having yet learned to call him by name.

Most frequently the disciples or the saints are called in the New Testament *brethren*. Of these three names the latter is the one which is used most to this day, but its meaning has been lost, perhaps, more than that of any other appellation. It is a remarkable fact that during several centuries the heathen, blinded by their prejudices and hatred, saw in the disciples of Christ only rebels to authority, sometimes atheists, and even disputed the purity of their morals. Only one of their virtues, brotherly love, was in these times never doubted. It shone like the sun above all others, and constrained from their persecutors this cry of astonishment, "See how they love each other!" The Word of the Lord had thus its literal fulfillment; it was in that, in that alone, that *all* knew his disciples by the love which they had one for the other.

In our day—and it is sad to see it—the phenomenon is reversed, and it can be said that of all Christian virtues brotherly love is the one that, at first sight, attracts the least attention from the world. I need not go far to seek proofs, and a single one will suffice. If I open one of our Christian periodicals, I see (and the enemies of the Gospel would agree to it themselves) that it distinguishes itself from other papers by propriety and honesty scrupulously observed, by more respect for authority and more elevation of thought, often even—but not always

—by more generous feelings; but, alas! (I speak of the *European* religious papers) I find in many of them no less bitterness in the discussion, no less of rash judgments and evil inferences, no less haste in believing evil and in distrusting the good, no more charity and love toward one and the other of the disciples who ought to be as brethren.

Protestants and Catholics, High and Low Church, Calvinists and Lutherans, Free-Church men and State-Church men, first appear to the world of our day under the form of actors in a great conflict or an immense civil war.

What I am sorry to see—I desire that my thought be understood—is certainly not this infinite diversity of expressions of Christian sentiment, because this very diversity is a richness. On the contrary, what I deplore is the kind of unity which some try to establish, a factitious and violent unity, to be forced by newspaper anathemas and by bulls in pamphlet form, when the true unity, the sole one worthy of brethren, has been given to us by the Lord: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."

But is it here, in the midst of this fraternity that unites us from all the parts of the world in one place—is it here, in these days of the feast of the Evangelical Alliance, that we must mourn over this lack of brotherhood? Oh yes, and more than anywhere else, because if the Evangelical Alliance has done many things, if we have cause to rejoice in God for its existence, its very existence proves better than any other thing how far behind we are still of unity—in the same manner as that beautiful institution of our times, the International Society for the Relief of the Wounded, proves too well that the nations are yet in a state of war. The programme of the Evangelical Alliance, its motto, its ideal, is in this word expressing the last will of our Saviour: "That *all* may be *one*." How far short does the Evangelical Alliance come of uniting *all*, and how many persist in remaining outside? And how much the word itself of Evangelical Alliance makes us painfully measure the distance between it and *unity*!

Must not one of our principal duties in these solemn meetings be to humble ourselves before God for the very need of an Evangelical Alliance?

Must we not, in asking God to bless our work and our efforts, ask him, above all, to send his Holy Spirit, so that all Christians may be transformed into *saints*, *disciples*, and *brethren*, and that in this way the day may be hastened when the word *alliance* will not be needed and no mention of it will be made, because *unity* will be written in the hearts, and that unity will be nothing else but LOVE!

PHILOSOPHICAL SECTION.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE DOCTRINE OF DEVELOPMENT.

BY THE REV. JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., PRINCETON, N. J.,

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I INVITE you into a temple in which are symbols and inscriptions fitted to instruct us as to the true character and history of our world. That temple is not made by human hands, but by him who created the heavens and the earth. It is larger, grander, and yet simpler than the rock-cut temples of India, than the columnar vistas of Egypt, than the cathedrals raised by the piety of the Middle Ages. Some of the great passes in the Alps, Andes, and Himalayas bear some likeness to it in length and height, but they are bare and sterile, whereas this is covered on both sides with figures full of meaning. At the grand entrance are two forms which arrest the attention. The one on the right consists of two tables of stone, representing law—moral and natural. The one on the left is an altar, with flowers and fruit on it, and a bleeding lamb. Here the vista bursts on our view, and extends on till the sides are lost in the dim distance; but at the farthest end is an object which no distance can lessen—the Rock of Ages, with a throne set on it which can not be moved, and the Ancient of Days seated on it, and in the midst “a Lamb as it had been slain;” and midway between the entrance and the end is a cross lifted up and a meek sufferer stretched upon it, but with a halo round his head, and above him, spanning the arch, a rainbow formed by the refraction of the pure white light which streams from him who dwelleth in light that is inaccessible to mortal eyes and full of glory. On each side of this extended gallery are symbolic figures, and these grow out of each other, and carry on a continued history from the past into the future onward into eternity. The great limners of the world are busily employed in drawing the pictures in this palace of the great King. I am to engage you for a little while in looking at them and reading the inscriptions.

I. *Those on the Religious Side.*—They have been written “at sundry times and in divers parts” by holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The first inscription that

meets our eye is “In the beginning” (*ἐν ἀρχῇ*)—the word used by the old Greek philosophers when they were inquiring after the origin and principle of all things. How far back into the remote this carries us we can not tell, but then “God created the heavens and the earth.” Then we see a brooding darkness, but it is a cloud of seeds from which the worlds are formed. “The earth was without form and void,” but the wind of the Spirit blows upon it, and a voice is heard, “Let there be light,” and light appears, and henceforth there is systematic order: there is development in order or order in development, and at the close of each day or period God declares “all things to be very good.” As yet there is no sun nor moon; but there is rotating evening and morning, and the evening and the morning constitute the first day—we know not of what length, for the clock of time is not yet set up, and the word day often means epoch in Scripture. In the second day there is the rising of the aerial and the sinking of the fluid. In the third day the sea is divided from the land; on the same day life appears, and has a developing power in it, “for the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, whose seed is in itself after his kind.” On the fourth, two solid lights appear, and become the rulers and dividers of time. When the fifth day rises out of the night, we see the waters bringing forth the moving creatures, and we have fishes and fowls, with moving creatures and sea monsters, all with a power of evolution, for the waters bring forth after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind, and are enjoined to multiply and fill the waters in the sea and the earth. A sixth day dawns, and we see reptiles and beasts, all after their kind; and in this epoch appears a nobler creature made after the image of God, and with the command to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth. This was the special work of Elohim, the one God with a plural nature, who, on finishing the creation, leaves the living

creatures to develop by the powers with which he has endowed them.

Another vision joins on, and we have not Elohim, but the Lord Jehovah, the lawgiver, the covenant-maker; and we have exhibited to us the relation in which man stands to him. Man is represented as formed out of the dust of the ground, but with a divine breath breathed into him; he is put under law, with a promise of life and a threatening of death. We now come to the most mysterious of all the records. A tempter, indicating an earlier fall, suddenly intrudes, and he uses the beast of the field and the lower passions as his instruments; and henceforth man exhibits devilish propensities of pride and rebellion, on the one hand, and animal propensities of appetite and lust on the other; and there is sin propagating itself, actual sin developing from original sin as a seed, and man driven into a world where are thorns and thistles; and the multiplication of the race is with sorrow, and man has to earn his bread with the sweat of his face, and his body has to return to the dust from which it was taken.

There now appears a figure with an inscription containing the whole history of mankind in epitome. You see a Being possessed evidently of superhuman power, but with a truly human nature, having his heel bitten by a serpent, on whose head he sets his foot and crushes it forever. The attached writing is, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Henceforth there are two seeds, and each develops after its kind, and they contend and must contend till the good gains the victory. A seed—not seeds, as of many, but seed, as of one—is developed from the woman, but by a heavenly power, the Holy Ghost, who brought form out of the formless at creation; and this personage is represented as suffering, as having his heel bruised, and in his suffering destroying the power of evil. Henceforth our world is a scene of contest. Man is warring with the unwilling soil, with privation, disappointment, loss, disease, and death; one man contending with another because of conflicting interests and passions; one race and nation fighting with another; and a large portion of human history is a history of war. To restrain excessive wickedness the earth is visited with a flood—as geologists tell us it had often been before—but animal pairs are preserved to continue the races, and the rainbow is made to give assurance to the terrified fathers that waters will no more cover the earth. The purpose of God is fulfilled in the scattering of men; but the people, wherever they go, propagate the evil, and change the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and "to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."

To preserve a seed who may know the truth, a special man and a special seed is set apart. Out of this seed comes the father both of history and poetry, who, in language of unsurpassed simplicity and grandeur, has described creation, and written the inflexible law in the granite of Sinai, and, himself a prophet, spoken of a greater Prophet to come. Their greatest poet, himself a great warrior, portrays the contest between the good and the evil going on in the world in warlike imagery; and, feeling that he himself is not the man to build the spiritual temple, because his hands have been imbrued in blood, points ever to a King who "in his majesty rides prosperously because of truth, meekness, and righteousness." There follows a succession of prophets, each with his vision and his parable; and the grandest of them, whose sentences flow like a river descending from the heights of heaven to water the plains of earth, speaks of him as wounded, bruised, dying, and in the grave, but seeing the fruit of the travail of his soul, and extending his dominion till it covers the whole earth as the waters do the channel of the sea. Contemporaneous with these we have typical personages—prophets, priests, and kings—with their faces shining with light as they look forward to One suspended on the cross, and beyond to the throne of God. In the middle of the ages that great person appears, passing through suffering to conquest, fighting with sin and subduing it, connecting heaven and earth as by a ladder, and as a rainbow spanning the world.

Beyond the central figure a new life appears. God comes forth as creator the first time since he rested after creating the heavens and the earth. Just as in the prehistoric ages there had appeared a plant life, and an animal life, and an intellectual life, and a moral life, so now we have a spiritual life—it is the dispensation of the Spirit. Those who have sat for ages in darkness now see a great light. A new people come forth, not dwelling in a separate locality, but scattered among all people, like salt to preserve, like seed to propagate the life all over the world. With that spiritual life come other forms of good, such as art, and civilization, and widening comforts, and the cultivation of the intellect, and the refining of the feelings. But the soil has still to be plowed and harrowed in order to yield seed and fruit; the spiritual forces have to meet and overcome obstacles; and every good cause before it succeeds has to produce a martyr, out of whose ashes a new life proceeds. Not only so, but there is a contest in every heart; "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, and these are contrary the one to the other." The cause moves on, as the light comes from the sun in vibrations, as the tides come up upon the land—advancing and receding; but

on the whole advancing. In the last symbolic book we hear a succession of trumpets sounding to call men to the battle, and see vials poured out to destroy the seeds of evil and purify the atmosphere. Many pass to and fro, and knowledge is increased; agencies for good are multiplied, and the kingdom extends till it spreads over the whole earth, which has rest for a thousand years—we may suppose a day for a year. Beyond this the vision becomes dim from the distance, but we see the old adversary loosed for a little while, and the earth burned with fire, and the dazzling bright throne of judgment set up, and the God-man upon it, and every one giving an account of the deeds done in the body, whether they have been good or whether they have been evil; and then a separation—these descending by their own weight into their own place of blackness, and those carried up to heaven by their attraction to God, where they join in the song, "Salvation to our God that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb."

II. *The Scientific Side.*—Here, as on the other side, we have a body of men busily employed in drawing figures and carving inscriptions, all to throw light on the past and present of our world. They are left to their native powers, and have to work by observation; they are not kept from error by any special guidance, and much that they write is laid in colors which fade, or in false colors, which require to be blotted out by those who come after. Still much remains, and shall remain forever, chiseled in the rock and never to be effaced, and this is growing and accumulating.

We have, first, lawgivers, who, finding that men are prone to evil, have proclaimed laws more or less perfect to secure obedience. Then there are moralists, from Socrates downward, inscribing on that wall what they have found written on their hearts, and which they regard, if only they read it aright, as a transcript of the holy nature and the supreme will of God. Alongside of them you may notice the broad-browed philosophers, from Plato and Aristotle onward, speculating on fate and chance, and the relation of the universe to God, and demonstrating that man's soul has a conscious unity and personality of which it can never be deprived. The next group consists of historians, who have given us lively narratives of the great deeds of our world, of the sacrifices which men have made for kindred and for country, but who have also to record enormous crimes, political feuds, and wars which have deluged the earth with blood. Next and more influential are those who express popular feeling, and have told what this world of men and women is, and have enshrined their thoughts in verse, that they may be caught more easily and remembered longer. Let us notice the topics of which

they treat. The oldest of them, never surpassed for natural strength, has sung of the wrath of Achilles, and the evil thus wrought. Another, full of grace, has sung of arms, and of a hero fleeing from a burning city, and crossing a stormy sea to found an empire. In a later age we see one, who, though blind, has seen further than other men, and has painted demoniacal pride, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. Another hand has taken the lyre, and, with old Horace and modern songsters and satirists, has delineated the loves and the hatreds, the hopes and disappointments, the joys and sorrows, the aspirations and foibles, which agitate men's bosoms. A third class, led by our high-browed dramatist, have exhibited on a stage what they believe to be the swaying motives of rich and poor, and have let us into the secrets of the working of ambition, passion, jealousy, pride, vanity, envy, revenge, caprice, fear, despair. The poet of the common people, in describing their joys, often sensual and mad, comes to the conclusion that "man is made to mourn." Romancers in these late years are taking up the same work, and are spinning tales which exhibit the strength and weakness of our nature—yearning affections, blighted hopes, cruel betrayals—illustrated by seduction and murder. All of these artists describe this earth as a strangely mixed scene, with hills and hollows, with lakes sleeping in visible repose or rent by storms, with peaceful valleys and terrible gullies, with streams flowing gently and then pouring over fearful cataracts, with an ocean now inviting us to repose on its bosom, and anon tossing off men and vessels like seaweed.

But let us specially look at the grand truths inscribed by the exponents of science, as you see them there with their instruments for weighing and measuring, and their laborious calculations. On the religious side every thing was ascribed to God, proceeding orderly: "Thou hast established the earth and it abideth. They continue this day according to thine ordinances; for all are thy servants." A somewhat different but not inconsistent view is given of the same objects on the scientific side, where every thing is ascribed to what is called Law, which, however, when properly understood, implies a lawgiver. So these men, consciously or unconsciously, are unfolding to our view the plan of the great Creator. On this side of the hall of science you see inscribed, first, mathematical figures, such as squares, triangles, circles, spirals, and other sections of the cone, and it turns out that these regulate the forms and movements of objects in the heavens and in the earth, and are made to do so by a God who, as Plato says, geometrizes. Then you see science investigating inanimate nature, and showing that all the physical forces are modifications of one and the

same force. Now it is seeking to discover the order and progression of animated beings, of plants and animals. It has shown that there are geological epochs: first an azoic period; then plants, marine and terrestrial; then the lower creatures with animal life; then fishes, fowls, reptiles, quadrupeds; and, finally, man.

In looking at these phenomena, men discover every where development or evolution. It appears in inanimate nature—in suns, planets, and moons being evolved out of an original matter, in a way which implies that the earth is older than the sun, and must have existed for ages, and had light shining upon it before the sun took his solid form. It is a characteristic of organized beings to produce others after their kind. Those who view development in the proper light see in it only a form or manifestation of law. Gravitation is a law of contemporaneous nature extending over all bodies simultaneously—over sun, moon, and stars the most remote. Development is a law of successive nature, and secures a connection between the past and the present, and I may add the future, securing a unity, and it may be a progression, from age to age. It is merely an exhibition of order running through successive ages, as the other is of order running through coexisting objects.

But at this point difficulties and disputes arise. Is development so restricted that the plant and animal produces an offspring only after its kind: the lichen producing only the lichen, and the lily only the lily, and the oak only the oak, and the worm only the worm, and the bee only the bee, and the horse only the horse. Or may not development be so extended as to imply, in new circumstances and under new conditions, a modification of kinds, that is, new species, and an advance from age to age from lower to higher forms. Some maintain that there is no power in nature to change species, and that when a new species appears it must be by an immediate fiat of God acting independently of all natural agents. Others hold that there may be powers in nature—religious men say conferred by God—which gradually raise species into higher forms by aggregation and selection. I am not sure that religion has any interest in holding absolutely by the one side or other of this question, which it is for scientific men to settle. I am not sure that religion is entitled to insist that every species of insect has been created by a special fiat of God, with no secondary agent employed.

But in prosecuting these investigations science comes to walls of adamant, which will not fall down at its command, and which, if it tries to break through, will only prostrate it, and cause it to exhibit its weakness before the world. (1) It can not develop without a matter to develop from, and

it can not tell where this original matter came from. This matter must have properties: what are these properties? and whence? The impression left by the statement of some is that, if we only had this original matter, every thing else could be accounted for by evolution. But (2) we can not, apart from a designing mind, account for that combination, that organization of agencies—mechanical, electrical, chemical, vital—which produces development. (3) It can not say how animal sensation or feeling came in. (4) It can not tell when or how instinct came in, how or when intelligence appeared, and affection and pity and love, and the discernment of good and evil. (5) In particular, it can not render any account of the production of man's higher endowments, his powers of abstracting, generalizing, and reasoning, from the individual objects presented to him, of discovering necessary truth, and the obligation of virtue. Science has not found these in the star-dust, nor were they in the ascidian, the fish, the monkey: how, then, did man get them, or, rather, whence came man as possessed of them. Science, at all these places, comes to chasms which it can not fill up. It has no facts whatever to support its theories, and is obliged to acknowledge that it has none; and as to the hypotheses which it calls in, they do not even seem to explain the essential facts, the appearance of new powers or agencies not known to be at work before.

But meanwhile, and as it is poring into these things, it is obliged to look at a set of phenomena unknown to or overlooked by the older physicists and naturalists; has, as it looks to animated beings, come in view of a conflict of which it can give no account, and of a manifest evil. It speaks of worlds coming out of star-dust, of worlds shattered into fragments, and their materials scattered into space; and in regard to our earth, of upheavals, of sinkings of land, and the submergence of all living beings on it; of floods, of denudations, of volcanoes, of icebergs, and long periods of shivering cold. All these might not be evils, but then it speaks of what is and must be an evil—of the existence of pain. When living beings appear, it can not tell how, it is obliged to speak of a struggle for existence, the stronger devouring the weaker, and innumerable diseases preying on the animal frame, of individuals dying, and races perishing from want of sustenance or amid overwhelming convulsions. When man appears, it can not tell how, but on a scene evidently prepared for him, he carries the seeds of disease in his very person, and he has to suffer pain of body and torture of mind. Around him are storms to destroy and disappointments crossing his path, and within are selfishness and craving lusts and repinings and passions, which war against each other, and war against the soul.

True, there are in all these objects law and order and beneficence, obvious and pressing itself on the notice. Forces, blind in themselves, are made by their combination to produce the most perfect mathematical figures. Beauty appears every where—in sky and earth, in planet and plant. Every organ of the animal frame is good in itself, and liable to accomplish its evident purpose. There is order in star and sun and earth, but order coming out of disorder. It is beauty in flower, in young man and maiden coming out of dust and returning to dust; we see it in that foliage, so beautiful even when it is fading; does not the father feel it when he commits the body of his son to the grave, "dust to dust, ashes to ashes." Man has high aspirations, but it is only to feel how far he falls beneath them. All these are facts—quite as much so as the movements of the planets in elliptic orbits, as the laws of development in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. The proudest thinkers, as they are brought face to face with these facts, are obliged to acknowledge that they can not discover a final cause in many of the most common agents of nature; as, for instance, in the derangement to which every organ of the frame is liable, and in the parasites which dwell in and feed on the bodies of all our noblest animals. The microscope shows us how exquisitely they are formed, but all to inflict the more excruciating pain. We may apologize for some of these things, but we can not explain them—for instance, the existence of incurable sorrow and madness. Physiologists know that the organs of the body—the eye, the stomach, the liver, the brain—might have been so constructed as not to be liable to disease and pain, to which they are exposed, not by accident, but by their very nature and structure. Combined science, as it looks into the future, is obliged to tell us that the world and all that is therein shall first have its heat exhausted, and then, in the disintegration, shall be burned with fire; and what the new order of things to issue out of this elemental fire it can not tell.

Now this is, in fact, the sum of what science has been able to say about our world: Our cosmos rises out of dust, is formed into beautiful shapes by warring powers, becomes order and progressive order, and ends in dissolving heat. Our earth comes out of a cloud and ends in a conflagration. The highest being, as he enters it, makes known his presence by a cry, and ends his march through it in the grave. Surely in all this, while there is much in the evident order and beneficence to elevate, there is not a little to awe and to humble us. The profoundest thinkers feel that they have come here to an unknown power behind and beneath all, and are impelled under a choking feeling to cry out, like the dying Goethe, for

light, and for windows to be opened to let it in.

Meanwhile that other and higher law, the moral law—the law written on the heart—has something very important to utter, and it pronounces it in the name of God, the law-giver. It affirms of itself that it is unbending as stone, and yet finds that man has broken it. It points emphatically to a judgment to come—it can not say where or when, but certain to come—as certain as that there is a law, an eternal law, and a God to guard it. The scene closes with each one placed before that bar to give an account of the deeds done in the body, whether they have been good, or whether they have been evil; and there it leaves him, in the midst of the conflagration of worlds, with undying matter taking new shapes, and a soul—certainly as undying as that matter—ready to be consigned to its own place of light or of darkness.

III. Having taken a cursory glance at each of the sides of this rock-cut gallery, let us now look back upon the two. We see in a general way that there is a correspondence between them. In both we have moral law set forth—in the one by the conscience, in the other by the commands and prohibitions in Eden, by the tables of stone on Mount Sinai, and by the Sermon on the Mount in the New Testament. But there is this important difference: the one tells us that the law has been broken, and in proof points to the wickedness in the world, and the guilty remorse which agitates men's bosoms, but reveals no way by which the sin can be forgiven; whereas the other, while it declares that sin has been committed, clearly makes known a way by which the sinner may be reconciled to God. Both reveal order in the world: the one as appointed by God; the other as discovered by man. In both we have progression in the divine workmanship, and the order, as Dr. Guyot has shown, is very much the same. The Bible says that after man was made God rested from creation, and Dr. Dana assures us that since man appeared geology does not disclose a single new species of plant or animal. It is surely a curious circumstance that this picture of the formation of our earth was drawn upward of three thousand years before geology started, and has continued unchanged amid the shiftings of science. The inspired record tells us, what anthropology confirms, that man has a twofold nature—a body formed out of the dust of the ground, and a spirit after the image of God breathed into him. Nor is there any contradiction as to chronology. For, first, geology has no clock to tell us the time—what it reveals is not absolute, but relative. It tells us that a certain epoch must have been before another epoch; but its deductions are very uncertain as to how far back any one epoch—say the glacial epoch—car-

ries us. These uncertainties have been increased by the discoveries lately made by Dr. Wyville Thomson and Dr. Carpenter, of creatures now living in the deep seas which geologists, if they had found them as fossils, would at once have ascribed to a much earlier epoch. And as to Scripture, it contains no inspired chronology of early history: what passes as such is drawn out of Bible genealogies by fallible men, and drawn out of imperfect data, for Jewish scholars tell us that these genealogies were never understood as being complete; and the genealogies, when summed up, give us in the Hebrew text, 1656 years between the Creation and the Flood, whereas the Septuagint gives us 2262 years, and the Samaritan text only 1307 years.

At this stage the Scriptural record opens a new and strange phenomenon to appear in the universe of God: it furnishes a glimpse of an early rebellion; for one comes on the scene to tempt the first human pair. At the corresponding period science gives intimations of a struggle in which we see warring elements, and a gradual evolution of planets and satellites, the sun consolidated into a centre, and capable of being seen from the earth; and when living beings appear—science can not tell how—we find animals devouring one another: the strong, with their terrible fangs and jaws, prevailing; the weak disappearing through disease and death, accompanied with brute passion and pain. History and biography come in to tell us how much of human activity has been spent in feuds among individual families and nations. Poetry and, at a later date, romance take up the theme, and they delineate the hopes and fears and passions of our nature, and our bosoms beat responsive to their descriptions. We feel that the Scriptures speak profoundly and truly when they say: "For the earnest expectation of the creature (or creation) waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope. Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God, for we know that the whole creation (creature) groaneth in pain together until now" (Rom. viii., 19-22). The same apostle describes the internal struggle (Rom. vii., 14-20): "To will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not."

Our world is not what some describe it. It is not what the rationalist would have it—a peaceful landscape, with nothing but order and beauty. It forces upon our observation scenes which the exponents of natural theology—and your Unitarians, who, discarding inspiration, would fall back on natural religion—are unwilling to look at; and

the opponents of religion, natural and revealed, are right when they say that it is difficult or impossible to discover final cause in every thing—in the liability of every member of the body to disease, in pain often amounting to anguish, in sorrow which refuses to be comforted, in despair issuing in suicide. The last of the great series of German speculators, which began with Leibnitz and was continued by Kant and Hegel, terminated with Schopenhauer and Hartmann, who have dwelt on the natural evils of terrible power and prevalence found every where in the world; and the speculative philosophy which began with optimism has ended with pessimism, and audaciously avowed and gaining not a few followers. The great living speculator of England, belonging to a very different school—to that of observation—maintains that this world gives evidence of nothing beyond itself, except a great unknown out of which all things have come. Nor is our world what the sentimentalist dreams of, all sunshine and hope—all gratification and gaiety. We live in a world where "day and night alternate;" where the evening and the morning constitute the first day, and the second day, and so on; where every man goes accompanied with his shadow, which he can not leave behind nor overleap; and every one, sooner or later, will have to taste of bereavements, ingratitude, ill usage, and carries within him a fire of fear, lust, and envy, ready to burst into a conflagration and burn up the soul, as fire is to burn up our world. Look now at this picture and now at that, and say whether they do not answer as face answereth to face in a glass, differing from each other only as our twin brother differeth from another.

All that science has demonstrated, all that theism has argued, of the order, of the final cause and benevolent purpose in the world is true, and can not be set aside. Every natural law—mechanical, chemical, and vital—is good. Every organ of the body, when free from disease, is good. There is certainly the most exquisite adaptation in the eye, however we may account for its formation, and for the numerous diseases which seize upon it. Agassiz has shown, by an induction of facts reaching over the whole history of the animal kingdom, that there is plan in the succession of organic life. "It has the correspondence of connected plan. It is just that kind of resemblance in the parts—so much and no more—as always characterizes intellectual work proceeding from the same source. It has that freedom of manifestation, that independence, which characterizes the work of mind, as compared with the work of law. Sometimes in looking at the epos of organic life in its totality, carried on with such care and variety, and even playfulness of expression, one is reminded of the great conception of the poet or musician,

where the undertone of the fundamental harmony is heard beneath all the diversity of rhythm or song." All this is true, but all this is not all the truth. What the older scientific men did not see—what Newton did not see, as he looked to the perfect order of the heavens—what Cuvier did not see, when he dwelt so fondly on the teleology seen in every part of the animal structure—what Paley did not see, when he pointed out the design in every bone, in every joint and muscle—what Chalmers did not see, when in his astronomical discourses he sought to reconcile the perfection of the heavens with the need of God's providing a Saviour for men—has been forced on our notice, as naturalists have been searching into animal life, with its struggles and its sufferings. There is order in our world, but it is order subordinating conflicting powers. There is goodness—but goodness overcoming evil. There is progression—but progression like that of the ship on the ocean, amid winds and waves. There is the certainty of peace—but after a battle and a victory. There may be seen every where an overruling power in bringing good out of evil; so that Schopenhauer, in noticing the evil, has noticed only a part, and this only a subordinate part of the whole—and this to be ultimately swallowed up.

While they have seen the phenomenon, these men have not known what to make of it. It is useless to tell the younger naturalists that there is no truth in the doctrine of development, for they know that there is truth, which is not to be set aside by denunciation. Religious philosophers might be more profitably employed in showing them the religious aspects of the doctrine of development; and some would be grateful to any who would help them to keep their old faith in God and the Bible with their new faith in science. But we must at the same time point out the necessary limits of the doctrine, and rebuke those unwise because conceited men who, when they have made a few observations in one department of physical nature, being commonly profoundly ignorant of every other—particularly of mental and moral science—imagine that they can explain every thing by the one law of evolution. But there is a large and important body of facts which these hypotheses can not cover. Development implies an original matter with high endowments. Whence the original matter? It is acknowledged, by its most eminent exponent, that evolution can not account for the first appearance of life. Greatly to the disappointment of some of his followers, Darwin is obliged to postulate three or four germs of life created by God. To explain the continuance of life, he is obliged to call in a pan-genesis, or universal life, which is just a vague phrase for that inexplicable thing

life, and life is just a mode of God's action. Plants, the first life that appeared, have no sensation. How did sensation come in? Whence animal instinct? Whence affection—the affection of a mother for her offspring, of a patriot for his country, of a Christian for his Saviour? Whence intelligence? Whence discernment of duty as imperative? It is felt by all students of mental science that Darwin is weak when he seeks to account for these high ideas and sentiments. Careful, as being so trained, in noticing the minutest peculiarities of plants and animals, and acquainted as he has made himself with the appetites and habits of animals, he seems utterly incapable of understanding man's higher capacities and noble aspirations—of seeing how much is involved in consciousness, in personal identity, in necessary truth, in unbending rectitude; he explains them only by overlooking their essential peculiarities. It is allowed that geology does not show an unbroken descent of the lower animals from the higher; on the contrary, it is ever coming to breaks, and, in the case of a number of tribes of the lower animals, the more highly organized forms appear first, and are followed by a degeneracy. It is acknowledged that in the historical ages we do not see such new endowments coming in by natural law—the plant becoming animal, or the monkey becoming man. That matter should of itself develop into thought is a position which neither observation nor reason sanctions. Science gives no countenance to it. Common-sense turns away from it. Philosophy declares that this would be an effect without a cause adequate to produce it.

But these inquiries have brought us face to face with a remarkable body of facts. The known effects in the world—the order, beauty, and beneficence—point to the nature and character of their cause; and this not an unknown God, as Herbert Spencer maintains, but a known God. "The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood from the things that are made, even his eternal power and God-head." But in the very midst of the good there is evil: the good is shown in removing the evil, in relieving suffering, in solacing sorrow, and conquering sin. Evil, properly speaking, can not appear till there are animated beings, and as soon as sentient life appears there is pain, which is an evil. It does look as if in the midst of arrangements contrived with infinite skill there is some derangement. It may turn out that the Bible doctrine, so much ridiculed in the present day, of there being a Satan, an adversary, opposed to God and good, has a deep foundation in the nature of things, even as it has a confirmation in our experience without and within us, where we find that when we would do good, evil is present with us. The old Persians had a glimpse of the truth, prob-

ably derived from a perverted tradition, and confirmed by felt experience, when they placed in the universe a power opposed to God; but they misunderstood the truth when they made that power coeval and coequal with God; and the old Book, which some are regarding as antiquated, may be telling the exact truth when it tells us that sin is a rebellion to be subdued, and in the end everlastingly cast out. How curious, should it turn out that these scientific inquirers, so laboriously digging in the earth, have, all unknown to themselves, come upon the missing link which is partially to reconcile natural and revealed religion. Our English Titan is right when he says that at the basis of all phenomena we come to something unknown and unknowable. He would erect an altar to the unknown God, and Professor Huxley would have the worship paid there to be chiefly of the silent sort. But a Jew, born at Tarsus, no mean city in Greek philosophy, and brought up at the feet of Gamaliel—but subdued, on the road to Damascus, by a greater teacher than any in Greece or Jewry—told the men of Athens, who had erected an altar to the unknown God, “Whom ye ignorantly worship, him I declare unto you.” It does look as if later science had come in view of the darkness brooding on the face of the deep without knowing of the wind of the Spirit which is to dispel it, and divide the evil from the good, and issue in a spiritual creation, of which the first or natural creation was but a type.

We do not as yet see all things reconciled between these two sides—the side of Scripture and the side of science. But we see enough to satisfy us that the two correspond. It is the same world, seen under different aspects. We see in both the most skillful arrangement; we are told in both of some derangement. Both reveal a known God; both bring us to an unknown source of evil. But with the sameness there is a difference. The

relation is not one of identity, but of correspondence; like that of the earth to the concave sky by which it is canopied; like that of the movement of the dial on earth to that of the sun in heaven. On this side is a wail from the deepest heart of the sufferer; on that side there is consolation from the deepest heart of a comforter. On the one side is a cry like that of the young bird when it feels that it has wandered from its dam; on the other, a call like that of the mother bird, as you may hear her in the evening, to bring her wandering ones under her wings. You may notice on that side a bier, with a corpse laid out upon it of a youth, the only son of his mother, and she a widow; on that other side the same picture, but with one touching the bier, and the dead arises and is in the embraces of his mother. On this side you see a sepulchre, and all men in the end consigned to it, and none coming out of it; on the other side you see the great stone rolled away, and hear a voice, “He is not here; he is risen.” The grand reconciliation is effected by that central figure standing in the middle of the ages, by him who has “made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself, by him, I say, whether they be things on earth or things in heaven.”

We have been able to take only a very cursory glance at the inscriptions on the wall of this temple. It is the aim of all learning, sacred and secular, to enable us to read and comprehend them. The superscription over the central figure was in letters of Greek and Latin and Hebrew, that the people of all countries may read it, and that we may proclaim it in every language. In the great contest going on without and within, every man must be on the one side or the other; let us see that we be on the right side. It is the aim of the Evangelical Alliance to combine the powers for good, in order to overthrow the powers of evil.

PRIMITIVE MAN AND REVELATION.

By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D.,

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THE battle-ground of opposition in the name of science and philosophy to the Holy Scriptures is ever changing, but in modern times most of it, in so far as science is concerned, has centred on the early history of the earth and man as contained in Genesis. One portion of this controversy may be held to be disposed of. The geological record is so manifestly in accordance with the Mosaic history of creation, that to all those (unfortunately as yet too few) who have an adequate knowledge of both stories, the anticipation of our modern knowledge of astronomy, physics, and geology in the early chapters of Genesis is so marked as to constitute a positive proof of inspiration. Recent discoveries and hypotheses have given another turn to the discussion, and have directed it to questions relating to primitive man, and the connection of the modern period with previous geological eras. Man, we are told, is a descendant of inferior animals. His primitive condition was one of half-brutal barbarism. His rise to the actual position of humanity was through countless ages of progressive development, extending over periods vastly longer than those of sacred history. These doctrines, supported by much plausible show of proof, are given forth by popular writers as ascertained results of scientific research, and we are asked to accept a new Genesis, shorn of all the higher spiritual features of that with which we are familiar, holding forth no idea of individual life and salvation, but only a dim prospect of some elevation of the race as the result of an indefinite struggle for existence in the future.

Many good men are naturally anxious as to whereto this may grow, and whether we are not on the brink of a decided breach between the Word of God and the study of the earliest human remains. My own belief is that the doctrines of the antiquity and descent of man, as held by the more extreme evolutionists, have attained to their maximum degree of importance, and that henceforth the more advanced speculators must retrace their steps toward the old beliefs, leaving, however, some most valuable facts in explanation of the early history of man.

The subject is too extensive to allow of a full exposition of my reasons for this belief in the time to which this address must be limited, but I may refer to a few of the most recent facts in proof of my statement.

The physical characters of the known specimens of primitive men are unfavorable to the doctrine of evolution. Theories of derivation would lead us to regard the most degraded races of men as those nearest akin to the primitive stock; and the oldest remains of man should present decided approximation to his simian ancestors. But the fact is quite otherwise. With the exception of the celebrated Neanderthal skull, which stands alone, and is of altogether unascertained date, the skulls of the most ancient European men known to us are comparable with those of existing races; and, further, the great stature and grand development of the limbs in those of the most ancient skeletons which are entire, or nearly so, testify to a race of men more finely constituted physically than the majority of existing Europeans. The skull found by Schmerling in the cave of Engis, associated with the bones of the mammoth and other extinct animals, is of good form and large capacity, and presents characters which, though recalling those of some European races, also resemble those of the native races of America. The bones described by Christy and Dartet, from the cave of Cro-Magnon, in France, represent a race of great stature, strength, and agility, and with a development of brain above the European average; but the lines of the face show a tendency to the Mongolian and American visage, and the skeletons present peculiarities in the bones of the limbs found also in American races, and indicating, probably, addiction to hunting and a migratory and active life. These Cro-Magnon people lived at an epoch when France was overgrown with dense forests, when the mammoth probably lingered in its higher districts, and when a large part of the food of its people was furnished by the reindeer. Still more remarkable, perhaps, is the fossil man—as he has been called—of Mentone, recently found in a cave in the south of France, buried under cavern accumulations which bespeak a great antiquity, and associated with bones of extinct mammalia and with rudely fashioned implements of flint. It appears from the careful descriptions of Dr. Riviere that this man must have been six feet high, and of vast muscular power, more especially in his legs, which present the same American peculiarities already referred to in the Cro-Magnon skeletons. The skull is of great ca-

capacity, the forehead full, and the face—though broad and Mongolian, and large-boned—is not prognathous, and has a high facial angle. The perfect condition of the teeth, along with their being worn perfectly flat on the crowns, would imply a healthy and vigorous constitution, and great longevity, with ample supplies of food, probably vegetable; while the fact that the left arm had been broken and the bone healed, shows active and possibly warlike habits. Such a man, if he were to rise up again among us, might perhaps be a savage, but a noble savage, with all our capacity for culture, and presenting no more affinity to apes than we do.

If the question be asked, What precise relation do these primitive European men bear to any thing in sacred history? we can only say that they all seem to indicate one race, and this allied to the old Turanian stock of Northern Asia, which has its outlying branches to this day both in America and Europe. If they are antediluvians, they show that the old Nephelim and Gibbovim of the times before the flood were men of great physical as well as mental power, but not markedly distinct from modern races of men. If they are post-diluvians, then they reveal qualities to those of the old Rephaim and Anakim of Palestine, who not improbably were of Turanian stock. In any case, they may well have points of historical contact with the Bible, if we were better informed as to their date and distribution.

I have referred to European facts only, but it is remarkable that in America the oldest race known to us is that of the ancient Alleghans and Toltecas and their allies; and that these, too, were men of large stature and great cranial development, and were agricultural and semi-civilized, their actual position being not dissimilar from that attributed to the earliest cultivators of the soil in the times of Adam or Noah.

So far the facts bearing on the physical and mental condition of primitive man are not favorable to evolution, and are more in accordance with the theory of divine creation, and with the statements of the sacred record.

Recent facts with reference to primitive man show that his religious beliefs were similar to those referred to in Scripture. The whole of the long isolated tribes of America held to a primitive monotheism, or belief in a Great Spirit, who was not only the creator and ruler of the heaven and earth, but had the control of countless inferior spirits—Manitons, or ministering angels. They also believed in an immortality, and a judgment of all men beyond the grave. Hence arose in various forms the doctrine of guardian manitous, represented by totems or teraphim, and watching over individuals, families, and places. Hence arose also the practice of

burying with the dead the things he had valued in life, as likely, in the vague imaginings of the untaught mind, to be useful in the other world. Their traditions also embraced, in various and crude forms, the idea of a mediator or intercessor between God and man. No one who studies these beliefs of the American tribes can fail to recognize in them the remnants of the same primitive theology which we have in the patriarchal age of the Bible, and more or less in the religions of all ancient peoples of whom we have historical record. I may say here in passing that the tenacity with which the red man of America has clung, in his barbarism and long isolation, to remnants of primitive truth, is an additional reason why we should strive to give him a purer gospel.

With reference to the prehistoric men, known to us only by their bones and implements, it may not be possible to discover their belief as to the unity of God; but we have distinct evidence on the other points. On the oldest bone implements—some of them made of the ivory of the now extinct mammoth—we find engraved the totems or manitou marks of their owners, and in some cases scratches or punctures indicating the offerings made or successes and deliverances experienced under their auspices. With regard to the belief in immortality, perhaps also in a resurrection, the Mentone man—whose burial is perhaps the oldest known to us—was interred with his fur robes, and his hair dressed as in life, with his ornaments of shell, wampum on his head and limbs, and with a little deposit of oxide of iron, wherewith to paint and decorate himself with his appropriate emblems. Nor is he alone in this matter. Similar provision for the dead appears at Cro-Magnon and the cave of Bruniquel. Thus the earliest so-called paleolithic men entertained beliefs in God and in immortality—perhaps the dim remains of primitive theism, perhaps the result of their perception of the invisible things of God in the works that he had made.

The antiquity of man as revealed by his prehistoric remains has probably been greatly exaggerated. A careful study of the latest edition of "The Antiquity of Man," by Sir C. Lyell, in which that great geologist has summed up all the scattered evidence on this point, must leave this impression. The particular facts adduced are individually doubtful, and susceptible of different interpretations, though collectively they present an imposing appearance; and many of them have been weakened by recent observations and discoveries. American analogies teach us—as I propose to show in papers soon to be published—that undue importance has been attached to the distinctions of neolithic and paleolithic ages. The physical changes which have taken place since the advent of man have been measured by standards inap-

plicable to them, and the extinct quadrupeds of the later post-pliocene period may have lived nearer to our time than has been supposed. No human remains have been found in beds older than the close of the so-called glacial period, and the earlier indications succeeding this period are not actual bones of men, but only rude implements, some of which are possibly naturally shaped stones, and others have had their antiquity exaggerated by misapprehension as to the mode of their occurrence.

It is, however, probable that the investigations now in progress will establish the fact that in the earlier part of man's residence on the Old Continent he was contemporary with many great quadrupeds now extinct, and that some of them, as well as some races of men, may have perished in a great continental subsidence which occurred early in the modern or human period. Both of these conclusions will, I think, bring themselves finally into harmony with the Biblical account of the antediluvian world, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the large party opposed to any correlation of natural and spiritual truth.

Science may soon enable us to account for the divergence of mankind into permanent races in a way more satisfactory than heretofore. It has hitherto been a stumbling-block with many in the doctrine of the unity of man, that we find evidence of distinctness of race as great as at present in early Egyptian monuments. Modern ideas of derivation have swept away this objection, but they have not failed to demand an enormous lapse of time for the early development of these races. A new law is, however, coming into view, which may render this unnecessary. It is that species, when first introduced, have an innate power of expansion, which enables them rapidly to extend themselves to the limits of their geographical range, and also to reach the limits of their divergence into races. These limits once reached, the races run on in parallel lines until they one by one run out and disappear. According to this law, the most abhorrent races of men might be developed in a few centuries, after which divergence would cease, and the several lines of variation would remain permanent, at least so long as the conditions under which they originated remained. This new law, which was hinted at long ago by Hall, the palæontologist of New York, I have myself further illustrated, and it will probably altogether remove one of the imagined necessities for a great antiquity of man. It may prove also to be applicable to language as well as to physical characters.

I have given above only a few examples out of many which may be adduced that the results of natural science as applied to man, however they may at first seem to conflict

with the truth of God, will ultimately come into harmony with it.

One object in referring to these subjects here has been to invite the attention of Christians to certain errors in the treatment of such subjects which I observe to be prevalent, and which I think every Christian man of science must sincerely deprecate.

The first is the hasty reception of broad popular statements of leading scientists, as if they were received and proved conclusions. Nearly every new scientific fact and principle is at first only imperfectly understood and partially misapplied; and statements much too unguarded are often made by enthusiastic votaries of particular specialities.

The second is the resting content with the shallow assertion that the Bible need not be in harmony with Nature. The Bible is not a text-book of science, nor are spiritual truths always directly reconcilable at first with natural truths. But the Bible, as a Book of God, can not outrage Nature, and there are necessary harmonies between the natural and the spiritual. Weak admissions that the Bible accommodates itself to errors as to Nature may save the theologian the trouble of inquiry, and may be welcomed by men of science as setting them free from dogmatic trammels; but the earnest votary of science who is not a Christian despises those who make these admissions, and regards their doctrine as worthless.

A third is the connection of ancient superstitions or modern ecclesiastical expediences with God's Word. Science is in its nature hostile to superstition, to ritualism, and to hypocritical expediency; while merely external and æsthetical modes of dealing with mental and moral interests it must always reject as vulgar folly. It is a fearful crime against the souls of men so to connect such things with the truth of God that men of high culture are repelled from what might otherwise awe them by its moral elevation, or attract them by its spiritual beauty. I believe that much of the antagonism of men of science is really excited by accessories which are not of God, but the growth of human device in darker ages of the world. I would not ask the Christian to accommodate his creed to any requirements of the science or literature of our day. That would be an equally fatal error. What I ask is that the Scriptural truth may be presented unmixed with extraneous matters, which are not of the Bible but of man.

Lastly, the Christian must not despise as unworthy of attention the current scientific doctrines on such subjects. If the missionary think it necessary to study the beliefs of the rudest tribes that he may better teach them the truth, surely we must not ignore the latest results of the intellectual work of the most cultivated men, which in any case are sure to influence the mind of the time,

and which, properly treated, must yield positive results for the cause of God.

The scientific infidel is not always a wrongdoer to be put down. He is often a very darkened soul, struggling for light, and sometimes driven back from it by the follies and inconsistencies of Christians. The la-

mentable and growing separation between those who study God's works and those who believe in his Word is not all of it the fault of the scientist. The theologian will be held responsible for so much of it as may result from his adulterating the Water of Life with unwholesome earthly elements.

COSMOGONY AND THE BIBLE;

OR,

THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF CREATION IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENCE.*

BY PROFESSOR ARNOLD HENRY GUYOT, LL.D., PRINCETON, N. J.

THE sacred volume containing the revelations that God, in his wisdom, chooses to give to man, fitly opens with a short account of the creation of the material world, animated nature, and of man himself. On this great question of Creation, which implies the relation of God to his creatures, of the finite to the infinite—a question insoluble for human philosophy—man had to be taught from on high. By its simplicity, its chaste, positive, historical character, the Bible narrative is in perfect contrast with the fanciful, allegorical cosmogonies of all heathen religions, whether born in the highly civilized communities of the Orient, Greece, or Rome, or among the savage tribes which still occupy a large portion of our planet. By its sublime grandeur, by its symmetrical plan, by the profoundly philosophical disposition of its parts, and, perhaps, quite as much by its wonderful caution in the statement of facts, it betrays the supreme guidance which led the pen of the writer and kept it throughout within the limits of truth.

Side by side another manifestation of the same divine mind, the book of Nature, God's work itself, is open to our curious gaze. To man alone, among all created beings, has been granted the privilege of reading in it, by patient and intelligent research, the innumerable proofs of the almighty power and infinite wisdom of its Author; for man's mind alone is akin to the mind which devised the wonderful plan unfolded in that great cosmos which we call Nature.

Both these books, the Bible and Nature, are legitimate sources of knowledge; but to read them aright we must remember the object and true character of their respective teachings, which are by no means the same.

The sole object of the Bible, throughout the sacred volume, is to give us light upon the great spiritual truths needed for our spiritual life; all the rest serves only as a means to that end, and is merely incidental.

In the first chapter of Genesis, when describing in simple outlines the great phases of existence through which the universe and the earth have passed, the Bible does not intend to teach us the processes which it is

the province of astronomy and geology to discover; but, by a few authoritative statements, to put in a strong light the relations of this finite, visible world to the supernatural, invisible world above—to God himself. Its teachings are essentially of a *spiritual, religious character*. Destined for men of all times and of all degrees of culture, its instructions are clothed in a simple, popular language, which renders them accessible alike to the unlearned, to the cultivated man, or to the devotee of science.

Nature's teachings reach us only by our senses. A faithful study of God's visible works, sound deductions from the facts carefully ascertained—these are the foundations on which the science of nature rests. But from these finite premises no logical process can derive the great truths of the infinite, supernatural world which are given in the Biblical narrative. Nature's teachings, grand as they are, belong to the world finite; they are of material and intellectual order, and can not transcend their sphere.

Let us not, therefore, hope, much less ask from science the knowledge which it can never give, nor seek from the Bible the science which it does not intend to teach. Let us receive from the Bible, on trust, the fundamental truths to which human science can not attain, and let the results of scientific inquiry be as a running commentary to help us rightly to understand the comprehensive statements of the Biblical account which refer to God's work during the grand week of creation. Thus we shall be convinced, if I do not greatly err, that the two books, coming from the same Author, do not oppose, but complete one another, forming together the whole revelation of God to man.

To cling to an interpretation disproved by God's works, is to refuse the light which has been placed before us by God himself. To refuse, *a priori*, to believe in the possibility of this antique document agreeing in its teachings with modern science, because its author could not have had, it is supposed, such knowledge, instead of submitting this question to an impartial examination, as a question of fact, is unscientific.

If we do neither, we may hope to see dispelled forever the clouds which have obscured the majestic simplicity of that noble record.

Taking this view of the Biblical account of creation, and of the method of its interpretation, let us consider:

1. The plan of the narrative.
2. What it teaches.
3. What help modern science, by its best results, can give us in understanding aright the statements of the Bible which relate to the method of the creation.

This last investigation will tell us whether or no, or in what measure, the two records differ or agree.

The necessity of being short may be the excuse of the writer for confining himself to a simple exposition of the views which he has expressed on this subject during the last twenty-five years or more, in many courses of public lectures, already partially published, without attempting critical refer-

ences to the numerous explanations which have been offered by others.

The document before us for examination begins with the first chapter of Genesis and ends with the third verse of the second chapter. It is complete in itself, forming an organic whole which unfolds the history of the creation of the material universe and of living beings, including man as a part of nature. By the symmetrical regularity of its arrangement, by the tone of its language, and the specific use of certain words, it is stamped with an individuality not to be mistaken. In this the name of God is Elohim, the Triune God of the universe, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, who all appear in the work of creation. In the second narrative, beginning with the fourth verse of the second chapter, which takes up, under another aspect, the creation of man as the head of humanity, God's name is Jehovah.

1. *The plan* is made clear by the following diagram:

PLAN OF THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNT OF CREATION.

ERA OF MATTER.	INTRODUCTION.		ERA OF LIFE.
	<i>Primordial Creation.</i>	<i>Primitive State of Matter.</i>	
	In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth (ver. 1).	And the Earth was without form, and void; and darkness, etc. (ver. 2).	
First Work. <i>First Activity of Matter—Cosmic Light.</i> Let there be light, and there was light. And God divided the light from the darkness. And God saw that it was good. First Day.		Fourth Work. <i>Solar Light.</i> Let there be lights to divide the day from the night, and let them be for seasons, and for days, and for years. And God saw that it was good. Fourth Day.	
Second Work. <i>Organization of the Heavens.</i> Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God called the expanse heaven. And it was so. Second Day.		Fifth Work. <i>Creation of Lower Animals, in Water and Air.</i> Let the waters bring forth the moving creature that has life, and fowl that may fly in the open expanse of heaven. And God saw that it was good. Fifth Day.	
Third Work. <i>a. Formation of the Earth.</i> Let the waters be gathered together, and let the dry land appear. God saw that it was good. <i>b. The Plant.</i> Let the Earth bring forth grass and trees. And God saw that it was good. Third Day.		Sixth Work. <i>a. Creation of Higher Animals, on Land.</i> Let the Earth bring forth the living creature, cattle, beast of the earth, after his kind. And God saw that it was good. <i>b. Creation of Man.</i> Let us make man in our image. And God created man. And God saw every thing he had made, and it was VERY GOOD. Sixth Day.	
	CONCLUSION.		
No Work. Seventh Day.	And God rested on the seventh day (ch. ii., ver. 1-3).		The Sabbath. No Evening.
These are the Generations of the Heavens and of the Earth (ch. ii., ver. 4).			

The history of creation is given here in the form of a great cosmogonic week, with six working days, preceded by an introduction, and closing with a day of rest—the

Sabbath of God as Creator. Each day is marked by a special work, and begins with an evening followed by a morning. These six days are subdivided into two symmetrical series of three days each. Both series begin with Light—the diffused cosmic light in the first, the concentrated solar light in the second. In both series the third day has two works, while the others contain but one. The first series describes the arrangement of the material world—it is the *era of matter*; the second, the creation of organized beings, animals and man—it is the *era of life*: two trilogies in this great drama of creation, corresponding to the two spheres of existence, which precede the historical age of man. Such symmetry of plan can not be accidental; it reveals a deeply philosophical idea, which it is for us to attempt to develop.

2. *What does this record teach?* The great spiritual truths emphatically taught by the narrative are obvious to all. A personal God, calling into existence by his *free, almighty will*, manifested by his *word*, executed by his *spirit*, things which had no being; a Creator distinct from his creation; a universe, *not eternal*, but which had a beginning in time; a creation *successive*—the six days; and *progressive*—beginning with the lowest element, matter, continuing by the plant and animal life, terminating by man, made in God's image; thus marking the great steps through which God, in the course of ages, has gradually realized the vast organic plan of the cosmos we now behold in its completeness, and which he declared to be *very good*: these are the fundamental spiritual truths which have enlightened men of all ages on the true relations of God to his creation and to man. To understand them fully, to be comforted by them, requires no astronomy nor geology. To depart from them is to relapse into the cold, unintelligent fatalism of the old pantheistic religions and modern philosophies, or to fall from the upper regions of light and love infinite into the dark abysses of an unavoidable skepticism.

But thinking men, as well as men of science, crave still another view of this narrative: an intellectual view, we may call it. They wish fully to understand the meaning of the text when it describes the physical phenomena of creation. Are the statements relating to them a sort of parable to convey the spiritual truths just mentioned, or are they facts which correspond to the results of scientific inquiry? The answer to this question brings us to our third point.

3. *What help can modern science give us in understanding aright the statements of the Bible, and how do the two records compare?*

The difficulties at first sight are not few: the light before the sun; days with an evening and morning before our great luminary

could give a measure of time for them; a firmament which divides the waters from the waters; the earth, with its continents and seas, preceding the sun and moon; plants growing without the sunlight necessary to their existence—these are problems which require a solution. Many have given up the narrative in despair; some have disowned its historical character, by supposing a gap between the act of primordial creation and the work of the first day—a vast gulf, into which they sink all the astronomy and geology of the past ages, thus making of the account a sham history. We have no right to treat such a document lightly. When the holy writer declares that, "*Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them*" (Gen. ii., 1); and again, "*These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth*" (Gen. ii., 4), we must accept this solemn declaration, and believe that he intends to give us a true history.

Guided by this view, we shall consider the six cosmogonic days as the organic phases of creation, or the great periods of its history, and look for the special work done in each in the order indicated by Moses: creation of matter first, organization of the heavens next, of the earth and organic life last. Thus we shall avoid many a mistake which has caused a sad distortion of the narrative.

The introduction to the work of the six days is comprised in the first and second verses, in which we have the primordial creation of the matter of the universe, and a description of its original state. In the first verse we are taught that this universe had a beginning; that it was created—that is, called into existence—and that God was its creator. The central idea is *creation*. The Hebrew word is *bará*, translated by *create*. It has been doubted whether the word meant a creation, in the sense that the world was not derived from any pre-existing material, nor from the substance of God himself; but the manner in which it is here used does not seem to justify such an interpretation. For whatever be the use of the word *bará* in other parts of the Bible, it is employed in this chapter in a discriminating way, which is very remarkable. It occurs only on three occasions, the *first* creation of matter in the first verse, the *first* introduction of life in the fifth day, and the *creation* of man in the sixth day. Elsewhere, when only transformations are meant, as in the second and fourth days, or a continuation of the same kind of creation, as in the land animals of the fifth day, the word *asáh* (make) is used. *Bará* is thus reserved for marking the first introduction of each of the three great spheres of existence—the world of matter, the world of life, and the world spiritual, represented by man in this visible economy—all three of which, though profoundly distinct in essence,

are intimately associated, and together constitute all the universe known to us.

What have science and philosophy to say about it? Nothing. Creation is a fact beyond their pale; it is the miracle of miracles. Both science and philosophy must start from existing premises, and *nothing* is no premise. Their universal, logical conclusion, therefore, is that what *is* always *was*, in some form; and what is called here creation is but transformation, and, if so, that the universe is of God's substance.

Whether we conceive, with the Brahmin, that the material universe is an emanation from the Deity; or, with the old Egyptians, that it is itself a developing God; or, with modern materialism, that it is the sole existing substance, and the source of all the phenomena ever observed in nature and in man, pantheism and materialism are at the door, with all their internal impossibilities, and with all the contradictions they engender in the bosom of the free, moral, spiritual being, in the heart of humanity.

We have therefore to accept on trust the truth of creation, as an ultimate fact, not to be reached by any reasoning process, but which, being accepted, makes clear to mind and heart the relations of the universe, and of man to God. Thus Paul's declaration remains forever true: "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God."

The primitive state of matter when first created is described in the second verse: "*And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.*" Two words here—the *earth* and the *waters*—have to be rightly interpreted before we can proceed with safety. Does the *earth* (*aerets*) mean our terrestrial globe, with its continents and seas, the organization of which is the special work of the third day? and are the *waters* here mentioned the seas which are especially called by name as belonging to the work of that day? We think not; for the invariable rule of the narrative is never again to introduce a work already mentioned. Nor is this the order of creation announced by Moses, which is always the heavens first, the earth after. We take, therefore, the word "earth" to be in this verse an equivalent to matter in general. The use of the concrete word "earth," instead of the generic or abstract word "matter," is common to most languages, and was here a necessity, as such a word as "matter" does not exist in the Hebrew language. We feel then justified in understanding *aerets*, in this early stage of the history of the universe, as meaning the primordial cosmic material out of which God was going to organize the heavens and the earth.

The same reasoning applies to the *waters* of the second verse. The Hebrew word *mayim*

does not necessarily mean waters, but applies as well to the fluid atmosphere; it is simply descriptive of the state of cosmic matter comprised in the word earth. These waters are the subtle fluid which, in the cosmogony of the ancient Egyptians, was supposed to extend beyond the boundaries of the visible universe, whose material had been drawn from that vast reservoir of all existence. The Bible itself gives us, in the Book of Job, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, ample proofs of the familiarity of their authors with that grand conception which, being accepted by them, teaches us the true interpretation of the Genesis account. One example may suffice:

In the 148th Psalm David calls upon all creatures to praise the Lord, naming them in the order of their rank. "Praise ye the Lord from the heavens: praise ye him, sun and moon: praise ye him, all ye stars of light;" and, going still higher, "praise him, ye heavens of heavens;" and, last and highest, "ye waters that be above the heavens." These evidently are the waters of Genesis which precede the light, the firmament of heaven, and the earth and the seas. Reading a few lines further, we have the proof that the Psalmist does not confound these waters above the heavens with the terrestrial waters, for, calling upon the things of earth to praise the Lord, he names the dragons, and all deeps—the seas—fire, hail, vapors, and winds.

The sense of these two words being thus settled, every word of the second verse becomes clear and natural. The matter just created was gaseous; it was without form, for the property of gas is to expand indefinitely. It was void, because homogeneous and invisible. It was dark, because as yet inactive, light being the result of physical or chemical action. It was a deep, for its expansion in space, though indefinite, was not infinite, and it had dimensions. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face (outside, and not inside, as the pantheist would have it) of that vast gaseous mass, ready to act upon it, and to direct all its subsequent activity, according to a plan revealed by the great works which follow.

The central idea of the second verse is the state of matter when created. The Spirit of God, moving upon it, announces and prepares the work of the six coming days. The description applies, therefore, to the matter of the universe and the earth, and not to the earth alone as a globe already made, which would be no beginning. The distortions and forced interpretations which have obscured the Mosaic account, nearly all arise from the fundamental error which is here corrected. There is no gap between the first and second verses, no more than in any other part of the narrative. The Genesis account is throughout a consistent history of constant, regular, and uninterrupted progress. It is not an

aimless rehash of the astronomical and geological phenomena during six times twenty-four hours before the creation of man, which would teach us nothing; which is disproved by the well-established results of careful scientific investigation, and still more by the emphatic declaration of Moses himself that "these are the generations of the heavens and of the earth."

Such are the statements of Moses. And science does not tell another story. Minerals, plants, animals—all bodies of nature—are compound results of processes which speak of a previous condition. By decomposing them, and undoing what has been done before, we finally arrive at the simple chemical elements which are the common substratum of all bodies. The same again can be said of the three forms of matter—solid, liquid, and gaseous. The least defined—the one in which the atoms are the most free—is the gas. All bodies in nature can be reduced to this, the simplest of all forms of matter. Herschel, Arago, and Alexander, therefore, among astronomers; Ampère, among physicists; Becquerel and Thénard, among chemists; Cuvier and Humboldt, among geologists, all have arrived at the same conclusion—that this incompounded, homogeneous, gaseous condition of matter must have been the beginning of the universe.

The First Day.—We now have a starting-point, but yet no activity, no progress. All beginnings are in darkness. The era of progress opens with the first day's work, which was the production of light. "And God said, *Let there be light, and there was light.*" At God's command movement begins. This is no creation, but a simple manifestation of the activity of matter. Are matter and force one and the same? or is matter a substratum and an instrument for force, as the body is for the mind? This vexed metaphysical question is not likely ever to be solved. If we incline to the last view, we may conceive that God then endowed inert matter with the forces which we find always associated with it—gravity, the general quantitative force, and the specific, qualitative, chemical forces, and their correlatives. Under the action of gravity that immeasurable body of gaseous matter contracts; atoms conglomerate into molecules; nearer approach begets continual chemical combinations on a multitude of points; in the more concentrated part light and heat are produced, and the result is the appearance in the dark space of heaven of a large luminous mass, the primitive grand nebula, the prototype of those thousands of luminous clouds observed by the astronomer floating in the empty wastes beyond our starry heavens.

Though most of the nebulae viewed through the powerful telescopes of this scientific age have been found to be clusters of distant or small stars, because far advanced in their

development, the luminous gas forming the transparent body of many comets—the Zodiacal light, perhaps—and other gaseous heavenly bodies, may serve to illustrate the condition of that primitive nebula.

Thus God *divided the light from the darkness*—that is, the light of the nebula from the dark outside matter, as yet inactive, and from the empty space around. And God called the light *day*, and the darkness he called *night*—both specific names—without reference to any period of time. And the *evening* (the dark chaotic time preceding) and the *morning* (the glorious light of that vast luminous mass) were the *first day*—the first great period of development, under God's guidance, of that world of matter just created; a day measured, not by the sun which did not exist, nor by any definite length of time, but by the work assigned to it.

The idea that these six days can possibly be days of twenty-four hours, seems only to prove the force of first impressions; for its correctness is disproved in the most absolute manner by the text and the whole tenor of the Biblical record, as well as by the study of nature. The reference, in the Decalogue, to the seventh cosmogonic day as a foundation for the Sabbath of man, which, at first sight, seems to suggest a complete similarity of these two Sabbaths, will be considered hereafter.

The Hebrew word *yom* (day) is used in this chapter in five different senses, just as we use the word *day* in common language: 1. The day, meaning light as above, without reference to time or succession. 2. The cosmogonic day, the nature of which is to be determined. 3. The day of twenty-four hours in the fourth cosmogonic day, where it is said of the sun and moon, "Let them be for days and for seasons and for years." 4. The light part of the same day of twenty-four hours, as opposed to the night. 5. In Genesis ii., 4, in the *day* that the Lord God made the heavens and the earth, embracing the week of creation, or an indefinite period of time.

The days of twenty-four and twelve hours, which require the presence of the sun, are excluded from the first three cosmogonic days, since the sun made its appearance only on the fourth day. No reason is apparent in the text why the last two days should be of a different nature from the others, while the geological history of the creation of animals and man demonstrates that they are periods of indefinite time. The word *day*, as light opposed to darkness, in the first day, and again as used in the fifth sense, have no application here. The cosmogonic day, therefore, only remains, and its special sense is to be determined by its nature.

We have seen already that each of these days is marked by a work, and each work is one of the great steps in the realization of

God's plan—one of the great changes which constitute the organic phases of that history. Time is here without importance. It is given, long or short, as needed; and God's works, which are done by means and processes which we can study, tell us that for every one of these great works of the six days, their Author—before whom a thousand years are as one day—has chosen to employ ages to bring them to perfection.

As in the growth of the plant we distinguish the germinating, the leafing, the flowering, and the seeding processes, as so many organic phases, which might be called the days of the plant's history, without reference to the length of time allotted to each, so we have here the day of the cosmic light, the day of the heavens, the day of the earth, the day of solar light, the day of the lower animals, and the day of the mammals and man; which are really the great phases of God's creation.

The Second Day.—The work of this day is the organization of the heavens. "And God said, Let there be an expanse (firmament) in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters; and God called the expanse heaven." It is to be regretted that the English version has translated the Hebrew word *rakiah* (expanse) by the word *firmament*. This is due to the influence of the Latin Vulgate, which has *firmamentum* as the equivalent of the inexact *σφερόωμα* of the Septuagint. This last word refers to the current Egyptian conception of a solid vault of heaven separating the lower visible world from the upper world of subtle, invisible matter beyond. This view was held by the Greek translators, but is not warranted by the Hebrew text, and renders it unintelligible. If it were correct, how could it be said that God called that solid vault "heaven?" and further, verse 20, that God created the fowl to fly in the open "firmament" of heaven? In both cases *expanse* is evidently the fitting word.

The central idea of this day's work is *division* or *separation*. The vast primitive nebula of the first day breaks up into a multitude of gaseous masses, and these are concentrated into stars. Motion is every where. Gravitation and the chemical forces tend to concentrate matter around various centres, and thus to isolate them from each other; centrifugal force tends to disperse them. Under the laws of the forces of matter and motion—established by God himself, and under his guidance—these numberless bodies, of all forms and sizes, which fill the space and adorn our heavens, combine into those worlds and groups of worlds whose wonderful organization it is the province of astronomy to discover. It is premature to say that this noble science has as yet furnished us a satisfactory history of the generations of the starry heavens, and of

their real structure. But much has been done toward it. In the genesis of our solar system—as explained by the genius of Laplace, and submitted by Alexander to exhaustive calculations, the result of which amounts to a demonstration of its truth—we see one of the processes by which has taken place the separation of individual planets from a vast central body, holding them in bondage, in their orbits, by the power of its mass. In the twin stars, revolving around a common centre of gravity, we perceive the effect produced when the masses are more nearly equal. In the nebulous stars of all grades we follow the gradual concentration from a gaseous state to a compact and well-defined body. In the great spiral nebulae discovered by Lord Rosse, we behold the actual breaking up of a world of stars of all sizes and brilliancy, and we witness the very process of their dispersion through space, by centrifugal force, along paths that they will never retrace.

But the text speaks of *waters above the heavens*, and of *waters under the heavens*. The latter are determined by the work of the third day, by which it appears that they are the matter out of which our globe was made, the waters above being the matter which formed the heavenly bodies.

We may ask ourselves, however, whether the matter of our globe is the whole, or only a part, of the waters under the heavens. If we accept the grand conception of the structure of the heavens proposed by Herschel, all our visible heavens are but an immense cluster of self-luminous stars, of which our sun, with its retinue of planets, is but one, situated not far from its centre. The form of this vast cluster is that of a disc, whose outer boundary is the Milky Way. In this the stars seem ready to break up, and assume the shape of the branches of a spiral nebula. Beyond extends, in immeasurable distance, the dark abyss of space. In this, again, are thousands of nebulous masses, each of which may be a starry heaven like ours. Here, we may fancy, we recognize—in the clusters of visible stars, to which our sun, moon, and the earth itself belong—the waters below the heavens, followed by the vast expanse beyond, containing the world of the nebulae—the heaven of heavens, and the waters above the heavens, of which the Psalmist speaks. But, whether we receive the views of Herschel, of Maedler, or of Alexander concerning the structure and formation of the heavens, one fact recognized by all is the work of separation, of individualization, which must have preceded the present combination of the heavenly bodies, and is indicated as the special work of the second cosmogonic day.

The Third Day.—This day has two works, which must be considered separately. The first is the formation of the material globe

of the earth. "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear. And God called the dry land earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he seas." The main idea is condensation of matter into the solid globe, its liquid covering and gaseous envelope. Here, as usual, Moses gives us the final result of the work, and not the process by which it was produced. For that we must ask geology.

The structure of the hard mantle of rock which covers the unknown interior of the globe, and the nature of its strata, together with their ever-increasing temperature downward, will bear witness to the eventful history of the past ages of our earth; astronomy and chemistry will carry us still higher, up to the very birth of our planet.

The materials of that part of the earth crust accessible to our investigation—from the alluvial surface sands and pebbles, through the sandstones, conglomerates, slates, and limestones, down to the crystalline bottom rocks—show themselves to be the debris of pre-existing rocks, rearranged at the bottom of the ocean; or due, as most of the limestones, to the secreting power of the polyps, or most minute animals of the sea. The temperature of the waters of this ocean was no higher than that of our tropical seas; for these rocks contain innumerable relics of marine animals similar, though not identical, to those of the present day. Lower down, the crystalline rocks, mostly stratified—the so-called metamorphic rocks—still bear the mark of an aqueous origin, but also indicate a high degree of temperature in the waters, which explains both their crystalline character and the almost entire absence of traces of life in these early seas. Coming from deeper sources still, but filling perpendicular fissures or chimneys, as in volcanoes, crystalline masses of porphyry, compact trap, basalt, and volcanic substances cross the regular strata up to the surface, and by their igneous nature reveal the existence of an internal temperature sufficient to keep rocks in a melted condition.

Guided by these general facts, and aided by the light derived from chemistry, physics, and astronomy, we may distinguish, in the gradual formation of the physical globe, before the introduction of life, four periods: 1. The nebulous. 2. The mineral incandescent. 3. The period of the hot oceans. 4. The period of the cold oceans.

In the first the matter of the earth was a part of the hot atmosphere of the sun. In the slow process of contraction, consequent upon its cooling, the sun left it behind in the form of a gaseous ring. The ring breaks in several places, and is rolled up into a globular mass, which, according to the laws of motion, rotates upon itself, and revolves around its parent body nearly in the plane of its

equator, and with the velocity imparted to it by the sun itself. The new globe, born from the old matter of the sun, now enters, as a *gaseous mass*, into the first period of its separate existence.

Loss of heat by radiation causes further concentration. The molecules, brought nearer together and to the proper temperature for chemical action, now combine. A vast, long-continued, and ever-renewed conflagration, with an enormous development of heat, takes place, and the result is an incandescent melted mineral body, surrounded by a vast luminous atmosphere. The earth is a *sun*. This is the second period of its history.

The cooling continues: a hard crust is formed on the surface of the melted body of the globe, and, when the temperature becomes low enough to admit of the formation of water, the ocean—which was before a part of the atmosphere in the shape of vapor—is deposited on the solid surface of the globe. The temperature of this first ocean must have been very high, owing to the immense weight of the atmosphere resting upon it. It has been calculated that when the deposition began, the temperature of the first waters could not have been less than 600° Fahr! This geological phase, though it is one through which a cooling globe must have necessarily passed, has not, thus far, received the attention it deserves. Let us try to see what this state of things implies, for it is important for the explanation of the fourth day. The oceans were not only very warm, but must have been highly acidulated; for all the acids, which form a large part of the thousands upon thousands of feet of rocks deposited since, must have been then in the atmosphere. These hot and acid waters, resting upon the old mineral crust, must have decomposed it, and a new series of chemical combinations have been formed, to which, perhaps, we may refer the deposition of the lowermost crystalline rocks which are at the base of the new terrestrial crust—the only one we actually know. By these powerful chemical actions the earth was transformed into a vast galvanic pile, emitting constant streams of electricity, which, reaching the ethereal space at the boundary of the thick atmosphere, became luminous. According to Herschel, the photosphere of the sun may be due to a similar cause, and if we accept the most plausible explanation of the aurora borealis, it is but the last vestige of that electrical condition of our globe. During this third period the earth was still surrounded by a photosphere of subdued brilliancy: it was a *nebulous star*.

The process goes on; the physical and chemical forces, thus far so active, subside and enter into a state of quiescence; the photosphere disappears; the globe becomes an extinct body; the ocean cools down to the mild temperature of our tropical seas, and

is ready for the introduction of living beings. The age of matter is over; the age of life is at hand. The fourth period was that of the dark planet and the cool oceans.

This fourth period, and perhaps the latter part of the third, are represented in the geological strata by the so-called azoic rocks, which are found in all continents. Here also we have evidence of the appearance of the first land above the waters of the ocean. Considerable surfaces and low mountain chains, both in the Old and New World, belong to this age. Geology explains very plausibly the sinking of the large surfaces—now containing the oceans—and the rising between them of the continents and mountains, by the gradual shrinkage of the cooling interior, forcing the hard external crust—now too large—to mould itself on the smaller sphere by folding into mighty wrinkles. This process could not be better described than by the words of Moses: "Let the waters be gathered together in one place, and let the dry land appear"—implying that the land was formed already under the surface of the ocean, and was subsequently raised above it.

The first work of the third day closes the age of matter; for, if science is right in its view of the origin of our solar system, the sun, moon, and stars of the fourth day were then in existence, but invisible to the earth. The three great steps indicated by the works of the first three days are the same that we observe in the beginning and growth of organized beings. All originate in darkness, in a homogeneous fluid, which soon forms into an egg; the next stage is a differentiation, and a gradual formation of individual organs; the last is a combining together of all these parts into an organic body, exhibiting unity in variety. This is the universal law of development, both for individuals and collections of individuals.

But in this third day there is a second work, entirely unlike the first, belonging to the age of organic life—the creation of the plant—a creation, indeed, of a new principle, though it is not designated in the text by *bará*, because it is but the peristyle of the temple of true life, the condition of its existence. We say that it is a creation; for in it matter is controlled by an immaterial principle, directing its forces so as to make it assume new forms unknown to the mineral. In the plant, as in every organized being, there is an inward principle of individuality not possessed by the crystal; a variety of functions and organs working together toward a common aim for the benefit of the individual; an inward growth, with a beginning and a definite end, and a reproduction which perpetuates the species—phenomena which are all absolutely foreign to inorganic matter. These characteristics are admirably summed up in the words, "And

God said, *Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself.*"

The words, "Let the earth bring forth," may seem to favor the idea of a combination of material elements without the introduction of a new principle. But the same phrase is used in verse 20, when a true creation (*bará*)—that of the first animals—was meant and took place. And again, in Gen. ii., 4, 5, we find that "in the day the Lord God made every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew." This declaration distinguishes the plant, as a principle, from the matter which it moulds into the form necessary for its functions.

This view must be held as the most rational; for all experiments—even the very latest and apparently most successful—made during the last hundred years to prove the so-called spontaneous generation of organized beings from dead matter, have failed to convince the majority of thinking men of its reality. Matter, unaided, can never rise above its own level.

The most important function of the plant in the economy of nature is, with the aid of the sun's light, to turn inorganic into organic matter, and thus prepare food for the animal. Nothing else in nature does this important work. The animal can not do it, and starves in the midst of an abundance of the materials needed for the building up of its body. The plant stores up force which it is not called upon to use; the animal takes it ready made as food, and expends it in activity. The plant, therefore, is the indispensable basis of all animal life; for, though animals partially feed upon each other, ultimately the organic matter they need must come from the plant.

The manner in which Moses introduces the creation of the plant, as a work distinct in its nature from the first work of the third day, and the position he assigns to it at the end of this day, and before the creation of living beings, are highly philosophical. This order is required by the law of progress, according to which the inferior appears before the superior, because the first is the condition of the phenomenal existence of the latter.

Does geology confirm this position of the plant in the order of creation? If we should understand the text as meaning that the whole plant kingdom, from the lowest infusorial form to the highest dicotyledon, was created at this early day, geology would assuredly disprove it. But the author, as we have remarked above, mentions every order of facts but once, and he does it at the time of its first introduction. Here, therefore, the whole system of plants is described in full outline, as it has been developed, from the lowest to the most perfect, in the succession

of ages; for it will never again be spoken of in the remainder of the narrative. What plants actually existed at this period geology has to find out. The possibility of infusorial plants living in warm, nay, in hot water, is proved by their being found in the geysers of Iceland, and in hot, acidulated springs. The latest geological investigations tell us that abundant traces of carbonaceous matter and old silicious deposits among the so-called azoic rocks seem to indicate the presence of a large number of infusorial protophytes filling those early seas. Whether they furnished food for the primitive protozoans of a similar grade is still a matter of doubt; but the presence of limestone strata in the azoic age seems to speak in the affirmative.

The striking fact that Moses, though fully recognizing the great difference between the two works of the third day, and the importance of the vegetable kingdom, did not assign to it a special day, but left it in the age of matter, is not less full of meaning. The plant is not yet life, but the bridge between matter and life—the link between the two ages. Placed within the material age of creation, it is the harbinger and promise of a more noble and better time to come. It is the root of the living tree planted in the inorganic globe, and destined to flourish in the age of life.

The fourth day opens the age of life, with the appearance of the sun, moon, and stars in the heavens visible from the earth—a work which apparently still belongs to the physical order, but whose object is to benefit life. “*Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth; and to divide the day from the night; and for seasons, and for days, and for years.*”

The sun and moon are not created, they existed before, but now enter into new relations with the earth. During the age of matter the intensity of chemical action was a source of permanent light—the earth was self-luminous—the light of the sun, moon, and stars being merged in the stronger light of its photosphere, and therefore invisible to it. But after the disappearance of its luminous envelope, our glorious heavens, with sun, moon, and stars, become visible, and the earth depends upon this outside source for light and heat. Its spherical form causes the unequal distribution of both which establishes the differences of climate from the pole to the equator. Its rotation gives, for the first time, a succession of day and night, which breaks the permanent light of the preceding age. Its revolution round the sun brings, in their turn, the seasons and the years. Thus are prepared the physical conditions necessary to the existence of living beings, the periods of activity and rest, of summer and winter, and that variety of temperature and moisture which fosters the almost infinite

richness of the organic forms of plants and animals displayed in our world of life.

In the third day the earth was ready for life; in the fourth the heavens are ready to help in the work. The fourth day is, as it were, a reminiscence of the inorganic period, and forms another connection between the two principal stages of the globe.

The fifth and sixth days offer no difficulties, for they unfold the successive creation of the various tribes of animals which people the water, the air, and the land, in the precise order indicated by geology.

This history is introduced by the solemn word *bará*, which occurs here for the second time, and gives us to understand that, with the creation of the animal, another great and entirely new order of existence begins.

Matter, indeed, is in it, but controlled and shaped into new forms, foreign to its own nature, to suit the wants of the immaterial being within. Vegetative life is in it, but subservient to higher functions, which the plant could never perform by itself. A conscious perception of the outer world by *sensation*, however, and a *will* to react upon it, are powers which place the animal on a higher platform, and make it a being which, by its nature and its functions, is entirely distinct from the lower grades of existence.

Let us cast a glance at the geological history of the life system, such as present science enables us to read it, and the admirable correctness of the Mosaic account will be evident.

Geology informs us that the terrestrial crust, down to its lowest attainable depths, is composed of layers placed upon each other, different in mineralogical character and structure, and evidently deposited at the bottom of the ocean. The order of their superposition furnishes the great chronological table of the events which took place during their formation; the lowermost stratum—the first deposited—being the oldest; the surface layers—the last formed—being the most recent.

These strata preserve in their folds the archives of the creation of organized beings, plants, and animals, whose remains innumerable fill these rocky shelves, and reveal to the geologist the mysteries of the by-gone ages.

Five great ages of life may be distinguished, each of them characterized by the predominance of a certain class of animals, and marking the great steps of gradual progress in the vast system of the living forms of the past:

1. The age of invertebrated animals, contained in the Silurian series of rocks.
2. The age of fishes, in the Devonian series.
3. The age of the first land plants, in the Carboniferous rocks.
4. The age of the reptiles, in the Mesozoic rocks—triassic, jurassic, and cretaceous.

5. The age of the mammals, in the Tertiary rocks.

These are preceded, as a preface, by an age of protophytes and protozoans in the so-called azoic or archaic rocks, and closed by the age of man, in the quaternary and present age.

In the first, the primordial fauna makes its appearance in the lowermost Silurian strata, and is represented by marine forms of the three great archetypes of invertebrated animals—the radiates, mollusks, and the articulates. They appear all at once on the same level, and not successively. During untold ages, represented by successive deposits of rocks amounting to over 15,000 feet in thickness, corals and plant-like radiates, mollusks of all grades—some of gigantic size—numberless crustaceans of embryonic form, swarm in the tepid waters of the ocean; but not a fish is found, save a few at the very end of this long period of existence, as forerunners heralding the coming of higher forms. This is the reign of the lower animal life—the involuntary life—typified by the invertebrates.

In the second age, the Devonian strata contain in abundance remains of the fish tribe, which is added to the riches of the sea, and takes the lead among the tenants of the ocean; for, though the lowest grade in the archetype of vertebrates, it belongs to the higher level of animal life, in which sensation and will predominate. The strange forms of these first fishes—their reptilian character, their powerful organization—make them the scavengers and the kings of the seas.

This is the reign of fishes.

In the third—the Carboniferous age—the continents, which were slowly growing under the water, reach the surface. These newly emerged, still swampy lands, cover themselves with a mantle of verdure. In the warm and moist atmosphere of this day, charged with carbonic acid gas, humble cryptogams grow to stately forest trees, and a luxuriant growth of ferns and allied plants furnish the material for the vast beds of coal so precious to civilized man. This is the reign of the lower land plants, purifying the atmosphere of its noxious gases, and preparing it for air-breathing animals.

In the fourth age, monstrous reptiles, first amphibians, together with tall birds, then huge marine saurians and gigantic land reptiles, fill the oceans and inland seas, which teem with an extraordinary abundance of lower marine life. The reptiles are the kings of creation, they reign supreme.

The fifth age was heralded, in the preceding age, by a few small, mostly marsupial mammals.

But now the Tertiary opens with a magnificent array of large mammals, which people the new-formed continents and the seas, from the huge whale to the portly form of

the elephant and the powerful organization of the lordly lion, the king of the brute creation. The mammal—the *typical vertebrate*, the perfect animal—now reigns in his turn, but will soon also have to yield its sceptre to man.

The facts just mentioned speak a strong language. They tell us that *creation* is a *reality*. The archetypes of the Silurian are not derived from one another, for they appear all simultaneously. Science fails to discover traces of a direct descent of the vertebrate from the invertebrate, whose plan of structure is entirely unlike; of the large fishes of the Devonian from any preceding animal form; of the huge reptiles of the middle ages of life from the fishes of the Devonian. The gigantic pachyderms, which appear suddenly at the tertiary epoch, are not the offspring of the reptiles of the age preceding. The bond which unites them is of an immaterial nature; the marvelous unity which we observe is in the plan of the Creator. We should then acknowledge a *plan* admirable in conception, admirable in execution. There is a *wisdom* which devises, a *free will*, and a *power*, which executes and creates in succession, at the appointed time, when it is fitting, and not a single great unconscious whole which is developed by itself.

In the order of time there is progress. The inferior being always precedes the superior; the imperfect the perfect. Inorganic nature precedes organization. The watery element reigns before terrestrial; the aquatic and inferior animals before the terrestrial and superior. In the series of the vertebrated animals, we see fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals appearing in the ages of the globe in the order of their perfection.

The accordance of these results of geology with the Mosaic account is so evident that no further explanation is necessary.

Fifth Day.—The work of this day is the creation of the lower animals, up to the birds. “*And God created great whales, and every creature which moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, and every winged fowl.*” The order of their appearance is that discovered by geology: the water animals first, together with the large amphibians, the great whales (marine monsters), and other reptiles, and then the birds. This corresponds with the first geological ages, the paleozoic and the mesozoic, up to the tertiary epoch.

Sixth Day.—The sixth day, which is the third of the era of life, contains two works, as did the third day of the era of matter: first, the creation of the higher animals especially living on the dry land, or the mammalia—it corresponds with the tertiary age; and, second, the creation of man in the quaternary age.

The First Work.—“*And God made the beast of the earth and cattle, after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth.*” For this

creation the word *made* is used, not *create*, for it is not the first introduction, but the continuation of the life system. The creeping animals of the sixth day are not reptiles, but, according to Gesenius, the smaller mammalia—rats, mice, etc. The greatest changes in the mineral and organic creation, according to geology, took place between the cretaceous and tertiary epochs. And there, also, Moses places the beginning of a new day. For not only are the land animals a new set of beings, they are also the highest, and the family to which man belongs as a member of the life-system of nature.

The second work of the sixth day is of a vastly different nature. The creation of man is a fact of such great importance that it could not be mentioned otherwise than separately. Here, again, and for the third time, the word *bará* announces not a simple continuation of the animal, but the creation of a new order of existence, the most exalted of all. Three times the sacramental word is repeated: "*So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.*" That being, made by the Creator in his own image, upon the creation of whom Moses put so much stress, to enforce, as it were, the idea of his dignity, could not be confounded with the animals. But why does he place this creation, not in a separate day, but with the mammalia in the sixth day? Man is the crowning act of the Creator. He is the summary of all perfections scattered through the animal kingdom, of which he is the keystone. He is the end and aim of the whole development of our planet, and as such belongs to this physical earth. But he is also a being of a new and superior order, and, therefore, must be kept distinct. The appearance of the physical man is the prophecy and the promise of a future and more perfect age of development which begins with him—the moral age, that of the historical world. This second work of the sixth day is thus the link between the age of the physical creation and that of the moral development of mankind, as the plant was the link between the material and the world of life. It is the moral world planted in the material world, in order to make it subservient to a higher and better aim.

Here end the working days of the Creator. All his other works God had declared to be good; but on the sixth day "*God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was VERY GOOD.*" The work of the whole week is now finished, and perfect as God will have it for his purpose—the education of man.

Now begins the *seventh day*, the day of rest, or the *Sabbath* of the earth, when the globe and its inhabitants are completed. Since the beginning of this day no new creation has taken place. God rests as the Creator of the visible universe. The forces

of nature are in that admirable equilibrium which we now behold, and which is necessary to our existence. No more mountains or continents are formed, no new species of plants or animals are created. Nature goes on steadily in its wonted path. All movement, all progress has passed into the realm of mankind, which is now accomplishing its task. The seventh day is, then, the present age of our globe; the age in which we live, and which was prepared for the development of mankind. The narrative of Moses seems to indicate this fact; for at the end of each of the six working days of creation we find an *evening*. But the morning of the seventh is not followed by any *evening*. The day is still open. When the evening shall come the last hour of humanity will strike.

This view of the Sabbath of creation has been objected to on account of the form of the command in the Decalogue relating to the observance of the Sabbath. But those who object confound God's Sabbath with man's Sabbath, and forget the word of Christ that our Sabbath was made for man, who needs it, and not for God. God rests as a Creator of the material world only to become active, nay, Creator, in the spiritual world. His Sabbath work is one of love to man—the redemption; his creation is that of the new man, born anew of the Spirit, in the heart of the natural man. So man is commanded to imitate God in leaving once in seven days the work of this material world, to turn all his attention and devote his powers to the things of heaven.

There are, therefore, three Sabbaths: first, God's Sabbath after the material creation; second, the Sabbath of humanity, the promised millennium, after the toil and struggle of the six working days of history; third, the Sabbath of the individual, short-lived man, the day of rest of twenty-four hours, made for him according to his measure. The length of the days in each is of no account. The plan, in all, is the same, and contains the same idea—six days of work and struggle in the material world, followed by a day of peace, of rest from the daily toil, and of activity in the higher world of the spirit. For the Sabbath is not only a day of rest, it is the day of the Lord.

Such is the grand cosmogonic week described by Moses. To a sincere and unprejudiced mind it must be evident that these grand outlines are the same as those which modern science enables us to trace, however imperfect and unsettled the details furnished by scientific inquiries may appear on many points. Whatever modifications in our present view of the development of the universe and of the globe may be expected from new discoveries, the prominent features of this vast picture will remain. And these only are delineated in this admirable account of

Genesis. These outlines were sufficient for the moral purposes of the book; the scientific details are for us patiently to investigate. They were, no doubt, unknown to Moses; as the details of the life and of the work of the Saviour were unknown to the great prophets who announced his coming, and traced out with master-hand his character and objects centuries before his appear-

ance on earth. But the same divine hand which lifted up before the eyes of Daniel and of Isaiah the veil which covered the tableau of the time to come, unveiled before the eyes of the author of Genesis the earliest ages of the creation. And Moses was the prophet of the past, as Daniel and Isaiah and many others were the prophets of the future.

The following diagram, which sums up the results of the preceding discussion, may be found of service in making clear the correspondence of the two records :

ERA OF MATTER.	
THE BIBLE.	SCIENCE.
<p>In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth. And the Earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep.</p>	<p><i>Matter is not self-existent.</i> Primitive state of matter. Gas indefinitely diffused.</p>
<p>First Day. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. And God divided the light from the darkness.</p>	<p><i>First Activity of Matter.</i> Gravity. Chemical action. Concentration of diffused matter into one or more nebulae, appearing as luminous spots in the dark space of heaven.</p>
<p>Second Day. And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.</p>	<p><i>Division.</i> The primitive nebula is divided into smaller nebulous masses. One of them forms the solar system, which separates into sun and planets.</p>
<p>Third Day. <i>a</i> And God said, Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together, and let the dry land appear. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass.</p>	<p><i>Concentration.</i> The nebulous masses concentrate into stars. Formation of the mineral mass of the earth by chemical combination of the solid crust, the ocean and atmosphere. The earth self-luminous. First appearance of land. Azoiic rocks. First infusorial plants and protophytes.</p>
ERA OF LIFE.	
<p>Fourth Day. And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens, and let them be for signs, for seasons, for days, and for years.</p>	<p>Chemical actions subside. The earth loses its photosphere: sun and moon become visible. First succession of day and night, of seasons and years. Differences of climate begin. Archaic rocks. Protozoans.</p>
<p>Fifth Day. And God created great whales, and every living creature which moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, and every winged fowl.</p>	<p>Plants and animals appear successively in the order of their rank — marine animals, fishes, reptiles, and birds. First great display of land plants. Coal beds. Paleozoic and mesozoic ages.</p>
<p>Sixth Day. <i>a</i> And God made the beasts of the earth, and cattle after their kind. <i>b</i> And God created man in his own image.</p>	<p>Predominance of mammals; the highest animals. Tertiary age. Creation of man. Quaternary age.</p>
<p>Seventh Day. And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was <i>very good</i>. And God rested on the seventh day.</p>	<p>No material creation. Introduction of the moral world. Age of man.</p>

THE GOSPEL AND PHILOSOPHY.

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WHAT is Philosophy? What is the Gospel? What is the true relation between the Gospel and Philosophy? These are the three questions which are briefly examined in this paper.

I. *Philosophy*.—Philosophy, in the etymological sense of the word, is *the love of wisdom*. This love manifests itself in the investigation of a good rule of life, and in the effort of the will to form the life in accordance with that rule. In this sense, philosophy is essentially practical; its object is to find the answer to this question, What ought I to do?

In another sense, philosophy is the most general, the most abstract, and, to all appearance, the least practical of all studies. It aspires to explain the universe—that is to say, to give a reasonable account of the nature, the origin, and the destination of all things. What is the first cause of the universe? What is the destination of the universe? What is the actual condition of the universe, in its relation to its first cause and to its destination? Such are the questions to which philosophy seeks an answer.

Between this question, What ought I to do? which every one puts to himself unavoidably, and this other question, How is the universe to be explained? which many find an idle one, because they consider it incapable of solution, the distance appears to be great. The practical and theoretical senses of the word philosophy have, however, a close connection. Man is responsible for his conduct because he possesses an element of liberty, and because this liberty is found in presence of an obligation revealed by the conscience, and which constitutes duty. The determination of duty is the answer to the question, What ought I to do? The man who, without any scientific culture, follows in each particular case the dictates of his conscience, and honestly accepts all the means of knowledge which are offered to him, is assuredly in the right way. But if life develops according to its regular laws, if reason does its work, there comes a time when a man not only asks himself, What ought I to do under such and such circumstances? but, What ought I to do in the general? What direction ought I to give to my life? What use am I to make of my will? This, for every man who has awakened

to serious reflection, is the question of questions. The use which each one is to make of his activity evidently depends upon the general object toward which the world in the midst of which he is placed is tending. The duty which each several being has to accomplish as its own share is settled by a general plan, and by a universal order of things. The personal question, What ought I to do? supposes, therefore, this general question, What ought to be done? or, in other words, What is the destination of the universe?—the part, at least, of that destination which is to be accomplished by free agents.

The destination of creatures is the object with a view to which they have been produced. To have a clear understanding of their legitimate end, we must go back to their principle. The question, What is the destination of the universe? involves, therefore, this further question, What is the first cause of the universe?

The conscience does not, in order to make its voice heard, await the solution of these high problems. The conscience speaks, in the absence of all doctrine; it even continues to speak, in a certain degree, in those who profess doctrines which deny its existence. But, as reason develops, it rises to the conception of a general duty, and consequently of a plan which each free being is bound to realize in its own measure. This plan determines the destination of the universe, and carries the mind on toward the Author of the universe, who has settled that destination. To know what I am to do in a general manner, I must know what is the plan for the realization of which I have to work. And so are united the practical sense and the theoretical sense of the word philosophy.

Every one has, more or less distinctly, the consciousness of these truths. The question of the final cause of the universe, or, in other words, of the existence of God; the question of the destination of rational beings, or, in other words, of an immortal future—these questions lie at the foundation of all moral doctrine. Has man neither lawgiver nor judge superior to himself, and is he the master of his own life and actions? or has he to pursue an end fixed by a higher will? Does man terminate his existence at death? or is

death only the passage from one mode of life to another? According to the answers given to these questions, the answer to the question, What ought I to do? will vary. It is in vain that some seek to deny this. The advocates of *independent morality* contest the reality of the link which connects morals with doctrine. They affirm that doctrines are of no consequence, and that theories respecting the origin and destiny of rational beings have nothing to do with man's conduct. But they do not succeed in bringing their own feelings into agreement with their system. The greater number of these theorists, who maintain the thesis that doctrines are matters of indifference, are decided and often passionate adversaries of Christian doctrines. If doctrines were to them really indifferent, whence would come this passion? The theory of the independence of morals is betrayed by its own followers. It will not succeed in changing the nature of things, and the essential conditions of the moral life. Thoughtful persons, for the enlightening of their consciences and the directing of their conduct, will continue to ask, Whence come we? Where are we? Whither are we going?

The search after the solution of these problems constitutes philosophy, in the high and full acceptance of the term. Philosophy takes birth spontaneously from the time that the human mind has acquired a certain degree of cultivation. From the time that a man is thoughtful enough to rise above giddiness and frivolity, he finds himself face to face with the eternal mysteries of existence. Then he asks what is the final cause of the universe, what is its destination, what is the place and function of each several being in the universal order of things? He asks this that he may understand what his duty is, and what hopes he may entertain. This inquiry, made by the reason, must be conducted according to the laws of science—that is to say, a doctrine must not be accepted further than it explains the facts of experience which constitute the problem to be solved. The object of all science is to explain the facts; the control of all science is found in the facts, the explanation of which is in question.

To the question, What is philosophy? we answer: Philosophy is the research of the reason after an explanation of the universe. Let us observe that philosophy, in the general meaning of the term, is a research and not a doctrine. Philosophy, in the general, follows out the solution of a problem; philosophies, in particular, are the several solutions proposed.

II. *The Gospel*.—The word "Gospel," like the Greek word which it renders, signifies *good news*. What is this good news? It is one, and threefold in its unity. The principle of the universe is goodness. God is love:

such is the good news in its unity. Love divine manifests itself in the creation of the world, produced by the power of the Father, who wills the happiness of his children. It manifests itself in the pardon granted to the human race, fallen by sin from its primitive condition. It manifests itself in the action of divine grace sanctifying pardoned souls, and preparing them for life eternal. Creating love, redeeming love, sanctifying love: such is the threefold manifestation of the one and eternal love. This summing up of the Gospel is not an arbitrary conception—the product of one individual mind: it is clearly indicated in the formula of baptism, and is become the basis of the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity.

We have here an answer to the three questions of philosophy. What is the final cause of the universe? An eternal Spirit, the Creator of all that exists. What is the destination of the universe? The happiness of creatures called into being by goodness. What is the actual condition of the universe? Humanity, that part of the universe which is directly known to us, is separated from God by sin—the work of created liberty gone astray, but which liberty eternal Love desires to restore from its wanderings. Such is the doctrine of the Gospel, the development of that fundamental theory: God is love.

The morality of the Gospel, its practical side, is summed up in the law of charity—that is to say, in the consecration of each individual will to the general happiness. The link which unites practice to theory is manifest. All duty is gathered up into obedience to God, who is the supreme source of obligation. To obey God is to do his will. His will is the happiness of all his children. Charity, the research and the practical realization of the happiness of all, is therefore the immediate and direct application of the doctrine of the love of God.

And how has the good news been communicated to the world? Not as the result of a scientific inquiry, but as a testimony rendered by Jesus Christ, who affirmed that he possessed the truth by virtue of his intimate union with the Father. This testimony was proposed to faith. And what is faith? In the general sense of the word, faith is a fact of every day, of every moment. Faith is trust; it is the state of a person who confides in another person—of a soul which gives itself up to another soul. In the domain of the understanding, faith shows itself by the reception of other people's testimony. Now faith, so understood, is met with at the very foundation of our intellectual life. Suppose that one individual, refusing to receive the testimony of others, will admit as truth nothing but what he has certified by his own experience, or demonstrated by the personal exercise of his reason, in what situa-

tion will he find himself? He will only know, in geography, the places which he has seen with his own eyes; in history, the events of which he has been himself the witness; in physics, the laws which he has discovered and proved. . . . The intercourse between different understandings will be broken off, and the human mind, smitten with barrenness by isolation, will stand still in motionless ignorance. Science, like the just man of the Scripture, lives only by faith. It is only faith which allows one individual to pass on his acquisitions to another, and one generation to leave to another the inheritance of its discoveries. Some, indeed, think and say that the progress of the human mind consists in substituting for faith the purely personal exercise of thought, and that the common proverb of Lafontaine, "Depend on thyself alone," is the watchword of true science. It is a gross error. The development of thought ought to have for effect, above all, to substitute an enlightened confidence for a deceitful credulity, and to teach men to weigh the value of witnesses and of testimony; but the life of the understanding is as impossible without faith as the life of the body without respiration. The solitude which would be the death of the heart would be also the destruction of the intelligence. We all live mutually by the experience, the reflections, the discoveries, the ideas of others. Therefore it is that falsehood, so vile in itself, has such disastrous consequences. Falsehood loosens the grounds of faith, and runs the risk of destroying it; and, by the very fact, tends to uprear the main root of our spiritual existence. The instinct of dignity, which repels and withers it, is the safeguard of intellectual life in society.

Let us observe, in passing, that faith is the freest act which can be conceived; for if there is a thing in the world which can not be commanded, it is confidence; and that the result of this essentially free act is to constitute for us the authority of the testimony of others. Here ceases the antagonism so noisily proclaimed between liberty and authority. Faith is the conciliation of these two terms. The principal use of liberty is to acknowledge legitimate authority and to submit to it. This is true in the domain of the intellect as in that of morals.

Faith, then, in the general sense of the term, is confidence. Christian faith has another object than the natural faith which we accord to the testimony of our fellows; but it is not of another nature. Christian faith is confidence in Jesus Christ. A man whose competence and veracity are beyond doubt reports what he has seen in a foreign land: we receive his testimony. Jesus Christ announces himself as the witness of things divine. He knows the celestial land; he comes from it; he is returning to it, and he knows the way. Those who believe in him

receive his testimony. This testimony has a special character, because the truth announced by Jesus Christ is inseparable from his work. He proclaims the supreme love in his words; but his words are only the expression of his actions. He not only says the truth; he does it. His life, his death, his resurrection, are the manifestations of that love which he declares by realizing it. Confidence in his testimony therefore is inseparable from confidence in his work and in his person, since his testimony bears above all upon an act of the divine mercy, of which he is himself the accomplishment.

To the question, What is the Gospel? we can now reply: *The Gospel is the good news of the love of God proposed to faith.*

III. *Relation between the Gospel and Philosophy.*—What is the true relation between the Gospel and philosophy? A widely prevalent opinion takes for granted that this relation is an opposition. Is it really so? Let us first of all clear our road of a prejudice. In the last century, some men who had done great things, but who had all the violence and all the narrowness of party spirit, attributed to themselves in an exclusive manner the name of *philosophers*. Their adversaries have often been so wrong as to concede to them the monopoly of this noble title. Philosophy consisted at that time merely in breaking with religions traditions. Any effeminate ignoramus or hare-brained marquis was proclaimed a philosopher, provided he declared himself an enemy of the Church and of the Gospel. This point of view is not quite abandoned. Do not all those who break with Christianity assume nowadays the title of *free-thinkers*? And how many there are of these free-thinkers to whom nothing is more foreign than true liberty of thought, who are enfranchised by order, and believe, on the word of other people, that the time is come for no longer believing in any thing! In the sense of the eighteenth century, there was then hostility between philosophy and the Gospel. But this is nothing but the alteration of the true sense of the words. Philosophy is the study of the universal problem, and the research of its solution. Philosophy in general could not therefore be either favorable or hostile beforehand to any doctrine. The inquiry would not be free, and consequently would not be serious, if it were assumed before examination that it was to end in the adoption of the Christian system of doctrine. Would it be free, if it were assumed, before examination, that its result was to be the negation of the Christian system? No more in this case than in the other. We will trouble ourselves no further, therefore, with this notion of the eighteenth century, but refer it to the class of mere prejudices.

There is a conception of a more serious character, which sets up between philosophy

and the Christian faith a wall of separation. This is the idea that philosophy must only accept theories directly produced and demonstrated by the individual reason. Those who maintain this view consider that the philosopher must shut himself up in the solitude of his own intelligence, must forget all that he may have learned from tradition, and only take account of the doctrines which have issued, or which might have issued, from his personal reasonings, as *Miucra* came forth from the head of *Jupiter*. He may receive the facts which are certified by the testimony of others; but as to the solutions of problems, he is to admit only those which he might have been able to discover for himself, in whatever place he was born, and at what epoch soever he had lived. If this individualist conception of science is admitted, which has had illustrious supporters in *Des Cartes* and *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, it is clear that there is no relation whatever between the Gospel and philosophy, since the Gospel belongs to that domain of tradition from which the philosopher is debarred. But the pretension of those minds which think to create personally their doctrines, by keeping quite clear of tradition, is a pretension which can not be justified. Those who put it forth are the dupes of an illusion. They attribute to the individual exercise of their reason ideas which have entered their minds through the medium of speech. Now speech is the great vehicle of the tradition of the human race. To shut ourselves up in real solitude of thought, it would be necessary to isolate our thought from speech, which puts us into incessant communication with the thoughts of others. This no one does, and no one will ever be able to do. The condition of progress in science is that we study the data of problems, and accept the solutions which give a reasonable account of the facts. Solutions become scientific by being demonstrated; but their origin is of no importance whatever. To exclude from scientific investigation the solutions which are encountered in the anterior current of thought would be to arrest the march of science. If astronomers were unwilling to admit the theories which tradition brings to them, where would be the progress of astronomy? The individualist conception of philosophy is very widely extended; it contributes in a great degree to the discredit into which the science of sciences is fallen; and in a great degree also it contributes to estrange men of high intelligence from the serious study of the verities of faith. We must therefore apply to this solution the advice which the apostle addressed to the *Colossians*: "Beware lest any man beguile you through philosophy." It is, in fact, a great seduction to be led to reject the truth. Happily this notion, which isolates the philosopher from tradition, does

not bear examination. Let us put it aside, as we have done the prejudice of the eighteenth century, and let us see what may be, for an unprejudiced mind, the true relation between the inquiry after the final cause of the universe and the good news of the love of God proposed to faith.

To the questions put by philosophy, What is the final cause of the universe? what is its destination? what is its actual condition? the Gospel, as we have seen, affords clear and definite replies. The principle of the universe is the will of an eternal Mind. The destination of the universe is the happiness of creatures. The actual state of the universe is an order of things disturbed by sin. Faith does not meet these doctrines as intellectual affirmations which it examines according to the laws of science. Faith, cleaving to *Jesus Christ*, receives his testimony because it receives his person as the manifestation of eternal Love. Faith does not result from the isolated action of the understanding, but from the encounter of the entire spiritual being—mind, conscience, heart, and will—with the promises, the hopes, and the certainties which attach themselves to *Jesus Christ*. Faith receives the truth, and its proper work is to realize that truth in the life. But the solutions of the universal problem included in the faith of Christians may be separated from it. We may examine and discuss them according to the rules of science. Do they render account of the facts? do they explain them? If the Christian solutions seem incapable of accounting for the facts under inquiry, the philosopher passes on, and proceeds to look for another theory which may satisfy him better. This is what those thinkers of antiquity did who rejected the preaching of the apostles. If the Christian doctrines seem to account for the facts in question better than any other doctrine, the philosopher ought to admit them as the most rational solutions of the problems propounded by the human mind. This is what the philosophers of antiquity did, as, for example, *Justin Martyr* and those who followed him, who, having accepted the new faith, affirmed, and sought to prove, that the doctrines involved in their faith satisfied the understanding better than did the traditions of paganism and the reasonings of the sages of Greece and Rome. The relation of the Gospel to philosophy can not be established in a general and abstract manner. The philosophy which judges the evangelical solutions to be false or defective remains hostile or foreign to the Gospel. The philosophy which, after having studied the consequences of these solutions, and compared them with the facts, judges them to be good, becomes Christian.

To determine the relation of philosophy to the Gospel is therefore to ascertain whether

the Christian doctrines relative to the final cause and the destination of created beings explain the facts better than the other doctrines contained in the annals of human thought. The question can not be settled at the commencement of the inquiry, but at its close: it supposes the whole work of science accomplished.

Here I can not but declare my conviction, and it is this: If the elements of the universal problem are carefully taken account of, if their respective places are assigned to sensible phenomena—to the laws of thought, to the requirements of the heart, to the dictates of the conscience—and if it is resolved to sacrifice none of these data, then I think that the declarations of the Gospel render an account to the reason better than do any other doctrines whatsoever of the origin of the universe, of its destination, and of its actual condition. I think that the existence of a spiritual Creator explains nature, such as science presents it to our knowledge. I think that the idea of divine love accounts for the constitution of the human heart, and for its thirst after happiness. I think that the doctrine of the fall can alone explain the actual state of humanity, and the strange contradictions of our souls. I think, in short, that the doctrines which proclaim the divorce between the Christian faith and science misconceive of the facts or misconceive of the Gospel. I believe, therefore, that the Christian philosophy is the best of philosophies. I believe, too, that, notwithstanding the labor of ages, this philosophy exists as yet only in the state of rough sketch—of commencement. I believe that, just as our civilization is infinitely far removed from having realized the spirit of the Gospel, in the same way our philosophy is infinitely far distant from having understood in all its depths, and followed out in all its consequences, the truth of the Gospel.

People often set out with the notion that the fathers of the Church and the schoolmen definitively organized Christian science, and that to proclaim the alliance of the Gospel and philosophy is to wish to throw back the human mind, and bring it again into the Middle Ages. Nothing, in my opinion, is further from the truth. Heaven preserve me from disparaging the importance and the value of such men as St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and others! But these great men are far from having exhausted the inexhaustible fountain of evangelical instruction: They are accused of having been too thoroughly Christians to be philosophers; it would be more according to truth to complain that they were too thoroughly Greeks to be Christians. In the formation of the science of the Church, there were introduced elements of ancient thought incompatible with the straightforward and true sense of the Gospel. Dazzled by the genius of Plato

and Aristotle, the fathers and the schoolmen accepted from these illustrious Greeks, not only the portion of their works which is eternally true, but also certain principles, the consequences of which contradict the doctrine of the living and true God. The philosophy which has been accepted as such by Christians, and rendered illustrious, in modern times, by the labors of such men as Leibnitz, Fénelon, and Malebranche, contains within it foreign currents, which proceed from Greece and from India, and which tend to make shipwreck of thought upon the desolate shores of pantheism. The idea of God, the almighty Creator, does not yet reign completely over the broken remains of the metaphysical idols raised by the errors of the sages. A noble task is reserved for our epoch. A great harvest of truth is asking for laborers to gather it: but in collecting, with pious care, all which the intellectual heritage of by-gone ages contains of true and pure, we must break, more than has been done hitherto, with the false or insufficient doctrines of Greek tradition; and must succeed, by a serious effort of thought, in placing the understanding itself, in its proper and primitive nature, in presence of the Gospel. Then will it be seen and acknowledged (such is my conviction) that the Gospel is the true principle of science, as it is the true principle of civilization, and that Christian philosophy is the meeting of the reason as God has made it with the truth as God has given it.

If this is so, philosophy will not replace faith, since faith, resulting from the meeting of the whole spiritual being—heart, conscience, will—with Jesus Christ, has other sources than the understanding; but philosophy will offer a considerable argument in favor of faith. The man who has received from Jesus of Nazareth the light of his mental vision, and who recognizes in his sayings the true solution of the great problems of the human mind—a solution hidden from the view of antiquity, and brought to light by the foolishness of preaching—that man will be disposed to say with Nicodemus, "Thou art a Teacher come from God," and to learn from that divine Teacher the conditions of entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

If the Christian solutions are ascertained to be the best solutions of the universal problem, by the free and unfettered study of a science seriously pursued, then philosophy becomes one of the proofs of the Gospel for those who seek, and a confirmation of the Gospel for those who believe. To the question, What is the relation of the Gospel to philosophy? I answer, The relation of the Gospel to philosophy is a relation of harmony. The Gospel offers the true solution of the problems propounded to the reason; and the truth of those solutions becomes a proof of the Gospel.

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF IDEALISM.

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It is impossible to understand the weakness of a system without understanding its strength. The strength and weakness of idealism connect themselves with the same facts and principles, so that they can readily be grouped in pairs and reduced to parallels.

1. It rests on *generally* recognized principles in regard to *consciousness*. Its definition of consciousness is the one most widely received: the mind's recognition of its own conditions. It maintains that the cognitions of consciousness are absolute and infallible, and that nothing but these is, in *their degree*, knowledge. In all these postulates, the great mass of thinkers agree with idealism.

The foundation of idealism is the common foundation of nearly all the developed philosophical thinking of all schools. Idealism declares that while consciousness is infallible, our *interpretations* of it, on which we base *inferences*, may be incorrect; and nearly all thinkers of all schools agree with idealism here. No inference, or class of inferences, in which a mistake ever occurs is a basis of positive knowledge. Hence, says Idealism, only that which is directly in consciousness is positively known, and nothing is directly in consciousness but the mind's own states. Therefore we *know* nothing more. So completely has this general conviction taken possession of the philosophical mind, that even antagonists of idealism, who would cut *it* up by the roots if they could cut *this* up, have not pretended that it could be done. Dependent on and involved in its postulate regarding consciousness, is the idealistic postulate, "An idea can be like nothing but an idea"—that is, the mental image can not be like some supposed *material* thing, of which it is asserted to be an image. To a certain point, at least, nearly all the thinking of philosophers is consonant with this postulate. The subjective can not be like the objective; the idea of a house can not be like a house. The proposition, taken in one way, is a truism. The idea of a house can not be like a house: the idea is intellectual, the house is material; the idea is in my mind, the house is external to my mind; the house is a complex of modifications of materials; the idea is a modification of the immaterial; my idea in no respect is a cause of the house; the house is in a cer-

tain respect one of the causes of my idea; the idea depends on acts on the mind, acts *in* the mind, acts *of* the mind; the house depends on none of these. Bricks and mortar are not like mental modes. "The beings of the mind are not of clay."

But while idealism has here a speculative strength, which it is not wise to ignore, it is not without its weakness, even at this very point, for its history shows that it is rarely willing to stand unreservedly by the results of its own principles as regards consciousness. If it accept only the direct and infallible knowledge supplied in consciousness, it has no common ground left but this—that there is the one train of ideas which passes in the consciousness of a particular individual. A consistent idealist can claim to know no more than this—that there exist ideas in his consciousness. He can not know that he has a substantial personal existence, or that there is any other being, finite or infinite, beside himself. And as many idealists are not satisfied with maintaining that we do not know that there is an external world, but go further, and declare that we know that there is not an external world, they must for consistency's sake hold that an idealist knows that there is nothing, thing or person, besides himself. Solipsism, or absolute egoism, with the exclusion of proper personality, is the logic of idealism, if the inferential be excluded. But if *inference* in any degree whatever be allowed, not only would the natural logic and natural inference of most men sweep away idealism, but its own principle of knowledge is subverted by the terms of the supposition. Idealism stands or falls by the principle that *no inference is knowledge*. We may reach inferences by knowledge, but we can never reach knowledge by inference.

"An idea can be like nothing but an idea." We have said that in one sense this is a truism. There is another sense in which it is a sophism. As a truism, it is like the proposition that the most perfect portrait can not be like the face—that a picture can only be like a picture. The face is flesh and blood, the picture is oil and color; the face changes its hues and expression, the picture can not change; the face is rounded and diversified to the touch, the painting is on one surface. And yet the portrait *is* like the

face, and the idea is like the object. The portrait is like the face in this, that, through the light which it modifies as its medium, it produces certain effects on the consciousness like those which the face itself produces through the same medium. Under the same laws, the idea is like the object, in that it is a faithful mental picture, drawn under divine laws, by the tones of the senses, conformably to the innate conditions of the mind itself. It is the picture of the object, painted by the object itself, through its media, on the canvas, which is conscious of the picture it bears; or, rather, it is a photograph which becomes a picture by the modification produced through the media, and by the internal changes of the sensitive substratum, which coacts responsively to the media. The object is as it seems to the mind, and the idea is like the object, so far that there is a real correspondence, correlation, analogy, conformity, between the object mediating through its means of force and the idea co-mediated by these means, and by the powers, connate or educated, of the mind itself. That which produces the phenomena is in the real accord of *natural cause and effect* with the phenomena. Different phenomena imply different objects, or different conditions of the same object. In idealism there is no object beyond the mind and correspondent with the phenomena, but the phenomenon itself exhausts the whole conception of object. It is not the phenomenon of an object, but is itself object. Hence idealism proper holds that in the phenomena we *in no sense* grasp any thing beyond it, while idealistic realism holds that in an important sense, though mediately, we do grasp the thing beyond—in other words, that the *medium establishes a real relation* between the object itself and the mind.

2. Idealism seems to be strong in the fact that it rests upon generally accepted principles in regard to the *personality* of man. The common view, with which idealism concurs, is that it is not the *whole man* which is the Ego, but that only man's mind is the Ego; that man *is* not a person, but merely *has* a person—in brief, that man is not man. It assumes the simplicity of man proper. The Cartesian construction of man and of person is the received one, and this is the construction on which idealism builds. When we are conscious of our *self*, we are not conscious of the material nature associated with ourself. The assertion of idealism which strikes most persons as the extremest of its absurdities, to wit, that we have not substantial bodies, or do not directly know we have them, is a mere logical necessity from the commonly received principle—a principle very probably held by the very people who ignorantly stand aghast at its inevitable inference. The dualistic realists, on their own principles, no more *know* that they have bod-

ies than the idealists do; and hence some of the strongest dualistic realists, like the Scotch school in general, lay the foundations of an extreme idealism in the very effort to overthrow the older and weaker one. In denying Berkeley they unconsciously assert Fichte.* This school has consequently shown a tendency, in some of its latest and noblest representatives, to run out into a sad indeterminism, or to go over to the idealism against which it has fought for a century.†

But the seeming strength of idealism here is really a weakness; for, in common with the received dualism, it accepts a false construction of the *personality* of man. The attestation of consciousness is as real to the substantial existence of our bodies as an integral part of our person, as it is to the substantial existence of our minds. There is no sort of proof proper that man is spirit, apart from proof that he also is body.

3. Closely connected with the false dualism of the popular system in regard to the person of man is its construction of the *relation of matter to mind*. This also has always been a tower of strength to idealism; and it is one of its unquestionable benefits that it has shown the untenableness of the old position. If the choice must lie between occasionalism, pre-established harmony, and materialistic physical influence, on the one side, or idealism on the other, every sound thinker will accept idealism, at least provisionally, as not so great an evil as the others. The ignorant physieist sometimes says, "We know that there is *matter*. Why need we go further to an unknown something called mind?" But his very assertion is self-destructive. It implies the priority of the something knowing to the something known. He has not been able to assert matter without postulating mind. You not only can not prove matter, you can not define it, without implying the existence of mind. In its assertion that mind is first, idealism is beyond all successful assault.

Berkeley here did a great work in pulling down the false, in showing the defects of the existing systems. Des Cartes and Malebranche accepted matter, and were at a loss what to do with it. It was simply in their way. Locke's was the magnificent chaos of all systems. It only needed selection to determine whether his views should be developed into skepticism, materialism, idealism, or realism. Were Berkeley but a blind giant, it was, at this point at least, not in the temple of a true God that he reached forth his hands to feel the pillars. It was Philistia's temple of false theories that fell. If Berkeley was not a Solomon, he was at least a Samson. His argument against matter is, as directed against some of the dominant theories he assailed, simply invincible. If

* See "Prolegomena," v., 10, 15, 20.

† *Ibid.*, iv., 6, 13; vi., 14.

matter were no more than what they assumed it to be, could do no more than they supposed it to do, it was a mere obstruction, which it was a relief to sweep out of the way. If the battle was not won, the deck was at least cleared for action.

Yet at this point it is a weakness of idealism that, in regard to the relation of *mind* and *matter*, it attempts to set aside *false theories* by repudiating *well-grounded facts*. The evidence that facts are facts is not weakened by the false theories that are broached to account for them, nor by our inability to offer any theory which explains them. Idealism may overthrow occasionalism, or pre-existent harmony, or physical influence, or any and every theory as to the *mode* in which the non-Ego operates on the Ego; but the *fact* that the non-Ego does operate on the Ego remains untouched. In denying the *fact*, idealism is forced out of itself into skepticism, its own theory becomes chaotic and preposterous, and it reacts into realism, or even materialism, or runs out into nihilism. We know too little of the ultimate nature and relations of matter and mind to venture beyond the ground of facts in regard to them. In matter are hidden divine forces; it too is worthy of God; it too is an out-thought of God; and we can not measure it, because we can not measure him. We can not think too highly of spirit, but we can think too little of matter. Matter, too, is in the sphere of faith. We can not walk all through its domains by sight merely. There are three spheres of wonder in thought. The lowest is simple matter, with its mysteries and beauty and grandeur. The highest is pure Spirit, the self-existent cause of the universe, and his angels. Midway between is the being in whom spirit takes to itself matter, not that they may mechanically cohere with their wonders separated, but that a new world of wonder may arise—mysterious forces, and forces which neither simple matter nor pure spirit in their isolation possesses. Matter and mind conjoined do not merely add their powers each to each, but evolve new powers, incapable of existence outside of their union.

4. Idealism in its best forms addresses a powerful appeal to confidence in making so much of the universe as a thing of *thought*. Its Platonic harmony with the *idea* as the primal thing, the presupposed model of the existent in nature, is part of its strength. Against the theories of blind fate, of aimless chance, of evolution, without mind to guide it, of unconscious nature fretting itself into form or consciousness, in the happy accidents of millions of ages of failure, against the theories that in any sense make mind the product or function of matter, or put it after matter, or co-ordinate it with matter—the best idealism, in asserting spirit as the glorious original, asserts plan as before all evo-

lution, asserts that the entire phenomenal, whether physical or spiritual, finds its last root and cause in personal reason.

But, while it is a strength of idealism that it confesses the *thought* in the universe, it is its weakness that it denies the *word*. The word is the *body* of the thought, the *medium* through which thought awakens thought, and by which mind is operative on mind. After all its efforts, idealism totally fails to give an intelligible account of the excitation of thought. Berkeley is totally unsatisfactory in the explanation of the *impartation* of the divine ideas to us, and simply helpless when he confesses, but leaves unexplained, the fact that the mind of one man communicates excitation to the mind of another, Fichte confesses that the positing of the non-Ego, as the non-Ego inevitably appears in every man's experience, is incapable of explanation ("unbegreifliche"), and Schelling, in his Fichtian period, acknowledges that while the limitation of the Ego, in a *general way*, can be explained, "the definite limitation of it is the *incomprehensible* and *inexplicable* demand in philosophy."^{*}

Berkeley appeals to the omnipotence of God as capable of making direct impressions on the mind; but the first sentence of the "Principles" shows that *God* is not the object of human *knowledge*—we have no more than our knowledge of our *idea* of him. We know the idea, not the Being. Berkeley can find no solution of the facts he admits, except by a tacit desertion of his own principles of knowledge. Matter, in many of its aspects, may be considered as the medium of thought, the interpreting word of God's mind—the necessary condition of man's conscious relation to man; but of all these, in its Gnostic undervaluation of matter, idealism has persistently taken no notice.

5. Closely allied with the position it assigns to thought, is the strength which idealism derives from the conception of the *phenomena* of the universe, as *language* in which mind speaks to mind, or speaks to itself. "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge; there is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard."

Yet, while Idealism speaks much of *language*, it is a language without words, without lip, and without ear. It has no words, for words are not ideas, but the representatives of ideas, and the media of expressing them; and idealism has no medium between minds—it has mind speaking without words, articulating without organs, and heard without an ear. Its words are self-uttered, that is, unuttered—self-heard, and therefore unheard.

But while objective nature is like language in that it reveals mind to mind, it is even as a revealer greatly unlike language

* "System des transcendental Idealismus," p. 118.

in many respects. Objective nature is not only a means to an intellectual end, but is also in some respects an end to itself. And even when it is a means, it is, in its first and most direct intent, a means to a natural, not to an intellectual end. The bird has faculties for itself alone; and those which it has for me it *shares* with me. It does not only sing for me, it sings for itself also. The flowers that blush unseen are not lost, and the sweetness shed on the desert air is not wasted. The intermediate purposes of nature do not find their analogy in language, and hence the conception of language fails to cover the whole problem. It does not answer to build a system on the straining of a metaphor. But the secret force of the analogy, even as far as we grant it, is not what it ought to be for the ends of idealism. Objective nature has not the arbitrary character of language. Talking man has innumerable languages—man as the excitant of the perceptions of his fellow has but one language, and to percipient man Nature addresses but one. The man of spoken language is “*homo*” and “*anthropos*”—and the nation of “*homo*” does not understand “*anthropos*,” but Nature’s man is man himself, asserting himself to the normal perception of the whole race in the one perception, in its kind identical and unmistakable. If Nature finds in language some of her *parallels*, she finds in it, in other respects, her *contrasts*. She is so vast and so manifold that she soon exhausts the figure and leaves it behind her. The spoons of our systems never throw back the tide-line of her ocean.

6. Idealism has been strengthened by the obscurity, confusion, and vacillation of thinkers in regard to the notion of *substance*, or of the “*thing in itself*.”

Yet idealism itself involves all the most serious demands of the notion of substance, falls into its greatest difficulties, and complicates instead of relieving them. The difficulties touching substance are in the sphere of the ideal. But although it raises the difficulties, it never settles them. It has all the empirical difficulties in accounting for what *seems*, and then the complicating difficulty, which haunts it all through, that this only seems. It is encumbered with the perplexity of treating physical substance as if it were a fact, while it yet conceives of it as a fiction. In a word, it is encumbered with all the embarrassments brought in by the idea of physical substance, yet can avail itself of none of the relief the idea brings.

7. Closely allied with the notion of substance is that of *cause* and *causality*, whose obscurities have given a place of shelter to idealistic speculation.

But idealism is no less weak than other systems in its interpretation of causality. The causal relation of intellectual forces and

effects, of mental precedences and successions, is not only as obscure in its own nature as is physical causation, but is, in fact, the source of difficulty as regards the physical. It is the adjustment in the mental construction which creates the perplexity. Here, as in regard to substance, idealism is compelled to accept experience as a source of difficulties, yet dare not use it as a means of relief from them.

8. It is an element of strength in idealism, in common with all monistic systems, that it appeals to the love of *unity* natural to the mind. All great tendencies in human nature point in some way to great truths—to some truth possessed or some truth needed. When they swing and tremble, it is still under a prevailing drawing toward the true; and when they at last lie still and point steadily, they point to the pole. One of the most marked desires of human thought is toward unity, to make as nearly as may be the One the All. The great struggle of thinking has been toward a monistic construction of the facts, and this has given us pantheism, materialism, idealism, and the doctrine of identity.

It is a weakness of idealism, in common with materialism and pantheism, that it finds unity not in the *harmony* of the things that differ, but in the *absorption* of the one into the other. Two sets of things are before us in the natural construction of experience, as all schools alike admit—things spiritual, things material. Before they begin to philosophize, the materialist and the idealist wholly agree on the phenomenal facts. There *seems* to be a world external to me, and I *seem* to be conscious that there is. But when they begin to philosophize, the materialist insists that as such a thing as mind is supposed to be can neither act on matter nor be acted on by matter, there can be no mind. The idealist, holding to the fundamental mode of the materialist construction, simply inverting the terms, says: As such a thing as matter is supposed to be can neither act on mind nor be acted on by mind, there is no such thing as matter. Each is a dogmatist, arbitrarily assuming the element by which he will stand as separate from the other, and each, by the thing he rejects, making void the thing by which he holds. For there is no genuine proof that there is matter which is not a proof that there is mind, no genuine proof that there is mind which is not a proof that there is matter. All proof of the existence of matter links itself with the consciousness which the mind has of certain facts which involve the existence of matter; all proofs of the existence of mind are linked with the evidences that matter operates on it and is operated on by it. Matter isolated from mind is unknown, and mind isolated from matter is unknowing. As subject and object are corre-

late terms, and the real existence of the thing in one term of the relation implies the real existence of the other, so mind and matter are not opposites, but correlates. *As philosophy alone knows them*, there can be no mind conceived without matter, no matter conceived without mind. Materialism and idealism are alike forms of direct self-contradiction.

9. It is a source of strength to idealism that, with its principles, various speculative errors, especially materialism, seem to be most effectually overthrown. The hope of accomplishing this was one of Berkeley's practical incentives. That he has not accomplished this in the manner and to the degree he proposed is certain, but his labors were nevertheless not a failure. Berkeley has helped to lay an immovable foundation for a true estimate of the value of the soul and of the majesty of mind. Quite outside of his peculiar speculation, in which many may decline to follow him—and, indeed, the more potently if we drop it—he has helped to fix forever, to thoughtful men, evidence of the personality, the independent existence, the amazing faculties of man's spirit. If he has not demonstrated that there is no substantial body, he has demonstrated that, whatever body may be, it is for the soul; that matter is for mind; that the psychical rules the physical; that the spirit is the educator of the organs; that the universe is expressed thought and embodied plan; it is conceived by mind for mind, is the language in which the Infinite Spirit speaks to the created spirits; that law is but the revelation of will, nature an eternal logic and æsthetic; that man is an indivisible person, and that his essential personality is inherent in his soul; that soul is not the result of organism, but that organism is the result of soul; that the universe *we know* can not exist without mind. The esse of the known is percipi, man is the measure of his own universe, and there is no *man's universe* outside of man.

On the other hand, idealism promotes materialism by reaction, as all extremes, in the same way, produce their counterparts. To make a real thing nothing, is the best preparation for making it every thing. The soil of the most matured idealism is, equally with that of a one-sided realism, the soil of the most extravagant materialism. The land of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel is the land of Feuerbach, Vogt, and Moleschott, as the land of Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke is the land of Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer. Many in the world of thinkers, nearly all in the every-day world of what is called "common-sense," if fairly pinned down to the choice between "no substantial mind," "no substantial matter," would say, "If this be so, there is no substantial mind." To the populace throughout, and to nearly all the cul-

tivated, the thing seen, felt, heard, tasted, is the substance; not the thing which sees, feels, hears, tastes. That is to most men the shadow. If you can make them doubt of what they have seen, how can they continue to believe in that which they have not seen?

10. Closely associated by misconstruction and one-sided extravagance with materialism is the doctrine of *realism*, against whose abuses the best idealism is arrayed. The common-sense of the Occidental races is prevailingly *realistic*, but realistic beyond all the metes and bounds which any system of intelligent thinking can endure. All philosophers are agreed that in a certain aspect the popular interpretation of consciousness is demonstrably false. It is so false that half an hour's talk will satisfy any man of ordinary intellect that he has misconstrued the testimony of his own eyes, ears, and touch. When the refined sense of the race becomes realistic, it tends to materialism. Those who are terrified at idealism would do well to contrast its workings not merely with their own sober realism, but with the workings of materialism; to put side by side materialistic France and idealistic Germany, or in Germany to contrast even the extravagances of idealism with the reactionary extravagances of materialism, remembering that the abuse of realism is the direct stronghold of materialism.

But if the extravagances and mistakes of realism are favorable to idealism, there is a strength, naturalness, and consistency in a *sober realism* which makes it a very formidable antagonist in the sphere of speculation, and an invincible one to the practical mind. Not only so—it is invincible to the idealistic mind in its practical moods. Fichte himself says, "Idealism can never be a *way of thinking*, but is *speculation* only. When it comes to action, realism presses upon every man, even upon the most decided idealist. Idealism is the true *reverse* of life."* Fichte elsewhere says, "If I do not acknowledge practically what I *must* acknowledge theoretically, I put myself in an attitude of clear self-contradiction."† And in saying this he passes judgment on his own system.

11. It is a great source of strength to idealism that, appealing to the reason as its ground, those who are its *antagonists* have so often failed in meeting it successfully—have so often insisted that the whole question is to be carried out of philosophy and put to the popular vote—or, accepting the challenge to meet idealism in the sphere of speculation, have, in that sphere, failed to overthrow it.

But it is no less true that if the antagonists of idealism have strengthened it by

* *Philosoph. Journal*, v., 322, 323, note.

† "Brief an Reinhold," p. 5. See Krug, "Idealismus."

their differences, the friends of idealism have weakened it by their vital differences. Its friends have failed to agree.

12. It is one of the great attractions of idealism to thinkers that it meets the problems of thought in a *philosophical spirit*. If it does not solve them, it *tries* to solve them. If it does not answer the question, it does not *give it up*. If its heroes are vanquished, they fall in battle with their harness on.

There is often a great misconception of the whole purpose of philosophical effort. It is not to find a ground of practical conviction sufficient for the routine of every-day life. That ground is common to all the systems. The most absolute idealist and the most positive realist are undistinguishable here. The whole circle of the phenomenal is the same to both. It is not the *ὄρι*, but the *διόρι* which divides them. It is, indeed, one of the marvels of the case, that idealists have so often been distinguished in the largeness and pureness of their practical thinking and of their active lives. One grand object of philosophy is to vindicate the sensations or instincts to the reason, or to correct both by the reason, or reason by both, or to show that they lie out of the range of reason, and must be accepted without hope of harmonizing them. It is the object of philosophy to ascend, as high as it is given to man to ascend, to adjust our beliefs and our cognitions, and to escape the error of simply believing what we ought to know, or of assuming to know what we can only believe. When divine revelation is accepted, we must believe in order to understand. Is this the canon of philosophy too? Under which flag—*Credo ut, or Intellego ut?* A great school, the school of Belief, replies, *Credo ut*; another school would totally deny the *Credo ut*. "However harmless," says Kant, "psychological idealism may appear as regards the essential aims of metaphysics (though in fact it is not harmless), yet it would remain a perpetual scandal to philosophy and the common reason of our race, to be compelled to assume, simply on *belief*, the existence of things external to us—the very things from which we derive the entire materials for the cognitions of our internal sense—and when any one doubts their existence to be at a loss for a sufficient proof of it." Brave words; but Kant never reached the point at which he could pretend to say, on speculative grounds, *Intellego*. His heart went over from the philosophers to the vulgar, and tried to stanch the wounds of the "pure" with the bandages of the "practical;" but the bandages of the "practical" could only be found in the repository of the "pure," and from thence Kant had removed them. His "reason" affirmed idealism. His instinct clung to realism. Kant perpetually

unraveled in one what he wove in the other. The shroud of Penelope was never completed. Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and hundreds of others, have worked upon it, but it is unfinished. If the work is ever stayed, it will not be by its completion, but by the coming of some Ulysses of metaphysics who shall bring it to an end by removing its motive. Meanwhile it can not be denied that the idealists have been marked by bold, persistent labor, and by great fidelity to speculative processes. They have refused all compromise with "common-sense," have pushed away persistently the friendly but coarse hand of empiricism. There is an air of the heroic characteristic of the school, in its unceasing warfare with all, however strong or popular, which does dishonor to man as a being of speculative thought. They can not be driven or bribed into compromising the dignity of science, the majesty of mind.

But though idealism has nobly represented in its best names the philosophical spirit, it has by no means a monopoly of such names or of this spirit. Other systems have worthy names, and some very bright ones are found arrayed against idealism. Many of the most illustrious thinkers of England, Scotland, France, and Germany have resisted its premises, and yet more frequently its inferences. Some of its masters sit unseated on their thrones, put there against their protest by their disciples. All recent idealism is the exaggeration or isolation of principles of Kant; but if idealism is Kantianism, Kant did not understand his own system. If his creed was idealistic, his faith was realistic. Recent idealism is the disavowed, if not the illegitimate, child of the great thinker it claims as its father.

13. Idealism has nurtured many of the noblest spirits of the race, and claims the power of begetting exaltation of mind and character. Berkeley is a sublime embodiment of the true philosophical spirit; of the loftiness of its aims, the singleness of its purpose, the invincible persistence of its fidelity to conviction. Without disloyalty to the practical turn of the English mind, he has been true to purely intellectual interests. He at least has not degraded philosophy to the kitchen. His intellectual life is consistent with his own utterances: "The first spark of philosophy was derived from heaven. . . . Theology and philosophy gently unbind the ligaments that chain the soul down to earth, and assist her flight toward the Sovereign Good." Idealism in its best forms is characteristically the system of noble, intellectual, and pure men. If it does not lift men to the heaven of their aspiration, it at least keeps them out of the slough and the mire.

Yet idealism has also in some cases nurtured

* "Krit. d. rein. Vernunft," Vorrede. Ed. Kirchmann. Drit. Aufl. (Berlin, 1872), p. 41.

* "Sirs," § 301, 302.

ured, even in its greatest representatives, an overweening Titanic arrogance. Not even the noble nature of Fichte could hide this tendency—or, rather, the frankness of a true manliness brought it into consistent relief. It stands forth like a spectral giant of the Brocken on every mountain peak of his speculation. One passage will be sufficient to illustrate it: "And now with this view—that there is no objective being correspondent with our conceptions—be free, O mortal!—be redeemed forever from the fear which has been thy humiliation and torment! Thou shalt tremble no more before a necessity which exists but in thy thoughts. Thou shalt no longer fear that thou shalt be crushed by things which are but the products of thine own mind. Thou shalt no longer class thyself, the thinker, with the thoughts which go forth from thee. As long as thou wert able to believe that such a system of things as thou didst describe to thyself actually existed, external to thee, independent on thee, and that thou mightest be a mere link in the chain of this system, so long thy fears were well grounded. Now thou art redeemed, and I resign thee to thyself!"*

14. Idealism has been, and is, in some shape, received by an immense portion of the race—predominantly in the philosophical races of Asia, and to no little extent in Europe. "In Asia," says Schopenhauer, "idealism is—both in Brahmanism and Buddhism—a doctrine of the religion of the people even. In Hindostan, in the doctrine of the *Maja*, it is universal; and in Thibet, the main seat of the Buddhist Church, it is taught in the most popular form."†

It is equally true that the Western mind is not inclined to accept idealism. The Oriental mind receives it through the channel of pantheism. To that mind it is theology rather than philosophy. "Idealism in Europe," says Schopenhauer, "is bare paradox—it is known as a paradox scarcely to be seriously thought of, confined to certain abnormal philosophers."

15. Idealism is a system of great versatility, and has the power of associating its fundamental position with structures of the most diverse kind.

But it is also true that if it can be built in with the strong and noble, it can also be built in with the weak and unworthy. If it has won to itself the self-sacrificing Christian heart of Berkeley, and has drawn into it his profound theistic convictions, it has also woven in with itself the dreamy pantheism of the Orient, and the more vigorous pantheism of the West. It has adjusted itself to Fichte's moral order of the world as

an ideal God; to Schelling's God of his first era, as "the absolute indifference of antitheses;" of his second era, as the God "who attains to perfected being by theogonic process;" and of his third era, with the various modifications of his mystic theosophic tendency. It has been bound up with Hegel's religion, as "man's consciousness of God, and of God's consciousness of himself in man;" and with Schopenhauer's unpaling atheism, pessimism, and animalism. Beginning in the spirit with Berkeley, it has ended in the flesh with materialism, and has taken in all between. It surely has established no claim to be a religious or ethical regulator. In its native soil it is the philosophy of Brahmanism and Buddhism, which are systems of atheism and pessimism.

The *Maja*, which is the popular form of the idealism of the Hindoos, is "the veil of illusion which shrouds the eyes of mortals, and causes them to see a world of which it can not be said that it is, nor even that it is not; for it is like a dream, or like the sunlight on the sands, which the distant traveler mistakes for water, or like the thong which he takes for a serpent in his way. Suicide is the masterpiece of *Maja*."

16. As idealism is one of the earliest, so does it claim to be the latest, and therefore the ripest, result of speculative thought.

As a philosophical system, not as an adjunct to a pantheistic theology or mythology, or to the atheistic systems of the East, idealism is not earliest in its rise, and its ripeness is of no value unless the fruit be good. But idealism is not the last result of philosophical ripening. Already the marks of transition are manifest. The philosophy of the future is one which will be neither *absolute* idealism nor *absolute* realism, but will accept the facts of both, and fuse them in a system which, like man himself, shall blend the two realities as distinct yet inseparable—the *duality* of natures harmonized, yet not vanishing, in the *Monism* of person. Its universe shall be one of *accordant*, not of *discordant* matter and mind—a universe held together and ever developing under the plan and control of the one Supreme, who is neither *absolutely* immanent nor *absolutely* supramundane, but *relatively* both—*immanent* in the sense in which deism denies his presence, *supramundane* in the sense in which pantheism ignores his relation. Its God shall be not the mere Maker of the universe, as deism asserts, nor its matter, as pantheism represents him, but its Preserver, Benefactor, Ruler, and Father, who, whether in matter or mind, reveals the perfect reason, the perfect love, the perfect will, the consummate power, in absolute and eternal personality.

17. The facts we have presented upon the one side justify the language in which a distinguished thinker of Germany does

* "Bestimmung des Menschen," p. 159-162.

† "Ueber . . . Grunde," 3d Aufl., p. 32. "Parerga," 2d Aufl., ff. 40. "Willen in der Natur," 3d Aufl., p. 133. Frauenstädt, S.-Lex.: Art. "Idealismus."

* Schopenhauer, Frauenstädt: Art. "Maja."

homage to the strength of idealism in the very preparation to expose its weakness:*

"Idealism is in substance and tendency closely allied with spiritualism; but it is profounder, more imposing, more towering. Among all philosophical systems, the boldest and loftiest is idealism; the idea of the self-dependence of the mind is in it carried to its supremest height; the omnipotence of the Ego is its fundamental dogma; the Ego—the thinking mind—is the centre of the universe, it is the solitary fixed point in the being of things, the primal spring of all existence—the Ego is God. It is in the fullest and highest sense of the word the system of freedom and self-dependence. Every thing in it is freedom, free activity, the spontaneity of the Ego—knowing no limits but those of its own imposition; for outside of the Ego is nothing which can set bounds to it—the whole external world, the non-Ego, is but empty seeming or product of the self-active Ego itself. In this lies the gigantic power with which idealism so often lays its grasp on the mind of men of great force and independence of character. This explains the enchantment with which it often lures especially the young man, who feels most vividly the self-dependence of his spirit. Idealism is the system of fiery, active, free youth; realism the system of sober, cold, calm old age.

"Hence, also, it is that the moral element in man finds its most potent stimulus in idealism; for idealism, by pre-eminence, reposes on the self-dependence and freedom of the mind.

"As in pantheism it is the religious view of the world which predominates, in idealism it is the ethical view. A potent, exalted, and strict style of moral thinking arises from the idealistic principle. This principle involves egoism, indeed, but it is an egoism of the noblest, purest kind, standing in harmony with the most genuine morality; for it throws into the first line, not the empirical, sense-bound Ego, but the pure rational Ego. Thus, at least, it appears in its highest shape, in one whose strong, lofty, masculine soul lived wholly in idealism. We mean Fichte, as he presents it in its rugged completeness in his 'Doctrine of Science.'"

The same illustrious writer, whose eloquent tribute to the strength of idealism will heighten the value of his exposure of its weakness, has said:† "Let us look now at the shadow-side of idealism—for in truth it lacks not in very dark and mournful shadows. It has been remarked, in speaking of pantheism, how intolerable to the common understanding of man is the view that the world of the senses is but deception and

seeming. This contradiction to the ordinary view of the world is greatly strengthened in idealism, as according to it not merely the finite world of the senses, but the entire universe—Nature, Man, and God—the natural and the supernatural, the corporeal and the spiritual—in brief, all that is actual, external to the Ego—is annihilated. Nothing but the Ego with its activity has true substantiality; the entire external world is but show and illusory; is no more than an empty, insubstantial play of images which the Ego calls into being and then allows to vanish; is no more, as Fichte expresses it, than 'the mirage of our divine Ego.' Thus the Ego finds itself alone in the boundless waste of emptiness and nothingness which circles it all round. Can any man, endowed with emotion, feel satisfied with such a view? Must it not make any man shiver, vividly to actualize to himself the desolate loneliness involved in this idealistic view of the world?"

18. Jean Paul has painted, with his characteristic matchless eccentricity and vigor, the desolate condition to which an actualized idealism brings the mind: "The worst of all is the pitched, aimless, perked-up, insular life that a god must live. He has no society. If I am not (as the idealistic Ego) to sit still all the time and to all eternity, if I am to let myself down as well as I can, and make myself *finite*, just to have *something* about me, I shall be like the poor little princes—I shall have nothing about me but my own servile *creatures* to echo my words. Any being whatever—the Supreme Being himself, if you choose—wishes something to love, something to honor. But Fichte's doctrine of every man his own body-maker leaves me nothing at all, not even the beggar's dog or the prisoner's spider. For, granted that those two animals existed, the dog, the spider, and I would only have the *nine* pictures which we would paint of ourselves and of each other, but we would not have each other. Something better than myself—that better something to which the flame of love leaps up—is not, if idealism be true, to be had. The mantle of love, which for ages has been narrowed to the canonical four fingers' breadth of the bishop's pallium, now goes up in a blaze, and the only thing a man has left to love is his own love. Verily, I wish there were such things as men, and I wish I were one of them. If it has fallen to my lot, unhappy dog that I am, that nobody really exists but myself, nobody is as badly off as I am. No sort of enthusiasm is left me but logical enthusiasm. All my metaphysics, chemistry, technology, nosology, botany, entomology, runs down into the old principle, Know *thyself*. I am not merely, as Bellarmine says, my own Saviour, but I am also my own devil, my own messenger of death, and master of the knot in ordinary

* Heinrich, Th. Schmid (1799-1836), Professor of Philosophy in Heidelberg: "Vorlesungen über das Wesen der Philosophie" (Stuttg. 1836).

† Schmid, "Vorlesungen," p. 263.

to my own majesty. Around me stretches humanity, turned to stone. In the dark, desolate stillness glows no love, no admiration, no prayer, no hope, no aim. I am so utterly alone! no pulsation, no life, any where. Nothing about me, and, without me, nothing but nothing. Thus come I out of eternity, thus go I into eternity. And who hears my complaints and knows me now? Ego. Who shall hear me and who shall know me to all eternity? Ego."

19. The picture drawn by Jean Paul is gloomy enough, yet it has a solitary point of light and relief. The Ego itself is left: one only, it is true, but each man will consider that his own. And it is the fact that idealism is supposed to leave this great something secure that has given it a fascination to men, who feared that other systems would leave them nothing, not even themselves. A self-conscious, a possibly immortal something—this, at least, is gain.

When every thing else sinks in the ocean of idealistic nothingness, does not the personal Ego stand unshaken, a rock towering in solitary grandeur above the sweep of all the billows of speculative doubt? On that long line of coast, chafed by waves which ever pile it with fresh wrecks, will not that rock of personal consciousness furnish a base for one light-house of the mind? Alas! no; for the logic of idealism robs us of consciousness of self. If, as Berkeley and all idealists assert, ideas without correlate realities are the only *objects* of knowledge, the personal mind itself is either mere *idea* or it is *unknown*.

Idealism can only affirm, "*There is consciousness,*" but it does not *know what* is conscious. If the Ego be assumed to be the *object* of knowledge, it is in that very fact transmuted into *idea*; it is the mirage of a mirage. Two things which God hath joined together can not be put asunder without loss to both. The murder of matter is the suicide of mind.

20. Tested, then, by its own logic, where does idealism end? We shall not answer the question for it, but accept the answer of its pure and great representative, Fichte. "There is," says he,* "nothing permanent, either within me or external to me. All is ceaseless change. I know of no being, not even of my own. There is no being. I know nothing and am nothing. There are *images*: they are the only things which exist, and they know of themselves after the manner of images—images which hover by, without there being any thing *which* they hover by—which hang together by images of images—images which have nothing to image, unmeaning and aimless. I myself am one of these images. Nay, I am not so much as that: I am only a confused image of images. All reality is changed to a marvelous dream, without a life which is dreamed of; without a mind, which dreams; a dream which hangs together in a dream of itself. *Intuition* is the dream; *thought*—the source of all the being and of all the reality which I frame to myself, source of my being, source of my power, source of my aims—is the dream of that dream."

* "Bestimmung des Menschen," p. 142.

CHRISTIANITY AND HUMANITY.

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As the subject is altogether too broad for any thing like full particular discussion, all that I can aim at in the present paper must be an outline simply of its general significance, in the form of a series of brief and comprehensive topics or heads of thought, following one another in close logical order, and yet thrown each one more or less upon itself for its own separate evidence and confirmation.

1. The world of nature, made up as it is of innumerable parts, is nevertheless one universal whole, bound and held together through all its parts by the presence of a single divine idea, which reaches its end in man. Its constitution, in this view, is not mechanical, but organic—that is, it is not a scheme of things put together by simply external juxtaposition, but a system of things cohering together inwardly through the power of a common life. It may be regarded as a pyramid, rising through a scale of degrees to its apex; or as an orb, determined from all sides to its centre. In either case the end is the same. Man is the apex and centre, and for this reason also in himself separately considered an epitome, a synopsis or recapitulation, we may say, of the entire natural creation. He is the last sense of it, and the only true key to its meaning in all its lower forms of existence. So much we are plainly taught by the first chapter of the Book of Genesis. Our own consciousness confirms the lesson; and it has come to be so irradiated now by the light of science, that a man must forfeit all claim to rationality to make it a matter of any serious question or doubt.

2. It is no less plain, however, that man is the consummation of nature in this way, only because he is in himself a great deal more than nature. Nature in its totality looks beyond itself—is a continual *nisus*, indeed, in its own constitution toward a higher order of existence, without which it has no power ever to become complete; and the very fact that it ends in man implies therefore of itself that he is for it, at the same time, the beginning of that higher existence, and the medium accordingly through which room is made for the work of creation to run its course in new and far more glorious form. Such superiority belongs to him, as we know, in virtue of what he is as mind or spirit, in which are joined together as one the two faculties of the will and the under-

standing, making him to be in the image and likeness of God, and capable thus of receiving into himself the light of God's truth and the power of God's love as the perfection of his own life. Man in this way exists really in two worlds. In his physical organism he belongs at all points to the world of nature, the system of things seen and temporal, with which he stands in continual communication through his bodily senses. In his spiritual organism he is just as intimately comprehended in the world of spirit, the system of things unseen and eternal, which lies wholly beyond the range of his senses, although it is all the time touching him, in fact, and making itself felt upon his life in a different way. The difference between these two orders of existence with man, however, is not just that between body and spirit generally considered; for the distinguishing life of man—that by which he differs from the mere animal—is primarily and essentially all in his mind, and only by derivation from thence in his body. But his mind itself is so constituted as to have in it, so to speak, two different regions—one looking directly into the natural world through the body, and the other opening principally into the spiritual world. Hence, properly speaking, the difference between the external man and the internal man, some sense of which is found entering into the deeper thought of the world through all ages. It is not simply with the regenerate and righteous that such dualism has place; it belongs to our life here universally.* Man

* "Das Gesamtverhalten wie das Gesamtgefühl des Menschen bekundet auf unwiderstehliche Art, dass er als 'Fremdling' sich wisse in dieser Sinnenwelt und dass das Hinausstreben über dieselbe der eigentliche Sinn aller eigenthümlich menschlichen Thätigkeit sei. Daher die rastlose Unruhe und der tiefe Zwiespalt, der sein ganzes Wesen durchzieht, indem er jedes Erreichte sofort wieder vor sich verneinen muss; die ungestillte Sehnsucht gerade mitten im kräftigsten Lebensgefühl, die jeder höchsten Freude sogleich sich belächelnde erste Wehmuth, was ebenso die Quelle höchster Erhebung zu Poesie und Religion dem Menschen wird, als umgekehrt den irdisch Gesinnten in die Verödung eines leeren, ewig unbefriedigten Strebens hinauswirft: alles dies ist nur dass Zeugniß einer unablässigen *Verneinung* seines gegenwärtigen Zustandes; das helst aber zugleich: seines substantiellen *Hinausseins* über denselben. Es ist zugleich die thatkräftige Wirkung und unwillkürliche Beglaubigung seines wahrhaftigen, jenseitigen Wesens. Indem der Mensch alles Zeitliche zu einem Ungenügendem herabsetzt, in welchem irdisch erreichten Ziele sich gefangen giebt, verräth er dadurch, eine

is by his creation at once both spiritual and natural—the denizen of two worlds. That is his distinction from the beast, which is natural only and not spiritual.

3. The dualism here brought into view, it is hardly necessary to say, is not abstract—the conjunction of these two modes of existence in any simply outward relation. It is a distinction which seeks and demands unity—the organization of its two sides into the power of a single concrete life. Neither is there any room for doubt in regard to the law which should govern the coalescence of the two orders of existence into one. The natural, all know at once, is in order to the spiritual. Here only it is that mind comes to its native home and true destination by entering into the light of God. The two orders of life are thus of themselves correlated as outward and inward, lower and higher; and this implies, of course, that the outward and lower should be ruled in full by the inward and higher. That is the true idea of human culture. That is the only intelligible end of man's redemption. It is possible for this order to be reversed. The spiritual may be hopelessly turned away from the light of heaven, and merged in the darkness of mere nature. But that in the end is the damnation of hell.

4. It is not then by any violent sundering of the higher life in man from the lower that he is redeemed and saved. This would be a sublimation of his existence that must destroy at last all its reality. What the case calls for is the full and complete reduction of his lower life to the obedience and service of the higher, the raising of the natural through the spiritual into the harmonious union of the whole man with God. Room is made for this in the twofold constitution of the mind itself, by which it is possible for it to flow down, as it were, from its own superior region into that which is lower, so as to join them together as with the intimacy of soul and body in the power of one and the same truly spiritual life. It is not simply from itself, however, that any such heavenward determination of the human spirit can come. There must be for this purpose a flowing into it of spirit and life from a yet higher sphere. Only in and by the powers of the heavenly world itself—only through real conjunction with these powers, proceeding forth as they do from the Lord of life and glory—is it possible to conceive rationally of the glorification of the natural in man by means of his spiritual in the way here spoken of. The case requires and involves thus in the end an actual coming together of nature and the supernatural, the human and the divine, to make the idea of humanity and the world complete. On this

hinges, in truth, the whole problem of man's salvation.

5. The twofold constitution of man, as we have now had it under consideration, may be taken as a key for the right appreciation in general of the two economies—the two different orders of existence—which are joined into one immediately by means of it in his person. We need no other argument to prove that the two economies are in fact one economy in a deeper and broader view, and that the unity of creation, regarded as a whole, does not stop by any means with the natural world, but embraces along with this, at the same time, the entire sense and significance also of the spiritual world. How indeed can we have any faith in creation at all as the work of Infinite Intelligence and Love under any other view? The two worlds—natural and spiritual—form together one universe; and the union of nature and mind in man serves to show, with a sort of palpable demonstration, how they stand related each to the other in this cosmical whole. Their connection is not one of space or time. It transcends altogether these limitations. The spiritual world is not on the outside of the natural locally, nor does it come after this temporally. It is not a mere sublimation or etherealization in any way of the natural. The relation between the two orders of existence is of one sort rather with that between soul and body in man—two modes of being, which are totally distinct, while yet they work into each other every where as coexistent spheres in the general identity of his life. It is the relation of interior and exterior, higher and lower, prior and posterior, cause and effect; and here, as in the case of soul and body, it is the spiritual world, of course, which goes before the natural in this order of precedence. Things seen and temporal stand every where thus in the active presence and power of things unseen and eternal. The spiritual world, it has been well said, works from within, and actuates all and each of the things that exist and are formed in the world of nature, as the human mind works into the senses and motions of the body; so that all the particular things of nature are, as it were, sheaths and coverings, which encompass spiritual things, and proximately produce effects corresponding to the end of God the Creator.

6. The spiritual world here introduced to our view, we can see at once, is heaven-wide apart from that abstract and visionary conception of it, by which it is too commonly regarded as being the mere negation or coming to an end of the world of outward sense and matter. We do not characterize it properly, when we speak of it simply as immaterial and supersensible, or resolve it into the notion of an intellectual and ideal system. It is beyond the reach indeed of our present

überzeitliche Macht und eine überzeitliche Bestimmung in sich zu tragen."—From Im. H. Fichte's *Psychologie*.

sense, and for this reason it transcends also the range of all our natural thinking. But this does not make it in any sense shadowy or unreal. In its own superior order of existence it has a character of positive reality and substance which goes immeasurably beyond the visible and tangible show of things in the world of nature. The spiritual world is not the pale shadow of the natural. On the contrary, it is the cause of the natural—that on which it depends; the interior soul of the natural—that from which it draws its continual life; the universal issue and end of the natural—that in which only all its powers and possibilities become complete. It is a world or universe, full of concrete existence and sensible experience; full of living relations, activities, and powers; full of endlessly diversified phenomenal scenery and surroundings, with which, for grandeur, beauty, and glory, the universe of nature can bear no comparison whatever.

7. The living entities, powers, and activities of the spiritual world, thus gloriously constituted, refer themselves throughout to God as their origin and source, and in doing so form necessarily an organized system, endlessly manifold and yet universally one, flowing forth with perpetual derivation every where from the fullness of him who in such way filleth all in all.

8. Collectively considered, this outflowing of the divine Life, in the presence and power of which the spiritual world is thus created and upheld, is the *Word of God*; the self-utterance of the Infinite and Eternal Father, by which he is to be regarded as coming forth from the otherwise incomprehensible depths of his own absolute being, and making himself known in the universe of his works. "By the Word of the Lord," we are told, "were the heavens made, and all the hosts of them by the breath of his mouth." So again: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." What can be more plain or full than this? The whole creation has its principle and beginning here, starting in the spiritual world, and reaching down through that to the natural world, which, as we have seen, is dependent on the spiritual throughout as a lower and relatively more outward mode of existence. The Word of God is the alpha and omega of the universe, embracing angels and men, the heavens and all the powers therein, together with the whole boundless compass of nature; all things from first to last, from inmost to outmost, come together in this common ground, and have in them no real cause or power of existence in any other view.

9. If any thing were needed more than has been already said to establish the idea of an organized harmonious unity, reaching

through the universal creation and binding all its parts together as a single whole, we have it with overwhelming force in the great truth here brought into view. The divine Word is the all in all of creation, the one principle from which the whole of it flows. How then must this not be, through all its orders of existence, through all its economies and constitutions, whether of nature or of grace, one always and every where with itself, even as the Word is One?

10. The law of original existence for the world in this view, is, of course, no less necessarily the law also of its continued subsistence. Heaven and earth stand perpetually in the presence and power of the divine Word; and this not in the character of an almighty *fiat* simply, taking effect upon them in an outwardly mechanical or magical manner, but in the way of life flowing into them continually through the Word from God himself; in whom, as we know, all angels and men, as well as all living creatures lower than man, live, move, and have their being. "Forever, O Lord, thy Word is settled in heaven; thou hast established the earth and it abideth." The principle of stability in both cases is that from which both heaven and earth took their origin in the beginning. So all changes also, through what are called the laws of nature, come no otherwise in truth than by the operation of this divine agency flowing down into the natural world through the spiritual. Nothing less than this is involved in that magnificent language of the Psalmist: "He sendeth forth his commandment upon earth; his word runneth very swiftly. He giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar-frost like ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels; who can stand before his cold? He sendeth out his word, and melteth them; he causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow."

11. The divine Word, by which the heavens and the earth continually exist in the way now shown, is the same that constitutes the living soul of all divine revelation from the beginning; making the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, in which this revelation is contained, to be the very embodiment in natural form of a supernatural spiritual power and glory surpassing immeasurably the reach of all merely natural intelligence or thought. This is what we are to understand by the inspiration of the Bible. It is the Word of God, in its ever-living supernatural majesty, occupying and possessing the sacred text, not simply as the cause and origin of it at the first, but as its truly informing and actuating spirit through all time. Of the Bible it must be said always in this view, *God is there*. It is the very shekinah of his presence, as represented by the ark containing the two tables of the Law in the Jewish sanctuary; the *testimony*, the *covenant*, so called, in and by which God came

near to man and drew man into union with himself. Every where the Bible is this union and meeting together of the invisible and eternal, the "powers of the world to come," with the interior deepest needs and aspirations of the human spirit in its present bodily state. Hence its authority for all orders and degrees of intelligence, from lisping infancy on to old age; an authority not dependent at all on criticism or hermeneutics, but powerful enough, if need be, to set this at defiance, to turn it into derision, as in itself a higher right, holding consciously—or if not that, then nevertheless *sensibly*—from the felt power of the Divine itself, hidden in the outward text, and yet shining forth from it so as to give understanding to the simple; even as one may take in the light of intelligence from the eye of another, and catch the inspiration of love from his beaming face, whose presence otherwise may be only most imperfectly understood. The full sense of the Holy Scriptures is unfathomable even for the angels themselves. How much less may it be sounded by the plummet of any simply human science? It is a voice every where from behind the veil of sense and time, having in it eternal meaning. What Christ says of his own speech on one occasion is true of sacred Scripture universally; its words are SPIRIT and LIFE. They are "quick and powerful." God is in them of a truth.

12. The economy of revelation ends in what St. Paul calls the "mystery of godliness," by which God, as the Word, "for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man." We can not go too far in owning and proclaiming the infinite majesty of our Lord Jesus Christ, as being in this way the actual manifestation of God in the flesh. The whole truth and power and glory of the Gospel are comprehended in St. Peter's confession, *Thou art the Son of God*. On this rock only Christianity and the Church stand firm against the powers of hell. The Son of the living God, Christ is himself the living God; the fullness of the Godhead bodily; the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person; the Lord of heaven and earth, by whom all things were created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; who is before all things, and by whom all things consist. He is the image of the otherwise invisible, unknowable, unapproachable God, whom no man hath seen nor can see. The Father is in him, as he also is in the Father. He and the Father are one. He is, in a word, the Jehovah, the *I am*, of the Old Testament; the Alpha and Omega, as he proclaimed himself in the vision of Patmos, the beginning and the ending, the

first and the last, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

13. Christ, the Son of God, is the Saviour of the world, through the divine life which is in him as God, and which he is able to communicate derivatively to all who look to him and come to him for that purpose. Whatever other things enter into the idea of salvation, they are to be regarded as conditional only, and incidental to this, which is most plainly set forth in the Gospel as central and fundamental for all else. "In him was life," it is said, "and the life was the light of men." He is "the way, the truth, the life." He is "the resurrection and the life." To follow him, is to "have the light of life." He "hath life in himself," and in virtue of this "quickeneth whom he will." To his disciples he says, "Because I live, ye shall live also;" making life for them to be the efflux of his own life. "God hath given to us eternal life"—so the divine record itself runs—"and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son, hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life;" to which St. John adds with grand conclusion: "We know that the Son of God is come; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and ETERNAL LIFE."

14. The life which is thus in Christ the principle and fountain of salvation for men, must pass over to them in a living way, so as to become in them also a true rational and spiritual life conjoining them with the life of the Lord; and the organ or faculty by which this is found to be possible on the side of man is *faith*; which is an activity both of the understanding and the will in their highest form, joining them together as one in the apprehension of the divine Truth and the divine Good—these by their everlasting marriage constituting in fact the inmost essence and substance of the divine Life. Faith is no mechanical or magical appointment in this view, through which men are justified and saved in an outward way by having imputed to them what is in truth no part of their own proper personal existence or experience. It is the meeting of the human spirit inwardly with the enlivening rays that issue actually from the Sun of Righteousness. It is the turning of the soul within itself toward the Lord, and the opening of its inmost receptivity to the life that is forever flowing from his presence.

15. There is, in such view, only one true faith for man. All the innumerable realities of the spiritual world are so many truths, indeed, which make room for its exercise; but this universe of truths is at the same time one universal complex, in which all refer themselves with inward interdependence, correlation, and common derivation to the same general origin and source; and so, in full conformity with this, all the possible ex-

ercises of genuine faith refer themselves in like manner to a single generality, head themselves together, as it were, explicitly or implicitly, in one ground faith, which is the root and principle of faith in all other forms. What that primordial faith is—the faith of all faiths—is determined at once by what we are bound to acknowledge as the primordial truth—the truth of all truths—as this comes before us in the being of God, made known to us through his Word, and with full revelation at last only in and by his Son Jesus Christ. The true Christian faith in this view is not made up certainly of a system of separate and independent doctrines or facts, loosely thrown together each on its own supposed evidence and worth; neither can it be made to start from any such particular doctrine or fact at our pleasure. There is but one order here, that is practically or theologially sound and right; and that is the order which is governed by the objective constitution of the Gospel itself, the order which begins with the Lord God our Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, and which sees and owns all other truth only as flowing from his presence.

16. It is strange indeed that any one looking earnestly into the New Testament should ever miss seeing that the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the view now stated, the power of owning him to be the Son of God (with all which that means)—not notionally and from the memory only, but from the interior depths of the soul—is in very truth the beginning of all faith, and that without which all else calling itself faith is turned into a pale abstraction resembling death far more than life. Can Peter's confession, the rock on which the Church is built, ever cease to be what it was in the beginning? Is it less true now than it was eighteen centuries ago that the one universal work of God, the fountain of all other obedience and righteousness, is to *believe* on him whom God hath sent? How often are we not told that to believe in Christ as the Son of God is of itself to have eternal life, and that the want of such faith in him is itself the doom of death, because it is a rejection, in fact, of the life that dwells in his person and is to be found nowhere else? "He that heareth my word," he says, "and believeth on him that sent me" (in other words, seeth the Father in the Son), "hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life." But why go on here with testimonies? On this subject they are altogether too full for particular quotation.

17. Life, eternal life, thus attributed to faith, is not to be viewed as a reward attached to it extrinsically by God, but is the necessary result of what faith is in its own nature and office; as being the medium of communication on the part of man with the Lord of life and glory, who is the foun-

tain of all spiritual being, from which depends, as we have already seen, the right order and perfection also of all natural being. Faith saves us through its object, which is the divine truth, being in reality so related to this that neither can be in any man without the other. The divine truth (joined always with the divine love) is made through faith to be actually in the soul as a part of its own existence, like light in the eye. "In thy light," says the Psalmist, "we shall see light." But light again is at once but another term for life; and in the spiritual world, accordingly, the divine truth is synonymous with the divine life; they can not be sundered one from the other. In the heavens, truth is substantial essence just as really as life is, both flowing together from the Lord. "I am the Truth," he says; "I am the Light of the world;" "I am the Life;" all in the same intensely realistic sense. Faith, then, as the receptacle of divine truth, the shining of divine light in the soul, is necessarily communication at the same time with the divine life proceeding from Christ. Its power to save is just this, that it opens the spirit of man, made in the image of God, toward the answerable fullness of God in Christ, and so makes room for a veritable conjunction with him, in the sense that the very idea of religion has been felt to demand through all ages. This, indeed, is eternal life.

18. Christianity, having for its origin and ground our Lord Jesus Christ seen and owned by faith to be the Son of God, in the way now presented, is a vast and mighty system, as already intimated, of other truths and facts innumerable (taking in at last, indeed, the universal sense of the world), in which, however, all other truths are true, and capable of being truly believed, only in virtue of their inward coherence with what is here the beginning of all Christian life and doctrine. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, for example, is for our faith and theology, only after Christ, in and through Christ, and not before him; and can never be construed rightly, except as controlled by the radical confession first of all: *Thou art the Son of God; the I AM, which was, is, and is to come; the Almighty.* So with the hypostatical union. So with the inspiration of the Scriptures, the atonement, the article of justification, the Church, the resurrection from the dead. They are all true, in their proper Christian sense, only in and through Christ. They are true Christologically only, and not in any other sense.

19. But while the ultimate principle of Christian faith is in this way no other than our Lord Jesus Christ himself, the rule of faith, the medium and measure of its proper exercise, the only sure directory in the end for Christian life and doctrine, is the divine revelation contained in the Holy Scriptures. They are "the law and the testimony," by

which all truth is to be tried. They are this, however, only through their interior spiritual constitution—only as they are, in the way we have seen, the very presence and power of the same divine Life by which Christ is declared to be the Light of the world. This it is that constitutes their true internal sense, undiscernible to the natural mind, and makes them to be in truth the "Word of God which liveth and abideth forever." They authenticate and illustrate Christ, only because Christ shines in them every where as the Truth of all truth to which they owe their origin. The "spirit of prophecy," we are told, "is the testimony of Jesus;" it flows from him, and looks toward him, in every part of the Bible. This reciprocal illumination and witness is no vicious logical circle. It is like the relation between speech and thought, or between body and soul, in general; where each term is intelligible only through the other. The mutual illumination in the case before us holds in what we have just seen to be the peculiar nature of faith. This is the inmost and highest in man brought into conjunction with the inflowing life of the Lord; a state thus of direct illumination from him as the Sun of the spiritual universe, which of itself serves then to show the Scriptures in corresponding illumination also, and so to bring into view their true inward power and glory, whereby "they are able to make men wise unto salvation through faith which is in Jesus Christ." This is that *testimonium spiritus sancti* of which so much account was made in the age of the Reformation, and the true idea of which has been so much obscured since. Not man's spirit as such bearing witness to God's truth (a purely rationalistic conception), but the Spirit of Christ made to be in man actually through his faith. Here lay the sin and condemnation of the Pharisees. They made much of the Scriptures, thinking to have in them eternal life; and yet they had no power to see how the Scriptures testified every where to the presence of Christ. Why not? Because they lacked the illumination that comes from inward union with the divine soul of the Scriptures. "Ye have not God's word abiding in you," Christ says to them; "for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not." The entrance of God's words giveth light, where they are irradiated with this faith; not otherwise. Entering into man in any other way, the sense of the Bible is adulterated and profaned, and the light of heaven is turned into thick darkness.

20. The view now taken of the relation between faith and the revelation of God centring in Christ carries us beyond the dilemma of false authority and false freedom, from the horns of which it has been found often so difficult to escape in the construction of Christianity. One is the Roman scheme, making the outward Church the beginning

and ground and measure of all actual Christian faith and life. The other is the Rationalistic scheme, making the Bible to be all this in the like outward way, as a text-book of divine instruction on the plane of the natural understanding, the moral and religious sense of which each man is left to work out as he best can in the exercise of his own free will and private judgment. The two schemes come in the end to substantially the same result. They cast down the Word from its true supernatural throne. They rob the living Christ of his indefeasible majesty, power, and glory. They turn the communion of the spiritual world with the natural into mechanism, magical hocus-pocus, or dim gnostic imagination. They quench the heaven-aspiring light of faith, and will not suffer it to rise into the direct light of the Lord; making reason in this way blind also, and turning it over to perpetual melancholy bondage in the prison-house of the Philistines.

21. Christianity, completing as it does the true idea of humanity by bringing it into true union with God, is the completion necessarily at the same time of the entire natural creation which finds in man its highest and last sense; in which view then, as the end of all things going before, it must be regarded as dominating and determining, from first to last, the order both of actual existence and of right intellectual conception for the world at large. It is not the lower any where in the scale of creation that gives origin and support to the higher. On the contrary, the higher as principal and chief ultimates itself every where in the lower. So up to the very fountain of all things in Him who came forth from the Father to be in this way the beginning of the works of God. With this must correspond then any true theory or science of the world. The boasted modern *Weltanschauung*, which builds its scheme of the universe on the premises of nature (as though these were for man here the *only* data to start with—the only elements to work with on to the end in trying to understand the problem of his own life), is just as irrational as it is irreligious. The only true *Weltanschauung* is that of the Bible, which derives the harmonious whole of creation, in descending order, from that Uncreated Living Wisdom (the source of all other life and light), which "the Lord possessed in the beginning of his way, before his works of old; which was set up from everlasting, from the beginning or ever the earth was." The power of seeing and owning this is *faith*; and just for this reason faith in Christ is the eye of intelligence for man, and the light of all science deserving the name. "Through faith," says St. Paul, "we understand" (intelligize or see with the mind) "that the worlds were framed by the word of God;" so that the visible depends every where in truth on

the invisible, nature on spirit, and not the reverse. Without the felt practical force of this insight into the actual constitution of the world (which only faith can give), science is blind and philosophy insane.

22. Where science owns no allegiance to faith in this way, it is Naturalism; and where it pretends to take in the spiritual meaning of the world in the way of religion, it becomes what we are to understand properly by *Humanitarianism*, the great heresy of the present time. This is the idea of a full completion of the world, morally and physically, in man (who is in fact the immediate completion of nature), without the necessary complement of a higher spiritual life descending into him from the Lord. The theory may set itself, as infidelity, in open opposition to the Gospel; or it may affect to take the Gospel to its bosom, and to be just that form of Christianity which is now needed to save Christianity itself from general wreck amid the rising billows of modern unbelief. It is not to be disguised that such humanitarian Christianity has taken possession widely of the religions thinking of the world at this time; and that the evil is not confined to the doctrinal heterodoxies that have come down to us from other days, but is eating as a cancer also far and wide into what still claims to be the orthodoxy and the true evangelical life of the Church. Without going into details, it may be said that wherever the central mystery of Christ is either theoretically or practically cast down from its throne; where he is not seen and owned to be the Son of the Living God, the fountain of all life and light for men in the most real view; and where faith is not made to be the answer of the soul, first of all, to this primordial truth—this truth, of all other truths, serving to join man with the inflowing life of the Lord, and becoming thus in man himself a “well of water springing up into everlasting life”—there, we must believe, the right confession of the Gospel is wanting, and the fine gold of the Christian sanctuary has become dim. It is Humanitarianism “sitting in the temple of God, and showing itself to be God.” There may be an outward cleaving still in the case to old doctrines, regarded as technicals of the faith once *delivered* to the saints; but the doctrines are dead, having no root in the Living Christ (mere εἰδωλα, *simulacra*, pallid corpse-like abstractions [1 John v., 21]), and so are ready always to go up like the crackling of thorns before the fire of skeptical criticism. Or it may be the whole idea of doctrine and mystery has been given up, under the plausible notion that all true religion has to do at last only with a good life, and what we may call the spiritual culture of man from the plane of his simply human life as such. Under either view—that of dead doctrine or that of no doctrine—the mystery of

error here described comes to the same thing. Antichrist it is in both forms, working and warring against the only true idea of Christ.

23. That this true idea of Christ is indeed the question of all questions for the age, and the question toward the right solution of which all the inmost powers and deepest needs of the age are, with growing urgency, now pressing from all sides, is coming to be more and more plain to the observation of the thoughtful every day. Science, politics, and morals, believingly or unbelievingly, are forced to do homage to it. No theology has living interest, no confession-alism is more than a grinning skeleton of dry bones, apart from it. All the issues of faith and infidelity, spiritual life and spiritual death, are heading themselves together here, in the grand heaven-and-earth moving interrogation of our Lord himself: “What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is he?” Who is he as related to God? Who is he, and what is he, as related to humanity and the world?

24. The right knowledge and acknowledgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the view we have now taken of what he is as the full and only visible manifestation of the otherwise invisible God, the fullness of the God-head bodily, and that which necessarily goes along with this, the right idea, namely, of what true saving faith is on the side of man, as first of all a direct looking to and coming to the Lord beheld in such divine majesty, whereby room is offered for the inflowing of truth, righteousness, and life in the most real way from his presence—these two in union, are they not, beyond all else, what the critical questionings and confusions of this last time of the Church are plainly forcing into view more and more from all sides, as the only true answer to the great world-problem with which they are concerned? Here, and here only it would seem, have we any solid ground on which to stand in the conflict between faith and science, revelation and reason—the real existence of a personal God, on the one hand, and Naturalism, or Nature made to stand for God, on the other hand. Here, and here only, is the way opened for a real coming together of Christianity and humanity, religion and morality, in the historical life of the world. Here, in its only true beginning, must theology find also its true end. Here only, if ever, can the war of sects and confessions so much as *begin* even to look toward the unity and catholicity of a genuine Church life. One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, to begin with; and so one faith, one worship, one life. To talk of negotiating or bringing to pass Christian orthodoxy or catholicity in any other way than this is but hypocrisy and sham. As he is our Life, so he alone is our Light also and our Peace.

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS, IN ITS BEARING UPON CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS.

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CHRISTIANITY, from its incipency, has necessarily been subject to assault and persecution, and been compelled, in the "combat for existence," to defend its very life. On the right hand and on the left enemies have arisen against its truths and its adherents, whom it could meet with no other weapons but faith and patience and a willingness to suffer for the Saviour's sake.

The era of bloody persecutions passed away, and although the life and property of Christians were no longer jeopardized, yet it became apparent to them that it was their sacred duty to defend their "most holy faith" (Jude 20) and Christian life. The primitive form of apologetics (*ἀπολογία*, to acquit, to justify) was, to a certain degree, of a forensic character, consisting in the refutation of unjust accusations before the tribunals of heathen magistrates; its object being essentially self-defense. Who has not heard of the calumnies and insinuations against Christians and their doctrines and practices—characterized alike by ignorance and malice—that were brought forward by Lucian of Samosata, Porphyrius, Celsus, Hierocles, and Julian the Apostate? The refutation of these malicious calumnies and aspersions was followed by apologetic writings, properly so called, which set forth the evidence of the divinity and majesty of the Gospel, and proved it to be the "fulfillment," once for all. From this it naturally followed that the glory and all-sufficiency of Christianity was illustrated by the polemic demonstration of the futility of heathenism and the insufficiency of Judaism, which furnished the dark background to the lucid picture of the kingdom founded by the Saviour from sin and death.

While the Christians were yet an oppressed minority, they were compelled to be cautious in their polemics and reserved in their apologetics; but when Julian the Apostate, perceiving the historic anomaly of heathenism, and being convinced of the impossibility of its restoration, was forced to exclaim toward the end of his life, "Tandem vicisti Galilæe," the parts were changed, and the oppressed frequently became the oppressors. Nevertheless, after Christianity had become, to its own injury, the favored State

religion, it could not but notice that the Gospel must always remain "a sign which shall be spoken against" (Luke ii., 34), and that the preaching of the cross is "unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness" (1 Cor. i., 23); that there always will be those that turn away from Christ, declaring, "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" (John vi., 60); that "many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. xxii., 14); that only few find the narrow way that leadeth unto life, while the majority walk in the broad way that leadeth to destruction (Matt. vii., 13, 14). The enmity of the natural man and his hatred of the truth, united to the pride of a wisdom arrogantly trusting in itself, not only always resist Christianity, but also secretly and openly assail it with acrimony and pertinacity.

But the mode of attack, as well as the implements of war, are changed with time and circumstances. Tactics and strategics continually vary, and experience teaches that every warlike operation reveals the imperfection of weapons formerly deemed sufficient, and prompts to the invention of new and more perfect ones. Thus also the truth of Christianity and the validity of the Gospel for all men and all ages are continually threatened and assailed by ever-varying means. Entirely new doubts and objections spring up beside the old ones, which, Antæus-like, appear to gain new vigor by their contact with the earthy elements of humanity. Assaults are made from new positions, and with missiles of a wider range and more destructive power. Levers are applied to all possible points in the attempt to lift the whole fabric of Christian thinking and believing, with all its premises and conclusions, from its very foundation, and thus to secure its downfall. I only need refer to Darwinism, which has been demonstrated and made plausible with so much acumen and force of conviction by my colleague, Haeckel, in Jena, whose numerous disciples learn and practice *jurare in verba magistri*, and are under the influence of the well-known law laid down by Cicero, *Obest plerumque iis qui disceere volunt auctoritas eorum, qui docent*. Also David Friedrich Strauss, in his book, "Alter und neuer Glaube" (3d ed. Leipzig, 1872), has

declared, with praiseworthy frankness and consistency, that a reconciliation between modern civilization and Christianity can no longer be thought of, and that all attempts to harmonize reason and revelation, worldly culture and Christian piety, must necessarily be ineffectual.

Formerly, at least the *elements* of religious truth were considered safe and inviolable; for even Rationalism, while it surrendered, as untenable outposts, the divinity of Christ, his vicarious atonement, his resurrection and ascension, the Holy Ghost, and the Trinity, nevertheless considered fully secured and unassailable the belief in the existence of God, in liberty and immortality, in the moral government of the universe, and in the responsibility of man, created in the image of God. But to-day no point is safe any longer before the arguments and weapons of a science which challenges not only Christianity, but all religions, as far as they presume to be any thing else but physiological problems; which asserts that they are all mere phenomena and functions of the animal organism, and, as such, must dissolve themselves into the nothingness of errors and superstitions. This science declares that religion is either fear or attachment, which may be sufficiently explained by instinct or habit. Christianity, above all religions, can not shrink from the duty of justifying its claims in the face of every opponent, and of defending itself not only against ancient doubt, but also against these modern objections.

The truth that there is no salvation except in Christ, and that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church" (Matt. xvi, 18), must not only be professed and believed, but also proved and confirmed. This is the object of Christian apologetics; it is the scientific vindication of the absolute and divine authority of Christianity, as it was maintained and taught by Christ and his apostles, and as it was accepted and became effective in the establishment and propagation of the Church.

In defining the limits of this science and its purpose, we must show, in the first place, what Christianity has in *common* with all other religions; and, in the second place, by what *peculiar* (distinctly Christian) conceptions, doctrines, and institutions it has outstripped them all. There exists, indeed, a *consensus* between Christianity and other religious communities of every grade and kind, and also a *dissensus*, that constitutes, as it were, the personal property of our belief. Now it must be shown that the *consensus* comprises all the essential elements of religion, and then the positive, the peculiar, the characteristic properties which make up the *dissensus* must be maintained against its adversaries; or, in other words, the evidence must be procured to establish the fact that

in Christianity there are combined in *one* the universal and natural, and the special and supernatural revelations. We herewith avow, openly and explicitly, a dualism of a universal and a special revelation, which, of course, is energetically denied by monists of every shade, as is also the dualism of God and the world, body and spirit, time and eternity.

Now it is apparent that neither the *consensus* of Christianity with other religions, nor its *dissensus* from them, nor the absolute and relative superiority which we claim for it, can be made evident without a thorough and methodical comparison of all religions. A science that makes such a comparison its object is an indispensable means in the service of Christian apologetics. We are not compelled, like the defenders of Christianity in the first centuries, to clear ourselves from unjust accusations before a legal tribunal; or, like the early fathers and the schoolmen, to combat the adversary by dialectics, and to adduce speculative arguments for substantiating the doctrines of the Church. Since Christianity is attacked in its character and history by means of critical and historical objections, it has to submit to a corresponding treatment, and defend and vindicate itself by adequate weapons. The religious essence of Christianity can, of course, only be comprehended in the empirico-psychological manner of introspection, but its incomparable superiority above all other religions, its all-sufficiency, must be proved and made evident in the way of critico-historical examination. Even those that are without—the skeptics and the aggressors—have a right to demand this; and we can not be justified in asking for Christianity an exemption by privilege, or in forbidding the application of the same mode of proceeding in its examination to which all other religions, with all that belongs to them, have to submit.

But this critico-historical proceeding must necessarily be carried on in connection with the comparison of Christianity with other religions, some of which, as is well known, claim for themselves the superiority of a greater rationality and perfection—a mode of treatment, however, which has either been entirely neglected or only incidentally employed. Such a comparison can be abused, and thus a most effective weapon may be turned against us for our defeat. It has, in fact, already been employed in the effort to bring down Christianity to the level of a transient stage of knowledge, to a mere phase in the religious development of mankind. In view of such dangers, if not culpable attempts, it becomes the duty of Christian apologetics to take from the arsenal of this scientific comparison new instruments of defense for the protection of Gospel truth, to point out the insufficiency and degeneracy, or the merely preparatory significance, of other relig-

ions, and to furnish the evidence of the fulfillment which has had its advent in Christianity.

The comparison, the search for regularly recurring phenomena, and their common and essential attributes and incidents, has long since been methodically and comprehensively undertaken in other departments of science; and in the hands of chosen investigators it has proved a key to disclose and make known astounding analogies, unthought of affinities, and occult laws. We must not underrate, while we do not overrate, the results which have been brought to light by "comparative anatomy, comparative philology, comparative statistics, comparative ethnography, and ethnic psychology." A new spirit of inquiry has entered into an entire series of scientific departments by the application of the comparative process; and as science has caused the resurrection of creations that lay buried in the primitive world of geology to build its daring conclusions upon (I only need refer to the researches and combinations of Alexander von Humboldt, who was as well versed and is as celebrated in this part of the world as in old Europe), so also does comparative investigation bring life and action into the fossils of historic science, and into the tertiary strata of the ancient deposits of language and thought. It should, therefore, be systematically employed in the examination of religions, and for the establishment of the absolute superiority of Christianity. The advantage of such a juxtaposition for comparative purposes has already been indicated by Basil the Great, when he says, in reference to Christianity and heathenism: "If the two opinions have any relationship to each other, then the knowledge of it must be useful to us; but if this is not the case, then the perception of the difference, which has resulted from the comparison, is of no small value for the maintenance of that which is superior" (De Legend. Græc. libris, cap. 5). The essential meaning of the words of the apostles, *πάντα δοκιμάζετε*, is "to prove by comparison" (1 Thess. v., 21; also Rom. ii., 18; 1 John iv., 1; 1 Cor. iii., 13). He who knows only one language, knows none. "With every language that thou learnest, thou liberatest thy spirit that was bound in thee," says the poet Rückert. The same is true of religion. The knowledge of religions is necessary to the understanding of religion. In order to be able to appreciate the accomplished fulfillment, it is necessary to be acquainted with its prophecy and preparation. Every additional religion, the character of which we have understood, the analogy of which with all moral and spiritual life has been perceived by us, enlarges our horizon, quickens our observation, and cleanses our judgment from prejudices. Thus the barriers of nationality, denomination, age, and race are removed, and the way is

opened for the cosmopolitan idea of the equality and sonship of all before God, of which Soerates and Epictetus already had a presentiment (e. g., Diss. I., 9, 6, *Διατι μὴ εἶργι τῆ ἀντὸν κόσμον διατι μὴ υἱὸν Θεοῦ*).

But has nothing as yet been done to investigate the non-Christian religions? Certainly their character and history have already frequently been made the study of assiduous inquirers. Schelling has written his "Philosophy of Mythology" and "Philosophy of Revelation;" Hegel has published his "Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion;" and Ferdinand Chr. von Baner his "Mythology and Symbolism of the Natural Religions of Antiquity" (Stuttgart, 1824); and, several decades previous to that, David Hume composed, in the skeptical spirit of his century, his "Natural History of Religion" (London, 1755). Unforgotten and highly appreciated are also the meritorious labors of Christoph Meiners, Georg Friedrich Creuzer, Carl Friedrich and Johannes Carl Timotheus Schlegel, Ludwig Preller, Friedrich Nork, Eekermann, Petrus Feddersen Stühr, Adolph Wuttke, Christian Gottl. Kaiser, Phil. Christian Reinhard, Theodor Waitz (whose "Anthropologie der Naturvölker" was finished by Gerland), Johannes Scherr, Johannes Matter, Benjamin Heinrich Constant, Johannes Heinrich Scholten, and others.

Of still greater importance and extent are the monographs on separate religions, their historic development, their doctrines, and their modes of worship. Without mentioning the religions of classic antiquity, the investigation and description of which philology has made its special object, there are also other religions that have more or less been made the subject of research and study. It is truly astonishing how Occidental savans have succeeded in probing and uncovering, as it were, the very entrails of the most ancient and remote forms of religions. The life of Mohammed and Islamism have been treated in an exhaustive manner by the Catholics — J. von Döllinger and his compeer Adam Möhler; by the Jews, G. Weil and Abraham Geiger; by the Protestants, Nöldeke, Sprenger, Muir, Fleischer, and Krehl. The cuneiform inscriptions on the monuments of Babylon and Nineveh have revealed the thoughts of the ancient Medes and Assyrians. Men like Paul Emil Botta, Julius Oppert, and Eberhard Schrader, have furnished the key; Silvestre de Sacy, the celebrated connoisseur of the Orient, to whom young and old flocked alike in order to profit by his magnificent scholarship, has described the history and religion of the Samaritans and Druses.

The ancient home of civilization in Africa, which forms the transition between Asiatic and European ideas and development, has called into existence an independent department of archæology—the so-called Ægypt-

ology—which has been cultivated by many learned men of great importance. The names of J. Franz Champollion, Carl Brugsch, Carl Richard Lepsius, C. J. von Bunsen, Schwenck, Kremer, Roethl, Ebers, Jablonski, Wilkinson, Prichard, Marietto, and Rosellini, show that many different nations have furnished laborers to make known the linguistic, religious, political, and artistic antiquities of Egypt. The northern mythology of the ancient Teutons, Danes, and Scandinavians has been treated of by C. Simrock, Mannhardt, Wilhelm Müller, Victor Müllenhoff, Mone, Finn Magnussen, Münch, Keyser, N. M. Petersen, Köppen, Adalb. Kuhn, the brothers Grimm, and others. As early as 1723, the religion, or, more correctly, the religions of the Chinese, were discussed by the famous philosopher Christian Wolf, in his essay "Do Philosophia Sincensium Morali," on account of which he had to fly from Halle for fear of the gallows, remaining away until recalled by Frederick the Great. But from the time of the Jesuit missionaries, Matthæus Ricci and Adam Schall, to our own Carl Gützlaff (†1854), a large number of philologists, travelers, and missionaries have been industriously employed in investigating and making known the civilization of the remarkable "Middle Kingdom." The Frenchmen, Henri Prémare (†1734), Claude Visdelon (†1737), Antoine Ganbil (†1759); the Englishmen, Robert Morrison (†1854), John Raffles, Calvery, Yvan, Brine, Marshman; the Russian, Wassiljew; the Germans, Carl Friedrich Neumann, Plath, Käuffer, and others, compete with each other in this field of scientific labor.

Colebrooke, Wilson, Moore, Coleman, Muir, Cunningham, Benfey, Lassen, Roth, Weber, Spiegel, Bopp, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Goeres, Schlegel, and others too numerous to mention, have assiduously and meritoriously labored in the investigation of the languages of India and its sacred archives; as also in the construction of the pedigree of the Indo-Germanic races, in the relative affinity of their culture, and in the observation of the religious life of the Hindoos, as it has passed through successive stages of conceptions and evolutions, from the religion of the Vedas, through Brahmanism and Buddhism, to the Dschainas and Sikhs.

The Zend-Avesta, the dualistic doctrine of Zoroaster, which has exercised a far-reaching influence upon the sphere of the religious conceptions of the Jews, and with which even the Greeks became acquainted through the Persian wars (Herodotus), has been interpreted and made accessible by scholars of primary and secondary rank, like Anquetil-Duperron, Burnouf, Kleuker, Spiegel, Hang, Justi; Windischmann, Brockhaus, Gladisch, and Tiele. It is instructive and remarkable to notice how the latter has succeeded in intensifying and refining the Naturalism and

Zabæism of the ancient Iranians and Persians. Japan, that highly interesting insular empire, inhabited by a people of Mongolian descent and agglutinating language, that appears to be destined to revive and reform the effete and stagnant Asiatic by the modern Euro-Asian civilization, has been an object of active curiosity since the days of Marco Polo (†1323, at Venice), and has been investigated and described by many explorers, as far as the laws of the land gave access to foreigners. In this connection Philipp Franz von Siebold (†1866, at Munich), to whom a monument is about to be erected, deserves special mention. Likewise Carl Friedrich Neumann (†1870), who, from his multifarious and comprehensive erudition, has also written a history of the United States (three volumes, Berlin, 1863–66). Schiefner, Helms, Rein, and especially Matthias Castrén (†1852), have occupied themselves with the language and customs of the Tartars, Mongols, and Finns, in their widely differing clans (Samojedes, Tunguses, Tscherekmises, Syrjaenes, etc.); with the Tibetans, Isaac Jacob Schmidt, D'Ohsson, Abel Remusat, and others; with the Kirgises and Esthonianians, Wilhelm Schott; with Anam and Siam, Do Guignes, Gregorjew, Harly, Fausböll; and many others, each of whom has cultivated one or more special departments.

In order not to weary you too much, I will only mention in addition the names of those who have not considered it too mean to examine and describe the lowest grade and the most degenerate form of a cultus—Fetichism and Shamanism—in which the limitation and dismemberment of the Divine has progressed downward to the extreme. Africa, with the children of Ham, the tribes of Oceania that have become degraded to cannibalism, and, in part, the inhabitants of Northern Asia, as also those of the most northern and southern parts of America, have practiced this sad form of creature worship (Rom. i., 23–25). De Brosses, Roethl, Meiners, Waitz, and Wuttke have made this phase in the development of religious consciousness, which moves entirely in the limits of empirico-sensual perception, their special study, from whose researches Fritz Schultz (private lecturer in Jena) has made a compilation with frequent verbal extracts. On the primitive religions of America, we have a treatise by J. G. Müller, professor in Basle, published in 1854, and a year ago, by the same author, a book on the Shemites in their relation to the Hamites and Japhetites. But ethnographical researches, which are carried on with great zeal by single individuals as well as societies (e. g., especially here in New York), have yet to shed light upon the history and culture of the religions which had their centre and origin on the plateaus of Peru, Cundinamarca, and Mexico; as well as on the principal his-

tory of the American aborigines—the Peruvians, with the mild religion of Mankokapak; of the Toltecs and Aztecs, in the highlands of Anahuac; of the Muyskas, in Cundinamarca; of the Araucanians, in the Alpine valleys of Chili; and of the Indians—the wild Redskins—who, in the imagination of Europeans, are surrounded by a peculiar halo, and whose extermination, or, more correctly, dying away before the progressive march of civilization, has often been lamented by us in false sentimentality. Instance, “The Last of the Mohicans.”

To-day we no longer believe in the harmless, innocent children of nature, as they have been described in the travels of Cook and Chamisso; and we know (without reference to the MODOES) that undepraved, pure humanity only exists in the brains of novelists and poets, and that in reality experience often proves in a painful manner the truth of the Scriptural declaration, “That which is born of the flesh, is flesh” (John iii., 6), and, “In our flesh there dwelleth no good thing” (Rom. vii., 18). In passing, we may at least mention in this connection the singular hypothesis, according to which the Indians of America are the descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel, whom Salsmaneser led into the Assyrian captivity (2 Kings xvii., 6; 1 Chron. v., 26; 4 Esdras xiii., 40), and who are said to have been dispersed in the far East. A similarity between Maniton, the Great Spirit, and Jehovah (Jahveh), as also between the ceremonial laws and usages of the Jews and Indians, can not be disputed. Captain Marryat, in his “Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions” (London, 1839, tome vi., p. 139 and seq.); Edward Williams, “History of American Indians” (1775); James Adair, Augustus Beltrami, Alonzo Ercella, “Historia Chilena;” Rabbi Manasseh Ben-Israel, “La Esperanza de Israel” (Amsterdam, 1650); Charles Noah, “Beweis dass die Americanisehen Indianer die Abkömmlinge der zehn verlorenen Stämme Israel sind” (Altona, 1838); William Penn, De Guignes, Chapman, Alexander Mackenzie, and a whole series of other savants, have at least offered so many reasons for the possibility and probability of this conjecture that, though it appears incredible at first sight, it can not be simply ignored, especially in this country.

But this only by the way.

In short, the religions of ancient and modern times, of the Old as well as the New World, have been frequently studied. Much interest and much labor has already been devoted to the research and delineation of the character and history of the religious development of mankind, and the result has been rich and valuable. But this separate treatment is no scientific comparison of religions, as we recommend it. The most detailed and accurate investigation of languages, if it is undertaken in parallel, discon-

nected treatises, is no comparison of languages. Zoöomy, if proceeding only analytically and descriptively, although taking up *seriatim* all possible genera and species, is far from being comparative anatomy. The array of whole regiments of figures, the regularly recurring single phenomenon, the incidents, the ebb and flow of life, were given decades ago, but in independent groups, without any mutual relation; but this was only the raw material, which at a later time has been elaborated by scientific comparative statistics, and been made serviceable in the discovery and establishment of the laws revealed by these figures.

It is not enough that now and then we stumble upon a surprising similarity or analogy, that we carry on a single study in an amateur fashion as far as we please and then drop it, when and wherever we like; not enough to find an agreement in externals or a consonance in words and sentences, though they belong to entirely different spheres of conception—no; a comparison of religions must be made in a conscious and methodical manner, to set forth the relation of Christianity to the religions of all ages and zones, to seek out the laws which have operated in the generation of the forms of belief and worship of dogmas and morals, to comprehend the various configurations of religious life in their historic development, and the changes dependent upon local and temporary influences, and in this way to demonstrate the necessity and the right of existence of religion in general and of Christianity in particular. Out of the different religions thus compared we shall be able, by synthesis of their moments every where recurring and nowhere wanting, to extract the essence of all religion, and to evolve the pith and marrow of all religious formations. The *consensus religionum vel gentium*, gained by comparison, represents the abstract in religion, and becomes in itself an apology against all who declare religions in general to be an unnecessary, transient, perchance even an obnoxious invention of men.

The import of natural religion is thus firmly established; and it is also clearly indicated how far natural revelation (*lumen nature*) reaches, and where it begins to be insufficient, so as to require for a supplement special revelation and mediation. To no man has the Lord left himself without witness. As the sun illumines the whole universe, so the light of God's revelation still pierces through and lights up the thickest darkness of heathenism. In the realm of material being there reigns a *Panspermia*; in the realm of spirits the *λόγος σπερματικός* is spread abroad every where, and the *σπέρματα*, the germs, the sparks, the generative light and life-creating atoms of divine revelation, are found in all religions. There is, of course, a great inequality in the measure of this

knowledge as regards nations and periods. It is true, we call them all heathen; yet what a difference between the Papua, who squats in stupid devotion before his fetich, and the Parsee, whose voluminous sacred writings, by their religious conceptions and moral principles, must strike even the Christian with reverence—between the poor Yocanhas of Terra del Fuego and the Hindoos, with their rich Sanskrit literature—between the Esquimaux and the Chinese, the disciples of Confucius. What multifarious formations, what many-colored shadings of heathenism in the Dajacks, Tamils, Hottentots, Sionx, Tcherkessians, Kanaks, Australian negroes, Pawnees, Patagonians, Laplanders, Chippewas, Mandingoes, Ashantees, Japanese, and Maoris. It is an error, which our missionaries often commit to the detriment of their work, to treat all heathens alike, to exhibit the religion of the Gospel as specifically different, and to leave unnoticed and unused the various points of contact. If we start with the claim of an entirely isolated and exempt position for Christianity, if we assert that its divine origin need not be proved, and that every one must, without further ceremony, acknowledge the religion of the Europeans as the highest and the best, then the cunning Brahmin, the zealous Mussulman, the cautious Hindoo, and the narrow-minded Zulu, will turn away, as well as the modern infidel, who is either filled with admiration of the glory of classic antiquity, or is given to a materialistic creature-worship. They will be alike inaccessible to conviction or conversion. We must first descend to the common basis (*συγκατάβασις*), must carefully trace the vestiges of divine revelation, must acknowledge the “divine image” in “the least of the brethren,” before we can introduce the preaching of the cross, and intrinsically Christian truth. And how much of this points to a solidarity and original union of all natural revelation!

The eminent Nügelbach, in his post-Homeric theology, states that there are three questions which man puts to every religion, viz: “Is there a God, and what is he? How does man get rid of his sin? What will become of him after death?” In regard to the first and last questions, heathenism has received copious *σπέρματα λόγου* (seeds of the word), and it is indeed a pleasure and a profit to notice the rays of light that have pierced the heathen world, where we find anticipations and intuitions that lead nearly to the gate of truth. Christ brought certainty, and raised human perception to the highest grade by revealing God as eternal and all-comprehensive love, and by placing the centre of human destiny in the future in a more perfect phase of personal existence. There is also a *consensus gentium*, a divine revelation communicated to all mankind in regard to the moral law (the *νόμοι ἀγραφοί*),

which is “written in our hearts” (Rom. ii., 15). For this reason the law which the Lord and his disciples proclaimed was not essentially new, but only more complete, more free, and more spiritual (1 John ii., 7). Also, the requirements of self-denial, of love to the neighbor—yea, even to the enemy, of regeneration, and similar commandments, often claimed for Christianity exclusively, were by no means previously unknown or unheard of. Many *loci communes* may be adduced from heathen writings to prove this assertion, as I have done in my book, “*Logos Spermaticos*” (Leipzig, 1871). Christ brought the fulfillment of the law (*πλήρωμα*, Rom. xiii., 10; Gal. v., 14; Col. i., 19; ii., 9; Eph. i., 23; iii., 19; John i., 16), gave us the true motives and our ideal aim. Other moral principles than the original, divine, and therefore ever valid human ones, he could not and would not propose. He only aimed to renew men in the image of God, to bring them into conformity to his will, and to restore them to the divine sonship. It is in this sense that he spoke of a new obedience and of new commands.

But further than that the *consensus* does not go. The solution of the second vital question—“How can I get rid of my sins?”—heathenism never found in any form. For this one, this distinctively Christian one—i. e., the glad tidings of the redemption of sinful humanity—there is no parallel in heathenism. No natural light is sufficient to fathom this mystery, this special dispensation of God. “He, who is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption” (1 Cor. i., 30), he, the only begotten of the Father, has given himself for our sins; “the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes are we healed.” For him the nations waited till the “fullness of time” was come. He was the consolation of the Jews, who had been trained for him; and the unknown helper, for whom the heathen ardently hoped. But how the miracle should be accomplished was a hidden counsel. This is the eternal *dissensus* of Christianity, as high as heaven, by which it is distinguished from all other religions, by which it has become the absolute religion. Because no other religion gives an answer to the above question, nor is able to satisfy this want, therefore Christianity is the *religion*, singular in its kind, and reaching beyond all others. The anxious sigh, “Oh! wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?” is responded to by the comforting and joyful exclamation, “I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord” (Rom. vii., 25). The divine dignity and perpetual value of Christianity, as also its quality as “a sign which shall be spoken against” (Luke ii., 34), lie in the fact that it offers reconciliation by the death of the Son of God, and that the Lord is pre-eminently the physician for

the sick, and the Saviour of sinners. For this reason the whole, who imagine that they need no physician (Luke v., 31), the self-righteous, the wise men after the flesh, the mighty and the noble (1 Cor. i., 26), turn away from it, and only few seek the narrow way that leadeth to life. For this reason, also, many that were bidden despite the feast prepared (Luke xiv., 21-24). It can not be otherwise, since it has pleased God to save, by the foolishness of preaching, those that believe.

It is true this *dissensus*—this peculiarly Christian element—invites every where and at all times contradiction, and provokes the world to fight against it; but at the same time it also finds its verification in the consciousness of sin, and the longing for salvation of the whole world, even of all who are born of woman. Inquire of all nations, knock at the door of all religions, every where you will find the consciousness of guilt and the painful sense of impotence; every where you will discover sin as a "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. xii., 7), and as "the sting of death" (1 Cor. xv., 56). Compare them all, without exception—from the extolled and happy Greeks down to the beast-like idolaters, from the most ancient nations, that worshiped and sacrificed on the high places, to the modern atheists—and ascertain whether the same disease is not felt every where; and inquire whether any one knows of the remedy? Christianity has not brought this disease into the world—sin, and the sense thereof, and the fear of death—as it has been charged; but it has given the correct diagnosis, and made the cure possible. Thus the impotency of all natural religions, when brought in contact with the general depravity, becomes evident by a comparison with Christianity, and acts as a defender of the Gospel, which is willing that all men should be saved, and reveals at the same time how this salvation has been procured for all.

I have only attempted, by general outlines, to set forth the comparative examination of religions, as the right and duty of Christian science, the manner in which examination should proceed, and the advantages it offers for the defense of Christianity, especially against the "educated of its despisers." In this sense, and for the purpose of finding new weapons for the protection of evangelical truth, the comparison of religions has not yet been carried on. Even the celebrated Max Müller, although he has furnished in his "Essays" very estimable contributions to a scientific comparison of religions (vol. ii., "Comparative Mythology and Ethnology"), did not intend such comparison to be a theological, but a historico-philosophical branch of science, in the sense of Lessing's comparison of the rings, which ultimately aims at the abolition of Chris-

tianity, and not at its victory over other imperfect religions. Previous to the delivery of his brilliant address at the Philological Congress at Kiel (1869), on the reception of the scientific comparison of religions into the catalogue of academical lectures, I had endeavored to demonstrate the possibility and necessity for Christian theology to occupy this field, and cultivate it for its own use and profit. The same had been done by Maurice, in "Lectures on the Religions of the World;" by Hardwick, in "Christ and other Masters;" and by Werner, in "The Religions and Cults of Ante-Christian Nations," without, however, attempting comparison or synthesis, or without having an apologetic intent. The later writers on apologetics, from Tschirner to Banmstark, as well as those who, like Kienlen, Leehler, and Hirzel, have treated of the object, method, and position of this science in connection with theology, do not, of course, pass by other religions, nor *can* they ignore them, but they do not yet make this systematic comparison of religions an independent and important part of apologetics. The encyclopedists, whose business it is to point out the limits of a science, and to divide it in its several departments, have not as yet assigned a place to the comparison of religions, nor defined its object. Danz, Pelt, Staudenmeier, and Hagenbach know it, at best, as an auxiliary science, which now and then may furnish some subsidies. Tradesmen-like, old-school theologians turn up their noses, and look with an air of superiority upon the intruder, just as pedantic philologists look down in pity upon Germanistic and comparative philology. More considerate scholars confine themselves to pointing out the impracticability, the insurmountable difficulty of considering other religions in a scientific manner. But, for the future, it will be entirely impossible to take position on the "insulator," and to remain confined to the criticism, exegesis, and application of the Bible. The world has become wider; it is now recognized that there are dwellers beyond the mountains and over the seas; and, by the aid of a more extended philology, new means and ways are opened to become acquainted with the sphere of conceptions and ideas of other eras and nations; therefore we must enlarge our view, extend our researches, and place our aims higher. It is true that the science of comparative theology lies still in the cradle. Its field looks now like the territorial squares on the old maps of America, but, like these, it will be rapidly occupied. Shall we wait, then, till philosophers, philologists, and archaeologists have taken possession of it in order to make it serviceable against Christianity?

Voltaire truly says: "Every new truth fares like the ambassadors of civilized states among barbarians; only after repeated in-

sults and vexations they obtain recognition and influence." The comparative study of religions may for a while be denied its claim as a science; theological faculties may as yet not be willing to take up this new branch of learning; but it will not be long before this question will be made the order of the day, and we can not afford to look quietly on, while others make use of this subject for their own ends, without our advice and co-operation. In comparison with the greatness and importance of this undertaking, many of the favorite labors of modern theologians, in raking out of the dust all manner of apocryphical and pseudepigraphical writings, and shedding their light upon them, appear positively ridiculous, puny, and insignificant, no matter how much erudition and study has been thrown away upon them, and to what degree the value of such historico-critical scholasticism may be exaggerated. It will be reserved to coming centuries to gather the fruits of the comparative investigation of religions; but shall we not plant trees, because our descendants only can reap from them? That would be equally egotistic and faint-hearted.

In former times numerous endowments were made and societies established, of either a scientific or popular character, for the maintenance of the divine authority of the sacred Scriptures or the defense of disputed Christian truth. Such was the endowment of Lord Boyle (+1691); the *Legatum Stolpianum* at the University of Leyden; the Society of the Hague for the Defense of the Christian Religion, called into existence A.D.

1785, to paralyze the influence of Priestley's "History of the Corruptions of Christianity;" the *Societas Sueciana pro fide et Christianismo*, in Stockholm (since 1771); the German Society for the Promotion of Pure Doctrine and True Piety, founded by John August Urksperger (A.D. 1775), in Augsburg, and afterward removed to Basle; the Teyler Legacy, in Harlem (A.D. 1786), and others. It would be very timely to make new efforts and sacrifices for the defense and protection of assailed Christian doctrine. And in this contest it is eminently advisable that, by the comparative study of religions, proofs and weapons be secured for the defense of Gospel truth, lest they be employed in combat against it. It would also be in the spirit of this Conference, which is united by the *consensus* of faith, and at the same time respects the *dissensus*, acting according to the two mottoes—*Suum cuique*, and *Viribus unitis*—if it would declare its sympathy with the aim, and its appreciation of the importance of the comparative study of religions, in its bearing upon Christian apologetics, and if, by its testimony and influence, it would give encouragement to such scientific labors in the service of Christianity.

"And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd." With this expression of true toleration and high hope from the lips of our Saviour, I conclude, desiring to share with you the conviction that the comparison of religions can and must lead to a union in religion. So help us God!

APPENDIX TO DIVISION III.

DISCUSSION ON DARWINISM AND THE DOCTRINE OF DEVELOPMENT.

[During the holding of the Philosophical Section in St. Paul's M. E. Church, on Monday, October 6th, an extempore debate occurred, principally bearing upon the Development theory, as enunciated by Darwin and others. After the first Paper of the day had been read by Dr. McCosh [see p. 264], the discussion was opened by three speakers—M. Weldon, Dr. Brown, and Dr. Hodge—and was continued at intervals during both the morning and afternoon sessions, as other Papers on kindred topics were presented, President Anderson, of Rochester University, being the last speaker. On the conclusion of his address, a resolution was offered by a member of the Conference, and unanimously adopted, that Dr. Anderson be requested to write out his remarks, and that they be printed with the official documents of the Conference. In complying with this resolution, it has seemed advisable, on the part of the editor, to insert also a brief abstract of the whole debate.—*Ed.*]

REMARKS OF THE REV. GEORGE W. WELDON, OF LONDON.—*Mr. Chairman*: The question which is before us this morning is the doctrine of development in its religious aspect, or, as our programme has it, "The Religious Aspects of the Doctrine of Development." Now, I think all of us who have heard the able and eloquent paper of Dr. McCosh must come to this conclusion: that unsolved problems of creation ought to make men modest; for, as Bishop Butler says, we do not know the whole of the case, and any man who desires to exercise common-sense must acknowledge that we are ignorant of many of these points. We have to decide in the present day whether we are to accept the theory of the amiable, but I think mistaken, Professor Darwin, of England. In other words, whether we ought to believe that man, as he is, came from clots of animated jelly, or whether he is the work of the Almighty Being, who said, when he brought him forth, that he was very good. If man is sprung from primeval matter, he can not be the man spoken of in Genesis. But, sir, it is sometimes thought that the Bible is responsible for every doctrine of modern science. I beg permission to take exception to any such idea. The Bible was not intended to instruct us in science or the details of history. The Bible was made to teach us the one thing needful. The mighty monarchs and important empires that have come in contact with the history of man's creation have, of course, been spoken of in the Bible, but then, as soon as their special relation to the creation had been treated of, they were allowed to sink into the background. The Bible was written to teach man the way of access to God through Jesus Christ, wholly ignoring any thing regarding

the technicalities of scientific discoveries. Our modern infidel tells us that in the Bible we have here only the production of one man, like many of our modern books, containing poetry, prose, and history; and am I, he asks, to suppose that this is the production of a mighty man? Sir, I can show the infidel that that patchwork is the very proof of its production by a divine mind. I see by those plans before me [pointing to maps suspended on the wall] that the earth is made up of numerous strata, all differing in substance, but their products and magnificent service over the globe is the source from which man and beast derive sustenance and strength. My attention is riveted upon the same commanding and ennobling object, the one foundation of our peace and hope, the almighty and adorable Saviour, the strength and righteousness of the people of God in every form and in every age. Whatever book I open I find Jesus Christ the same—he the first, the last, the midst, and without end. I say that the Christian development of the Gospel of Jesus is the whole aim of the Word of God; and I will say to you, in conclusion, that the difference between the religious views of an ancient patriarch and one of ourselves is only a difference of degree, not of kind. I was struck, yesterday, by something I noticed in your city. While I was crossing Fulton Ferry I saw the magnificently strong buttresses of some beautiful bridge that is to span your grand river. We see the buttresses rising, and from them we can imagine something of what the bridge will be when it is completed. When at length it is finished, you will get it in all its completeness and symmetry; but it is only the bridge which you saw some time before in

embryo—the buttresses slowly rising from a network of scaffolding. So it is in the religion of olden times and of to-day: it is a difference, not of kind, but of degree.

REMARKS OF THE REV. J. C. BROWN, LL.D., OF BERWICK-ON-TWEED, ENGLAND.—I admit the propriety of the remarks being impromptu. At the same time, desiring to be explicit in the statement, I retired to jot down in pencil the few remarks I have to make. Though we are not met for controversy, we are met for conference, and I desire, as a botanist of twenty years' standing, to submit the following testimony as a contribution toward the expression of views in regard to the aspects of the doctrine of development:

First. All that I know in regard to the vegetable kingdom is in accordance with the hypothesis of development, as that term is generally understood. I know of nothing incompatible with that hypothesis, and I know of much which seems to support it.

Second. I find that hypothesis, as a working hypothesis, much more useful in the prosecution of research, and in the exposition of results obtained by research, than the hypothesis of a separate and independent creation of the several recognized species of vegetable production.

Third. Facts which I have learned in regard to the animal kingdom are in accordance with the supposition that the work of creation in this kingdom has been analogous to what it has been in the other.

Fourth. The circumstances of all that I know on these subjects being in accordance with the hypothesis of development has in no way affected my views on any one of the following points of dogmatic theology, which are intimately connected with religious life, on which points I hold the views advanced in the Shorter Catechism issued by the Westminster Assembly of Divines:

I. Man's chief end.

II. The only rule which God has given to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him.

III. The attributes of God and the mode of divine existence.

IV. Sin.

V. Effectual calling.

VI. Repentance unto life.

VII. Justification.

VIII. Adoption.

IX. Sanctification.

X. The blessings which in this life accompany or flow from these.

XI. The blessings to which believers are admitted at death and at the resurrection.

XII. Providence.

XIII. Prayer.

Fifth. I don't believe, with those divines of Westminster, that God created all things

out of nothing in the space of six days; but it was not the doctrine of development which led me to abandon that dogma, and therefore it is not responsible for my abandonment of that view of creation.

Sixth. The hypothesis relates solely to the mode of creation, not the fact, and from the effect of it on my own mind, I anticipate that the confirmation or the general adoption of the hypothesis of development will ultimately exercise a beneficial influence on religion.

REV. DR. HODGE, OF PRINCETON.—I don't stand here to make any speech at all. I rise simply to ask Dr. Brown one question. I want him to tell us what development is. That has not been done. The great question which divides theists from atheists—Christians from unbelievers—is this: Is development an intellectual process guided by God, or is it a blind process of unintelligible, unconscious force, which knows no end and adopts no means? In other words, is God the author of all we see, the creator of all the beauty and grandeur of this world, or is unintelligible force, gravity, electricity, and such like? This is a vital question, sir. We can not stand here and hear men talk about development, without telling us what development is.

DR. BROWN.—My reply shall be simply in answer to the question, not an argument or discussion. What I understand by the development hypothesis—many call it a theory; I call it, and maintain that it is as yet generally, and certainly with me, a hypothesis—is, confining myself to the vegetable kingdom, that the whole of the species of roses with which we are acquainted are not so many separate, special creations, but are all modified developments of one kind of rose; and all the information I possess in regard to the vegetable kingdom indicates that not only what we call species, but what many call genera and orders—calling them genera and orders in our ignorance—are also modified developments of the same formation. With regard to who is the author of creation, have I not answered it? I refer to the doctrine in the Shorter Catechism. Is a minister and a missionary of forty years' standing to be required to tell whether he believes that this world is made by God?

But the question has been put, and it deserves an answer. My belief is that every thing in heaven and earth and hell was created by the Lord and Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We are taught in that Catechism to which I referred to make a holy, reverent use of all God's attributes, ordinances, words, and works, and all whereby soever he makes himself known. I hold that as an expositor of God's work, I am as truly a prophet of the Lord as I am when I stand in the pulpit as an expositor of God's Word.

The inquiry is not as to the fact, but as to the how? *How* has God produced this wondrous world—a world full of beauty? Never, through endless ages of existence, shall I cease to think with gratitude of this, that the infancy of my being was spent in this glorious world, and as God gives me opportunities I shall continue to study the wondrous works of his hand.

My grandsire was a man not unknown in Scotland and America—John Brown, of Haddington. One of his dying sayings was this: "I have hunted after all the lawful knowledge of the sons of men, but all would I give to know more of the love of God which is in Christ Jesus." These sentiments have been my sentiments, according to my weaker powers, throughout a ministry of forty years, and I hope to prosecute to the end of my life the researches for which an opportunity is afforded us below, and hope in the better world to join those who proclaim "the whole earth is full of Thy glory."

After the reading of Professor Guyot's paper [given on p. 276],

REV. ALEXANDER BURNETT, of Aberdeen, Scotland, remarked that he did not understand whether the reader of the paper held the view that the days of creation were periods of time or regular days. He had always stumbled over the passage that "the evening and the morning were the first day," and also the words of the verse, "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested the seventh day." He could not understand from the Professor's paper whether he meant that these were actual days. In reply,

PROFESSOR GUYOT restated his views on that point. He said the days of creation are marked by works, and not by any definite time. In the true history of any thing from the great beginning, there are epochs of development; in the plant it is the root, stem, leaf, flower, seed—these are the days of the plant—time is given according to the need. Such are the days of creation, which were simply indicated by the successive steps of its organization. In order to retain the idea of days of twenty-four hours, we must leave Moses, and be very unjust to him; for he tells us that the day of twenty-four hours began at the fourth day of creation and not at the first, when the day and night are simply synonyms of light and darkness, without succession. As to the Sabbath day of the Creator, without an evening, it can not be of another kind from the cosmogonic days; but man's week of toil and man's Sabbath day are measured according to the shortness of his earthly existence.

PRINCIPAL DAWSON, D.D., of Montreal, Canada, expressed his belief in the theories his friend, Professor Guyot, had put forth, and

argued that the seventh day spoken of in the second chapter of Genesis could not be limited to twenty-four hours, since it was not said to have had an evening or morning, and since the work of creation was not resumed. According to Moses, we now live in the seventh day; but, according to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. iv.), the fall prevented us from entering into this rest of God, and the weekly Sabbath is a memorial of this loss, as well as of God's rest. Further, according to the same writer, Christ has entered into his Sabbatism, and our Lord's day is a short reminder of a like perpetual Sabbatism which remains to us. We can not, therefore, properly explain or defend the Sabbath or the Lord's day unless we hold with Moses that the seventh day is an indefinite period. This being so, there is surely no ground to object to any length of the other days that geology may require.

After the reading of Professor Spiess's paper [which see, on p. 309], the Chairman announced that a limited time would be allowed for a general discussion of the subjects that had been considered in the papers read during the day. Calls for Dr. Dawson to take the platform were heard from different parts of the audience. Dr. Dawson said that if there were questions any one would like to ask him, he would be glad to answer them to the best of his ability. A clergyman in the centre of the church at once arose, and asked whether there is any necessary antagonism between the Darwinian system and the Christian religion? In response,

DR. DAWSON said:—The question asked me is whether there is any necessary antagonism between the Darwinian system and the Christian religion? That is a question that would require a treatise to answer, and I scarcely know where to begin in attempting a reply. Darwinism is not the whole of what is understood by the doctrine of evolution. The doctrine of evolution holds apparently that all things have evolved themselves—produced themselves, so to speak. In holding such a doctrine, Mr. Herbert Spencer assumes matter and force. That is, he assumes almost a practical omnipotence—matter, with all the properties known to the chemist, and all the forces known to the physicist, being taken for granted. Then, having matter and force, our Spencerian philosophers maintain that from them they can produce life, although no one has yet proved that the humblest organisms can originate spontaneously without previous life. They further assume the possibility of the conversion of the plant into the animal, though this also is unproved. Thus, when you speak of Darwinism, you presuppose theories that make vaster demands on our faith than on our science. Darwin takes up only one branch of these speculations, that

relating to the transmutation of species, and says if you will give me two or three species of plants or animals, I will show you how all species of plants or animals are evolved out of them. He does this by reasoning as to possibilities, not by facts. In the details of Darwinian reasoning we are constantly met with difficulty as to the true nature and limitation of species as we have them, and in this naturalists are not agreed, so that much has to be done before we can state the real bearing of these hypotheses on the doctrine that animals and plants were created "after their kinds." On the other hand, we find in the first chapter of Genesis the word "create" used for the introduction of the first animals and of man, and the formulæ "let us make," let the "earth bring forth," etc., in other cases. Can we explain this difference? If I say that Moses maintains that the kinds of plants and animals were created separately, I might say more than he authorizes me to say. Science, on its part, does not at present tell us how the species came into existence. We only know that they came into being at different periods of geological time. Science is based on facts, but we have not the facts on this point. Do not be afraid, however, to discuss these subjects. Study them. Enter fully into them. After you have studied them a lifetime, you will still find as much more to learn.

DR. HODGE:—My idea of Darwinism is that it teaches that all the forms of vegetable and animal life, including man and all the organs of the human body, are the result of unintelligent, undesignating forces; and that the human eye was formed by mere unconscious action. Now, according to my idea, that is a denial of what the Bible teaches, of what reason teaches, and of what the conscience of any human being teaches; for it is impossible for any such organ as the eye to be formed by blind forces. It excludes God; it excludes intelligence from every thing. Am I right?

DR. DAWSON:—I think Darwin would not admit so much as has been said, and yet I believe his doctrine logically leads to that conclusion. The Darwinian theory takes hold of the production of varieties, and it is true that these varieties are produced by the action of external nature upon the species. I know that many persons are confused by the distinction between varieties and species. As regards the varieties, Darwin is well enough, but as regards the species his theory has not been proved, and it certainly does, more especially with respect to man, come into conflict with the Bible. The Darwinian theory, I believe, is this: That species have come into existence by what he calls natural selection, which natural selection arises in the struggle of species for existence in the world, and the survival of the fittest in that struggle. So stated, the doc-

trine is *not a result of scientific induction*, but a mere *hypothesis*, to account for facts not otherwise explicable except by the doctrine of creation.

REV. JOSEPH EDKINS, of Pekin, China, then spoke as follows:—Dear Brethren of the Alliance: When Professor Spiess referred to the subject of comparative philology and the comparison of religions, I felt desirous to say a word in regard to these matters, believing in their high importance in modern Christian apologetics. During a missionary life of twenty-five years in China, I chose these two fields of research, and made in them such investigations as I could. The history of language and that of religion are, I believe, very closely connected. In many cases they grow up together previous to the formation of national literatures. The study of religions may be carried on in China with great advantage. Yet little has been done toward the elucidation of the religions of Eastern Asia, just as it is also true that the eye of philological inquiry has scarcely yet been at all steadily directed to the languages spoken in that part of the world. Much may be hoped for from the examination of the ancient Chinese religion, embracing as it did primeval monotheism and the practice of burnt sacrifices, reminding us so strongly of the early religion of the Scriptures. The ancient religion of the Mongols has also to be examined, as it was before their conversion to Buddhism. The religious customs and beliefs of the Siberian tribes and the Shamanism of the Manchus should be inquired into, and the results of these researches compared with the religious usages and traditions of the North American tribes. The old traditions of the Babylonians are now, by the decipherment of cuneiform inscriptions, rapidly coming to light. They form a link in the chain which connects the religion of the sons of Shem and of the prophets—such as Enoch and Noah of the primitive revelation—with its remarkable eastern developments. The Karen traditions, to which, by the great success of the Baptist missions, public attention has been specially called, are another link. The remarkable religious usages of the Fijians, and especially of the Island of Tonga, are so strongly marked with the impress of the old religion of Western Asia, that every one who has read of them has wished to find by what clew the connection between the Polynesians and the Semites could be discovered. The Polynesians, scattered over a thousand isolated points in the South Seas, have plainly sunk from a state much more civilized than that in which they now are. To trace the chain of religious resemblances still further eastward, who that has read in Hardwick's interesting work—"Christ and other Masters"—the account there given of the old Mexican religion, has not longed to know

why there exists so striking a likeness in several points between that religion and the usages and beliefs of the Southern Asiatic races? I believe, for my own part, that a distinct Semitic influence in religion and language may be traced through the countries of Southern Asia into the Polynesian Seas, and from thence to the western shore of America. As Turanian principles of language and religions belief entered America by Behring's Straits, so Semitic impressions and traditions reached the same continent by a route across the ocean.

By inquiries such as these, carried on in the region of religion and language, much may be done to strengthen the scientific proof of the Scripture doctrine of the common origin of mankind. They may be very properly pressed on the attention of those American scholars who are interested in philology and archæology, not only as illustrating the ancient history of this continent, but as presenting the materials for a new and valuable chapter to be added to the apology for our religion against the assaults of the scientific infidelity of the day.

I will add only one word. Remember the advice of our German brother to study comparative philology, and to carry out the principles of comparative research into the heathen religions of the world.

The debate was concluded by

PRESIDENT ANDERSON, of Rochester University, who spoke as follows:—In reference to the subject under discussion, I beg leave to suggest the propriety of being careful in regard to the use of ambiguous terms. For illustration: The word evolution is susceptible of two meanings, one of which is a name for the process of the Almighty in developing the plan of creation—it being used simply as a name for the process of the creative energy under the control of Infinite Intelligence. In this sense the word evolution is used in entire harmony with belief in a conscious, personal God. It is the evolution of a plan previously involved in the divine intelligence and will; the outgoing process of creative power, the mode and end of whose activity were foreseen and foreordained. A second use of the word evolution is to name the process of growth in the universe, discounting from the word all reference to volition, or pre-existing, consciously formed plan or idea. Used in this sense, the word is simply and solely the name for a process, leaving out all reference to the will and thought which determined and controlled it. Using the word in this sense, when we say that the universe is due to evolution, it is equivalent to saying that the fact and order of the universe are due to an abstract term, which simply names the process. Thus evolution, in itself a mere verbal concept, is made to

take the place of volition and intelligence. There are plan and order, which are due, not to a planning or ordering force or mind, but to a force without a will, whose existence is postulated, and whose activity is modified by no intelligence or benevolent purpose. Using the word in this sense, it is made to do the work of a concrete force, guided by mind. To adopt such an explanation of the order of the universe is as irrational as to account for it by the eternal ideas of Plato or the realists of the Middle Ages. This use of abstract terms, as if they named concrete realities, is the special vice of metaphysics and metaphysical methods, and has no place in a system which purports to rest on positive facts and verified laws. In all our discussions of a question of this sort, we should be very careful of deceiving ourselves by the use of abstract terms when the conditions of the problem absolutely require the presence of personality, will, and intelligence. If evolution is understood to mean the process of creation, whether longer or shorter, through one set of proximate antecedents and consequences or another, all due to a continuous activity of a creator, the word represents an intelligible idea possible to thought. But when evolution is set forth as determining in itself its own processes, and itself working out the order, beauty, and adaptation of the entire cosmos, and is proposed as a theory to account for the universe and its manifold and wonderfully complicated plan, the language becomes simply unintelligible. Let the word "evolution" be replaced by the word "growth," and we find ourselves accounting for the universe and its manifold forms by the childish mode of saying that they exist because "they grew." A similar ambiguity affects the word "development," and the phrases "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest." Selection, however orderly or natural it may be, involves intelligence somewhere. In the degree that it is natural, and according with a uniformly recurrent law, or plan, or system, the more distinctly is intelligence shown. Development, or unrolling, is unintelligible without the implied conception of something of a plan or thought previously enveloped in the orderly acting force which produces the result. The "survival of the fittest" involves the fact that there are present in the universe types and forms of life able to survive in the "struggle for existence," because of the perfection of their form, and the delicacy and completeness of their adjustment to the external conditions in which they are placed. The very presence of these conditions of life and the adjustment between them and the types of organized life involve foresight, choice, plan, intelligence.

If we deny that this wonderful adjustment of means to ends, of capacities to the

conditions of their exercise, is an indication of the presence of mind, we are bound by parity of reasoning to deny that orderly action, systematically directed to intelligent aims, or the intelligent processes of thought and language, are any indication of mind in man. Man is the microcosm, or little world, and as such is an incarnate intelligence and will. The great world—the universe—manifests and impersonates an intelligence as clearly and as really as does man. As members of the human race, we are conscious of the working of this intelligence in ourselves; and while we can not enter into the consciousness of another man, we know that he is intelligent and conscious from his language and actions. We can not identify ourselves with the divine consciousness, any more than we can with that of our fellow-men; but we are bound, by the same reasoning, to recognize a divine consciousness and mind in the cosmos, as really as we are bound to recognize intelligence as controlling the expectations and actions of our fellow-men. It is somewhat singular to find the champions of positive science, in their attempts to account for the process of creation, taking refuge in abstract terms, and in their discussions continually confounding them with concrete forces of intelligence and will. Positive science claims to be conversant only with ascertained facts and verified laws. Few books on metaphysics or theology make freer use of these objectified concepts than do those of Herbert Spencer. This class of philosophers postulate the existence of matter and force—of matter without an origin, and force without a will. It seems to me impossible for the human mind to conceive of either as originating without a cause; and especially is this true of our notion of force. Sir John Herschel, in his remarkable tract on the Origin of Force, first published in the "Fortnightly Review," speaking as a physicist and a mathematician, emphatically states his conviction that force is an unmeaning term, and unintelligible conception, apart from the idea of will somewhere, either human or divine. In all discussions of this sort, we should be careful to hold the apostles of positive science in strict allegiance to their own declared methods of thought. They may not make use of hypothesis, except as a scaffolding wherewith to erect a solid structure of truth. Hypotheses, or guesses, are all but indispensable for the direction of research in scientific inquiry; but such hypotheses are not science. Now what is popularly called Darwinism may be a useful working hypothesis for the scientific inquirer, but it has no claim to take rank among verified laws, or place in any body of statements claiming to be positive science. There are now, and have been in the past, two classes of naturalists, one of which assumes the doctrine of the fixity of type and species among vege-

table and animal forms. This class of naturalists turn their attention to those points which distinguish classes, genera, and species from each other. They seek for distinguishing marks through which they can reduce the manifold forms of nature into order and system; giving them common names, to the end that they may be brought within the grasp of a finite memory. Working in this direction—seeking evidence of fixedness in form—they may have undervalued the wonderful flexibility and plastic capacity which many species possess of adjusting themselves to new and varying conditions of life. Employed in the great work of classification—their attention fixed upon the common points of species—they may have, and probably did, neglect too much the study of the tendencies in species to assume variations of form—especially under the superintending agency of man. Impressed with this thought, other naturalists assume the existence of unlimited plasticity and capacity for variation as a working hypothesis, by which they shall direct their inquiries and help to classify their results. Here we have two schools of naturalists. Cuvier may represent one. Geoffrey St. Hilaire and Darwin, by way of eminence, may represent the other. "Species are fixed and invariable," says Cuvier. "There is but one animal," says St. Hilaire. Now we may not accept either of these hypotheses as absolute scientific truth. Both are respectable in the history of scientific inquiry. In the hands of able men, they have led to impressive and important results. That grand system of classification which makes the acquisition of natural history possible to a memory of ordinary strength, which has brought out the system of typical forms and special adjustments in creation, has been the outgrowth of the doctrine of fixedness in animal and vegetable forms. The serious and interesting inquiries and experiments regarding the capacity of animal and vegetable forms to take on variation have powerfully impressed the younger scientific men and the reading public at large. This is the working hypothesis just now fashionable among investigators in natural history. Used as a working hypothesis, provisionally held, it is unobjectionable; but it has not yet approached the dignity of a verified law. We respectfully ask that, in default of verification, it may not be imposed upon us as a part of our scientific creed, on pain of being excommunicated as heretics from the universal scientific church. The distinction between verified laws and certified facts, on the one hand, and working hypotheses on the other, should always be kept in mind in discussions of this sort. It is the failure to make this distinction that we complain of among the young and the imaginative followers of Darwin, who are imperfectly trained in the rig-

id canous of scientific method. We object to receiving hypotheses as science, because of the strictness of our allegiance to the methods of positive science, of which they claim to be the special patrons. Every scientific treatise contains in it, of necessity, a large number of these unverified hypotheses. They have all degrees of probability, from a near approach to verification, to those which are founded on remote and unessential analogies. No better service could be rendered to the public than for experts in special departments of science to discriminate carefully what, in their special fields of inquiry, are universally considered as certified fact and verified law, from that which is hypothetical merely. The defenders of our faith have often erred in too hastily conceding that some favorite and fashionable hypothesis has been already clothed with the dignity and authority of science. We should bear in mind, too, that there are many of these hypotheses which, from their very nature and the limitations of the human mind, are not likely ever to be verified; which stand outside of the possibilities of verification. Such a one is the question of the unity or non-unity of man. As a matter of pure science, apart from revelation, it may not be possible for us ever to settle beyond question whether man is one or manifold in origin. I believe that the hypothesis of the unity of man combines more facts in its favor, and excludes more difficulties, than the hypothesis of the non-unity of man; but as no man can, for the purposes of evidence, be supposed to be present at his own birth, no more can he be supposed to be able to testify, as a matter of fact, to the circumstances of his own creation. Sciences the most advanced abound with discussions of these working hypotheses, which have more or less of evidence in their favor. Darwinism is

one of these. The doctrine of evolution, in the Spencian sense, is another. By Spencian, matter and force are assumed either self-existent, or created and set in motion by God. Out of these, plants and animals grow. We say to him, if you ask us to accept this doctrine, you must prove it. Even under the agency of man, there has been no solitary instance given of the conversion of inorganic matter into an animal. We ask for a crucial test. Till this is supplied we wait and question. Even if these hypotheses should be verified as matters of science, which seems to me very unlikely, the doctrine of a personal God would be just as necessary to explain the origin of the universe and the process of its development as it is now. There is an unworthy timidity among many Christian men at the apparition of these hypotheses, with which the scientific imagination is constantly teeming.

I have said thus much by way of caution in the use of terms, and concerning the importance, in all controversy which arises out of the relations of revealed truth to the advancing sciences, of marking carefully and sharply the distinction between positive science, made up of ascertained facts and verified laws, and those unverified hypotheses which abound in proportion to the activity of scientific inquiry and the freedom of discussion. The evidence for the existence of a personal Creator can not be affected by any considerations drawn from the mode, relative rapidity, or the nature of the proximate antecedents and consequences in the creative process. The sooner this is understood and recognized, the sooner will quiet be given to the mind of the plain Christian man, and the more readily shall we avoid false issues and nugatory discussions in our defenses of the doctrine of God against the shifting phases of aggressive naturalism.

IV.

CHRISTIAN LIFE.

Tuesday, October 7th, 1873.

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FIRST SECTION.—PERSONAL AND FAMILY RELIGION.

THE RELATION BETWEEN DOCTRINE AND LIFE.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM ARNOT, EDINBURGH.

THE theme of conference yesterday was Christian doctrine, and the theme to-day is the Christian life. It may not be amiss, at the commencement of this day's proceedings, to feel for the link that unites these two. If I can not make a contribution either to the apologetics of yesterday or the energetics of to-day, I may, at least, become the pivot on which the conference shall swing round from the one sphere to the other. The link which unites doctrine and duty in the Christian system is neither an imaginary line nor an iron rod; it is like the Word of God, "both quick (living) and powerful." It is like the great artery that joins the heart to the members in a living body—both the channel of life and the bond of union. If that link is severed in the animal, the life departs; there remains neither heart nor members. So in the Christian system, if doctrine and duty are not united, both are dead: there remains neither the sound creed nor the holy life.

Here, then, we shall find a *logical argument and a practical lesson*. Inquirers should know the truth on this point, and believers should practice it.

A common street cry of the day is, Give us plenty of charity, but none of your dogmas; in other words, Give us plenty of sweet fruit, but don't bother us with your hidden mysteries about roots and grafting. For our part, we join heartily in the cry for more fruit; but we are not content to tie oranges with tape on dead branches lighted with small tapers, and dance round them on a winter evening. This may serve to amuse children; but we are grown men, and life is earnest. We, too, desire plenty of good fruit, and therefore we busy ourselves in making the tree good, and then cherish its roots with all our means and all our might.

In the transition from the eleventh to the twelfth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, the knot is tied that binds together doctrine and duty in a human life. Speaking generally, with the eleventh chapter the apostle concludes his exposition of doctrines; and with the twelfth he begins his inculcation of duties. At the beginning of his great treatise he plunged into the deep things of

God, and at xi., 33, he emerges from his exploration with a passionate cry of adoring wonder at what he has seen and heard—"Oh the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!" After relieving his overcharged spirit with that grand anthem which constitutes the close of the doctrinal section, he addresses himself (xii., 1) to the business of directing and stimulating an obedient and holy life in believers, and this theme he presents to the close. At the point of contact between the doctrinal and practical divisions of his treatise he defines and exhibits the relations established in the laws of the Eternal between the gifts which flow from God to men, and the service rendered by men to God. Hitherto he has been opening the treasures of the kingdom, and permitting the divine goodness to flow freely into the lap of the needy; but here is the turning point: henceforth he will urge that tribute should stream upward, like a column of incense, from man to God.

Who hath first given to God, and it shall be given to him again? None. No man first gives to God, and then gets back equivalent. But though no man gives first to God, all renewed men give to him second—that is, the disciples of Christ, having gotten all from God first and free, then and thereby are constrained to render back to him themselves and all that they possess. This apostle knows human nature too well to expect that men will render fit service to God first and spontaneously. He puts the matter on another footing. He expects that the mercy of God, first freely poured out, will press until it press out, and press up, whatever the little vessel of a redeemed man contains, in thank-offerings to the giving God.

Here is a leaden pipe concealed under the plaster stretching perpendicularly from the bottom to the top of the house. What is the use of it? It is placed there as a channel through which water for the supply of the family may flow up to a cistern on the roof. "Water flow up?—Don't mock us. That would be contrary to its nature. Water flows down, not up. How should it change its nature when it gets into your pipe?"

Place your ear near the wall, and listen; what do you hear? "I hear water rushing." In what direction? "Upward." Precisely; water left to itself outside of the pipe flows down; but water left to itself inside flows up. "Why?" Because there it is pressed by the water that flows from the fountain on the mountain's side. It is the weight of water flowing down that forces this water to flow up.

It is thus that living sacrifices, holy and acceptable, ascend from a human life to God, when that life is in Christ. When a human soul is within the well-ordered covenant, it is constrained, by the pressure of divine mercy flowing through Christ, to rise in responsive love.

"I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye yield yourselves," etc. The word "therefore" is the link of connection between doctrine and life. Here it unites the *product* to the *power*. The whole epistle consists of two parts, united together by this word. The first portion is occupied with truth revealed, and the second with obedience rendered; and the truth is in point of fact the force which generates the obedience.

Much mischief is done in the world by a wanton or ignorant divorce of this divinely united pair. There are two errors, equal and opposite. Those who teach high doctrine, and wink at slippery practice in themselves and others, fall into a pit on the right hand; those who preach up all the charities, and ignore or denounce the truth and the faith that grasps it, fall into a pit on the left. Let not one man say, I have roots, and another, I have fruits. If you have roots, let us see what fruit they bear; if you would have fruits, cherish the roots whereon they grow.

Beginning his course of practical lessons with the twelfth chapter, this rigidly logical author binds the motive firmly to the act, and the act to the motive. He tells us what we ought to do, and what will induce us to do it. For power to propel his heavy train, he depends on "the mercies of God," as these have been set forth in the preceding portion of the treatise; and the train which by this power he expects to propel is, "Present your bodies a living sacrifice," etc.

The mercies of God constitute the motive force.

A consecrated life is the expected result.

Consider carefully now the power employed in constant view of the effect which it is expected to produce: "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God." Up to this point the epistle is occupied with the enunciation, elucidation, and defense of doctrine. The writer started with the set purpose of directing and stimulating human life in the way of holiness and love; yet he expends the greater part of his time and strength in

the exposition of abstract dogma. Paul has made no mistake here. Although his aim was to get human hearts and lives filled with love to God and man, he devotes his attention first to truth revealed.

This is a scientific operator; he knows what he is about. He is especially skillful in adapting means to ends. To provide the water-power may be a much more lengthened and laborious process than to set the mill agoing; but without the reservoir and its impounded supply the mill would never go round at all. Paul goes forward with a firm step and a straight course toward his aim in a sanctified and useful human life; but he takes every step on the assumption that a devoted and charitable life can not be obtained unless the person and work of Christ be made clear to the understanding and accepted with the heart. Hence the time he has occupied and the pains he has bestowed in exhibiting and commending at the outset—a complete theology.

A class of men is springing and pressing to the front in our day who land charity at the expense of truth. The truth, exterior to the human mind, which God has presented in his Word, they ignore as unnecessary rather than denounce as false. Doctrine, as truth fixed and independent, they seem to think a hinderance rather than a help toward their expected millennium of charity. In their view, a man may indeed become a model of goodness although he believe sincerely all the doctrines of the Gospel; but he may reach that blessed state as quickly and as well although he believe none of them. Their creed is that a man may attain the one grand object of life—practical goodness—equally well with or without belief in the Christian system. That there may be no mistake in the transmission of their opinion, they take care to illustrate it by notable examples. John Bunyan, who received all the doctrines of the Gospel, and Spinoza, who rejected them all, attain equally to the odor of sanctity in this modern church of charity. This representation is publicly made by men who profess the faith, and hold the preferments, and draw the emoluments of the Established Church in England.

In order to elevate love, they depress faith. For our convenience, they have compressed the essence of their system into a phrase that is compact and portable: "A grain of charity is worth a ton of dogma." The maxim is well constructed, and its meaning is by no means obscure. If it were true, I should have no fault to find with it. But, as I have seen a mechanic, after the rule applied to his work gave unequivocal decision in its favor, turning the rule round, and trying it the other way, lest some mistake should occur; so in the important matter before us, it may be of use to express the same maxim in another form, lest any fal-

lacy should be left lurking unobserved in its folds; thus: "A small stream flowing on the ground is worth acres of clouds careering in the sky." In this form the maxim is arrant nonsense; but the two forms express an identical meaning, like the opposite terms of an algebraic equation. Wanting clouds above us, there could be no streams, great or small, flowing at our feet; so, wanting dogma, that is, doctrine revealed by God and received by man, there could be no charity. They scorn dogma, and laud charity; that is, they vilify the clouds, and sing pæans to running streams.

There is an aspect of childishness in the methods at present in fashion for undermining evangelical faith. When I was a little child, I thought the clouds were accumulations of smoke from the chimneys. I also thought that, while the barren atmosphere above our heads was filled with stacks of dry thick smoke, the earth beneath our feet was rich and beneficent, seeing that from its bowels spring up all the waters that feed the rivers and fill the sea. Foolish child! The clouds are the store-houses in which the water is laid up, ready to be poured on the earth. From these treasures the wells obtain all their supply. We have streams on the ground, because we have clouds in the sky. As the clouds create the rivers, the love of Christ exhibited in the Gospel causes streams of charity to circulate in human life. The Bible teaches this, and history proves it. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." This is a dogma; and before that dogma came, how much charity was in the world?

Our latest reformers, I suppose, come easily by their discoveries. I am not aware that they have passed through any preparatory agonies, like those which Luther endured at Erfurth. Your philosophic regenerator of the world dispenses with a long search and a hard battle. When he brings forward for my acceptance his savory dish, like poor old blind Isaac, when his slippery son presented the forged venison, I am disposed to ask, "How hast thou found it so quickly, my son?" Ah, it is easy for those who have never been deeply exercised about sin to denounce dogma and cry up charity in its stead; but whence shall I obtain charity if I abjure truth? "Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." The apostle John got his charity from the bosom of the Master whereon he lay. Where do the modern apostles obtain theirs? How can you move the world if you have nothing but the world to lean your lever on?

The Scriptures present the case of a man who was as free of dogma as the most advanced Secularist could desire, and who was, notwithstanding, woefully lacking in chari-

ty. "What is truth?" said Pilate; and he did not wait for an answer, for he had made up his mind that no answer could be given. Pilate was not burdened with a ton, with even an ounce, of dogma, yet he crucified Christ—crucified Christ, believing and confessing him innocent—that he might save his own skin, endangered by the accusations of the Jewish priests at the court of Rome.

Those who, in this age, lead the crusade against dogma are forward to profess utmost reverence for the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. But he did not despise dogma. "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Nothing more completely and abstractly dogmatical can be found in all the creeds of the Church than that short and fervid exclamation of Peter in answer to the Master's articulate demand for a confession of his faith upon the point. And how did the Master receive it? He not only acquiesced in the doctrine and the expression of it by his servant, but, departing in some measure from his usual habit of calm, unimpassioned speech, he broke into an elevated and exultant commendation: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Let men keep congenial company, and let things be called by their right names. Either doctrine—truth revealed by God and accepted by man—either doctrine is decisive and fundamental for the salvation of sinners and the regeneration of the world, or Jesus Christ was a weakling. You must make your choice. The divinity of Christ, as confessed by Peter, is a dogma; for that dogma Jesus witnessed; for that dogma Jesus died. For it was because he made himself the Son of God that the Jewish priesthood hunted him down. Did he give his life for a dogma that is divine and necessary to the salvation of sinners, or did he fling his life away by a mistake? Men must make their choice. Those who are not for Christ are against him.

If you do not receive Jesus Christ as God your Redeemer, you can not have him as the beautiful example of a perfect humanity. He claimed to be divine, and died in support of the claim. Therefore, if he be not the true God, he must be a false man. Thus the Holy Spirit in the Scripture has presciently rendered it impossible for modern Secularists to reject the great dogma of the Gospel, and yet retain the life of Jesus as the highest pattern of human character. Both or none: Christ can not be so divided.

The word "therefore," destitute of any moral character in itself, and deriving all its importance from the things which it unites, is like the steel point set on a strong foundation, which constitutes the fulcrum of the balance. To one extremity of the beam is fixed, by a long plummet-line, a consecrated

benevolent human life; but that life itself lies unseen in the dark at the bottom of a deep well, a possibility only as yet, and not an actual entity. No human arm has power to bring it up and set it in motion—power to bring it into being. Here is a skillful engineer, who has undertaken the task. What is he doing? We expected that he would stand at the well's mouth, and draw with all his might by the depending line, in the hope of drawing up that precious Charity from the deep. But no; he is busy at the opposite extremity of the beam. He is making fast to it some immense weight. Who is he, and what is the burden that he is zealously tying to the beam; and what does he expect to get by his pains? The operator, diminutive in bodily presence but mighty in spirit, is the apostle of the Gentiles; the weight that he is making fast to the beam is nothing less than *the mercies of God* as they are exhibited in Christ—all the love of God; nay, God himself, who is love. He has fastened it now, and he stands back—does not put a hand to the work in its second stage. What follows? They come! they come! the deeds of Charity—they ascend like elonds to the sky, at once an incense rising up to heaven, and a mighty stream of beneficence rolling along its channel on the surface of the earth, and converting the desert into a garden.

Ask those great lovers who have done and suffered most for men—who have taken up their abode in dungeons in order to soothe the spirits and relieve the wants of the wretched inmates—who have braved pestilential emanations to christianize and civilize the long-degraded negro; ask the whole band of flesh-and-blood angels who, by sacrificing themselves, have sought to heal the sores of humanity, what motive urged them on and held them up, they will answer with a voice like the sound of many waters, *The love of Christ constraineth us*. Those who have done most of the charity that has told on the ills of life do not think, and do not say, that this fruit grows as well on all doctrines, or no doctrines, as on the truth of the Gospel. They tell us that the force which sent them into the field and kept them there was the mercy of God in Christ, pardoning their sin, and sealing them as children. They are bought with a price, and therefore they glorify God in their lives.

In the scheme of doctrine set forth in the first half of the epistle, we behold the reservoir where the power is stored; and in the opening verses of the second section the engineer opens the sluice, so that the whole force of the treasured waters may flow out on human life, and impel it onward in active benevolence. Let the memory of God's goodness, in the unspeakable gift, bear down upon our hearts, as the volume of a river bears down upon a mill-wheel, until its accumu-

lating weight overcome the inertia of an earthly mind, and the interlacing entanglements of a pleasure-seeking society, so sending the life spinning round in an endless circle of work to abate the sins and sorrows of the world.

The mercies of God being the power that sends out the product, the product so sent consists of two distinct yet vitally connected parts, as soul and body in the natural life. These are: Devotion in Spirit to God our Saviour, and substantial Kindness to Man our brother.

The constituents of a true devotion are a "living sacrifice" and "a reasonable service." Whatever is rendered in sacrifice to God is rendered whole. The phraseology is in a high degree typical, but by reference to the Old Testament institutions it is easily understood. The distinguishing features of the New Testament sacrifice are, that it is the offerer's own body, not the body of a substitute; and that it is presented not dead, but living. It is not a carcass laid on the altar to be burned; it is a life devoted to God. Love is the fire that consumes the sacrifice, and in this case, too, the fire came down from heaven. The body is specially demanded as an offering; the body is for the Lord. It bears the mark of his hand. We are fearfully and wonderfully made.

Stand in awe and sin not: give not that which is holy unto the dogs. Your body is another Bible: read it with reverence. Its precepts, like those of the Decalogue, are written by the finger of God. Show me, not a penny, but a man—for this is the only coin which the great King will accept as tribute: whose image and superscription hath he? God's. Render therefore unto God the thing that is God's.

As the sacrifice is living the service is reasonable—rational. It is not the arbitrary though loving command addressed by a father to his infant son—burn the fat upon the altar—that he may be trained to habits of unquestioning obedience; it is rather the work prescribed by the father to an adult son—a work which the son understands, and a purpose in which he intelligently acquiesces. The burning of incense, practiced in the Romish community for ages, and now resumed by those who should have known better, is not a reasonable service. It is a going back from the attainments of the Gospel to the beggarly elements of a past dispensation.

The second constituent of Christian duty is reciprocal justice and kindness between man and man, like the harmony and helpfulness which the Creator has established between the several members of a living body. Mark how the hand comes to the defense of the eye in its weakness; and how the eye with its sight, and from its elevated position, keeps watch for the welfare of the lowly, blind, but laborious and useful foot. The

mutual helpfulness of these members is absolutely perfect. Such should be the charity between brother, and brother of God's family on earth; such it shall be when all the sons and daughters are assembled in the many mansions of the heavenly home. In the remaining portion of the epistle, Paul labors with all his might to stimulate practical charity, in one place reducing the whole law to one precept, to one word—Love. After devoting so much attention to the roots, he will not neglect to gather the fruit. After so much care in obtaining the power, he looks sharply to the product, lest it should turn out that he had labored in vain.

We must look well to our helm as we traverse this ocean of life, where we can feel no bottom and see no shore—we must handle well our helm, lest we miss our harbor-home. Such seems to be the counsel given for the guidance of life to those who count that all religion and all duty lie in subjective care and diligence, while they ignore, as unattainable or useless, all objective revealed truth. But careful management of the helm, though necessary, is not enough on our voyage. By it alone we can not bring our ship safe to land. We must look to the lights in heaven. The seaman does not look to the stars *instead* of handling his helm. This would be as great folly as to handle his helm vigorously and never look to the stars. Not this one or that one, to the neglect of the other. Both; and each in its own place: the stars, to show us the path in which we ought to go; and the helm, to keep us in the path which the stars have shown to be right. Not turn to the contemplation of dogma, instead of laboring in the works of charity; but looking to the truth as the light which shows us the way of life, and walking in that way with all diligence.

It is interesting to notice how the spiritual instincts of the Lord's immediate followers led them in the right way, at a time when their intellectual comprehension of the Gospel was very defective. On one occasion the Master taught the twelve a lesson on this subject—charity—which seemed to them very hard. The point in hand was the forgiving of injuries, and how far it could or should be carried. "Master," they inquired, how often shall a man sin against me and I forgive him? Seven times?" That, they thought, was as great a stretch of loving forbearance with a neighbor as could reasonably be required of any man. But what is the word of the Lord in this case? "I say not unto thee till seven times, but until seventy times seven." That is, he refused to set any limit to the charity of his disciples. Charity in his Church must be like the atmosphere wrapped round the world—no mountain top can pierce through it to touch another element beyond. Charity shall surround life so high and so deep that

all life shall float in it always, as the globe of earth in the circumfluent air. The poor men were taken aback by this great demand. It cut their breath. They had been educated in a narrow school, and could not at first take in the conception of a love that should know no other limit than the life and capacity of the lover. But on recovering from their first surprise, and becoming aware of their own shortcoming, a true instinct directed them to the source of supply. Then the disciples said unto the Lord, "Increase our *faith*." Faith! Oh, ye simple Galileans, it is not in faith that ye come short; it is in charity! How foolish, at such a moment, to give chase to the ignis-fatuus of *dogma*, when it is *life* that you need—more of love in your life! If our secular philosophers had been there, such would have been their patronizing reproof of those simple, unlettered fishermen. But the fishermen, taught of the Spirit, possessed a sounder philosophy as well as a truer religion than their modern reprovers. I could imagine that Peter, in such circumstances, would have stood up as spokesman for the whole college, and made short work with the logic of the Secularists. Although blind, like old Jacob, to objects outside, like him, Peter was endowed with an inner light. When Joseph brought his two sons to the patriarch for his blessing, he led them forward so that the elder should stand opposite the right hand of his grandfather, and the younger opposite the left. But Jacob crossed his hands in bestowing the blessing, so as to lay the right hand on the head of the younger child. When Joseph interfered to correct what he supposed to be a mistake, his father persisted in his own plan, saying, "I know it, my son; I know it." He guided his hands wittingly. So would the simple but courageous fisherman answer the philosophic Joseph of our day—"I know it, my son; I know it." He guided his lips wittingly when, in lack of charity, he prayed for faith; for faith is the only efficient of charity. He would fain yield himself a living sacrifice for behoof of his fellows; but if he is ever impelled forward in this arduous course, he will be impelled, as Paul teaches, by the mercies of God. The instincts of the new creature in Peter taught him that, if he should ever do more in forgiving love for his neighbors, he must get more through faith from his Lord.

A miller, while he watches the operations of his mill, observes that the machinery is moving slower and slower, and that at last it stands altogether still. On searching for the cause, he discovers that some small hard pebbles have insinuated themselves between the millstones, first impeding the celerity of their motion, and then stopping it altogether. What will the miller do? Put in his hand, and try to remove the obstruction? No; he is not such a fool. He goes quietly

to a corner of the mill, and touches a simple wooden lever that protrudes at that spot through the wall. What is the miller doing there? He is letting on more water: impelled by more weight of water, the millstones easily overcome the obstacle, and go forward on their course. The demand of unlimited forgiving was the obstacle that stuck on the heart of those poor Galileans, and brought its beating to a stand; and they wisely applied for a greater gush of the impelling power—more faith. When the circulation of the spiritual life was impeded by that hard ingredient, they gasped for a widening of the channel through which the mercies of God flow from the covenant to the needy. More faith meant getting more of forgiving grace from God to their own souls; and they knew that, when the vessel was full, it would flow over. The best of the argument, as well as of the sentiment, remains with the fishermen.

It is now time, however, that we should turn to the other side, and gather there a very needful lesson for Christians ere we close. We have been showing that it is faith accepting the mercies of God that produces a devout and charitable life; but what shall we say of those who have faith, or seem to have it, and yet lack charity?

Here a very interesting question springs. Want of faith, it is granted among evangelical Christians, is followed by want of goodness; as a blighting of the root destroys the stem and branches of the tree. But does the converse also hold good? Will a languid life weaken faith, and an entire cessation of Christian activity make shipwreck of the faith? As a metaphysical speculation, we do not touch this question; but on its practical side a useful warning may be given. Of all trees it may be said, destroy the root, and the stem will wither; but you can not predicate of all trees that the destruction of the stem in turn destroys the root. Many trees, when cut down to the ground, retain life and grow great again. But some species—pines, for example—die outright when the main stem is severed. Here lies a sharp reproof for all who bear Christ's name. True it is that your faith in Christ is the root which sustains the tree of your active life, and insures its fruitfulness; but true it is, also, that, like the pines, if from any cause the life cease to act, the faith, or what seemed faith, will rot away under ground. It was in this manner that Hymenæus and Alexander fell away. They first lost the good conscience; then and therefore they made shipwreck of the faith. They gave way in the sphere of duty, and then dogma melted away from their hearts (1 Tim. i., 19). The stem of the tree was cut off or withered, and the root rotted in the ground.

Thus, as the roots nourish the tree, and the growth of the tree in turn keeps the roots living, so is it with the trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord that he may be glorified! While faith, by drawing from the fullness of Christ, makes a fruitful life; reciprocally, the exercise of all the charities mightily increases even the faith from which they sprang.

While, on one side, the necessity of the day is to maintain the faith as the fountain and root of practical goodness in the life; on the other side, especially for all within the Church, the necessity of the day is to lead and exhibit a life corresponding to the faith it grows upon. Here it is safe to join full cry with the Secularists—more clarity—charity in its largest sense, a self-sacrificing, brother-saving love, that counts nothing alien which belongs to man, and spares nothing to make the world prouder and happier. A pure, holy, loving, active, effective life—this is the first, and the second, and the third requisite for the regeneration of the world. It is quite true that those who bear Christ's name fail to walk in his steps; and to this defect it is owing that so little of the desert has yet been converted into a garden. It is life—it is love—it is living sacrifices that are wanted; this is the cure for the sores of humanity; but how shall we get that life of mighty doing and suffering charity, which we confess is lacking, and which, if we had it, would flow like a stream over the world and heal its barrenness? How and where shall we obtain this heaven-born charity?

Enter into thy closet, and shut the door, and seek it there. Seek, and ye shall find. Copy, literally, the simple request of the amazed disciples. Say unto the Lord, Increase our faith.

That means that your very soul should open to Christ, and accept him as all your salvation. It is not to have a faith printed in your creed-book about one Jesus; it is to clasp him to your heart as your Redeemer, your Friend, your Portion. It is to taste and see that he is good, and to bear about with you the dying of the Lord Jesus. This will be a force sufficient to impel all your life forward, so as to please God and benefit your brother. "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice."

Ultimately we must look to the sovereign Lord God for a baptism of the Spirit, greater than that of the Pentecost, to produce a revival that will usher in the glory of the latter day; but mediately and instrumentally that revival will come through the *mercies of God*, manifested to the world in the incarnation and sacrifice of the eternal Son, accepted, realized, and felt, in new and greatly increased intensity, by the members of the Christian Church.

PERSONAL RELIGION, ITS AIDS AND HINDERANCES.

BY THE REV. RICHARD FULLER, D.D., BALTIMORE, MD.

HE who would drive a boat forward by rowing must use both oars; if he employ only one, his little bark will go round and round, will be a prey to every vagrant current, until it is dashed on the rocks or carried out to sea. And it is just so with regard to human and divine agency in the matter of salvation. "For my part," says the hyper-Calvinist, "I do not believe that man's will or efforts have any thing to do with his salvation. From first to last it is God's fixed decree." But what does God say? "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." "Exactly so," exclaims the Arminian, "that is my doctrine. All depends upon our faithfulness, vigilance, self-denying exertions." But what does the Bible declare? "It is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of his own good pleasure." If, then, there be a will to live for heaven, it has been wrought in us by God's sovereign grace. And if this volition perish not, if it acquires "the name of action," it is wholly through the efficacy of preventent, sovereign grace and mercy. If we reject the doctrine of human agency, we sink into all the indolence and impiety of the Antinomian. If we discard the great truth of God's free, sovereign, indispensable grace, we will gradually find all our praying and toiling only so much hopeless drudgery, and will be tempted to give up in despair.

I do not design, however, to enter into this question, nor to show that the life of faith requires of us the compound attitude of one who works as if all depended on himself; and who prays, lives hourly, as if every thing—will, power, victory, salvation—must be the donation of God's free mercy, the operation of that adorable Spirit without whose immediate influences the holiest man would certainly be lost. My wish is to submit some serious reflections upon the most important subject that can engage our minds, some thoughts which deeply concern our peace, holiness, preparation for death and eternity.

Religion (from *re, ligo*) means the re-attachment to God of the soul which had estranged itself from him. By the very force of the term we are reminded of our dismal apostasy, and of that amazing anomaly in the divine jurisprudence by which guilt is pardoned, the pinnings of despoiled humanity for reconciliation with "the Father" are

satisfied, and our entire nature—senses, intellect, conscience, passions—is re-adjusted.

The subject assigned me is, Personal Religion: its Aids and Hinderances; nor was there ever a period when this topic claimed more serious and prayerful contemplation; for while in theory all admit that there can be no substitute for holiness, yet in reality specious counterfeits and nostrums are on every side corrupting and superseding the doctrines of the Cross.

There is, for example, an artificial orthodoxy, a dry light in the mind, which sheds no influence on the life. Merle d'Anbigné tells us that, after hearing Haldane reason upon human depravity, he said to him, "Now I see that doctrine in the Bible." "Yes," replied the Scottish divine, "but do you see it in your heart?" It was this artless yet profound question which led to the conversion of the great historian; and this is now the inquiry to be pressed as to all evangelical truth. Do we see it, feel it, in our hearts? "I am the way, and the truth, and the life." It is one thing to admit this imperial self-assertion of our Lord, and a very different thing to realize it; but nothing is saving faith which stops short of a full, controlling reception of it—a reception that thrones Jesus personally over the mind, the heart, the life. This is the religion of the Gospel. It is as simple as it is severe and sublime. There is, however, too much reason to fear that for this *personal* following Christ and adhering to him multitudes adopt a loyalty to creeds, confessions, systems, faith in which is important, but faith in which (yea, a general faith in the written Word) may be fatally mistaken for faith in that personal Saviour whose life, example, death, resurrection, are, objectively and subjectively, the grand, informing, controlling rule of faith to his disciples." "Follow me!" When Jesus was upon earth, this was the abridgment of all his doctrines, the epitome of all his sermons, his whole body of divinity; and this is still his strict demand, refusing to obey which we "lack one thing," and are fatally defective in every thing. "Follow me!"—me, not a religion; Jesus came not to teach, but to be our religion. Me; not a dogma. Me; not a doctrine. Me; not linen decencies, apocryphal successions, mystical, cabalistic virtues. Me; not a creed nor a confession. Me; not even faith in the Bible. Me; Me! come follow me; that is what the

Saviour requires of all, and he who neglects to comply takes up the whole matter amiss; he misunderstands or neglects the very Gospel by which he hopes to be saved.

Then, again, instead of personal consecration, we detect all around us the religion of imposing formalisms, of fascinating ritualisms, of externalisms which may be as graceful as the exquisite statuary in the Greek temples, but are just as destitute of real life; which lull the conscience, regale the taste and fancy, but leave the heart unchanged. We are surprised that, in the midst of the noontide illumination of the Gospel, men can still be bewitched by the superstitions, impostures, and pageantry of the Church of Rome. We forget two things: first, that in our fallen condition imagination is stronger than reason. We see this in our child. You take your little boy into a toy-shop and purchase an ugly mask. He knows you are his father, and the mask nothing but a piece of painted pasteboard; yet when you put on the hideous false face he is terrified. How do you explain this? It is a proof that in the child imagination is stronger than reason. Nor is it otherwise with children of a larger growth. A lady weeps over "The Sorrows of Werther," or some other sentimental novel. Does she believe it to be true? Does she not know that it is a pure fiction? A man of sense enters the theatre. The play is *Hamlet*. Does he really suppose that he is in Denmark? Is he not certain that the actor in sables, with such a rueful countenance, is not the Prince of Denmark, but Mr. Jones, whom he met the night before in a drinking saloon? And the lady, with her disheveled hair and picturesque miseries; does he think that she is really the love-lorn Ophelia? Does he not know that she is only Jones's wife? Yet he sits there bathed in tears. And what is the solution of all this? We have already given it. In the lady and in the man, as in the little boy, imagination is stronger than reason. And now apply this important moral principle to the matter in hand, and we will understand why the mummeries of Rome exert such a magical spell over people in their senses. The secret is an open secret. It is that spectacles, rites, festivals, processions, robes, censers, relics, choristers, priests, and altars, all appeal directly to the imagination.

And we overlook another fact. We forget that these ceremonies are the most subtle form of self-righteousness. They are pleasing to the unrenewed heart, because they are performed to merit God's favor, and they thus offer the most grateful incense to the self-complacency of our unregenerate nature. Nor is it only in Popery—the masterpiece of human craft—that religion thus crystallizes into seductive forms;

that materiolatries are a counterfeit for piety. The bitter hostility of the Pharisees was inflamed against Jesus, because they perceived that he was abrogating the gorgeous machinery of the Temple by which their spiritual pride was intensely flattered, and was requiring purity of heart and life. And still, at this day, the cross of Christ, the obedience, the self-renunciation, the holiness of the Gospel, stir up the enmity of multitudes, because they assail the traditions of their fathers, and abolish those old hereditary sanctities which, under the insidious garb of religion, flatter their pride, quiet their consciences, and are clung to as sacred heir-looms, transmitted through a long line of honored ancestors.

I mention only one other substitute for personal piety. This we may designate as a sort of corporate religion, a devotedness to some church by which we become not Christians, but churchmen; and the impositions which men and women practice upon themselves under this delusion are almost incredible. Never, perhaps, did any body of soldiers regard themselves as enlisted in such a high and holy enterprise as those who rallied under the banner of the Crusaders; yet never was there an army more depraved and dissolute. And a self-deception every whit as infatuated is witnessed now in thousands who are the bigoted advocates of some ecclesiastical organization, who contribute their wealth and would pour out their blood for some church, the tenets of which they neither understand nor believe, and the morality of which they treat with undisguised contempt.

Unquestionably, the very mission of the Gospel, all its aims and appointments, suppose and require the existence of churches; nor do the Scriptures recognize as a Christian any one who refuses to identify himself publicly with that empire which Jesus has set up on the earth. But few heresies have been so degrading to the religion of Jesus as that which exalts faith in sacramentalism, in a priesthood, in church, above sanctity of heart and life. Surely, if union with any peculiar society were essential to salvation, Jesus would have clearly defined that society. But neither in the judicature of his kingdom published in the Sermon on the Mount, nor in his programme of the last judgment, does he utter a single word about church. Nor can this surprise us; for visible churches are only aids, their ordinances and ministries are valuable only as they promote personal holiness. No error of the Church of Rome is more fatal than that which teaches that a church can do something mechanically to save us. And all churches practice the same imposture which get rid of religion by something that seems to be religious; which overlook the great truth that every man must be his own

priest; which, instead of seeking to awaken and nourish the spirit of faith, penitence, sanctity, by their prayers, hymns, lessons, sermons, services, invest these performances with a superstitious virtue; and thus satisfy the conscience with something short of holiness, and fix the heart on some sanctimonious machinery instead of Christ.

I have thus indicated some of the dangers which, at this day, urgently admonish us to insist upon the great duty of cultivating true, personal piety. What, however, do we mean by personal piety? This is a question of eternal moment. I therefore give the answer, seeking in this, as in all I utter, to ascertain "the mind of the Spirit."

By personal piety I mean, first, a principle, a new, gracious principle; not a succession of good deeds, but a spiritual principle of which such good deeds are the fruits and evidences.

By personal piety I mean an internal life; not outward activities, but an inward power, an instinct of devotion, of faith, prayer, self-immolation, habitual communion with God, which is incorporated among the very elements of our being. One of the most remarkable features of our age is the energy with which men combine their efforts in every sort of enterprise. In the Church as in the world, whatever people wish to do they form a society to do it with; and, therefore, in the Church as in the world, one of our perils is a religion which is from without, not from within, the mistaking what we *do* for what we *are*, and consequently the neglect of our own spiritual health and prosperity, while we engage in the diversified systems of concerted movements which incessantly claim our attention.

By personal piety I mean a vitalizing principle; a principle the vitality of which—like all real life—is attested by continual growth. If there be spiritual life, there will be a progressive enlargement of the mind and expansion of the soul; we will "grow in grace," and this development will be "according to the proportion of faith"—the harmony and symmetry of the Gospel.

In a word, the personal piety defined by the Scriptures is not any emotional impulse; it is a real, deep, practical force, which, deriving its strength from God, raises the soul above the senses and passions, inbreeds in it temperance, chastity, self-control, cherishes in it that abiding consciousness of the presence and power of Jesus which will cause it to be always perfecting its heavenly faculties, having "its fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life."

Religion! Personal piety! The very purpose for which Christ "bore our sins in his own body on the tree" was "that we, being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness;" and if we are Christians, the subject now in hand must be profoundly interesting to us.

For if we are Christians, if we have passed from death unto life, then there has been not merely a change, but a spiritual resurrection, a transition not only into the peace and privileges of a new forensic relation to God, but into a new character, the very first conscious ingredient of which is an instinctive, irrepresible longing and yearning after perfect holiness. Yet how far are we from that holiness! Happy the man whose good desires ripen into fruits, whose evil thoughts perish in the blossom! But, alas! too often the reverse of this is our mournful experience. We—even we who are the teachers and examples for others—would we be always willing to let them look into our hearts? Woe unto us, how ineffectual are our clearest convictions, our most solemn resolutions; so that at times it really seems as if the Gospel can not accomplish in us what it promises, as if remaining sin were too much for God. Not one of us but, again and again, with bitter weeping, has exclaimed, "We are tied and bound by the chains of our own sins; but do thou, O Lord, of the pitifulness of thy great mercy, loose us;" yet even our prayers have been unavailing. And now, why is this so? In answer to this inquiry, it is generally said that we are fallen, and the taint and pollution of sin still adhere to us. But this is no answer; for the Gospel is the Divine remedy for this very evil. It is a melancholy fact that we have all been sadly disappointed in the hopes which inspired our hearts when we were first converted to God. Having tasted the love of Jesus, rejoicing in him with a joy unspeakable and full of glory, we believed that we were forever delivered from the solicitations of sin. But too soon this joy withered away from us; too soon the truth broke in bitterly upon us that we were not wholly sanctified; too soon we were amazed and humbled by the consciousness of remaining corruptions. Is this, however, to be forever the Christian's experience? Must the prodigal, even after his return, still be continually grieving his father? Must God be always thus dishonored by the motions of sin in his own children? Is it necessary that a cloud should ever separate between Jesus and the soul he has redeemed? We can scarcely adopt a system which so mocks the highest, holiest aspirations of the "new creature." Surely God has not quickened in us a hungering and thirsting after holiness which is not to be filled. *The water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.* This can not mean that there is to be in us a fountain forever sending up impure and poisonous waters. No, and again no. Let us not be calculating accurately how much a Christian must sin. Let us not be examining carefully how much sinning is indispensable to true orthodoxy. Let us not vacate

the exceeding great and precious promises of the Bible, and limit the Holy Spirit by whom we are sanctified, and depreciate the efficacy of that faith which "purifies the heart," of that hope which engages us to be "pure as Christ is pure," and thus deduct from the virtue of that atonement, the effect of which should be that we walk in the security of an imputed, and in the joy of an imparted righteousness.

Nor will it avail much for our growth in personal holiness that we specify the besetting sin and peculiar hinderances with which each Christian has to contend—some of which are in the body, others in the mind, others in the heart, the most formidable in the imagination. Nor will a cure be made by prescribing the usual antidotes and precautions—such as fasting, and prayer, and meditation, and reading the Word of God. Me, pondering for years this eternally momentous subject, with much prayer, many tears, and after most mortifying experiences, one great truth now possesses with all the certainty of perfect conviction. It is that, with the children of God, the chief cause of such deplorable deficiency in holiness is the defect in our conceptions as to the way of holiness revealed in the Gospel. Enlightened as to a free, full, present forgiveness through faith in Jesus, the error of those who go to the law, to their own efforts for absolution from the penalty of sin, seems to us the strangest blindness; but we forget that salvation from the power and corruption of sin, from sin itself, must be in the same way.

After all the controversies waged and waging, it appears to me quite incontestable that in the seventh chapter of Romans the apostle is describing the painful conflicts and defeats of a child of God, who is seeking to perfect holiness by the deeds of the law. That was the very "falling from grace," from the gracious provisions of the Gospel, which he deplored in the Galatians. *This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Are ye so foolish? Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh? And I may appeal to every Christian, and ask whether this same error and its lamentable consequences have not entered into his own experience. Coming to Jesus, casting your soul with all its interests upon him, you received all you came for; you experienced the peace and blessedness of pardon; and such was the gratitude and love glowing in your bosom that, "being made free from sin, you became the servants of righteousness."*

But did this deadness to sin continue? Did the expulsive potency of this new affections permanently dislodge the evil propensities of your nature? On the contrary, no mortification can be more substantial than that you have felt at the revival of the life

and power of sin within you. And now, why this? Why but that you sought holiness by the law and not by faith. Nothing could be more sincere than your resolutions, promises, and efforts; but the humbling sense of their utter insufficiency caused you in anguish to exclaim, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Nor did you find relief, peace, strength, victory over your corruptions, until you repaired to the fountain open for sin and uncleanness, until, looking to Jesus, casting your soul upon him for sanctification just as you did at first for pardon, you uttered that exulting shout, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The one great aid, then, to personal piety, the one essential resource comprehending and giving efficacy to all others, is faith in Jesus—in him who was "called Jesus because he would save his people from their sins;" not only from the guilt of sin, but from sin itself. If we are to "lay aside every weight and the sin which doth so easily beset us," there is but a single way, it is "looking unto Jesus." If we are to have our fruit unto holiness, there is but one way. "Abide in me," says Jesus. "In me;" not in a church. "In me;" not in your own works. Of course, the life of every true disciple of the Redeemer will be a life of daily self-denial. Every evangelical grace supposes and requires daily self-denial. Nor only so. The sin most fatal to Christians require and suppose daily self-denial; for it is not through insincerity, or evil intentions, but through indolence, effeminacy, excess in lawful things, that those who are really converted so often dishonour the holy name they bear, and pierce themselves through with many sorrows. Yet for all this, it is true that in subduing our depravities one act of faith is worth a whole life of attempted faithfulness. As the smallest skiff, if sound, will bear a passenger to a richly furnished ship, so the feeblest act of faith, if it be genuine, will unite the soul to Him in whom dwell all the treasures of grace and strength, who "of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption."

In drawing these observations to a close, I would remark that, while we are all familiar with the subject discussed, none of us are familiar with its greatness and its importance. No one can glance at the present state of the world without feeling that Jesus is taking to himself his great name and asserting his imperial supremacy. My soul stands erect and exults as I survey the rapidly extending conquests of that adorable Being who never contemplated for his empire any sphere narrower than the whole earth; whom three continents now worship; whose victories are the standing miracle of the universe; whose word has, for nearly nineteen centu-

ries, been the law of laws to all civilized nations; who, "the holiest among the mighty, and the mightiest among the holy, has, with his pierced hand, lifted empires off their hinges, has turned the stream of centuries out of its channel, and is still governing the ages;" who is presiding in senates, ruling tribunals of justice, controlling kings and cabinets, framing and shaping the growing stature of the world, blessing it with good governments, with the highest knowledges, with the fairest humanities, with the noblest powers, with the dearest amenities and charities, with "whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are lovely and of good report."

But let us not be imposed upon by these external triumphs. The true kingdom of Jesus is spiritual and interior. It is the empire of truth over the mind, of holiness over the heart and the life. Inward sanctity, pure, constricting love to God and man, sincere obedience—where Jesus reigns these are the elements of his sovereignty, and without these no outward homage can make us his real disciples.

If we are to be useful in winning souls, in advancing the true interests of the Redeemer, the secret is not genius nor learning; it is, as David declares, "a clean heart," the constant presence and power of the Holy Spirit.

If we are to enjoy spiritual happiness, if the joy of the Lord is to be our strength, the conscience must be purified from the stain of sin, and we must live every day in the consciousness of entire consecration to Jesus. "The kingdom of God," the reign of Christ, "is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." It is first holiness, then peace and blessedness.

Lastly, our salvation. "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord." Every human being has at some time felt that the one great message of God to him is, "Be thou holy, for I am holy;" and again and again—in the most awful terms and by every diversity of emphatic admonition—Jesus warns us of the terrible disappointment which at the judgment shall overwhelm those who forget that repentance is not the utterance of the lips, but the change of the heart; who, living in self-indulgence and sin, stupefy their consciences by that most unsearchable flattery of having "prophesied in his name, and in his name done many wonderful works."

Let us enter into these thoughts. Let us begin to "cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." And let us enter upon this life now. To-morrow may be too late. Ready or not ready, death is stealing on with silent steps. The summons may be sudden; or, if you pass into eter-

nity by a protracted sickness, need I tell you what death-bed conversions are really worth? Believing that one of two brothers who had long been at enmity was about to die, a minister of Jesus was exceedingly anxious to effect a reconciliation between them. The sick man had been the more violent in his feelings, but now he acquiesced in the proposed interview. They met, and, after prayer by the pastor, each held the hand of the other and professed sorrow for the past. As his brother was leaving the chamber, however, the patient called him back, and said, "James, I have made it up because I think I am going to die; but remember, if I get well, it will be just as it was before." This scene was real, and it illustrates the nature of professed changes of heart in a dying hour. All is penitence and tears in prospect of eternity; but let health return, and with it comes the resurrection of the man's passions. If he gets well, it is with his sins just as it was before.

May God in mercy save us from this and from all delusions in a matter of such infinite moment. Let each of us so pass each day as to say, *To me to live is Christ*; remembering it is only then we can add, *And to die is gain*.

Personal piety, growing sanctification of heart and life. Without this, all our hopes are fatal self-deceptions. Talents, erudition, wealth, influence, life—may we dedicate all these to our Lord, and thus be faithful in these stewardships which have been confided to us. But let us ever remember those words so full of solemn significance, "Not yours, but you;" and, while devoting our zeal and energies to the cause and glory of our common Redeemer, let us "hold a good conscience" as well as "the faith," let us be ever exercising that self-mastery without which, after having preached to others, we ourselves shall be castaways, ever cultivating that all-pervading sanctity which is strength, victory, joy now, and the foretaste and earnest of a blessed immortality.

O Jesus, vouchsafe us this inestimable blessing!

"As thou didst give no law for me,
But that of perfect liberty,
Which neither tires nor doth corrode,
Which is a pillow, not a load,
Teach both my eyes and hands to move
Within those bounds set by thy love.
Grant I may pure and lowly be,
And live my life, O Christ, to thee."

Now the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

PERSONAL RELIGION: ITS AIDS AND HINDERANCES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM NAST, D.D., CINCINNATI, OHIO.

IN order to discern the aids and hinderances of personal religion, or, in other words, the aids and hinderances of the believer in his personal relations to the Lord Jesus Christ, it seems to us to be of great importance that we have a clear conception of the *three chief facts* in the process of salvation: to wit, the impartation of spiritual life to the soul in regeneration, the cleansing of the heart from all moral impurity through sanctification of the spirit, and the maturity of Christian character.

There are degrees in religion. The interior life, as well as the external development, is progressive; Christian experience consists of successive stages. While God commands sinners to repent that they may be pardoned, and while he calls upon backsliders to return unto him that he may heal their backslidings, he requires of all his adopted children that they should leave the principles of the doctrine of Christ and go on unto perfection. Each class has its own appropriate work to do; and there is a beautiful gradation, rising one above the other, from the lowest to the highest attainments in grace.

Let us turn our attention to the distinction which the Word of God points out to us between *Life* and *Purity* on the one hand, and *Christian Maturity* on the other, the two former being the necessary conditions of a healthy growth in grace, while the latter is its product. Let us also notice the distinction between the impartation of spiritual life in regeneration and the purification of the heart in sanctification.

I. It is self-evident that there can be no purity of heart, much less maturity of Christian character, unless spiritual life has been imparted to the soul from above. We are by nature dead in trespasses and sins, and in order to obtain spiritual life we must be born anew, must become new creatures in Christ Jesus. It is as impossible for a dead soul to grow into spiritual life as it is for a dead plant or animal to be cultivated into natural life. Life is the first and indispensable requisite to growth. Unrenewed humanity is spiritually dead, and no man can be made a Christian by culture. Spiritual life is a life from the dead, a resurrection from the death of sin. "He was dead, and is alive again," can be said of every adopted child of God. Spiritual and eternal life is

the free *gift* of *Divine Grace*, secured to fallen man through the suffering and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, "whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through his blood, to declare his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour." It was "not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." Spiritual life, then, is not a purchase to be made, or wages to be earned, or a summit to be climbed, but simply and only a *gift* to be received, and nothing but *faith* can receive any gift from God. We are made the children of God by faith, and by faith alone.

II. If a man receives spiritual life through faith in Christ Jesus, if a man be in Christ, he is a new creature; the whole soul is raised from the death of sin, he has passed from death unto life; but the incoming of this new spiritual life does not at once destroy the life of the old man. The power of sin is broken, but, though sin does no more rule, it has not ceased to exist. The new life is impaired and impeded by remains of the carnal mind, by inbred corruptions against which a constant war must be kept up, the soul alternately conquering and being conquered. But the life of the Christian need not and ought not to be a constant succession of stumblings and risings, an endless soiling and recleansing of the garments. He who blotted out our transgressions as a thick cloud has shed his precious blood to cleanse our hearts from the remains of the carnal mind, from all unholy desires and sinful tempers, from the risings of pride, anger, or lust, from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit; to take out of the heart every tendency which hinders us from loving God with *all* our

heart, with *all* our soul, and with *all* our strength, and our neighbor as ourselves; to completely deliver us out of the hand of our enemies, so that we may serve him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life, yea, to destroy the body of sin, so that we become dead to sin, and Christ becomes our life, taking up into himself our whole personality; in short, to sanctify us wholly, preserving our whole spirit, and soul, and body blameless unto his coming.

This entire heart purity is not any more a product of growth than the new spiritual life we receive in regeneration. It is the gift of God, received by an act of faith, in answer to fervent prayer. It is not the result of spontaneous spiritual development, but the effect of an application of that blood which cleanses from all sin. It is a special work wrought by the Holy Spirit in the regenerate heart, distinct from spiritual regeneration on the one hand, and from Christian maturity on the other. The soul can no more grow out of impurity into purity than it can grow out of death into life. That Power alone which can speak to life the dead, can wash the scarlet white or make the crimson spotless as wool.

"I can not wash my heart
But by believing Thee,
And waiting for thy blood to impart
The spotless purity."

Salvation from the pollution of sin, as well as from its guilt and power, is *of the Lord*. He says, "I am the Lord which sanctify you." It is in the blood of the Lamb alone that we can wash our robes and make them white. There is nothing that can debar from his sanctifying grace a child of God willing to be cleansed from all sin, except unbelief. God's unalterable plan in all his dealings with the souls of men is, "According to your faith be it unto you." The exercise of saving faith presupposes, of course, a willingness to renounce the actual sins, the pardon of which we seek in penitence, or a willingness to be saved from all inward sin, for the extirpation of which we pray; but as the awakened sinner, seeking the forgiveness of his sins, is saved the moment he accepts Christ as his righteousness, and *never until that moment*, so is the child of God, seeking purity of heart, fully saved from sin the moment he accepts Christ as his Sanctifier.

"Faith, mighty faith, the promise sees,
And looks to that alone,
Laughs at impossibilities,
And cries, It shall be done!
The thing surpasses all my thought,
But faithful is my Lord;
Through unbelief I stagger not,
For God has spoke the word."

Purity is the result of cleansing effected by the gracious putting forth of Divine power. Deliverance from inward as well as outward

sin is based upon a *present* command and a *present* promise. For *growth* and *ripening* we needs must have *time*; but purity of heart and life is a present need. "Be ye holy, for I am holy." "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." Can all the heart and soul and might go out in love to God so long as there remains within our breasts an unholy desire or a sinful temper to be subdued? It is after the assurance that "now is the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation," that Paul exhorts us "to cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." So far from teaching us to grow out of our sins and sinfulness, he says, "Now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness." And the beloved disciple declares, "Every man that hath this hope in him [to see the Lord] purifieth himself, even as he is pure." Let us grow by all means into maturity of character, but as to sin, let us cease therefrom to-day. "For ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins, and in him is no sin."

III. Let us speak briefly of *Christian maturity*. After we have received by faith the impartation of spiritual life in regeneration, and after we have experienced that the blood of Jesus cleanses us from all sin, *all* impediments are removed to our growth in grace, *up to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ*. Our progress is constant and rapid, and its velocity and safety are constantly increasing. As there are steps of preparation for the work of regeneration, and as growth in grace is necessary to preserve our justification, so there are stages of progression in a sanctified state. The Scriptures speak of *perfect men* in contrast with babes and children. This term is generally applied to the legitimate result of growth, which is *Christian maturity*, but it may be applied also to the relative growth in the different states of the Christian life. There are babes and full-grown men and fathers in a state of sanctification as well as in that of justification. But let us bear in mind that progress from death to life, from impurity to purity, is conditioned upon the reception of the Holy Ghost by acts of faith. Those steps of progress in the Christian life are not spontaneous developments, as growth is in natural life. Let us also bear in mind that spiritual growth is entirely different from animal or vegetable growth in this: a plant or an animal reaches the limit of its expansion in due time and grows no more; but the capacity of the soul in growing Christ-like knows of no limit; it is going on and on, more and more approximating, but never reaching its goal. But let us in this connection not fail to distinguish be-

twen purity of heart and Christian maturity or Christian perfection. Let us never understand the latter in any other but a *relative* sense. We can not reach in this life a state of being in which we shall be freed from frailties, weaknesses, liability to err both in judgment and in practice, and from the possibility of falling into sin. But "though we have no absolute sinlessness," as a devout Presbyterian brother comments in a tract on 1 John i., 7, "it is an invaluable blessing and strength to the believer to have a happy heart, free from all known sin—a heart now able to accept the consciousness that Christ does indeed cleanse from all sin and dwell in the purified temple of the heart. *To this faith brought us, in this faith keeps us.* A lapse of faith would restore our old condition of conscious inward evil and outward trespass. At this point of highest privilege is also the pinnacle of greatest danger. If we say that we have an inherent holiness, if we say that we have no sin—otherwise than as the blood cleanses us—we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. Such a delusion is a denial of the need of Christ, the assertion of a self-wrought holiness, and a clothing ourselves in the filthy rags of our own righteousness, ruinous to our souls and loathsome to God. But if we walk in the light as he is in the light, if without evasion we bring every action, emotion, and thought into the all-searching light of the presence of God, and the soul rejects what the light reveals as evil, our fellowship is with the Father and

with his Son Jesus Christ—a fellowship in the light. A walk in the light always leads to the blood, and all that the light shows of evil in our nature becomes effectually cleansed by the blood."

We have tried to show that, personal religion being begun, sustained, and matured by faith in Him who loved us and gave himself for us, its chief hinderance must be sought in a lack of faith. Seeing that without faith it is impossible to please God; seeing that whatsoever is not of faith is sin, but that all things are possible to him that believeth; seeing that without Christ we can do nothing, but by him we can do all things; seeing that the inspired apostle prayed for the Ephesians that they might be filled with all the fullness of God; seeing that Christ is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think—the precious promise to the fulfillment of which the sainted man of God, Merle d'Aubigné, so unequivocally testified—may none of us stagger at any promise of God through unbelief—may none of us rest short of experiencing what is the exceeding greatness of his power to usward who believe according to the working of his mighty power! And may the God of peace that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever, Amen.

FAMILY RELIGION—WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. JOSHUA C. HARRISON, LONDON.

MADAME DE STAËL has remarked that, "if you ask an Englishman at the very end of the world 'where he is going,' he will be sure to reply, 'Home.'" His thoughts, his hopes, whatsoever his distance from his country, are turned always toward home. The love of Englishmen for their homes appears to have been even then notorious, and it is still a conspicuous feature in their national life. They spend much of their time at home; they seek their chief pleasures at home; above all, their principles and character are formed, for the most part, at home. Now, a man's character is for him the principal thing. What he *is*, is of far more importance than what he possesses. His outward lot is not, indeed, a matter of small moment; but how he will use this, how he will enjoy it, to what account he will turn it, must always depend on what he is in himself. And as home chiefly determines this, he can not but think of home with peculiar tenderness and gratitude. It ought to furnish—it was intended by God to furnish—the best conditions for healthy growth and development.

Personal influence must always have a greater share in the formation of character than the explanation or enforcement of any abstract principles. The child needs to have every thing presented in the concrete; even the adult is seldom quite sure that he has understood an abstract thought till it is illustrated by some concrete example. Right, truth, love, purity, must be seen in actual life, if their nature is to be clearly apprehended, and especially if their high and holy beauty is to be felt. Home is the place where personal influence is in the ascendant. All that a child should learn, all the principles which he should embrace and exemplify, he sees in those dearest to him, and soon catches and realizes in himself what he admires in them. They present, or should present, in example what they inculcate by precept, and the child, under this double power, takes his ultimate character.

Then there is a certain *moral atmosphere*, in which alone the life grows quite healthily, and the character is moulded to the greatest advantage. Where love is warm and disinterested, where joy is constant as the sunshine, where self is forgotten in care for others, where distrust is shent out by mutual

confidence, where purity reigns supreme, there you have the conditions in which the highest results may be expected. And nowhere are these conditions to be met with so surely and so fully as in a pious home. As you watch the group of little ones, you see that their various faculties are pleasantly exercised, because obedience is gained by love, not enforced by fear; generosity is practiced, not selfishness; religion is joy, not gloom; the mind is never crushed down by hard, stern law, but brightened and strengthened by kindly words of encouragement and hope.

Hence these genial, formative influences have been provided from the very beginning. Family life is as old as Eden. Its root is in the very nature of things. It has survived the fall, and contains beyond aught else the promise and earnest of restoration. As you read the sweet idyls of the Old Testament, you feel that their principal charm lies in their descriptions of happy family life—the loving, undisputed authority of parents—the ready, hearty obedience of children—the entire household governed by the fear of the Lord.

On this the individual was in those days almost wholly dependent for the attainment of knowledge, especially religious knowledge. Instruction in school or church apparently did not exist. It devolved wholly, or at any rate principally, on parents. "These words thou shalt teach diligently to thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." People passionately desired offspring in the hope that they would perpetuate not only their name but their principles, and wished to see in them the reproduction not merely of their physical features, but of their mental characteristics. That which was the earliest ordination for the propagation of divine knowledge must be also the latest, because it is the best and the most natural.

Again, from the family arose the nation. The family was the germ out of which the nation grew. The patriarch was the father of his household, then the head of his tribe, then the ruler of the nation. The principles which were at the basis of *family* life thus naturally became the basis of *national*

life, with only such modifications and expansions as altered circumstances demanded. As the family was the unit from which the nation sprang, so the nation, when it had reached its widest extent, was simply a congeries of families, and the character of the nation depended, more than upon any other thing, on the character of the households. National life, then, no less than individual, took its form and temper from the discipline of home, and gave to the family a position which was at once paramount and sacred. The same thing holds good still, and ever must do. The character of a people will always be as the character of their homes.

In the New Testament the *unity* of the household, which was the great charm and privilege of the Jewish family, is always implied; the promise is to parents and their children; both are embraced in the covenant. Parents are to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; children are to obey their parents in all things. Acquaintance with the Word of God, as the result of home training, is mentioned as a subject of warm congratulation: "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." The descent of piety from parents to children is looked for, and, when seen, calls forth the most grateful joy: "I thank God for the unfeigned faith which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice; and I am persuaded that in thee also."

And in the Acts of the Apostles—those enchanting records of the beginnings of Christianity—it is most instructive to observe to how large an extent the Church was built up of converted households, how from time to time families such as those of Lydia and the Philippian jailer were added to the Lord, and how, while a prominence, before unknown, was given to the individual, the aim still was to incorporate families as widely as possible; that, just as a nation is a congeries of families, the Church might be a congeries of *religious* families; and the training of the family might lend richness and vigor to the life of the Church. The Church, so far from usurping the place of the family, must ever be dependent on the family for its real strength, for its best, most consistent, most steadfast, most useful members, and in proportion as piety rules in the home will the Church itself be found to flourish.

Dr. Farrar, in his "Seekers after God," has remarked that "the ancient writers, even ancient poets, but rarely refer, even in the most cursory manner, to their early years whereas there is scarcely a single modern poet who has not lingered with undisguised feelings of happiness over the gentle memories of his childhood;" and adds

that generally "the explanation rests in the fact that in all probability childhood among the ancients was a disregarded, and in most cases a far less happy, period than with us." And from the want of all proper home influences, the very conception of morality was so faint and low.

Wherever Christianity is in any considerable degree impregnated with the old pagan element, as in Romanism, there ecclesiastical observances override domestic exercises of religion; and even individual private worship is in many cases transferred from the home to the Church, as if the home were *common*, the Church *sacred*. Now, while it is no doubt oftentimes a matter of convenience to have a quiet edifice to retire to when private dwellings are small and crowded, yet, on the other hand, a house can hardly be called a *home*, and it never will be felt to be *sacred*, unless it have its holy of holies where the individual draws near alone to God, and its sanctuary where the family together bow the knee in worship. Hence the words of the late Norman McLeod, speaking generally, are true: "Romanism is chiefly the religion of the Church, Protestantism of the family." We may add, in the degree in which churches approximate to Rome they lay stress on what is ecclesiastical to the depreciation of what is domestic in religion; in the degree in which they adopt a thorough-going Protestantism, and cleave to the Evangelical faith, do they value domestic life and cultivate domestic piety.

Those remarkable men, who, in 1620, resolved to cross the Atlantic and found a new settlement on the shores of America, were men distinguished for family religion no less than for individual faith. They had been driven from the land of their birth by the cruel hand of persecution, and, though in Holland they found a friendly welcome and a quiet resting-place, they never felt themselves at home. The English language, the English fireside, the English home life, were all dear to them. They could not be happy without these; they could not endure the thought that their children should lose these, and therefore they sought a country where they could practice their faith and train their households as they believed God had enjoined. It is not required of me to trace the history of the family life of their immediate descendants, or of those who compose this great and rapidly growing nation now. I can not doubt that the home traditions of those days still live on, that family religion still does its part faithfully in upholding the life of the people in freshness and vigor. But the "Pilgrim Fathers" were matched in faith and devotion by a band that remained at home or returned after years of exile. It was mainly by men of this stamp, whether within or without the Establishment, that evangelical religion was

kept alive in Old England, and from them it has spread till it has reached its present dimensions. It would be interesting to compare the two streams that flowed forth from the same fountain-head, the one in England, the other in America; but the time at my disposal will not allow me to follow the English current very closely, and forbids me even for a moment to glance at the American.

For many years after the departure of the "Pilgrim Fathers" from Europe, those who held to evangelical principles and resolved to carry them out to the full had, if we except the period of the Commonwealth, hard times of it in England. Many of them—at length most of them—became Non-conformists, and then had to meet for public worship chiefly by stealth, or under restrictions which kept them in continual fear. Probably these very checks to public worship led them all the more diligently to cultivate family religion. Their home services would become more elaborate as services in the church became more disturbed and uncertain. At any rate, we have now and then glimpses of family religion in those days which are exquisitely beautiful and refreshing, and which account for the depth and intelligence of the piety which we then so often find. Chief among these is the sketch which Matthew Henry has lovingly made of the home of his childhood at Worthenbury and Broad Oak, where rule and order were strictly maintained, but where joy and freedom equally flourished. His father, Philip Henry, was one of those rare spirits, who seem always to dwell on high, and whose life does more than the strongest arguments to draw men to Christ. Morning and evening you see his children and servants collected together for family worship, but not till he and his wife have knelt together in secret; for they wished to live as heirs together of the grace of Christ, that their prayers, especially their prayers *together*, should not be hindered. "Those do well," he was accustomed to say, "that pray morning and evening in their families; those do better that pray and read the Scriptures; but those do best of all that pray, and read, and sing psalms; and Christians should covet earnestly the best gifts." This rule he himself observed. Beginning with a short but solemn invocation of the Divine presence and grace, he gave out a psalm, which was "sung quick, with a good variety of proper and pleasant tunes;" for he used to say the voice of rejoicing and salvation should be in the tabernacles of the righteous. He next read a portion of Scripture, taking the Bible in order. "In prayer," he would remark, "we speak to God; by the Word he speaks to us; and is there any reason that we should speak all? In the tabernacle the priests were every day to *burn incense* and

to *light the lamps*; the former figuring the duty of prayer, the latter the duty of reading the Word." "What he read in his family he always expounded, and here he had a peculiar excellence. His observations," his son tells us, "were many times very pretty and surprising, and such as we shall not ordinarily meet with." After his exposition he would ask his children for some account of what he had said, and would try to impress it on their hearts. He encouraged them also to write down afterward what they could remember. Then he knelt down and offered prayer, and "took care that his family should address themselves to the duty with the outward expressions of reverence and composedness. He usually fetched his matter and expressions in prayer from the chapter that was read and the psalm that was sung, which was often very affecting, and helped much to stir up and excite praying graces..... Immediately after the prayer was ended, his children, together, with bended knee, asked blessing of him and their mother; that is, desired of them to pray God to bless them; which blessing was given with great solemnity and affection; and if any of them were absent, they were remembered. 'The Lord bless you and your brother;' or, 'you and your sister that is absent.'"

And lest any should suppose from this description that the service must have been very protracted, likely to disgust rather than attract the members of the household, his biographer adds: "He managed his daily family worship so as to make it a pleasure and not a task to his children and servants; for he was seldom long, and never tedious in the services. The variety of the duties made it the more pleasant, so that none who joined with him had ever reason to say, Behold *what a weariness is it!* Such an excellent faculty he had of rendering religion the most sweet and amiable employment in the world; and so careful was he, like Jacob, to *drive as the children could go*. If some good people that mean well would do likewise, it might prevent many of those prejudices which young persons are apt to conceive against religion, when the services of it are made a toil and a terror to them."

Then he endeavored to make the Lord's day a day of special joy. His common salutation to his family and friends on the morning of that day was, "The Lord is risen; he is risen indeed;" and that was the key-note to which all the employments of the day were set. The voice of praise was more frequently heard, subjects of an exhilarating, triumphant character occupied the attention, a tone of thankfulness and gladness was maintained.

But Mr. Henry did not depend for the formation of his children's character upon exercises directly religious. He sought by

mildness and gentleness, combined with firmness, to win their respect and affection, and thereby draw them into the path which he pursued; for he was most careful not to enjoin on them what he did not exemplify himself. He allowed them great freedom with him, encouraging them to ask questions on any subject which interested them, and taking great pains to give them adequate and satisfactory answers. He was very anxious to make them prefer character to possessions or rank, guarded them against "minding high things," but urged them to hunger and thirst after righteousness. He encouraged them by some decided step to commit themselves to the service of God, as by adopting a form of covenant, or taking the Lord's Supper. Thus by prayer, by praise, by systematic instruction in the Scriptures, by free conversation, by personal example and influence, he sought to make family religion a joyous reality in his household, and in this was so successful that all his children became exemplary for their piety.

Now I do not mean to say that all parents have the knowledge or skill to train their family as Philip Henry did his, nor do I mean that it is desirable that all should adopt his exact method; but I do maintain that all ought in their measure to employ the same deliberate thought, that so the education of their children may not be a thing of chance, but a thing of wisely ordered purpose. And I would add that in the family life of Philip Henry you see the *kind* of training which in that day godly parents aimed at, and to the extent of their power carried out.

I have placed before you one representative instance rather fully, instead of attempting, what my time would not allow, to trace the history of family religion from those days to ours. But I think this may be safely affirmed, that the religious life of the family has always been of the same specific order as the general religious life of the age; and it is so in the present day.

Now the tendency of the present times is to freedom—freedom of thought, freedom from the obligation of any dogmatic creed, freedom from conventional restrictions, freedom in the choice of amusements, style of living, parties, etc. This tendency is especially manifest among the easier, wealthier classes of the community, whose consequent habits are unfavorable to the cultivation of family religion. The husbands complete their day's business, and come home to a late dinner, after which they are disinclined to any thing which demands thought or effort. Rest or exciting amusement is what they seek; they have no taste for quiet, domestic pleasures or recreations, no disposition to instruct or guide their children. They omit family worship, or reduce it to a

mere form. They keep before them no ideal of home which they carefully endeavor to realize, but allow accident very much to determine what it shall be. Their spirit naturally spreads through the whole family, who at last prefer a feverish, sensational life to a life of deep, quiet enjoyment. Religion in such a household may not be formally renounced, it may still exert some restraining power, but evidently it can do little to mold the character and elevate the life. I say that this is the *tendency* of things, but I would carefully add that, as a matter of fact, the exceptions are both numerous and delightful. Many of the finest examples of family religion are still to be found in this rank.

In the less easy and wealthy classes, where steady, diligent work demands a certain sturdiness and robustness, and tends to check both speculation and luxury, much of the old quiet, domestic religion still prevails. Family prayer is maintained, the children are regularly instructed in the Word of God, home influence and example exert a salutary power. Even here, I fancy, there is less of system than there used to be, and more of freedom. And this is by no means altogether a disadvantage. The truths of the Gospel are presented to the youthful minds not in logical, dogmatic forms, but with the fresh, stimulative discursiveness of Scripture. The moral takes precedence of the doctrinal; the life of Christ is made prominent rather than any systematized account of his teaching. The tone of family government is less stern and restrictive; less is done by authority, more by persuasion and love. Greater liberty is allowed in reference to taste, style of dress, companionship, amusements, etc.; and this no doubt has its grave evils, and sometimes leads to the late hours and feverish excitement which so frequently lower the family life of the more opulent classes. But on the whole, the loss and gain, as compared with the past, appear to me nearly equal; and if there is less of well-arranged Scriptural knowledge and intelligent conviction, there is more of natural, spontaneous, unforced, healthful piety.

Of the homes of the working classes it is difficult to speak with confidence or accuracy. Among the pious poor, domestic religion, I am inclined to think, is very real and very beautiful. Parents do their best to overcome the difficulties which arise from confined space, from the fewness of the waking hours which they have with their children, from weariness and need of rest and unbending when they are with them; and to inspire them with a love of the Scriptures and of prayer. They deny themselves on Sunday the additional sleep in which many of their class indulge, in order to teach their families and pray with them, and prepare them for the Sunday-school. They use the

Sunday-school, not to get rid of the trouble of their children or of the responsibility of instructing them, but to bring them under beneficial influences and secure to them valuable friendships without. I confidently believe that there is far more of true religion among the English working classes than many allow, and that the order which they exhibit even in circumstances of great trial, such as the cotton famine, is traceable in great measure to this source. Still it can not be denied that the majority of working men are estranged from every form of religious worship, and allow themselves the utmost freedom of remark in reference to subjects the most sacred. Now these men, in many instances, can hardly be said, in any proper sense, to have homes at all. The voice of prayer is never heard in their dwelling; they devolve on their wives the care of the children; when work is ended, if they are fond of reading or discussion, they resort to their clubs or debating societies; if they have no such tastes, they make their way to public-houses, low theatres, and other places of questionable amusement. Now this irreligion of laboring men has many causes; but the cause of causes is the want of home life. The want of home life is, indeed, at once an effect and a cause: it is the effect of personal unbelief and irreligion, and it is the cause of personal unbelief and irreligion. Had these men any real personal piety, they would be anxious to bless their household; on the other hand, had they true homes, they would be constantly surrounded by influences which would tend to create and foster a life of personal piety. The want of home life involves exposure to an atmosphere which chills their heart, and leads them first into irreligion, and then into unbelief.

Nothing affects us so much for good or evil as our associations. "He that walketh with wise men shall be wise, but a companion of fools shall be destroyed." The closer the intimacy, the stronger is the influence. Who, then, can ever measure the power of home? Who can imagine the disadvantage to which these men are exposed who have no proper home, but are cast among every kind of mischievous influence? It is at home that the blessedness of the parental relationship is learned, and the mind is turned to the great Father. It is at home that love is cultivated, and the heart is opened to him whose name is Love. It is at home that self-restraint is practiced, and that those passions which excite to rebellion against God are held in check. It is at home that intense desires for the welfare of those dependent on us are awakened, and that the need of Divine help is so strongly felt as to demand expression in prayer. In a word, home is the very nursery of religion; and hence, if ever the great body of working men in England, and indeed all the world over, are

to be not only temporarily aroused to a sense of religion, but permanently attached to the Church of Christ, it will be done by improving their homes, and by helping them to form a right estimate of the value and blessedness of home.

Two or three points of great practical importance I may refer to in conclusion:

1. The personal religion of parents will, in most instances, give the key-note to the religion of the family. The very conception of religion in the mind of children is derived from what they see in their parents, and therefore they will hardly aim at any thing above this. All arrangements for instruction and worship are made by parents, and depend for their character and spirit on the tone of the parents' religious life. Children are intensely imitative and receptive. In their play they act father and mother; in all their intercourse they are taking impressions from father and mother. And what is true in general is emphatically true in that which relates to religion. Surely it is a solemn thought that we who are parents are striking the note which our children will certainly take up, are setting the pattern which our children will copy, are exhibiting the spirit which our children will catch and perpetuate. Surely none of us should allow it to be a matter of accident what our own religious life, and what our consequent parental influence, shall be. We are placed in our honorable, though difficult, position for a high end, and we should take care to qualify ourselves for the fulfillment of that end. The lower orders of creation seem to have accomplished the purpose of their existence when they have given birth to their successors; they produce offspring and die. With mankind the birth of offspring is only preliminary to their chief work—the training of their offspring for a higher life—a life spiritual and eternal. If this thought were ever in the minds of parents, if they habitually felt that, as from them their children take the type of their natural life, so from them they will, to a great extent, take the type of their spiritual life, they would earnestly inquire, "What manner of persons, then, ought we to be in all holy conversation and godliness?" And this leads to a second remark.

2. The responsibility of parents in the family is a needful, a most essential part of their own training and discipline. In our young and tender years we need the fostering care of parents. They are to us thought, conscience, will, till we learn to think, judge, resolve for ourselves. Then, with powers trained by them, and therefore akin to theirs, we take our own independent stand. Still, when we thus arrive at maturity, and have, so to speak, a mind and conscience and will of our own, our training does not cease; it only passes to a different stage, in which it

will be prosecuted under most unfavorable conditions unless we become heads of a household, and assume, in our turn, the relation of parents. Our education is, then, carried on very much by means of our children. In watching over them, we are effectually training ourselves. They make our hearts tender. All that is deepest in our soul is brought out as we listen to the simple words, or watch by the suffering couch, of our own little child. Our intellects are aroused to their utmost activity in search of truth by the artless inquiries of our own little child. Our filial affection for the great God seldom reaches its highest and purest till it is quickened by the beautiful love and trust of our own little child. So that the direct influence of our children on us is most salutary.

But besides this, the more fully we realize the greatness of our work as parents, the graver do we feel our responsibility to be. Our anxious, fervent prayer, then, is that we may be worthy of such a trust; that we may never mislead, either by word or example, those who are so solemnly committed to us by God, and are so dear to our own hearts. We are intensely solicitous to adopt into our creed nothing but truth, that we may impart nothing but truth to them. We strive diligently after self-control, that we may be competent to control them. We aim at habitual consistency, that we may the more forcibly urge them to be consistent, upright, pure, righteous. Thus the very desire to be faithful to them acts most powerfully on us, and is training us to higher and more perfect manifestations of the Christian life.

3. We shall never, as parents, conduct the government and training of our families in the right spirit unless we understand that we are acting under Christ and are bound to carry out his will. He claims to be supreme in every department of life, in every institution founded by God. By a symbolical act of authority he declared himself Lord of the Temple; by a miraculous illustration of the superiority of spirit to letter and mercy to judgment, he declared himself Lord of the Sabbath; and by his presence and divine bountifulness at the marriage feast in Cana, he declared himself Lord of the family. This great truth we ought clearly to apprehend, and always to remember; for if we forget this fact, and suppose that we are absolute rulers in our own household, we shall feel ourselves at perfect liberty to try our own experiments, to follow our own caprices or nostrums, and to take counsel of ourselves alone—than which we can hardly imagine a greater evil; but if we understand that our real position is that of workers under Christ, we shall make it our aim to carry out his idea. We shall most carefully inquire what he has enjoined on

the subject, and with all our strength shall try to realize *that*. Or if, on the other hand, we suppose that the work of training our children is laid wholly upon us, and that we are responsible for the issues, then in the degree in which we are conscientious, or timidly distrustful of self, we shall feel anxiety lest we should be unfaithful, and, in an agony of fear, shall sometimes ask, "Who is sufficient for these things?" But if we understand that Christ is the great teacher, that *he* is principal in this home school and that we are only subordinates, that he bears the real burden and that our main business is to lead our children to him, then the weight of responsibility ceases to be oppressive. We feel it an honor and a joy to act in concert with him; and, while supremely desiring by our spirit and our teaching adequately and attractively to set forth both his truth and himself, we can, nevertheless, calmly leave results in his hands, assured by his gracious words, "Suffer the little ones to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of God."

4. Since we have seen that the Church can reach and hold its highest level only as family religion prospers, it is certainly worthy of earnest thought whether Christian communities are sufficiently alive to the amount of latent spiritual power which exists in the family, but which is never called by them into active exercise. It is impossible that any adequate amount of religious knowledge can be imparted, or that character can be trained into stability and harmony simply by church officers. This is the work of home; but still it is a work which the Church can stimulate and help. In the olden times to which I have referred, as still in Scotland, earnest pastors, such as Baxter and Owen, most diligently catechised the families of their flock, and thereby both stimulated parents to teach their households with care, and ascertained the results of their teaching. What examinations are in public schools, such these catechisings would be in religious homes. Parents were kept up to their duty, children were excited to do their best, religious training was caused to be regarded as a prime object in home life, and households were saved from that worst of all ignorance, ignorance of Scriptural truth and of the right ideal of Christian character. Parents and pastors were then happily conjoined in the education of children. On parents the chief responsibility rested; but pastors lightened that responsibility, and yet stimulated effort by drawing out results, giving useful hints, and dropping words of reproof or encouragement. The hands of parents were strengthened, children were brought face to face with their pastor, and felt the influence of his personal presence and thought. Thus home was quickened by the co-operation of

the Church; the Church was strengthened and replenished by the training of home. And it is to be feared that the abandonment of this practice to so large an extent in England is one cause why religious training has been less systematically pursued than in those days, and why religious knowledge is now so much more scanty and superficial.

May not the question also be fairly put whether one main reason why revivals of religion are so evanescent, and the final results often fall so far short of the first excitement and promise, is not that the grand conservative and confirmatory power of home is comparatively unused? Protracted public meetings are held, feeling rises to white heat, many who were thought past hope eagerly cry for mercy, and Pentecost seems to be repeated. But we do not find that of those so moved and agitated a proportionate number are generally converted and lastingly added to the Church. Why? Is not home thrust aside to make way for public demonstrations? Are not home duties necessarily thrown into abeyance by the hour to which public services are prolonged? If those strongly excited feelings only became the stimulus to a higher home life—if the members of the family were moved thereby to

study the Word of God together, to pray together, to watch over one another, to exhort one another, and thus sought to deepen and perpetuate the feelings which, without such help, quickly die away, these remarkable seasons might be as rich in abiding blessings as they are in immediate results, and might become the harbingers of a new millennial day.

Dear brethren, the earthly family is but the shadow of one larger, purer, nobler, of which God is the great Father—that “family in earth and heaven” of which the apostle speaks so joyously. To that family we profess to belong. Our homes are wide apart, separated from one another in some cases by continents and oceans; but the tie which binds us to each other is the tie of the spiritual family—we are brethren in Christ; we have one Father, one celestial home. Ere long we must bid a last farewell to the circle of earthly love—shall we, then, be gathered together in our Father’s house above? “I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.” “Beloved, now are we the sons of God; and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is.”

FAMILY RELIGION.

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IN the sad and deep spiritual declensions which sometimes come over a people, the living coals of a pure devotion are last found in the ashes of the family altar. In the catcombs, in the caves and dens of the earth, in the glens and rocks of the mountains, vital piety was chiefly preserved by family religion, or by social intercourse very much partaking of its nature. In the late terrible persecutions in Madagascar this truth was remarkably illustrated. When the awful storm was blown over, Christians sprang up in the most unexpected quarters. Even many who had never before witnessed for the truth declared themselves satisfied that Christ was the Son of God. They had learned the lessons of salvation in secret places. So when Elijah complained that he alone was left to serve God, the answer of the Lord to him was, "I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him." Both the Septuagint and Paul, in translating this passage into the Greek, use a word which we render men, but which commonly denotes the male head of a family, the husband of a wife. The altars had been thrown down, and most of the prophets slain with the sword. The true religion seems to have been publicly abolished. But in the family there were parents who still worshiped the true God, and taught their children to do the same.

Nor is this wonderful. God is the author of the family. It is one of the institutions of Paradise which has survived the fall. God claims still to be its author. He "settleth the solitary in families" (Psa. lxxviii., 6).

For full two thousand five hundred years after the fall of Adam, the true knowledge of God was preserved among men by prophets and preachers, and by heads of families. Enoch and Noah were such prophets and preachers. During the same time we read of one great priest, Melchizedek. But the great power for good was that exerted in the family. Of Abraham God said, "I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord" (Gen. xviii., 19). In precisely the same manner was false religion propagated in those early times. Laban's great complaint against Jacob was for taking away his household gods, and

leaving him not the means of conducting his domestic worship.

Moses made special provision for the maintenance of family religion, based in sound and careful instruction: "These words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes" (Deut. vi., 6-8). Again God says, "Ye shall lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates: that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children" (Deut. xi., 18-21). That great and good man, Joshua, never supposed that the worship of the tabernacle took away aught of his responsibility as the head of a family, and so he declared, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord" (Josh. xxiv., 15). The prophet David utters this fearful curse: "Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name" (Psa. lxxix., 6). The prophet Jeremiah takes up the same awful denunciation and applies it to families: "Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not on thy name" (Jer. x., 25). Some may say that the world families here comprehends large bodies of men of a common origin, and so it does. But can any show that it does not include lesser bodies of men, bound together by home ties and affections? When Zechariah foretells the great outpouring of God's Spirit in the latter days, he distinctly says that every family shall mourn apart, and their wives apart (Zeeb. xii., 12-14). And Malachi closes his prophecy with the statement that John the Baptist "shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and

smite the earth with a curse" (Mal. iv., 6). There seems to be no fair way of explaining this Scripture which shall exclude the idea of a tender reciprocal interest between parents and children in each other's best and highest interests.

There is not time to consider at length the bearing on this subject of those numerous passages of the New Testament which speak of the Church in the house, and of the relative duties of husband and wife, parents and children. Christianity placed marriage where it ought to be, and developed the true idea of the family.

Clemens Alexandrinus says: "The genuine Christian has the apostles for his example; and in truth it is not in the solitary life one shows himself a *man*, but *he* gets the victory over other men, who, as a husband and father of a family, withstands all the temptations that assail him in providing for wife and children, servants and substance, without allowing himself to be turned from the love of God. The man with no family escapes many temptations; but as he has none save himself to care for, he is of less worth than the man who has more to disturb him, it is true, in the work of his own salvation, but accomplishes more in social life, and in truth presents in his own case a miniature of Providence." Agaiu, "The mother is the glory of her children; the wife of her husband; both are the glory of the wife, and God is the glory of them all." Tertullian says: "What a union is that between two believers, having in common one hope, one desire, one order of life, one service of the Lord! Both, like brother and sister, undivided in spirit or body, nay, in the true sense twain in one flesh, kneel, pray, and fast together; mutually teach, exhort, and pray with each other; they are not separated in the Church of God and at the Lord's Supper; they share each other's troubles, persecutions, joys; neither has any thing to hide from the other; neither avoids the other; there is free liberty to visit the sick, to sustain the needy; the harmony of psalms and hymns goes up between them, and each vies with the other in singing the praise of God. Christ rejoices to behold and hear such things, and sends them his peace. Where there are two such, there he is also; and where he is, the spirit of evil can not enter."

Let us briefly inquire, *In what does family religion consist?*

This is a very weighty matter. Much depends on the answer we give, or the views we entertain on this important subject.

1. All family religion at least presupposes good order in the house. If children are not in subjection, there will be such lawlessness as is quite inconsistent with good morals and manners; and where these are wanting, piety can hardly be more than nominal. In his ancient servant God had confidence that

he would *command* his household after him, that is, that he would justly use his entire authority on the right side. On the question, When does the head of a family rightly use his power in the government of his family? there may be great diversity. Extremes should be avoided. One of these is laxity. Perhaps most judicious men of the present age admit that the tendency is in this direction. But there are not wanting examples of undue sternness and severity. Both of these are dangerous. Perhaps the latter is the worse of the two. No good character can be formed under a system of unmingled severity. Of all the states of mind, none is more unfriendly to virtue and piety than that produced by discouragement, induced by harshness in parents. The great elements for good family government are justice, impartiality, and steadiness.

2. Another great element of family religion is sound, thorough Scriptural instruction. How this is to be acquired by parents and communicated to others of the household is very much left to parental wisdom. But there is no substitute for the Word of God. A good hymnology for the young should be carefully sought. The reading and hearing of holy Scripture are indispensable. The great error of many is that their set instructions are not clear, and are tedious. A little at a time, and often repeated, is the great secret of success. Instruction should be given briskly, not flippantly; cheerfully, not in sombre style. The themes are pleasing, not melancholy.

3. The spirit and habits of devotion are essential to family religion. Indeed they are family religion. These consist of prayer, praise, confession of sin, thankful acknowledgment of mercies, supplication of blessings, an avowed submission to the will of God, and adoration of the glorious attributes of God. How often the family should be convened for joint worship is left somewhat to Christian discretion. When Pitcairn's Island was discovered, every family worshiped morning, noon, and night. The common usage of consistent Christians is to worship God in their families morning and evening. It is only the ill-instructed and lukewarm who confine such worship to the Lord's day.

4. Family religion never has flourished where parental example is wanting. It is impossible to overestimate the fearful responsibility of parents whose lives exhibit such conduct as, if followed by their offspring and servants, must lead them to practical irreligion. It seems amazing that men and women can receive from God the solemn and awful charge of rearing a household, and not feel that their personal example, if wrong, will probably lead all dependent on them to the abodes of outer darkness. *Verba docent; exempla trahunt.*

Where there is such parental government,

instruction, devotion, and example as have been mentioned, the power of family religion will be felt. Richard Baxter himself did not hold the town of Kidderminster closely to the Gospel till every house in many long streets had its hours of prayer. That burning and shining light has told the world his opinion that, if pious education, family worship, parental instruction, and a holy example were properly regarded, even the *preaching* of the Gospel would not be the most common means of conversion. Mrs. Hannah More approves that opinion.

In all that has been said, it has been taken for granted that the truths taught and the devotions conducted are evangelical. A family of legalists may be very devout and fair in their exterior, but they are a hive of Pharisees at the best—a row of

whited sepulchres. If men would be saved, to them Jesus Christ must be all in all.

It is a pleasing thought that early piety, and the belief in its practicability, seem more common than formerly. Oh that the day had come when all our people could say, as the grandfather of one whom I see on the platform said, "I can not remember the time when I did not love the Lord Jesus Christ."

It is common to speak of Stephen as the first Christian martyr. In strictness of speech, that is correct. But let us not forget that the first who poured out their blood like water for an incarnate Saviour were "all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under." Blessed be God, Jesus died for little children. Let us tell them so.

REVIVALS OF RELIGION—HOW TO MAKE THEM PRODUCTIVE OF PERMANENT GOOD.

BY THE REV. W. W. PATTON, D.D., CHICAGO, ILL.

THE phrase "A revival of religion," or, as more briefly used, "A revival," has in this country a somewhat narrow and technical meaning. It has lost its wide historic sense, in which reference is had to a period of some length, to facts of varied nature, and to the experience of an entire country or of all Christendom; such as the national religious reformations under Luther, Calvin, and Knox. It means, in our American newspapers, magazines, and books, a more local and transient excitement, which may be limited to a single congregation, or may pervade a district of country, and which implies an increase of conversions from a worldly to a spiritual life, and a large accession of communicants to the church. The circumstances may vary in nearly all the incidental particulars. The revival may come with or without a resort to special means, such as more numerous meetings, the preaching of an evangelist, or the labors of some minister other than the pastor; with or without a previous state of doctrinal or of practical declension; with or without careful and intended preparation; with or without peculiar measures in the way of manifesting feeling, testing earnestness, and directing inquirers. Revivals may differ in the degree of prominence of the ordinary exercises—singing, prayer, the exhortations of laymen, and the sermons of clergymen. They may be unlike in the frequency of their return to the same community, in the rapidity or simultaneity of their effects, in the duration of the special influence, and in their freedom from mixtures of superstition, animal excitement, and fanaticism. It is simply claimed, by the name in question, that, with whatever peculiarities or imperfections, there has been a truly religious influence, manifested with more than usual power, and so operating through social sympathies and channels as to affect large numbers, in a short space of time, with regenerative results. The name represents a reality. It may not stand for the highest type of experience, in the individual or in the church; but it represents a Christian force, which deserves study, which has rewarded use, and which such a mind as that of Jonathan Edwards thought worthy of defense and explanation.

The word revival is peculiarly precious to

our American churches, from its relations to their past history, and to their present attitude before the hosts of unbelief. At critical times, the spiritual interests of the nation have been saved by revivals, while not a few churches have owed their existence to the local revivals in new settlements, and in older communities;—the sudden conversion of great numbers to a religious life having furnished the needed material for new organizations. A large proportion of the churches in the evangelical denominations will testify that by this instrumentality they have been greatly, if not chiefly, enlarged and strengthened. And now that faith in the Bible is losing its hold on many minds, and a supernatural religion is pronounced in high quarters to be an absurdity, there is a moral sublimity in the aspect of earnest souls, who value revivals because in them the presence and agency of the Holy Spirit are manifest, and the modern as well as the ancient Gospel is seen to be "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." If still there are Pentecostal effusions, primitive Christianity survives in one of its chief characteristics, and will yet vindicate its reality and potency by a repetition of early victories.

In learning how to make these seasons of spiritual exaltation and conquest productive of permanent good, we must guard against conceptions and acts which, from a misunderstanding of their nature, limit the use of revivals, or introduce into them vitiating influences. We need to understand their philosophy to such an extent as to enable us to seek them rationally, and to employ them in a wise harmony with other instrumentalities. That a revival should not be productive of permanent good seems indeed to be a contradiction in terms, and the supposition is warranted only as the word is used to cover a mixed experience, in which human errors and sins appear by the side of phenomena referable only to divine action. Allow me, then, to answer the question proposed, by indicating the leading truths which require to be kept in mind, and by which our specific judgments and decisions should be shaped.

1. *We must keep steadily in view all that is implied in the divine authorship of revivals of religion.* If every truly converted soul is

"born of God," and, through conversion, is introduced into a divine kingdom, whose victories are precisely of this spiritual nature, then a revival is the product of divine forces, and the result of a previous divine plan. It is such an event as a battle in a military campaign; and, whether it occur in a large city upon the scale of the day of Pentecost, or as a limited movement in some obscure village church, it marks the development of the scheme of the great leader. God can not be indifferent to such phenomena, or separate from them. As conquests of his foes, they are acts of his power. He has put his will into them, as a general puts his will into the plan and conduct of a campaign, with its resultant battles and victories. For the Holy Spirit is a person and not a mere influence. He therefore enters into revivals, not as a material force, such as water, or steam, enters into machinery, being let on or shut off by infallible and inflexible methods, and producing uniform results under uniform appliances, but he enters into them as sensitive, intelligent, voluntary divine mind acting upon similarly characterized finite minds. There is then scope and demand in revivals for every thing which recognizes on our part this divine activity—for desire and love, for prayer and faith, for encouragement and submission, for joy and humility. The good is to be secured in the spiritual and not in the material kingdom of God. The effect is to be wrought by a conscious and purposed divine influence, in a way which introduces us to that which, as above the realm of mere natural causation, is therefore in the free realm of spirit, or the *super*-natural, though not ranked in the category of miracles. It will save us from many mistakes in connection with revivals to look this fact always in the face, and to study its many relations. Under its light we shall see that there is ample space for a divine choice and sovereignty in the part which revivals shall have in the religious forces of a given country, community, or church, and in the use to which God shall put given individuals. No absolute outward uniformity can be predicted, even when men imagine that they are arranging a similarity of circumstances. The richest blessing of a revival is never to be found in the unwarranted assumption that it has been the product of a fixed spiritual force in the moral world, parallel to the law of gravity in the natural world, which can always be counted upon, and used at will, by a happy adjustment of the appropriate machinery. Not so must it be interpreted, would we give due honor to God, and cultivate in our own souls the purest joy, the truest humility, and the deepest reverence. That we may be privileged with other such scenes of power, and may have the richest resultant piety, we must cherish the thought

that God, as the Head of the Church, has strictly personal relations to these revival occasions, and in wisdom and love exercises his own judgment as to time, place, men, measures, and results. With humble prayer and faith should we seek his appearing; with grateful joy and reverence should we hail his presence and accept his gifts; then may we reasonably hope to see the churches used, through revivals, as instruments of divine power.

2. *We must as carefully recognize the fact that revivals, coming in a line of spiritual causation, involve human agency, and therefore varied methods and attendant imperfections.* It is not true that divinely induced results imply an exclusively divine operation, uniform methods, or freedom from imperfections. In his moral kingdom God deals with associated minds, and under the limitations of their ignorance and sin. He influences them not only individually, but socially; not only directly, but indirectly. He reveals truth gradually and in many ways; he introduces human agency; he institutes organized religion, the Church, the ministry, the sacraments; he uses the providential incidents of national and individual history; he works through all appropriate second causes as they exist at the time. This plan involves a variety of methods in producing revivals of religion. These must be adapted to the peculiarities of particular periods, nations, classes in society, and individuals, according to varying degrees of knowledge and culture, changing moods, shifting tendencies to faith or unbelief, and differing temperaments. Facts confirm the conclusions of theory. No little astonishment has been caused by the variety of instrumentalities and methods connected with revivals, and the outward diversity of results. Some have been stumbled at the marked contrast of the phenomena, till they have doubted the reality of a divine power therein, and the wisdom of seeking to renew such scenes. But variety is characteristic of all God's works, in the spiritual as well as in the natural realm. Consider the variety of authorship, style, and contents in the books of Scripture; resorted to, plainly, as a means to reach minds in every age and of every degree of development. Similar is the variety of revival agencies and methods which are to work upon the German, French, Scotch, Irish, English, or the conglomerate American character; upon the higher, the middle, and the lower classes of society; upon sanguine and sluggish temperaments; upon the children of the Church and the neglected masses of the highways and hedges. It is to be expected that, in this work, men will be used according to their personal availability in relation to those to be influenced. A tasteful, scholarly minister, with methods ordered by culture, will usually have his chief power with the educated and refined;

and, in a revival, God will give him a work to do among them. But a coarser-grained man, with less knowledge and ruder speech and action, will ordinarily see his work prepared for him on his own level, and will find favor with the common people. Very few possess a humanity as broad as that of Jesus, who could reach the extremes of society. Religion does not overlook natural affinities. To gain its full revival power, as a permanent force in the Church, we must so far lay aside our personal likes and dislikes as not to make them a rule for others, or to seek to confine the grace of God to the channels which might be prescribed by our ideas of taste, dignity, and propriety. All fish are not caught with the same hook or with the same bait, and God must be allowed to select his "fishers of men" according to their skill in winning souls from particular classes or in special circumstances. Permanent good will result from revivals only as ministers and churches learn to be as wisely comprehensive in their measures as God is; or as they grow into the spirit of Paul, in their passion for souls, and are ready to be "made all things to all men," that they may "by all means save some." Otherwise, suspicion will supplant confidence, alienation will take the place of co-operation, favorable opportunities will be lost, valuable instrumentalities will be thrown away, and important results will be disesteemed.

And of course these varied methods in revivals will involve a multitude of human imperfections, of knowledge, character, and effect, intermingled, painfully and humiliatingly, with the divine influences. Chemical laws hold good in muddy as well as in clear waters, and the sun shines as brightly on heaps of refuse as on fields of grass. The church and ministry are confessedly imperfect as organizations and in their individual elements. It is for no one to say with how much of imperfection the Holy Spirit, in his condescension and meekness, may consent to be associated, in reaching all orders of mind and classes of society. Revivals may have many elements of error, of superstition, of fanaticism, of disorder, of hypocrisy even, and yet be of God, who advances his cause in the Church as well as in the civil state by excitements and revolutions which incidentally call into action the worst as well as the best characters, and which bring forth mixed results of good and evil. To allow wisely for such facts, and to train Christians to a considerate estimate of revival phenomena, is absolutely necessary to permanently happy results. Otherwise there will be an interminable debate and division over men and measures, over doctrines and converts, till religion is scandalized, churches are rent asunder, and revivals become a fear to the saints and a scoffing to the wicked.

A chief difficulty arises from the disposi-

tion to claim that a revival is a divine indorsement of certain men, doctrines, and measures; as though God could associate his saving power only with that which is true and good, and as though any thing human possessed only those qualities! A pastor is blamed for an inconsistent life or for erroneous teaching: his labors are attended with a spiritual blessing, and his friends at once claim that his character and doctrine have received the divine indorsement. A church is rent with discord, and one party secedes and establishes a new organization: in a few months a revival occurs, and God is supposed to have testified in favor of that faction. An institution of learning is established amidst much dispenite as to its necessity, the wisdom of its management, the reputation of its leading officer, or the soundness of the peculiar principles which it represents and propagates; but the Spirit of God converts some of the students, and immediately it is announced that God has put his seal of approbation upon the enterprise. An evangelist goes through the churches, preaching much truth, but subjecting himself to deserved criticism; and his blinded friends claim each successive revival in connection with his ministrations as God's answer to the objections brought against him. This attempt to press revivals into improper service, to put upon them an unwarranted interpretation, tends to weaken confidence in their genuineness, and to make the disgusted listeners to such reasoning reject both the conclusion and the work of grace. For plainly such an argument overlooks the most obvious facts and principles; not considering that, unless we are prepared to prove that God never uses any but perfect characters and instrumentalities, no one is competent to declare the degree of error or of depravity which will inevitably prevent an outpouring of the Divine Spirit. When God converts souls in a revival, it is the direct Gospel truth which he uses with saving power; and this he may employ in despite of many undesirable accompaniments, even as in secular history he secures important beneficial results under every form of civil government, and by the instrumentality of men of the most varied characters. It would make God indorse the most contradictory doctrines and measures, moreover, to apply the test in question; for sure it is that he has sent powerful revivals in connection with the efforts of Calvinists and of Arminians, of Baptists and of Pædo-Baptists, of Prelatists and of Non-Prelatists, of Protestants and of Romanists, of New Measure and Old Measure men, of Radicals and of Conservatives, of eminent saints and even of those who afterward proved to have been self-deceived or hypocritical.

Nor is it for our partial vision and limited judgment to decide whether the true spir-

itual occasion for the revival, in the Lord's view, did not rather lie in its relation to his "hidden ones" in the bearing of some quiet, obscure, or unknown fact, such as the persevering and importunate prayer of even a single devoted saint, some wrestling Jacob of whom neither the Church nor the world has much knowledge, or some humble widow whose closet opens directly into heaven. To render revivals a permanent blessing, then, we must study into their phenomena sufficiently to avoid all narrow and party interpretations of their meaning, and must accept them with their incidental human imperfections. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us."

3. *We must remember that revivals, however precious in their results, cover but part of the ground of divine action and of the religious life and work of the Church.* Forgetfulness of this truth has operated disastrously, leading the friends of revivals to exalt them unduly, and to cast into the shade important Christian duties and instrumentalities; thus exciting a measure of suspicion in regard to such experiences in the minds of other good men, and limiting, in a degree, the comprehensiveness of their own labors. The word revival may be taken, indeed, out of its technical meaning, and made as broad as the idea of progress in religion, in all departments and by all instrumentalities; in which case no such objection can apply. But, as generally used in this country, to denote a powerful religious movement on the minds of the unconverted, attended by an awakened zeal of the Church in their behalf, with the employment, commonly, of special efforts to reach and save them, the idea covers only a part of the work assigned to the Christian by the Master. It relates to external conquest simply, the advancement of the kingdom by the subjugation of its pronounced foes. But this, as in the case of a nation, which has properly been affirmed to be in certain respects analogous, by no means exhausts the conception of progress; which ought to be largely internal, by growth rather than by conquest, by development rather than by accretion. If we consider the nature of piety, and the circumstances in which it must live and act, we shall see that its ordinary work must be to maintain holy character in life's daily routine. There will be its conflict and its victory, its beauty and its power. Indeed, until its reality and vigor have been tested in that sphere, it will have little influence beyond. For there it comes in contact with the mass of men, in practical work, in concrete form, in a manner open to inspection and sure to be judged. Its first work, therefore, is, to build up right character and a pure and impressive life; to exhibit industry in labor, fidelity in trusts, truthfulness in speech, interest in all de-

partments of needful action, fortitude in suffering, courage in danger, sympathy with sorrow, liberality of sentiment, generosity in giving, firmness in resisting temptation, forgiveness of injuries, complacency in moral goodness, high principle in conduct, and an unworldly state of mind in the midst of great worldly activity. Then it starts from vantage-ground to urge a Christian life upon the unconverted. Indeed, it will find its desired results already half accomplished, according to the implication of our Saviour's words: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father, who is in heaven." This, probably, is the explanation of the fact that the New Testament so constantly insists upon holy living, and dwells so little upon the methods to be used in laboring for the impenitent. Obviously, then, the Church must be largely occupied in what Paul calls "maintaining good works." (See Titus iii., 8.) This includes life in the family, in the varied forms of secular business, in the discharge of duties as a citizen and as a friend and neighbor, and in helpfulness to the poor and distressed; to which may be added the maintenance of social and public religious worship in connection with the Church, on the Lord's day and at other times. To live industriously, peaceably, benevolently, conscientiously, devoutly, usefully, and joyfully, in the position providentially assigned, must comprehend a large part of Christian duty.

If now one looks to the *growth* of the Church or Christian community, that will be seen to depend greatly on a properly religious nurture of her children in the family, as well as upon individual adult conversions and the aggressive power of what we term revivals; and we must so employ the latter as not to overshadow the former. When Christianity first started forth to fulfill the command to "teach all nations," it necessarily operated mostly upon adult minds, and relied upon the outpouring of the Spirit on Jew and Gentile in a manner often resembling that of modern revivals. And this would continue to be a leading instrumentality for outside effort, as the Gospel was pressed upon opposers, and was carried to additional nations. This must be true now, in connection with foreign missionary labors, and with efforts to reach the mass of unconverted adults in nominally Christian lands. That Pentecostal scenes will be renewed, with the most striking results, in the simultaneous conversion of great multitudes, may be gathered not only from the moral necessity of the case, as we look out upon the mass of ungodliness in the world, and from past scenes in the history of the Church, but also from the promise of Scripture that "a nation shall be born at once," as it were in a day, in those times when a "little one shall become a thousand,

and a small one a strong nation." But this is outside work, and meanwhile there will be going on the natural growth of the Church from within, as its own children are "trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." At this the Church has ever aimed, and with as much success as its measure of wisdom, of earnestness, and of faith would warrant. To this means of increase have looked the great body of Christians; some through the ideas associated with infant baptism and a subsequent confirmation, and others apart from those usages. And American Christians, who are accustomed to rely so extensively upon revivals, and to count upon them each winter, as at the season most favorable for special services to this end, must not forget that, in other lands, this instrumentality has been less used, and that there the growth has been almost wholly through the regular means of grace, the cultivation of family religion, and a church education of the children by catechism and liturgy. There must be, as there ought to be, great power of development in the Church on this side. It is the natural method of increase; it accords, also, with the inspired explanation, through Malachi, of God's intent in the institution of marriage and of the family, "that he might seek a godly seed;" and it produces the most perfect type of character, free from the angularities and crinities of adult conversions, and beautifully rounded out into the symmetry of a complete and gradually formed mind and heart. Indeed, there is reason to think that, in ordinary communities, where the gatherings from revivals are mostly of youth from twelve to twenty years of age, a large proportion of the so-called "converts" are really persons regenerated in childhood, and awakened by the revival to a new and more intelligent consciousness of the divine life in the soul. The influence of the family and of the Sunday-school at least prepared the soil and sowed the seed for the seemingly sudden harvest of the revival.

What is needed, then, in this direction to make revivals productive of permanent good is to recognize their true relation to other Christian experiences, and to other modes of Christian progress toward the final triumph of the Redeemer's kingdom. Made exclusive in their demand, they falsely turn every other condition of the Church into a declension, draw off attention from equally important duties, and give to piety a vacillating character, changing from the heights of excitement to the inevitable reactionary depths of insensibility or of depression. But no such distorted view of revivals need be cherished. They do not constitute the whole of religious work, but they belong in the Christian system, and have a place of special honor and power under the dispensa-

tion of the Holy Spirit. Doubtless, also, they have their law, in the mind of God, though no one has yet succeeded in definitely stating it, or in bringing them under fixed conditions of time and circumstance. While, as a general rule, spiritual results will be according to the prayerful use of appropriate means, God meaning to encourage prayer and to reward faithful labor, yet Christians are often disappointed in the results of prayer and effort in specific cases; so that no man can surely predict the range and power of revivals in particular localities. What pastor has not been surprised by a powerful revival in spiritual circumstances seemingly unfavorable; and again disappointed at its non-arrival when its conditions appeared to be more fully met?

They come in very variant circumstances, and therefore the old divines have associated them with the sovereignty of God; but to God we may well suppose that a sameness of principle appears throughout. They are to be regarded as glorious additions or supplements to the ordinary working of spiritual forces; in which God seizes upon a conjuncture of facts and favoring occasions, to work saving results on a large scale and with great rapidity, exalting the faith of his people and striking terror into the heart of his foes. In the United States revivals have thus been conspicuously used, at eventful periods, to save the land from prevalent infidelity and worldliness. In the days of Jonathan Edwards, after there had been a wide-spread deadness in religion, accompanied by an invasion of error, the "Great Awakening" was spiritually the salvation of the country. Again, after the Revolutionary War had left religion in a low condition, and French infidelity had infected large numbers, God used the powerful revivals at the beginning of this century to give new life to religion in the nation. Similarly, the second war with Great Britain, the mercantile prosperity and subsequent reverses, twenty years later, and also the financial crash of 1857, were followed by extensive and powerful revivals. And now, in accordance with the inspired declaration, that "when the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord will lift up a standard against him," the praying and believing ones are expecting that the present spread of skepticism will furnish the occasion for mighty outpourings of the Holy Spirit, which shall demonstrate the divine character of the Gospel, and shall convert the very leaders of unbelief into apostles of the faith.

They may, therefore, properly be objects of desire, of prayer, and of effort, on the part of ministers and of churches, while not allowed to interfere with the steady prosecution of ordinary Christian work, and the expectation of a continual success in the

conversion of sinners and in the upbuilding of personal character. Indeed, as the special activities of a merchant in his spring and fall trade subside into the regular routine of industry during the remainder of the year, so when the excitement and labor of a revival pass, it should be to allow steady play to the regular duties of family, social, and church life; it being understood that piety equally inspires both modes of action, and that the converts of a revival need subsequently to be trained to obey the unexciting demands of the details of a daily life that shall be inspired by faith in Christ, and love to God and their neighbor. In this light, that pastor is most wisely a friend of revivals who follows them most faithfully with the use of the ordinary means of grace, and with a recommendation of piety in its every-day aspect. That church also gives the best evidence of having received permanent good from a revival which accompanies its zeal for conversions with an equal care for the growth and education of "the

babes in Christ," and for the exhibition by the older members of a proportionate character, and a readiness for all forms of usefulness, whether these be technically religious or secular. The converts will thus be made to understand that the revival is religion in only one of its phases, and in one of its forms of power; and that a church does not necessarily decline in piety when those special scenes pass, but often goes on to greater trials and triumphs of Christian principle, which require daily communion with God and an abiding faith in the perpetual aid of the indwelling Spirit, in order to "overcome the world."

And now may that same Spirit of all grace which moved Christian minds to convene this body, so largely representative of the Church of Christ, renew Pentecostal scenes throughout the world wherever the Gospel is preached, till the nations shall be converted, and the Redeemer "shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied."

THE RIGHT USE OF WEALTH.

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WE take it for granted that it is the duty, in the sight of God, of every Christian to engage diligently in the production of moral or economical values. When the production of economical values, or wealth, is the immediate object, there should be an indirect reference to moral ends and purposes. But the obligation to labor is imposed upon us by the capacity for it, and exists independently of the uses to which we may apply the proceeds. The New Testament rule, that if a man will not work neither shall he eat, is universal in its application.

The man who lives on the labor of the public without adding any thing himself to the wealth or moral well-being of the community is a pauper. If he is capable of work and refuses, he becomes at once a criminal, and the State compels him to work by law. He seeks to share the wealth of the body politic without bearing his part of the public burdens. He adds to the character of the pauper that of the thief. In a slightly modified sense we may apply this law to him who lives upon the labor of parents or ancestors without adding by his own labor to the wealth or well-being of the community in which he lives. The possession of inherited wealth does not release him from the obligation to work. His wealth can make his exertion enormously productive. His failure to work is, therefore, more criminal even than if he were poor; for his capacity in the production of values, both moral and economical, may equal that of a thousand men.

Here we see the unsoundness of the advice so often given to men who have secured wealth, to retire from business and cease from labor. It is every man's duty to work so long as he has the capacity. The merchant may justifiably withdraw from the most dangerous risks of business, but he may not escape the obligation to work, and thereby to add to the means of the public welfare.

The obligation to labor is obviously imperative upon those engaged in those pursuits whose products are moral or intellectual. No amount of learning or discipline will relieve the scholar or the moral teacher from the duties which these possessions themselves impose. The greater his capacity the more imperative is the duty to use it. He is or ought to be a producer of moral values, and as his labor is an indispensable

condition of the best success of those engaged directly in the production of *material* wealth, he for this reason falls under a similar obligation to labor. As the moral tone of a community becomes degraded, its productive power diminishes in the same proportion. Honesty, industry, and self-denial, which lie at the very foundation of material production, are Christian virtues. Of all those elements which make man an instrument of production, none are so valuable as intelligence and character. Never have they borne so high a market value as they do now. Just in the proportion that business relations become complicated and far-reaching do honesty and intelligence, clear-headed and trustworthy agencies, become indispensable.

The production of moral and the production of economical values are reciprocally necessary, and each value is convertible into the other. Credit, the life-blood of modern commerce, is faith in the honesty and efficiency of those to whom it is given. It has been the outgrowth of Christianity. Credit, in the modern sense, was unknown to the ancients. With them the merchant was a supercargo or a peddler. Commerce, in the magnificent dimensions of modern times, can not exist without the controlling presence of moral obligation in the minds of those who carry it on. No system of checks and safeguards, no spy or police system, however skillfully arranged, can give security. When faith in character is lost, commerce is stricken with paralysis.

Up to a comparatively recent time, colonies and subject states upon whom unfair prices could be imposed with impunity were supposed to be the conditions of growth in national wealth. Legislation and diplomacy were supposed best to accomplish their economical ends when they gave the opportunity for unequal and unfair exchanges. But now scientific political economists are profoundly convinced that all legislation or diplomacy which has for its purpose to secure wealth to nations or classes of individuals by unequal laws or unjust treaties, is sure to fail in the end.

If political economy has settled any thing, it is that no bargain is a good one which is not beneficial to both parties in the transaction. As this science becomes settled in its

principles and clear in its definitions, it is seen more and more clearly that they are in entire harmony with morality, and that the whole range of economic science is but an application of the Ten Commandments.

We see, then, that the pursuit of wealth by legitimate processes is in entire harmony with morality, and depends upon it; that the highest aims of the scholar and the Christian have no antagonism with sound methods of accumulation. Methods of accumulation which the moralist condemns as wrong the economist proves to be inexpedient. It is clear that he who by example and precept makes a community more moral and more intelligent in any marked degree will, in the end, add more to its capacity to accumulate wealth than he who is individually the most successful producer.

But this influence of Christian morality upon material production is only incidental. In the eye of the Christian, the uses of wealth constitute the all-important object of interest. The increase of the breadth, richness, and power of the Divine life in men is an end in itself transcending in importance all results, however magnificent, which are realized in the present life and expire with it. With the Christian, wealth is mainly to be valued as the evidence of industry and self-denial on the part of its possessor, and as a means of elevating, purifying, and saving men. It is this which dignifies and consecrates the labor and thought of the Christian merchant or manufacturer.

The accumulation of wealth is simply the accumulation of power, which is valuable in the sight of God only so far as it is turned to noble uses. It is subject to the same law with accumulations of learning, discipline, culture, or skill in the arts. These, like wealth, are forms in which power is generated and stored up. The use and application of all these forms of power should be controlled by one common Christian law. If any one of these forms is used for selfish gratification, the possessor becomes an offender, in proportion to the value and quantity of the power which he misuses.

Whoever accumulates learning, or discipline, or culture for selfish gratification alone, regardless of what he owes to Christ and humanity, has in him all the essential elements of a miser. We talk of misers as if they were found among the commercial classes only. But the term is applicable to all who hoard up God's gifts in selfish carelessness of the duties which those possessions impose. It is the use of power for blessing which alone can bring happiness to him who has it. Especially is this illustrated by wealth. All experience shows that, when wealth is hoarded to an amount beyond the reasonable requirements of the holder or his dependents, it loses its power to confer well-being. It imposes a constant-

ly increasing amount of labor, thought, and anxiety, for which the owner can by no possibility receive a personal return. In a country where entails are not permitted, where wealth has a natural tendency toward redistribution, it is notorious that the most anxious, hard-worked, and care-worn members of society are the holders of enormous wealth. It is found that the labor and capacity required to keep it are as great, often greater than was required to amass it.

A man labors and denies himself in early life that he may have ease and quiet from his money. He too often finds that cares and responsibilities accumulate more rapidly than wealth. It is God's law that true enjoyment can never be attained unless we forget ourselves in the use of our power for the benefit of others. This law can not by any possibility be evaded or transcended, and its penalties become stringent and emphatic just in the proportion that property selfishly hoarded increases in amount.

This law finds a modified application also in its bearing upon children. Wealthy men who shut their hearts against the appeals of benevolence often persuade themselves that they are hoarding for the benefit of their children. This is often but a disguised form of avarice—a fruitless attempt to evade the penalties which God has attached to this form of vice. A noble manhood or womanhood is inconceivable except as the outgrowth of labor, burden-bearing, and self-denial. Character, whether intellectual or moral, is a kind of manufacture of which the self-control, the moral, mental, and physical efforts of the individual himself furnish the raw material. The result, the most valuable thing on earth, genius can not give, money can not buy.

Whatever weakens or destroys the motives to personal exertion, so far diminishes a young person's chances of attaining the fullest and richest development of manhood. The knowledge on the part of a child that he will be heir to an estate which will relieve him from the ordinary necessity of working for his living, in all but exceptionally constituted natures, strikes with paralysis the most effective impulses to exertion. Even those for whom some sort of activity is a necessity we often find busied about trifles, and in the end sinking into a feeble dilettanteism, developing a superficial varnish of culture rather than the broad mind, strong will, and administrative capacity which make up real manhood. This law, thus applicable to the rich man and his children, is but one of the varied illustrations of the divine principle, that he who would save his life for selfish ends and purposes shall really lose it.

It should, however, be distinctly understood that Christianity guarantees, in the strongest way, the right of property and the

right of inheritance. But it balances this moral sanction to the possession of property by the duties attached to such possession which it places over against the right. It seizes to the scholar or artist the right of ownership in the product of his thought, but it imposes upon him the paramount obligation to use the property which he has in his intellectual endowment or production for the benefit of his fellow-man. Over against every right, personal or political, Christianity places its corresponding duty. The severity and extent of the obligation to benevolent action are in exact proportion to the brilliancy of a person's intellectual gifts or the amount of his wealth. These rights and duties may be separated in thought, but may not be in fact; they are parts of a common system; each is a complement of the other. This relation is so fundamental that it is recognized in the lowest forms of utilitarianism as well as in the loftiest Christian morality. The law of self-sacrifice must be admitted as the universal condition of all individual moral development, and all social growth and well-being. The doctrine of "altruism," set forth by Comte and his followers as a scientific discovery, is but a new name for the old Christian law which received its highest sanction and exemplification on the cross of redemption. In this non-recognition of rights and duties in respect to property as correlative, we find the origin of the great and dangerous collisions between labor and capital. The relative value of labor and capital in the market can only be determined by the law of supply and demand. Exchangeable values must always depend on common opinion. The teachings of a sound political economy and a sound morality are at one in forbidding interference with the natural currents of exchange, distribution, and accumulation. Indeed the main function of the State is to prevent all abnormal interferences with free exchanges of all forms of capital and labor. Taxation by the State finds its justification in the fact that such protection against interference is given. When the State undertakes to fix prices, it is almost sure to become an oppressor.

Taxation for the support of schools, for the support of the poor, for the prosecution and reform of criminals, is made necessary, that the burdens of society and the expense necessary for the preservation of its existence shall be equitably distributed. If the State may not prescribe the rates of exchange between different kinds of economic quantities, how are the questions which arise between labor and capital to find their solution? Capital is accumulating in all Christian countries with a rapidity to which the past furnishes no parallel. These accumulations tend by an inevitable law to pass into the control of the able and intelligent.

How are we to prevent these enormous accumulations of power from becoming dangerous and oppressive? If we weaken by law the right of our merchant princes to the possession of their wealth, we weaken in the same degree the right of the poorest laborer to the products of his daily toil. In like manner we weaken the impulse to accumulation, natural to man, which is one of the prime factors in a healthy and progressive civilization. Nothing so taxes the ability of the legislator as the framing of laws which shall preserve the right of property, and at the same time prevent its power from being abused. Whatever the legislation of the future may accomplish in this direction, we believe that the only complete and satisfactory solution of this problem must be a moral one.

In the wide-spread uneasiness among the laboring classes we find a growing apprehension on their part of the duties which attach to the possession of wealth. Of the rights of the holders of property they are often sadly unmindful. On the other hand, the wealthy classes are keenly alive to their own rights, while they are often fearfully neglectful of the manifold and weighty duties which their wealth imposes upon them. Hence this antagonism between the rich and the poor. Neither party has adequately learned the great lesson of Christian brotherhood, nor that the rights and duties of every moral being are inseparable relatives.

When the keen sensitiveness to the duties and obligations of capital, which lies at the basis of strikes and trades-unions, is moderated and controlled by an equal sensitiveness to the rights of capital; when the great masters of associated wealth become as keenly alive to the duties which they owe to the poor as they are to the protection of their own wealth; when Christian love shall become the common atmosphere of the rich and the poor; when every man shall deem himself, like Christ, the servant of all in exact proportion to the power which he possesses, these collisions between the opposite forms of power, represented by capital and labor, will pass away forever.

It is the duty of all Christian men, and especially of the wealthy among them, to study this problem with the greatest care, lest, directly or indirectly, they become unwittingly agents of oppression. The aristocracy of caste and the aristocracy of feudalism are rapidly passing away. Centuries of servile insurrections, accompanied by untold suffering, have worked out this still incomplete emancipation. But a new feudalism is coming to the front, as powerful and as all-pervading as the old. This is found in associated capital. The control of this is in the hands of corporations, the sole end of whose existence is to increase and defend the power which

they already possess. The common maxim that "corporations have no souls" expresses the average judgment of men, that financial corporations are in some way endowed by law with all the rights of property, while they are emancipated from its corresponding duties.

Right here arises one of the great dangers which threaten modern society. The power which associated capital will possess, in commercial nations, by the end of another century, is appalling in anticipation. If the power thus given by the fundamental right of property shall continue to be exercised without regard to the moral obligations which limit and control it, the engineery for oppression thus existing will be almost inconceivable. Even now worthless securities are forced upon the market by those illegitimate appliances so well known to the financier. Great combinations are formed for the elevation or depression of prices, in defiance of the natural action of the law of supply and demand. The feverish anxiety for sudden wealth overstrains credit, tempts to frauds and defalcations, regardless alike of the principles of political economy, of moral obligation, and of civil law. Sooner or later these combinations must miscarry. Financial bubbles break, frauds are exposed, confidence is lost, and poverty, pain, and suffering are carried to every cottage throughout our land. Capital is power—mighty for good, when controlled by intelligent benevolence; terrible for evil, when made an instrument of oppression.

Our safeguard against this form of evil, which threatens us now, and must be still more dangerous in future, can be found only in subjecting capital, as well as every other form of power, to the control of the Christian law of sacrifice and service. When capitalists, in their individual and associated capacity, shall consider themselves as stewards for the administration of the wealth with which God has endowed them, so that it shall conduce to the blessing of man and the glory of God, these dangers will no longer exist. It is high time that the elementary limitations of Christian morality should be recognized in the accumulation and administration of wealth. No Christian man may do that as a director of a corporation which he would shrink from as an individual. He may not share the gain acquired by the oppression of the poor, or by combinations skillfully contrived for the robbery of the rich. There are moral laws which govern the accumulation and management of property. They may not be violated with impunity. The great financial revulsions which, like pestilences, have smitten the world from the time of the Mississippi Scheme and the South Sea Bubble to the present hour, are so many several illustrations of the retributive justice of God.

While the laws of Christian morality should control the processes and set limits to the rapidity of accumulation, and while the duty of appropriating wealth to benevolent uses is apparent, it is also clear that great discrimination should be exercised in selecting the objects to which the appropriation shall be made. Indiscriminate almsgiving may be productive of unlimited evil. The mere giving of money to the poor is not necessarily charity. It often exaggerates the very evil that it is designed to remedy. It may be so distributed as to destroy self-respect in the recipients, and train up a class willing to live upon the public bounty, and too indolent to labor for their own support or to bear their share of public burdeus.

The truest charity is that which educates and trains the poor into the capacity to supply their own wants by their own labor and skill. He who supplies the physical wants of the poor in such a way as to take away their motives for labor, and induce in them a willingness to live upon the labor of the public, so far trains them to crime.

The Mendicant Orders in the Catholic Church made beggary respectable, and have given currency to the idea that the giving of alms is a virtue in itself, without reference to the purposes to which it is applied. Nothing more rapidly demoralized Rome than the custom on the part of the State of providing food for the large body of the poorer citizens. It is just as clearly the duty of men of wealth to bestow their benefactions wisely as it is to bestow them. The great object should be so to bestow wealth that it shall be continuously productive of elevating and purifying forces. Large sums are often given indiscriminately in such a way that they are really a premium upon beggary and crime.

Those benefactions are most productive of blessing which are devoted to some form of technical, moral, religious, or intellectual education. If the poor are vicious, they, and in general their children, need to be reformed. With reformation, the cause of their poverty will be removed. If they are poor through want of skill or capacity, they and their children need education and industrial training. This will enable them to care for themselves.

In the order of Providence, a large segment of most communities, and a majority of many, is composed of persons, old and young, who are either too weak, too vicious, or too ignorant to keep themselves above want. All men alike, learned or ignorant, rich or poor, need the inspiring, elevating, and sanctifying influence of the Gospel of Christ. Here, then, we have laid out before us two grand spheres for the exercise of enlightened benevolence. Our Saviour was the great teacher. Every minister of religion, every Christian man and woman, is bound, directly or indirectly,

to follow his example in this respect. The world can be made better, healthier, and happier only as it is made acquainted with the laws of God, and persuaded to obey them. The preaching of the Gospel is but a process for the moral and religious instruction and training of men.

The most productive field, then, for Christian benevolence is education, when taken in its broadest sense. It is true that the sick and the aged must be cared for, often without hope of improving their condition in the present life; but they may be trained for the life to come. Criminals must be restrained and punished; but their restraint and punishment may be made a process of training for a better life. The children of the vicious poor must be clothed and fed; but it is of tenfold greater importance that they be trained in economy, industry, and the fear of God. How this mass of imbecility, ignorance, and crime shall be taught, elevated, and christianized is the great problem of society, and the great task of the Christian Church. To furnish the spiritual force for its accomplishment was our Saviour's mission to earth. To become the conductors of this spiritual force to the minds and hearts of men is the function of all who would be classed as his followers.

It so happens that our own country presents a greater demand upon consecrated wealth than perhaps any other nation. The teeming populations of the Old World, East and West, are rushing in to the vacant spaces of our vast domain. They are becoming participants and powers in our social and political life. We must fuse them into our own nationality. We must vitalize them with the power of Christian truth and emotion. Here a nation is born in a day. Institutions of learning must be founded and endowed in a generation, for which a thousand years have been required in the Old World. Houses of worship must be erected, and the school-teacher and the missionary must be equipped and furnished to follow, in a lock-step with the progress of our hardy pioneers as they march forward to subdue the wilderness into luxuriance and beauty.

Unless our country shall be left to become a moral desert, this work must be done, and done in our own generation. To meet these moral wants, God has given us in our country a career and a capacity for rapid accumulation beyond that of any other people. God has graciously adjusted our financial strength to the moral burdens which he has called us to bear. Unless our benevolence in giving shall more than equal our capacity for accumulation, the forces of ignorance, evil, and superstition will take possession of our fair land; and in spite of our boasted freedom of thought and action, we shall become a by-word, and a hissing, and a shaking of the head among the nations.

This principle finds its application in the Old World as well. Hitherto the institutions of religion have been controlled and supported by the State. It needs no prophet's ken to foretell that, sooner or later, the union of Church and State will be dissolved. All the spiritual and political forces of modern life seem to tend in that direction. The time is not far distant when Christian men in Europe must take upon their shoulders the work of home evangelization, as well as that of foreign missions.

This condition of things will, in no distant future, call for a development of Christian benevolence such as the Old World has never seen realized. The unevangelized and ignorant masses, the bequest of feudalism to the present age, are pressing forward for a recognition of their political rights, untaught though they may be in the first elements of political duty. These masters of the future must be brought within the control of an intelligent Christianity, or their emancipation will be fraught with equal woe to themselves and to social order. These are no fancied dangers. France and Spain, torn and bleeding, tell us how valueless is mere liberty of action when unguided by Christian love and unrestrained by moral law. The moral and intellectual training of these new depositaries of political power is an indispensable condition of the maintenance of that social order through which the quiet possession of wealth is rendered possible.

Socialism, that spectre which so haunts the European mind, is due to the consciousness of the new possession of political power on the part of those to whose minds the intelligent self-restraint born of an educated conscience is a stranger. No police system, however omniscient, no standing armies, however powerful, can hold in check these demoralized millions when they choose to assert their rude power.

To meet these social dangers of the future, an evangelical activity, more intelligent and loving than has blessed the world since the apostolic era, is immediately demanded. It is the pride of the Swiss Confederation that, when a hostile cannon-shot is heard on its border, every Swiss is instantaneously converted into a soldier. Such is the condition of the Old World and the New, that no man and no woman can claim to be a follower of Christ, who is not ready in some way to be incorporated into the great army of evangelical laborers. Whatever the Christian is, whatever the Christian has, whatever the Christian may become, whatever the Christian may acquire, belongs to Christ and to humanity, whom Christ in his own person represents.

These workers for Christ and humanity may be roughly divided into two great classes. The one constitutes the great body of

Christian preachers and Christian teachers of both sexes and every order; the other class consists of those whose immediate aim is accumulation of wealth for the support of the class first named while engaged in the direct processes of benevolent activity.

The obligations resting upon these two classes of Christians are precisely similar. The Christian preacher, teacher, or missionary is under no obligation to consecrate his life to benevolent action to the neglect of all efforts for the amassing of property which does not bear upon the manufacturer or merchant. For both classes alike Christ lived and died. Both classes alike are worthy to be called Christians only to the extent that they live over again Christ's life, and, under the limitations of their capacities, carry forward Christ's plans of mercy for man. The one class are called upon to devote learning, eloquence, intellectual power, and time directly to these benevolent ends and purposes. The other class are alike called upon to devote their surplus accumulations to the same great end. All these forms of power alike belong to the Saviour. To their use he has a common claim. The moral law which prescribes fidelity, industry, and consecration to the Christian scholar applies equally to the merchant.

The duty of the preacher to preach, of the scholar to teach, is no more imperative than the obligation which lies upon the wealthy to give—to consecrate a similar proportion of the particular forms of power which they wield to benevolent ends. If we would ascertain, then, the right use of wealth and the extent of the obligation which binds men who control it, we should recur to the New Testament, and there study the precepts and example of Christ and his immediate followers. Whatever of self-denial, whatever of self-sacrifice, whatever of consecration of power to the salvation of men and the glory of God marked the career of these exemplars of our faith, is binding to-day upon the Christian teacher, the Christian preacher, and the Christian merchant.

The doctrine of Atonement is the prime element of power in the example of Christ. The sooner this is recognized by the Christian Church, the sooner will Christianity be restored to its pristine efficiency. The example of our Saviour is not exhausted in the perfect exhibition of the negative forms of virtue. It is in the realization of the great positive idea of living for others, of consecrating all the power of action or endurance which we may possess for the salvation of men, that we approach the example of Christ. It is this type of Christianity which shall

reach and consecrate every form of power in the completest degree to Christian uses that is the world's great want. When the atonement on Calvary shall be recognized as the pith and substance of the example of Christ, as well as the objective condition of our salvation, a new era will have dawned upon the Church and upon humanity. The question will then not be "how little we may do for the cause of Christ," but rather, "how much of power we may accumulate, to the end that all of it, without reserve, shall be laid upon the altar of sacrifice."

We have heard much, during the sessions of this Alliance, in defense of the Christian faith. All this is well; but may it not be that we attach an exaggerated importance both to the attacks of its enemies and the defenses of its friends? No weapon can prevail against a Divine and Christ-like charity. Is it not the best defense of Christianity to exhibit it before the world in its purity and glory? What a conception of the Christian faith heaved the heart of the great apostle when he exclaimed, "I bear about in my body the dying of the Lord Jesus"—when he could wish himself "accursed from Christ for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh!"

Christianity does not so much need to be apologized for and defended as it needs to be shown. When holiness to the Lord shall be written upon the scholar's attainments and the titles to the merchant's wealth; when every form of power which the Christian Church controls shall be a continually smoking sacrifice upon the altar of consecration, our faith will need no other defense. Christianity will never be saved from its enemies by theological engineering. When every form of Christian activity and force shall be devoted to aggression upon the kingdom of darkness, there will be no time nor need for apologetics. The victorious army with the light of battle in its eye cares little for the slow processes of the engineer. When all our resources are converted honestly and faithfully into engines of attack upon sin and wrong, apologies for Christ and his doctrines will be a grand impertinence. The simultaneous consecration of a tithe of the great fortunes in the possession of Christian men in the countries represented by this Alliance would have greater immediate weight with unbelievers than all the books on Christian evidence that have been published since the revival of learning. Second only in importance to the right use of Christian capacity in the work of preaching the Gospel of Christ is the Christian conception of the right uses of wealth.

SECOND SECTION.—EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

MODERN LITERATURE AND CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE REV. A. L. SIMPSON, D.D., OF DERBY, ENGLAND.

THERE are some things which give this subject a special claim to be looked at. For example, there is its extraordinary profusion. Literature has attained to such dimensions that it may be said to be everywhere. It surrounds us like an atmosphere. It is not as it was once in history, when wandering minstrels, story-tellers, and troubadours were the only books in Europe. It is not as it was long after the invention of printing, when books were unpurchasable by the mass of the people. It is not as it was even a few years ago, when the paper duty and other governmental restrictions greatly limited the production by limiting the sale. Now all such artificial restrictions are gone (in Great Britain, at least), and the result is something before which we stand almost appalled. When, apart from books properly so called, we think of the legions of monthly and weekly periodicals, and when to these we add the daily newspapers distributed in houses and workshops, and at all railway stations, in myriads, we can not help feeling that there is a power in the midst of us perpetually at work which must go far, according to its nature and tendency, to make us or mar us, as individuals, as families, and as nations—a power which implies a tremendous responsibility somewhere, or rather everywhere. For, although it may attach to some in a special degree, no man with any patriotism will be able to put it entirely away from himself. It is certain that a thing of the nature of literature, thus so incessantly supplied and so universally diffused, must be exerting a prodigious influence of one kind or other. For although all literature is passive at first, not creating social tendencies, but only timidly reflecting those that exist, yet it speedily passes from this pupilage state, and becomes the principal nutriment of social tendencies, intensifying what it reflects, till it gets down to the very springs of human thought and action, and attains something like a mastery over all the channels of life.

It was in view of this subtle power of literature that a statesman said, "Give me the making of a people's songs, and I will give you the making of their laws;" the idea being this, that a people's songs, inas-

much as they are the language of emotion, come up from a greater depth in our nature and with a more fervid glow, and must always have a stronger hold upon it, than laws which are a matter of utilitarian calculation, shaped and formed for a defined end. The latter are a social necessity which we simply accept; the former are an intellectual instinct which we can not resist—the true "speaking out" of our nature in all those circumstances in which it *must* speak out, and when its language becomes at once the sign and the measure of the earnestness which is in us. Hence all people have songs (and that, too, before they have laws) just because they have passions, emotions, affections. But their "songs," technically speaking, are only one form of literary art; and what is true of one of its forms is equally true of them all. In order, indeed, to get at the full meaning of the statesman's profound saying, we must consider the word "songs" as standing for all art, and then it becomes enunciative, although somewhat indirectly, of the truth that art, in one form or other, is the refuge of our nature in every emotional state—that into which it instinctively passes in its endeavors to rise out of itself, so to say, into that fuller life which in such circumstances it feels itself capable of.

The province of science and legislation is not meant to be disparaged, and the social and individual comforts which flow from them are not to be scorned. Man is of complicated faculty and of manifold need, and every thing in the world has its place and its power. But surely the distinction of humanity, psychologically speaking, lies in its idealism (to which religion gives sustenance and wise direction), and thus the influence of such things is to the soul more than they seem, and the whole universe becomes, under the guidance of God, as a spring-board to the spirit, in its bound toward the infinite and the shadowless.

Debasing Features of Modern Literature.

It is evidently, therefore, of the greatest importance that this subtle influence, which is so constantly and so universally at work, should be in proper hands—should be in unison with the spirit of Christianity, and

moving in the same direction with it. And yet what do we find? Much, no doubt, blessed be God, very much which is true and good—rooted in Christian motive, and fringed with Christian effects. To the great Bible and Tract Societies we are deeply indebted, on both sides of the ocean, in this regard, and I pray God to bless these agencies more and more in their noble endeavors. They are much needed; for, when we look forth on the wide field of modern literature, we find, in the first place, much that is simply and entirely bad—bad in its art element, if it can be said to have any, and bad in its essence. This is what Mr. Charles Knight called the “garbage field,” or the stream of sewer literature of which he said that “all the garbage that belongs to the history of crime and misery is raked together to diffuse a moral miasma through the land in the shape of the most vulgar and brutal fiction.” And if this was the case in 1846, when these words were written, it is much more so now. The quantity of this sort of literature is absolutely overwhelming—a literature of such a kind that to call it sensational is to say little or nothing. It is coarse and brutal—indecent, too, up to the limits of the law, and often beyond them. Its tendency is, of course, all in the direction of the sort of life it depicts, the situations of which are made use of for the purpose of pleasing the million by stimulating their passions and pandering to their lusts. We need not wonder that appetites nurtured on such garbage should turn from the lessons of the missionary with disgust, and that churches should be empty while beer-shops and casinos are full. Under such a *cuisine* the heart is worse than starved—it is poisoned and petrified; conscience is killed out, and what of the intellect remains must be only as the purveyor of passion and lust, the demon in the herd of swine, impelling them down the steep of ignominious concession into the foul sea of indulgence.

But now, in the second place, there is a considerable proportion of modern literature which is so far good in its artistic qualities, but decidedly, I may almost say avowedly, bad in its morality. This, like the preceding, chiefly consists of works of fiction, and to a certain extent of poetry. Of course, I do not object to any class of writings on account of their form; although, when the essence is bad, the fictional form is the most ensnaring. The literature of the drama is not to be denounced because it is dramatic, nor the literature of fiction simply because it is fictitious. These are particular methods of expressing sentiment and thought, and they are perfectly legitimate methods. In the hands of a master they may be mighty for their purpose, and works under this or any other special designation are to be judged of by a reference to their spirit

and subject-matter alone. The dramatic poets of the Restoration “who sauntered Europe round, and gathered every vice on Christian ground,” we summarily condemn, not because they were dramatic, but because they were grossly immoral. So with many novels of the last century, and so also with not a few of the present day. There are many works, perhaps not of the very highest art, but still works of accomplished and powerful writers which have been introduced by translation into English literature, which, both directly on those who read them, and indirectly through their influence on other writers, who are led to imitate them, have a widely corrupting effect, and that, too, extending pretty high up in the social scale. There are some writers, indeed, who hold as a theory that the free treatment of such subjects as involve the details of social and domestic immorality is not only admissible, but necessary to the completeness of literary art, and that literature in many cases suffers from oversqueamishness in this regard. This theory is avowed, I believe, by one of the most learned and brilliant, and, in a general way, one of the most interesting and influential of the French critics of the day. I refer to M. Taine, of Paris. He raises the question whether literature is the better or the worse for being strictly moral, and he considers that it is the worse. And this view has found advocates in England, notably in Mr. Algeron Swinburne, who not only accepts the theory, but has in his own published poems given it unblushing practical effect. And along with him, to use the words of a writer in *The Daily News*, “Some young writers of the rising generation seem inclined to get up a reaction against the excessive purism of the last eighty or ninety years. They consider their intellectual limbs fettered, and long to free themselves from customary restrictions, so that it becomes a serious question whether or not such an immunity from the restraints of conventional morals is a desirable thing in these days.” With regard to this question in the abstract, I should say that it is neither desirable nor allowable in any days, and for this simple reason that, just like all other men, writers are bound to be moral, whatever else they may be. This is the first law of rational life, and nothing can change it, or for a moment suspend it; and as regards its being necessary to the completeness of literary art, which is M. Taine’s plea, I shall only say this—that it can be shown, and that it has been shown by a reference to the fundamental principles, both of art and of the human mind, that such license is opposed to true completeness and fatal to the highest reach of art, whether in the literary form or any other.

It were strange, indeed, if it were otherwise—strange if the highest beauty, which

is as the earthly shadow of heaven's holiness, could be approached only by such miry ways; and if that reserve with which civilized society has ever found it necessary to treat those numerous associations which gather round the tie of sex were incompatible with completeness of intellectual work, which is just a means of progressive elevation for the race—if it were so, then we should be compelled to say, "Welcome the incomplete, and perish the completeness that can come to us only thus." If this be the only path to the empyrean of literary art, then let us fly low—let us keep down among the insipid deceancies and the vulgar moralities of life. We would not in this way know good and evil, even though Satan promises as of old that we shall "be as gods."

To speak of the aspect to Christianity of a literature springing from such a root is quite superfluous. That which holds common morality so cheap that it must go to the wall before the fancied demands of some wild theory of æsthetics is, of course, the denial of all religion, and is bound to treat it as a jest, which indeed it does, or seems to do, as when M. Taine says, in his description of a Sunday service in Edinburgh, that "the doctrine of the sermon, though rather abstract, might awaken reflections and individual reasoning in some heads, more especially in winter or when rain falls." Perhaps I should not have said that this was a jest, though it sounds very much like one; for, after all, it is at once the key-note and the sum of M. Taine's philosophy. With him materialistic conditions dominate man, and he undertakes to explain all that man has been or done, and all the differences in his being or doing in different ages and places, by a reference to these. Intuitional truths, individual, subjective will, independent choice, or determination of mind, go for little or nothing; art, philosophy, religion, are just what soil, climate, and topographical features have made them, and therefore we need not wonder very much to find him making man's religious feelings come and go with the weather. All the same however, a literature born under such influences must be inherently bad. It can never run clear, for it is poisoned at the fountain. Our only hope concerning it is that it may not be able to run long.

And now I touch upon another branch of literature, emphatically modern literature, which is both large and important. It is of a much higher type than the preceding, being avowedly promotive both of morality and religion, pure in its motive, tender in its feeling, more or less graceful and artistic in its execution, and, for all these reasons, exceedingly fascinating, and actually, I believe, doing good in a general way; but which, as I think, would do much more were it not for some characteristics which tend in another

direction. I refer to those stories which appear in our religious periodicals, and which are more extensively read perhaps than any others. And what I find in many of them is a hostility, not indeed to religion, but to every thing like defined beliefs. They assert or insinuate the idea that such beliefs have only a contracting and hardening effect, and that they are quite incompatible with that free play of the human spirit in the wide atmosphere of human sympathy, and that consciousness of the divine love which is the true and only religion for man. It is a tree which is bound to have beautiful blossoms and all manner of fruit, but its root, if it have any, like that of the orchids, must be in the air. It must have none going down into the soil of positive doctrine, or the whole virtue is gone. As if it were true in point of fact that the acceptance of a creed meant the stoppage of all spiritual growth, or as if, on the contrary, it were not the case that the Pauls and the Johns, the Luthers and the Calvins, the Edwards and the Hodges, the Alexanders, the Leightons, Henrys, and Chalmers, and all such great trees of righteousness as have adorned and enriched the world—as if it were not the case that such were deeply planted in the soil of fixed and definite belief, and from that grew up; or as if it could be true that the intellect, which is supposed to have mainly to do with dogma (though that is not so exclusively the case as many suppose), were such an irreconcilable enemy to the heart that it must first be seized and imprisoned before the heart can have freedom to beat; or as if it were conceivable that God should grant a revelation of his will, and yet leave us to take just as much or as little of it as we liked. Nevertheless, this sacrificing of truth on the altar of a vague sentimentalism meets us continually at present, and as often as anywhere else in the serial stories to which I refer.

There is in many of them, too, a vague idea with regard to the inspiration of Scripture, "taking away," as one has observed, "its value as supplying an objective standard, both of truth and duty—making the Bible not *the* word of God, but only *a* word of God, which is to be interpreted and acted upon only in the measure that it receives the seal of the individual consciousness which has brought itself into harmony with the absolute will of God." Now I am not here to stand up for any particular denominational belief. I am not called upon to do so. But I certainly protest against a form of literature passing under the name of religious, which asserts or insinuates and uses all the power of fictional art to enforce the idea that no such thing as a definite belief is required. I hold that sentiment to be opposed to Christianity, both in its spirit and precepts. "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." There must be a right and

a wrong, a true and a false, in the matter of what we believe, else why was the Bible given us at all? And how otherwise could the Jews be said to have much advantage over other nations, every way, and chiefly that to them had been committed the oracles of God? There surely is such a thing as truth in the world, and the missing of the truth in the sphere of religion must be attended by consequences more serious than those attaching to error or mistake in any other sphere. And I question very much the propriety of making works of fiction the obvious vehicles of individual opinion. It seems to me to be taking an undue advantage of literary art. At all events, it is not good policy in the writer; for no man can make use of his imaginary characters to enforce his own individual opinions without lessening the dramatic effect of his works and deducting from their value as works of art. In some of these stories, too, we find very loose and irreverential views of Divine Providence and prayer. The literature I now refer to is exceedingly popular, but in these respects it is exceedingly unwholesome. It may have much that is good in its lessons of patience, hopefulness, self-abnegation, and reliance in some dim way on a higher power, all wrought out with considerable artistic feeling and dramatic skill, but still in the particulars at which I have glanced we have much to regret and to be watchful against.

There is also a considerable root of literature connected with the culturist school, which enforces a theory of life which has much that is plausible, and to some even fascinating, about it, but which, by making the individual his own centre, cherishes an unhealthy self-consciousness, and gives to religion, which must be supreme if it is any thing, only a secondary place, as *one* of the means which culture makes use of, along with many others, to attain its professed end, the perfection of our nature on every side. Goethe, the "high-priest of culture," as he has been called, was the earliest promoter of this view, followed in England by Thomas Carlyle, and more recently by Professor Huxley, looking at it from a materialistic point of view, and, in its more spiritual aspect, by Mr. Matthew Arnold. With this and cognate questions, President M'Cosh has dealt with all his characteristic knowledge and ability in his "Christianity and Positivism," and also Principal Shairp, of St. Andrews, Scotland, in his book, entitled "Culture and Religion," where both aspects of the theory are handled in a manner which leaves little or nothing to be desired.

Literature Noble, nevertheless, and to be Well Used.

I trust that no one will fancy for a moment that any thing I have said is dictated

by opposition to literature in the true sense of the word. On the contrary, I maintain that the study of it in all its purer and higher forms is not more pleasant than it is profitable. Apart from the stores of positive knowledge which are thus obtained, it is stimulating, enlarging, and elevating from the very fact of bringing the mind into contact with the great leaders of thought in all places and all times. Thackeray used to say to his audiences: "Cultivate the society of your betters;" and we do this emphatically by the study of literature, for it introduces us into valuable society—the moral and intellectual chiefs of the world. The sympathizing student makes acquaintance with such through means of their works, and comes ere long to regard them as friends. No stern conventionalities exclude him from their presence. They are the chosen and trusty companions in all the outgoings of his mind. He has been with them round the world. He has sounded the depths of human passion with Shakspeare; he has breathed the sweet gales of Paradise with Milton; he has wandered through the far-off region of allegory with Spenser; he has climbed the Hill Diffidently and stood on the Delcetable Mountains with Bunyan; he has wept over the mountain daisy and mused to the singing water-fall with Wordsworth; he has trodden the bold region of chivalric romance, in which the stern features of History are seen through the uncertain twilight of fiction, with Scott; and he has passed through dim alleys of stunted poverty, and peered into dark abodes of misery and vice, with Crabbe. He is the true cosmopolitan in the widest sense, and he finds society to his liking wherever he strays. His senses are evermore saluted by the voices of the gifted, and his dwelling is beneath the shadow of their renown. For him Homer sings the wars of Greece and the woes of Troy, and the thunderous echoes of Demosthenes yet linger in his ears; and still, as he passes downward with the stream, Truth and Beauty are his companions. There are chasms, no doubt, from time to time in the birth of genius, for Nature is sparing of her prodigies of the loftier type, and Alp is separated from Alp by a lengthening plain; but the beacon-fire flashes from hill to hill, and the subjacent level is ever rescued from total obscurity. And there is no little pleasure in the marking of those giant steps of genius down the steep of time;

"Ages elapsed ere Homer's lamp appeared,
And ages ere the Mantuan swan was heard.
To carry nature lengths unknown before
And give a Milton birth, asked ages more:
Thus genius rose and set at ordered times,
And shot a dayspring into distant climes,
Ennobling every region where it chose;
In Greece it sunk, in Italy it rose—
Till, tedious years of Gothic darkness past,
Emerged all splendor in our isle at last.

Thus lovely halcyons dive into the main,
Then show far off their shining plumes again."

Do we pity the man whose blindness excludes him from the glories of this outer world of creation? Not less is he the object of pity to whom this great volume of literature is a sealed book; this bright world, which is the dwelling of thought and of thick-coming fancies, where mind has its throne, its sceptre, and its spoils, its innumerable pictures of the beautiful and the true, its palaces of enchantment, called up by more than the art of the Eastern magician, and stored with more than the wealth of Eastern magnificence; where Fancy sits weaving her innumerable spells, and History is teaching from the book of nations her solemn lessons, and Science from her watch-tower points her telescope to the skies, or sounds with her plummet the depths of an almost fathomless antiquity; and Philosophy, with her mirror to the heart, is looking soulward with introverted eye; and Biography is setting up her model heroes for the future; and Poetry is singing her melodious songs,

"Dead things with inbreathed sense able to pierce;"

and Religion (for she, too, has her throne in this palace of the mind) casts over all the girdle of her love, while her radiant forehead strikes the stars, and her eye "looks forward into eternity."

But the greater a thing is in its healthy and normal condition, so much the more perilous is it when it is improperly used and falls into the service of evil. And we can not be blind to the fact that such is the case with our modern literature in many respects. It panders to sensationalism, it stimulates passion, it feeds many evil roots of skepticism in relation both to Christian goodness and Christian truth. It weakens the intellect by its superficialism and rapid succession—obviousness for the sake of haste, and the circumstances in which much of it is expected and intended to be read, on railroad journeys, etc., being the constant demand nowadays; while that which is more solid in its character as the exponent of philosophic speculation and scientific theories is to a great extent opposed to the very possibility of a spiritual sentiment and a religious life, eliminating as it does the supernatural element from the world, and enforcing a life which is purely sensuous in its nature, or at all events materialistic in its limit and range. "Science has done so much for us," says Principal Shairp, "in the way of increasing our comforts and removing many of the surface ills of life, that vague and exaggerated hopes are entertained of what it may yet do for the healing of the deepest disorders."

The vast increase of wealth, too, leading to a proud, ostentatious, and luxurious life, falls in with the current, while the great

competition in business and the unwonted facilities for locomotion keep up an excitement by no means favorable to thoughts of the unseen. All this, of course, comes out in our literature, since whatever an age thinks and feels it must express in its forms of art. It is first a symptom before it is a cause—a symptom of something deeper than itself, which, however, it feeds and strengthens by the very fact of expressing it. And hence it is not merely by attacking the literature that we must seek to do good, but also by attacking the life of which it is the exponent, and bringing into play more and more widely and prayerfully all holy Christian influences, and, in so far as literature itself is concerned, encouraging and circulating what is unmistakably pure and good. There is no better way of keeping chaff out of a bushel than by just filling it with grain; and let us be thankful there is grain at our command sufficient to displace the chaff, abundant though it be. In the Bible alone (not to speak of the literature which grows out of it) there is the seed-corn of a harvest which no tares of the enemy will be able to choke, and which, made vital by the power of the Holy Ghost, shall yet cover the earth with those fruits of righteousness which shall be gathered (to the praise and glory of God) unto life everlasting. We do not intend to part with the Bible yet, for all that science can either promise or threaten. There is too much sin and misery in the world for that, and chiefly because the world does not esteem that Bible as it ought to do. But were the Bible away, the sin would be greater and the misery deeper, for in that case it would be sin without check and misery without hope. In so far as the world is any way better than it was, it is the Bible that has taught the world to think, and science need not be so anxious to put out the eyes of the giant on whose shoulders it stands. We can not forget even the indirect benefits we have derived from the Bible, from its influence on the general sentiment of society—an influence so great and so salutary as to justify the conclusion that, were that Bible, and what we owe to it, even remotely, abolished, the philosophic infidel who holds it so cheap would speedily find himself in the abysses of barbarism and a general chaos. And that is only its effect by the way—the gold dust, as it were, which it throws off from its chariot wheels in its burning progress to victory. That victory is achieved in the depths of the individual soul, to which (if it be received) it brings light and grace, and a spirit of holiness, and a Saviour mighty to save. These are things for the loss of which neither science nor philosophy provides any compensation. And this must be remembered in view of that distinguishing feature of the infidelity which is now rising everywhere into prominence,

namely, that it is not infidelity for its own sake, as it were pure and simple, but for the sake of a certain style of scientific progress to which it is alleged to be necessary, and in the way of which a spiritual sentiment and belief in the supernatural are supposed to stand. If that be the case (which, however, I do not believe—as true science can not be hindered, but only helped by faith in God and the Bible)—yet, I say, if that be the case, it does nothing to reconcile us to the dismal alternative of surrendering our Bibles. And seeing how much, not for the present only, but for the awful and endless future, that surrender would involve, we demand to be made much more assured of our ground, and to be supplied with much more satisfactory evidence than we have yet been

supplied with, before we can even think of entertaining the idea at all.

What we have got to do is to give all of our strength to the promotion of an enlightened Christian sentiment—speaking, writing, and living in the spirit of the Gospel, not acting in any way as if we were afraid of the Ark of the Lord, but each one in his own sphere and according to his ability commending it to the world by his life, and committing it to God in his prayers; in which case we shall have reason to expect that, when the enemy cometh in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him, and that, sooner or later, “Holiness to the Lord” shall be written upon literature as well as upon every other form of human activity.

MODERN LITERATURE IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

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THE term literature, strictly interpreted, would include every printed work which attracts the attention of the smallest number of readers. Used in a more limited sense, it would comprehend all those works which, by the importance of their matter or the perfection of their form, impress themselves upon one or more generations. Thus applied, it would include every able treatise upon theology, science, and philosophy. It is obvious that the theme proposed for the present essay excludes such works, and covers only those printed productions which possess a more general character and awaken a more popular interest; as history, biography, poetry, fiction, popular orations, and essays, as also criticism and journalism in all their branches.

All these descriptions of literature have this in common, that they address the popular ear, and suppose a circle of miscellaneous readers, as distinguished from such as are technical or special. This circle may be narrow or wide, according to the nature of the subject, the tastes and culture of the readers, and the power and skill of the writer. In respect to any or all of these varying elements, no definite limits need be prescribed. And yet we may say that every writer who takes a significant place in the literature of even a single generation must have special gifts for conceiving and setting forth what he would say. Such a gift we call genius, in a general way. Genius attains its highest form when it divines the popular thought by keen sagacity, and moulds it by fitting words, teaching with authority, inspiring by eloquence, or entrancing through poetry or fiction.

The works of writers thus endorsed, constituting the literature of an age, must necessarily present a more or less faithful transcript of the age itself, as to the problems and questionings, the conclusions and impulses, which make up its intellectual and moral life. But great writers do much more than reflect an age. They react upon it, and mould it by their individual influence and energy, as they instruct and elevate or delude and debase it. They make the truth to become evident and attractive, and thus become ministers of wisdom and bless-

ing, or they give to error and falsehood the authority and charm of truth, and thus corrupt the life of one or many generations. The words of great writers symbolize the faiths or the no faiths of all reading and thinking men. They are shouted in their battle-cries, they are quoted in their arguments, they are sung at their feasts, they give comfort in sorrow, and peace in death. Thus it is that great novelists and poets, great historians and critics, great essayists and journalists, become both the representatives and the leaders of their times.

Literature asserts to itself an independent sphere and an undivided authority. All writers who obtain a hearing assume to know of what they affirm. They may defer to higher authorities than themselves as to matters of fact, of science, of speculation, and of religion, nay, even of literature itself; but in such cases they assume to know and to decide who is entitled to the decisive word. They stand between such authorities and the public, they interpret their words and translate their arguments and conclusions into the language of letters. They claim to know and to indicate what has been established as true, to sift the true from the false, the solid from the plausible, and to diffuse into the public mind the results of the higher and the more advanced thinking of the times. It by no means follows that literature is infallible. It has often been the vehicle of monstrous delusions and dangerous doctrines, in respect to every important interest of man. On the other hand, whatever is established as true becomes the property of the race by becoming recognized and assented to in literature.

If literature is independent, it must be free from all political and ecclesiastical authority. If the censor may restrain or erase or confiscate whatever displeases the ruling magistrate or dominant party or contradicts what is laid down by the doctor of science or the priest of the church, literature can be hardly said to exist. It certainly can not exercise its functions as the herald of new thoughts and the exponent of new principles. On the other hand, there are self-imposed restraints of courtesy and decorum, of fairness and tolerance, which grow out of the func-

tion of literature itself as the professed expounder of truth by the light of reason. Literature also aims at culture, and culture presupposes refinement of manners as truly as of diction and imagery.

The character and the influence of a literature depend on two elements: the community whose opinions and culture it reflects, and the genius and tone of the writers who represent and mould it. A superficial and frivolous people will demand and accept a superficial and frivolous literature; an unbelieving and sensual age will sustain, and be sustained by, a godless and corrupt literature; a generation that thinks and feels strongly and nobly will produce a strong and elevated literature, provided that readers and writers have sufficient genius and culture to require and to furnish the expression of what is thought and felt.

It follows that, if a people or an age is capable of literature, this literature must hold intimate relations to the religious faith and life of the people or the age. Religious faith and feeling confessedly have much to do with that life and culture which literature expresses and to which it appeals. A religion which is founded in the nature of man, and is adapted to his wants, which commends itself to his conscience, and transforms and purifies the springs of action, can not but act for good on both the matter and form of literature. Such a religion will elevate and refine the manhood of an age, reaching its manners and speech. It will stimulate the intellect, and guide and inspire the imagination. A religion which is against man's true nature must dwarf and corrupt the literature, or the literature must overthrow or reform it. It does not follow that a very religious people or religious era will necessarily produce a splendid literature. Many conditions may be wanting—of culture in the people, and in the writers who reflect and react on their life, in history, poem, or novel. An age in which religion is becoming effete or corrupt may produce great writers who are inspired by the faith and fervor of the apostles and martyrs for liberty and for God, of whom their readers are not worthy, although they admire the sentiments and truths which they do not translate into action.

On the other hand, the literature of a people may exert a powerful influence for good or evil on its religious faith and life. Its great writers hold the ear of their readers. It is the prerogative of genius to give energy and attractiveness to truth, and plausibility and power to falsehood. It can thus befriend or dishonor the most sacred convictions of man's nature concerning God and the eternal life. It can cleanse or pollute the most hallowed of his emotions.

That literature exerts a powerful influence at the present moment can not be de-

nied. It is almost a truism to say that its influence was never so great as now. Never was the authority of its tribunal so imposing. Never did it assume to itself the function of summoning before itself the defenders of a greater variety of opinions, however firmly rooted or sacredly cherished; never did it criticize so boldly, and yet with such show of courtesy and reason, the faiths and traditions, the tastes and the customs of the Household, of Society, of the Forum, and the Church. It would seem that there was never a time when new theories were so hospitably entertained, or adopted on a briefer examination and more slender evidence; never a time when a brilliant imagination, copious illustrations, and a captivating diction could give such extensive currency to extemporized theories in respect to religion, morals, society, manners, tastes, and even in respect to literature itself. The reasons for the greater influence of literature in our times are obvious: the diffusion of intelligence; the multiplication of readers; the power of ideas to propagate themselves; the disposition to try, if not to distrust, every thing that is received, and a headlong hospitality toward every thing which is new in fact, or which seems new under the lights of new illustrations and diction.

There are those who contend that the influence of literature, with these attendants, can only be for good. The bold and critical spirit of modern literature, in their view, must necessarily sift truth from error, and wisdom from folly, and tame down to sobriety every species of extravagance and excess. Its permeating fire must melt the dross from every alloy. Its subtle chemistry everywhere disintegrates, that it may reunite, the elements of the best-compacted structures—and those only which literature rennites are certain to endure. Whatever the all-powerful time-spirit shall utter through the oracles of literature should be received as true; and whatever the cultured sensibility of public sentiment, as purified and enlightened by literature, shall accept or reject with subtle tact, should be regarded as worthy or unworthy of trust. These exalted estimates of the functions of literature might easily be shown to be extravagant. It might readily be seen that the time-spirit of literature may be very good or very bad, according as by action and reaction the age is corrupt, and manifests itself in a corrupt literature; or again, that a literature may be better than its age, and may tend to redeem it. The fact that such extravagant estimates of the infallibility of literature are entertained indicates that at present, literature, as compared with the other forces of society, is rapidly increasing in its relative importance and energy. The books and journals which men read have more to do with what men believe and care for than

ever before. In philosophy, the word of literature often seems more potent than the argument or dictum of any single philosopher or school. In theology, the essayist disputes and silences the theologian. In matters of religious feeling and duty, the journalist is more potent than the preacher. The fashionable poet, novelist, or critic of the hour casts a spell over his readers which no other enchanter can dissipate.

The foregoing considerations will have prepared us to estimate rightly the relations of modern literature to Christianity. We divide these into two classes, *the hostile and the friendly*. We concede that, to a limited extent, they may be indifferent. There are branches of literature, and single authors and works, which may seem to have no influence upon the existing Christianity, and, in turn, to be unaffected by it. Such are the lighter species of fiction, poetry, and essays which reflect and affect only the more superficial experiences of man and his life, and leave his graver opinions and sentiments untouched. Wit and humor are not necessarily Christian or unchristian in character and tendency. The literature of society and the minor morals, of criticism and the essay, it might be urged, need not recognize religion or the Christian faith. How far this may be true is of little consequence. It is sufficient for us to know that literature, in its graver and more serious forms, must be either hostile or friendly to Christianity. It is also true that modern literature is becoming more and more earnest, and, even in its lighter manifestations, finds it difficult to forget the higher activities and relations of man.

We regret that our limits must restrict us to those relations of modern literature which are unfriendly to Christianity. We shall consider Christianity under four aspects: as to its *assumptions, its facts, its truths, and its life*. It presupposes certain assumptions, it attests certain facts, it reveals certain truths, and it enforces a peculiar life. How far is modern literature unfriendly to each?

The *assumptions* which Christianity supposes are the existence of a personal God, his providential interest in the beings who are made in his image, the survival of the spirit after the dissolution of the body, the responsibility of man to God, the fact of depravity and sin, involving the relations of guilt and evil, and the need of help and deliverance. It can not too often be repeated that Christianity does not make these facts, but it finds them to be true. The man who does not believe or find them to be true can not accept Christianity. That not a little of modern literature rejects these assumptions needs no enforcement. In respect to them, it is largely Pantheistic, Atheistic, and Epicurean—either avowedly or practically. So long as Pantheism was a doctrine of meta-

physics, it was an inert and impotent speculation, as repulsive as it was dry. It was not till it had been dissolved in the *menstruum* of literature that it became so attractive to the imaginations of thousands of cultivated men as to displace the living God of common sense and of common speech. Pantheism, in the hands of Spinoza, was a logical inference from an imperfect definition. It was not till it was glorified by the imagination of Schelling, who was as much of a poet as philosopher, and was warmed by the eloquence of Jacobi, and, above all, was made plastic through the all-subduing genius and wonderful diction of Goethe, that it became so intelligible and fascinating, and passed into the literature of poetry and fiction, and became a practical theory of modern culture. The English Carlyle and the American Emerson might both resent the charge of introducing and glorifying Pantheism for their confiding and admiring readers, and with some show of reason; but the most generous and kindly critics of either, after the most painstaking search, will find, in the variations of their magnificent verbiage, almost every form of conceiving and describing the living God—except such as ascribe to him personality and the capacity of communion with man. This studied evasion by the devices of a fertile invention, and amidst the resources of copious diction, produces the effect upon their readers of the displacement of a personal God by that impersonal Absolute which amply satisfies the capacity and the demand in man for natural worship, while it makes no demand upon man for personal loyalty and love. That is no evasive or indefinite doctrine which Matthew Arnold proclaims when he sets forth the only God whom literary criticism recognizes to be “the stream of tendency whereby all things strive to fulfill the law of their being,” and seeks to establish this as positively affirmed in the Scriptures when interpreted as literature. Scores of attractive novels have appeared of late in Germany and England, in which this conception of God is set forth as the only trustworthy faith on which a cultivated and refined soul of large experience of culture and of life can possibly rest. Some of this school of writers may hold fast to moral law; many regard moral evil as a necessary stage in development; very many fail to assert the continued existence of the spirit, but substitute for it some indefinite satisfaction in a union with the life of the glorified universe. The Pantheism of modern literature in all its forms is more a sentiment than a speculation; but it is not, therefore, weak or impotent; there is nothing so attractive or imposing to the cultured imagination as a sentiment when it takes the form of thought.

The Atheistic school of letters differs from the Pantheistic, at least in its speculative

starting-point. While the Pantheist begins with organization and ends with the Absolute, which manifests itself in the finite in returning cycles—perhaps with rational and moral ends—the new Atheism starts with development from simple elements along an infinite series of blind forces, struggling into order and life through the chance results of natural selection. The one satisfies the imagination with its Absolute, in which the worshiper may claim a continuous life; the other positively denies immortality, and supplies to the imagination the spectacle of a progressive humanity in future generations. The Atheistic school finds its philosophy in Comte and Mill, Lewes, Darwin, and Spencer. It is applied in literature by Buckle and Draper, John Morley, Taine, and St. Beuve, and a host of critics and sociologists. Poets this school has none, for in speculations like these poetry can not thrive. The dry speculation of Atheism is repulsive from its baldness. The arguments on which it rests are uniformly barren and negative. But the literature of Atheism is made plausible and interesting to the imagination and the feelings because it leans on the last discoveries in physics, and is enlivened by an amplitude of manifold illustrations from science, and art, and government. There is something attractive and imposing in the assurance that all the problems of history, of literature and art, nay, even of psychology and philosophy, can be solved by the single formula of evolution. There is an impression of solidity and of common sense in the teachings which propose to explain the mysterious and the spiritual by forces that are familiar, and laws that can be verified. The writers of this school are never impassioned, but they assert an almost religious confidence in the truth of their doctrines. They condescendingly profess a catholic sympathy with all creeds, and with that of the Christian Church as the best and noblest. It is only under the force of an imperative necessity that they have outgrown the Theistic and Christian prepossessions of their countrymen. But the claims of science are supreme, and its devotee must follow its leadings whithersoever they conduct him. One can scarcely believe what he knows when he reflects on the rapid growth and the strong rooted hold of this Atheistic school of letters on English soil, and its temporary triumph in what has claimed to be the most Christian of its universities. That it exists, and presents a most formidable front to the hereditary faith of the English people, can not be denied. The cool propositions to the Christian Church to subject its faith in prayer to the verifications of experiment, and to resort to suicide and scientific homicide as humane expedients to limit human suffering, illustrate the lengths of practical atheism to which literature may be insensibly led.

It deserves to be noticed that, bold and positive as is the attitude of these modern deniers of God and immortality, they not infrequently betray a secret consciousness of the weakness of their position. While the Pantheism of modern literature is devout and reverent in its language, its Atheism is sad and apologetic that it must yield to the necessity which forces it to say that there is no God. It concedes that the withdrawal of this faith from human society may involve temporary inconvenience to social order and private morality. But it sympathetically re-assures the timid that an intelligent faith in the beneficent laws and a comprehensive knowledge of the stream of tendency will, in due course of time, be more than an adequate substitute for the personal God whom modern thought has been forced to abandon; that an educated and refined sympathy with those who suffer from our mistakes will become more efficient to restrain and to reform than the sharp sense of personal guilt which science resolves into uncomfortable associations, and the vision of that abstract humanity which in the persons of future generations is to exist in advanced perfection shall minister greater comfort than that hope of personal existence of which modern science can find no proof. John Morley thus protests against the inference that the creed of the Atheist furnishes no guidance and inspiration for the conduct. "There are new solutions for him if the old are fallen dumb..... The purifying anguish of remorse will be stronger, not weaker, when he has trained himself to look upon every wrong in thought, every duty omitted from act..... less as a breach of the decrees of an unseen tribunal than as an ungrateful infection, weakening and corrupting the future of his brothers; and he will be less effectually raised from inmost prostration of soul by a doubtful subjective reconciliation so meanly comfortable to his own individuality than by hearing fall on the ear the sound of the cry of humanity craving sleepless succor from her children; and a man will be already in no mean paradise if, at the hour of sunset, a good hope can fall upon him, like harmonies of music, that the earth shall still be fair, and the happiness of every feeling creature still receive a constant augmentation, and each good cause yet find worthy defenders, when the memory of his own poor name and personality has long been blotted out of the brief recollection of men forever" (Voltaire, chap. v., 3). This passage is one of many illustrations that the new Atheism is far more sentimental than the old. Though it boasts of moral strength, it makes confession of moral weakness. While it accepts science as against sentiment, it avails itself of the thinnest gauze of sentimentalism to cover and hide the ghastly skeleton of its negative and hopeless creed. Herbert Spen-

er is never weary in his Essays designed for the popular ear, of sneering at the "carpenter theory" of the universe, but he is as forward as any theologian to set forth his doctrine of the infinite unknowable force in advantageous contrast with the doctrines of Hamilton and Mausel. Stuart Mill is aroused to such a pitch of moral indignation at Mausel's ethical conceptions of God that he unwittingly falls back upon a theory of conscience, which he has spent all his life in refuting, in the most passionate and eloquent sentence which he is known to have written. We notice, also, that the Atheistic school has little nivity of positive opinion. Its bond of union is its opposition to received opinions, its interest in political and social reforms, and what is called scientific culture. But the Atheism of literature is as truly a sentiment as is Pantheism. While Pantheism seeks to stimulate and satisfy the imagination by its splendid cloudland, Atheism appeals to the more earthly satisfactions which proceed from conscious illumination and scientific pride.

We consider, next, the unfriendly attitude of modern literature with respect to the *facts* of Christianity. These facts are the Incarnation and the Miraculous, as possible and accredited events of human history. That modern literature extensively distrusts and denies these facts need not be argued. This denial and distrust did not begin with literature. Philosophy first declared that the miraculous is impossible on speculative grounds. Historical criticism undertook to separate the supernatural from the actual in the Christian records. Physics recognize in their theories nothing beyond fixed and inexorable law, which they discern in the great and the little alike. Literature follows with its declarations and insinuations that the advanced sentiment of the age has eliminated the supernatural out of its faith. With assured reiteration, it pronounces this question to be decided. Matthew Arnold says ("Lit. and Dogma," v., 2), "It is what we call the time-spirit that is sapping the proof from miracles. . . . Whether we attack them or defend them does not much matter; the human mind, as its experience widens, is turning away from them. . . . It sees that under certain circumstances they always do arise, and that they have not more solidity in one case than another."

What Matthew Arnold thus writes with sufficient flippancy, a thousand more flippancy journalists and Bohemians have been forward to reiterate, till, as it would seem, all faith in the supernatural and wonder-working Christ has been banished from many circles and schools of literature of every grade, from the highest to the lowest. In these circles it is received as an axiom that no cultured and enlightened critic in letters, unless in exceptional cases, can be a believ-

er in the Incarnation or in Miracles. These cases are explained by traditional associations, or some private theory which takes the man out of harmony with general enlightenment. The New Testament, which is full of the supernatural Christ, is felt to be more and more estranged from the associations of modern culture, and is either thrust aside with a bewildered or impatient gesture, or quietly let alone.

On the other hand, it is worthy to be noticed that the Christ of the New Testament can not and will not be dismissed from the minds of the thoughtful men of these times. The incomparable symmetry and purity of the character of this wonder of history, this singular phenomenon of humanity, is more and more justly estimated, as critics grow more thoughtful and tolerant. His incomparable superiority to the men of any and all ages is more widely confessed as men become more exact and comprehensive in their knowledge of the wisest and the best, and more refined in their estimates of the characters whom fiction and poetry have invented. Though critics and *littérateurs* may fail to confess Christ to be supernatural in his being and his works, yet, when confronted with him, they are forced to confess, or at least are afraid to deny, that he is the wisest and noblest, the most exalted and God-like, of all who have either lived or been conceived to live on the earth. The accomplished biographer of Voltaire is constrained to apologize for the philosopher for his incapacity to appreciate and honor Christ, and to confess that his passionate hostility to Christ was a blot on himself and his age. The historical critic, who is forced, by the necessities of his position, to find some flaw or defect in his character or claims, often betrays the weakness of his cause by hastily dismissing the theme. The majority leave it untouched, or abandon it with a few words of superficial eulogy. The puzzled silence of others, and their manifest reserve, which almost takes the air of worship, indicate that the supernatural Christ is a problem which was never so hard to solve as it is now. The Christ of the New Testament is more than ever the Sphinx that draws all thoughtful men to its presence, again and again to propound the riddle of its being, and to force from them an answer. The thoughtful student of human history, the accomplished devotee of manifold culture, and the pensive thinker on man and society can not but raise the question more and more distinctly, What is the origin, and whence the charm, of this mysterious personage, who has wrought with such magic energy in other ages, and who continues to captivate so many tender and trusting hearts, and is even able to refine and lift up those who dishonor and degrade him by their defective conceptions of his glory?

Literature is, indeed, not so thoughtful

and earnest as might be desired. It always is exposed to this defect. Culture withdraws men from the immediate experiences and relations of humanity, and delights itself in factitious refinements of art, diction, and the imagination. That it is specially tempted at present to be flippant and scornful, with the increase of wealth, and ease, and artificial life, is manifest. Culture and literature themselves tend to become dainty and conventional, and so to depart from nature and from humanity; and when they leave nature and humanity, they must depart from God. Many of those doubters of culture, who always seek and never find, in whom there dwells more faith than in half our creeds, the men like Blanco White, Thomas Carlyle, John Sterling, Arthur Clough, William Smith, and James Anthony Froude, are to be regarded more as the abnormal products of a one-sided culture than as pronouncedly Anti- or Unchristian.

There are, however, influences in the opposite direction, all which tend to make literature more simple, and honest, and earnest. So far as it yields to these influences, so fast must it bethink itself of who Christ is, and find in the daring paradoxes of its own denials and the contradictions of its own unbeliefs an argument for faith in the supernatural, as the adequate explanation of man's past history and his present culture. Nor will it fail to learn from the history of literature itself that the distrust of the supernatural is largely a matter of fashion, and may be carried so far as to reach the extreme of credulity. It may also learn that a belief in the supernatural is itself an essential condition of any literature which is to be fresh, and growing, and true to the wants and aspirations of man; that without a living God and a supernatural Christ, not only in the past but in the present, man must fail of the highest thoughts and inspirations of which he is capable, and can not reach the noblest achievements in poetry and art; that without a living faith human culture must feed upon itself, and of necessity be impoverished, and die of atrophy and inanition.

We pass, next, to the relations of modern literature, as unfriendly to the *truths* of Christianity. The supernatural facts of Christianity are significant and important, because they imply certain truths of the nature of man, and reveal and enforce certain truths of the administration of God. If Christ is not an Example, a Redeemer, and an inward Power, his incarnation becomes simply a spectacular theophany, which, whether it is true or false, may almost equally well stimulate the imagination and furnish materials for the poet. If Christ's death and resurrection have no relations to man's life with God and in the future world, it is of no special moment whether they are believed or denied. The

relations of these facts to man and to God, when received as true, constitute what we call the Christian Faith; when they are defined and defended in the forms of science, they constitute Christian Theology. To both of these modern literature is more or less unfriendly. So far as it is Pagan in its spirit and tastes, it is hostile to the *Christian Faith*. It is Pagan so far as it believes in the development of nature as opposed to redemption from sin; in the free spontaneity of impulse as against subjection to duty; in the æsthetic perfection of culture as opposed to the higher beauty of unselfish love. This Pagan spirit has always been more or less active ever since the revival of Greek literature in Italy, which blossomed into sudden beauty, and faded into as sudden decay, not being rooted in a Christian faith or philosophy. It has re-appeared in modern times in grander proportions, and with many graces inspired by that Christian truth which it would ignore or dispense with.

It was the life-work of Goethe to combine the Greek perfection of form and the Greek delicacy of taste with that imaginative spirituality which is peculiar to Christianity, and to do this without faith in Christian truth. The effort was vain. The two elements struggled in his soul in a war embrace, but the Pagan element prevailed. Ever since his time the worship of genius has very largely taken the place of the worship of Christ, and modern literature has become more Pagan in its spirit and creed. While it would not dispense with the beauty and fragrance of Christian civilization, and has sedulously developed new refinements in culture, it has sought to cut itself off from the Christian faith from which it has drawn the best of its life, and now passionately insists that literature has at last developed a permanent life of its own. The catholic tolerance of Goethe has long ago been disowned. A more definite and passionate hostility to the Christian faith has manifested itself among many leading writers of Germany, France, England, and America. The truths which were formerly received with decent homage, and perhaps were invested with elevating associations, are now often alluded to with undisguised contempt or assailed with hissing scorn. The leaders in this direction are imitated by many second and third rate camp followers.

Such a mood can not long continue. The Pagan adoration of beauty and grace, to the exclusion of duty and of God, can not satisfy more than one or two generations. Matthew Arnold, in the thoughtless negations into which he has plunged headlong, manifests a healthful reaction in his estimates of "the beauty of holiness" which should lead him to be a warm defender of the faith from which it springs. The Pagan substitutes for Christian truth will, sooner or later, be

recognized even by their own worshippers, not only as impotent to help and to comfort, but even as powerless to inspire to the best achievements in art and literature.

The antagonism of modern literature to *Scientific Theology* is, in part, a necessary form of the antagonism which must always exist between the stiff and arid terminology of the men of the schools and the free and flexible language of men of letters, which is also warm with the associations of common life. That this antagonism is in part unreasonable is too obvious to be insisted on; that it is in part excusable is equally clear. It will never be abated until theologians learn to distinguish between the metaphysical definitions and systems of theology, and even of Church symbols, on the one hand, and the vital truths of Christianity on the other; and men of letters can discern that the language of science, to whatever subject it is applied, must be exact and rigid; and that theology, so far as it is scientific, must be metaphysical. So long, also, as Christian preachers and writers are limited so much to the dialect of human creeds and systems, or to stereotyped phrases of any kind, and avail themselves so little of the popular and imaginative diction of literature and of common life, so long must they repel many whom they might convince and win.

It is encouraging to observe, meanwhile, that the themes of theology are to a large extent becoming the themes of literary discussion, if often with little reverence, yet generally without a theological dialect. Prayer, moral recovery, and spiritual progress, the development of man in this life and the future, are all stock themes in modern literature. If literature is largely Antichristian, it is, by the same rule, largely theological, and it follows that theologians must become men of literary breadth and culture. They must be willing, and even forward, to enter the arena of literary discussion, and on the only terms on which they can gain a hearing. They must forego all special privileges, and meet their antagonists simply as cultivated men, using the language which men of letters employ. They must revere the language of creeds and confessions, and defend the principles of Christian truth in language warm with familiar associations, and elevated by refined sentiment. They must be willing to take blows as well as to give them. They must respect the rules of courteous debate, and abstain from offensive personalities. In short, they must be accomplished as men of culture, and be willing to use culture in the exposition and defence of Christian philosophy. The true evangelist will not only go out into the highways and hedges, where vice and squalor disgust and repel, but will enter also into the high places, in which spiritual wickedness luxuriates in art and letters, and de-

lights itself with the enchantments of genius.

The relations of modern literature to the Christian *life* are the most important of all. This, and this only, gives the supreme interest to Christian truth and Christian history. If this peculiar life can not justify itself as supremely excellent, neither the facts nor the history can stand before the searching scrutiny of modern criticism and the refined sensibility of modern culture. The opponents of Christianity understand this; and hence they would fain persuade themselves that what is distinctively Christian in the advancing moral and spiritual life of the race is so defective and evil that it must speedily be outgrown and laid aside. Whatever they may concede to this life in the past, they contend that better ideals have now been attained, and these are realized in better achievements. For the exhibition and enforcement of their judgments, literature is a convenient and effective instrument. The impersonations of the novelist and the poet, the analyses of the historian and the critic, and the satires and caricatures of the essayist are all largely used. These estimates of the Christian life respect its *inner spirit* and its *outward manifestations*.

The *inner manhood* of the Christian is unselfish and unworldly, humble and prayerful on the one hand, and prudent, frugal, self-respecting, and aggressive on the other. Both these aspects of the Christian spirit are misconceived and dishonored in literature. The first is scorned, as abject and unmanly, and over against it is set the Stoic ideal, which knows neither pity nor love in their purest forms, which is too proud to confess its human weaknesses and faults, and too disdainful to seek help in prayer. The sterner aspects of the Christian spirit offend the Epicurean sensuousness that is naturally fostered by literary refinement and artistic culture. Each of these is so one-sided as to confute the other. Each is so unnatural as to provoke a reaction. Both are reconciled in the equilibrium of the Christian ideal, before which neither the Stoic nor the Epicurean ideal can finally prevail. The man of culture who lives by faith in Christ will show himself superior to the man who lives by faith in Marcus Aurelius. The Sybarite must, sooner or later, shew his selfishness, however refined.

The manifestations of the Christian spirit in the *outward life* are fertile themes for vivid if not exaggerated portraiture in literature. The more consummate is the finish of the mirror, the more distinct is the image which it reflects. The slightest deviation in its form may transform what pretends to be a faithful transcript into a gross and ludicrous caricature. If the Christian ideal is confessed to be the highest conceivable, it is none the less easy to draw a con-

trast between what is proposed in aim and aspiration, and what is achieved in fact. The outward Christian life may also be imperfectly *understood* even by the most enlightened disciple. It encounters, by its own concessions, powerful antagonists within the hearts of the most single-minded and earnest. To a large extent, also, it is followed by those who are deficient in the knowledge and refinement which are essential to its most attractive and appropriate manifestation in manners and speech. Its intrinsic spirituality and truth furnish no absolute security against hypocrisy. From the days of Lucian to the present, the real or supposed defects of Christian living have furnished ample material for the criticism and satire of literature. They are especially open to these at the present time. The resources of literature were never more abundant. Its readers were never more numerous and enlightened. The insight of both readers and writers was never more sagacious, and the susceptibilities of both were never more wakeful. Never was Antichristian literature, apparently, so sincere and conscientious even when it is the most caustic and contemptuous in its judgments. It ought not to occasion surprise that it should set forth in high relief the supposed or actual defects of the Christian life; that with its abundant material and resources it should produce powerful portrayures of the evils which it discerns, and exaggerated caricatures of the defects which it chooses to misrepresent; that writers of every variety should be active in this work, from the lowest Bohemian, whose ribaldry is scarcely redeemed from vulgar abuse, to the most accomplished essayist or novelist, who himself scarcely knows whether his Antichristian portrayures are written in sadness or in scorn. The courteous decorum and the refined sympathies of St. Benve did not save him from betraying his refined disdain of the misguided spirituality of those earnest philosophers and saints whose history he wrote. The intensely ethical Fronde sets forth, in biting words, the bondage of modern Protestantism to greed, and its craven subjection to the bold and insidious temptations of the times. George Eliot does homage to the Christian spirit in every feature except its personal love to a personal Christ, but emphasizes her hostility to actual Christianity, and her dishonor to the Master of our faith, in the portraits which she draws of Christians of every type, even of the most saintly. How sad and depressing are her representations, we all have felt. A kindly critic says of her most truly, "She is a melancholy teacher—melancholy, because skeptical; and her melancholy skepticism is too apt to degenerate into scorn" (*The Spectator*, June, 1872).

The Christianity of to-day will be none the worse if she is mindful that she is watch-

ed as never before by keen-sighted critics, who have the power of setting forth her defects with wit and grace, and with energy and sarcasm. Her foes can do her far more good than her flatterers. It would be well that she should listen to their sharpest sarcasm and their keenest gibes. It would not be amiss to inquire how these hostile critics view the littleness and meanness of the sectarian spirit which is forced everywhere upon their attention; what they think of the manifold excommunications of our ecclesiastics, which are equally impotent, whether enacted at St. Peter's or in the pulpit of a log chapel; of the dogmatism of our theologians, whether it be solemnly uttered in a professor's chair or fiercely shrieked at the fireside; of the fanaticism of our worship, whether it expends itself in the genuflections and prostrations of a ritualistic chapel or shouts itself into convulsions in a conventicle; of the equally offensive cant of the latitudinarian and the evangelical, and of all those overdoings and half-doings which, being neither thoroughly sincere nor thoroughly manly, can not be truly Christian. Do none of our so-called religious journals and newspapers give just occasion to these sharp observers to misjudge and misrepresent Christianity itself? Do the insinuations in which many abound, the injurious aspersions which they calumniously affix, the hollow platitudes to which they resort, and the commercial spirit in which they are managed represent the Christianity of our times, or do they more or less grossly misrepresent and dishonor it?

It is one thing to be able to show that many of the hostile attacks and more effective insinuations against the Christian living of our day are unjust and unwarranted, and altogether another to conclude that nothing is to be learned from them. It may be true that literature in all ages has derided and belied the best of Christians. It may be true, also, that with the decorum and conscientiousness of some of the Antichristian literature of the times, it is essentially unfriendly, and therefore unjust in its judgments. But it may not, therefore, be neglected or despised. Its discernment was never so keen, its weapons were never so sharp, and their thrusts were never more effective, whether made in sober earnest or the solemn and admonitory banter of a literary Mephistophiles. So far as it is earnest, so far does it demand of the believing Christian Church more simplicity of faith, more spirituality of aims, more upright Christian living in its homes, its neighborhoods, its commercial dealings, and its political activities. In the presence of such a Christian life as is conceivable under our human limitations, the most hostile literature would bow in silence, if it did not confess from the heart that Christ is in very deed present in a living and united Christendom.

RELATIONS OF THE SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS IN POPULAR EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

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THE subject on which I have consented to address the Conference is one of the utmost difficulty and delicacy, especially at the present moment; and I feel as if I had to choose my steps over ground dangerously mined in all directions, and to breathe an atmosphere full of questions and controversies. I shall endeavor, however, as far as possible, to escape controversies by giving little more than a clear statement of facts, with here and there an intimation of opinions or a suggestion, on grounds of pure induction, of practical conclusions. I shall avoid what are called abstract principles. Nothing is so easy as to dogmatize by announcing what pass for abstract propositions, and what sound like plausible or even evident principles, and by deducing from these a tissue of conclusions, on almost any side of a pressing and practical controversy. But very little is gained by high general arguments on practical questions, unless they are continually and throughout tested and illustrated by facts. Indeed, what men take to be an abstract principle is very seldom indeed a true abstraction. It is often little more than a working prejudice founded upon limited and ill-interpreted experience—at best a shell or envelope of words in which some principle is involved, which those who use the words have not learned truly to abstract and define.

My subject is announced as "Religious and Secular Education;" but the half hour at my disposal will not allow me to illustrate, even in my own practical fashion, more than a small part of the whole ground included under such a title. I shall, accordingly, deal almost exclusively with the "Relations of the Secular and Religious Elements in Popular Education." To the subject of University Education, in particular, I shall barely be able to advert. I shall, moreover, concern myself almost altogether with European aspects of the questions which come within view. Americans will draw their own conclusions, and will define and arrange for themselves their educational economy.

There is no such thing as an organized and exclusive state system of secular edu-

cation to be found in the world, except in Holland: there the secular system has been established not a great many years. It is possible, however, that, while the public schools of a nation may not be secular, but may combine secular and religious instruction, the state, in its oversight and aid, may concern itself exclusively with the methods and results of secular instruction. In this case, although the schools themselves may not be secular, the government stands in relation only with the secular instruction; and thus refuses all concern or share or responsibility in religious instruction. This is the principle on which government deals in England with all education given in day-schools founded and conducted, under given regulations, by religious denominations, by benevolent associations, or by voluntary effort. In these schools the government in England simply ignores the religious element.

The only schools in England in which religious instruction is systematically and on principle paid for out of public funds—funds raised by levy on the householders—are the new School Board schools, in which general Christian instruction is given out of the Scriptures by the teacher, or some person (it may be, and sometimes is, a clergyman) appointed by the School Board. These schools are wholly built by rate, and their final or residuary charge lies continually and necessarily on the rates, a small portion only of the expense being provided for by the school-fees, and about one-third (at present) by the national exchequer, more or less, according to the secular results. The instruction given is called undenominational. The Roman Catholic, however, objects to it as to him sectarian, as anti-Catholic, as Protestant; while the rationalist, or skeptic, objects to it as inevitably dogmatic, more or less, and as almost inevitably, at all events as commonly, as for the most part, more or less evangelic.

The imperial taxation, however, is not applied to the payment and maintenance of these schools, so far as respects the religious instruction given. The imperial, the national, oversight, examination, and pecuniary aid, are limited altogether to the secular

methods and results of instruction, as in the case of the voluntary or denominational public schools. The local rates, the rates levied and raised within the borough or the school district, are charged with the whole responsibility of providing for the religious instruction in these schools. The School Board and its funds stand in relation to School Board schools precisely as the Christian denomination or the voluntary benevolent association stands in relation to the schools founded by Christian Churches or voluntary associations.

The religious instruction given in the School Board schools usually includes a Bible lesson, singing, and prayer. Scarcely any Boards—very few indeed—have established secular schools in their districts. Perhaps there is no one principle, or motto, or rallying cry at this moment so potent and popular in England as “The Bible in the Schools.”

A certain wing of the advanced liberal party has unquestionably lost credit both for itself, and, I fear, also for the principles of advanced liberalism in general, by being understood to oppose Bible lessons and Christian instruction in the public schools. This is one of the causes, there can be little doubt, of what is called the conservative reaction now proceeding in England.

In England, accordingly, the imperial government, the government from the national centre, proceeds virtually, in its organization and administration of popular education, on the secular principle. On the other hand, the local School Boards teach, for the most part, a free and broad Protestant Christianity in their schools, using the Bible as the authoritative text-book. It seems to me that these School Boards have for their respective towns or school-districts set up a kind of supplementary and children's weekday church establishment, where Protestant Christianity is in a sense preached—that is, explained and applied, practically taught—to children; and where, to some extent, common worship is maintained. But then there is no territorial rooting, no “priesthood,” no ministerial order, no real property endowment.

In the case of reformatories, of industrial schools, and wherever the public necessities in the way of reclaiming or absolutely providing for children—the children of vice or of destitution—render boarding as well as schooling, and something like family life, necessary—it seems agreed by tacit consent that anti-denominational scruples must be set aside. Both the imperial revenue and the local rates are applied in contribution to denominational institutions, such as I have indicated, especially Roman Catholic reformatories and industrial schools.

You have probably heard something of a controversy in England about the 25th and

17th clauses of Mr. Forster's Education Act. The clauses relate to the education of the children of indigent parents. The 17th clause gives School Boards the power to remit the fees in their own schools at their pleasure; the 25th clause gives the power to pay the fees of indigent children at any public and inspected elementary school to which they may besent. School Board schools are not yet, and are not soon likely to be, available in all parts of England; very many parishes, many small towns, and even some large towns, are already well supplied with efficient and inspected public elementary schools. The rate-payer sturdily objects to any attempt to set aside or ignore these schools, and at his expense to set up and maintain new schools. The parent objects to be obliged, if he happens to be very poor, to take away his child from what he regards as his own school.

In the case of the Roman Catholic parent this objection would be persistent and embittered. Under these circumstances, if in England universal compulsion was to be applied, or to be contemplated as possible and desirable, it was necessary to arrange for the payment of fees in other public-inspected schools as well as their remission in Board schools; which latter schools, indeed, if there were no Roman Catholic public schools, no Church of England public schools—if these and all voluntary denominational public schools were to be done away—would very soon become purely secular schools.

In many parts of your own States it becomes increasingly evident that the common schools must become purely secular; or else that special provision must be made for the Roman Catholics. In Canada, the price paid for the maintenance of common schools for the rest of the population is, that there be separate and special provision for the Roman Catholics. So in England, unless separate schools were allowed for the Roman Catholics, School Board schools would of necessity become secular. The Roman Catholic population could hardly be invited into a Protestant common school. And into a secular common school, though they might perhaps be invited without any manifest injustice, it is certain that in England they could not be *forced*. Educational compulsion could not be applied, unless denominational as well as board schools were allowed to exist, and unless fees were paid in such schools for indigent children, as well as fees remitted in board schools.

In Holland, where the common schools are secular, this difficulty has rendered it impossible to apply a compulsory law. I may add here, on the authority of the Dutch Minister of Education, Baron Mackay, that the incidence of the secular system of schools on the Roman Catholic population in Holland, is eased by the fact that for the schools in Roman Catholic districts, of town or

country, Roman Catholic teachers are appointed.

I have explained that the 25th and 17th clauses give to the School Boards the power to pay or remit fees. It is a question, however, keenly debated in England, whether the School Board is a fit and proper body for investigating claims to poor-relief. Of course, the payment or remission of fees is only one form of poor-relief. All our political economists are of opinion that the Poor Law Guardians should have this work assigned to them, and that fees should only be paid or remitted on their authority.

The Education Amendment Act, however, passed last session, has greatly lessened the difficulty and responsibility connected with this subject, so far as School Boards are concerned. That Amendment Act remits all cases of the children of out-door paupers, paupers residing out of the work-house or poor-house, and receiving out-door relief, to the poor Law Guardians for payment. These children now must needs go to school between the ages of five and thirteen, and the guardians must pay the fees, which, however, are not to exceed a fixed and moderate sum. Voluntary Benevolence on the one side, and the Poor Fund on the other, will leave but little margin, as I hope, for either payment or remission of fees on the part of the School Boards.

The conscience clause in the English Education Act requires that religious instruction in all public elementary schools—*i. e.*, schools inspected by government and receiving government aid—whether such schools be of voluntary foundation or be School Board schools—shall only be given at a fixed hour either preceding or following the appointed hours of secular instruction. Within these hours—the proper hours of state-recognized and secular instruction, *viz.*, from 9.30 or 10 A.M. to 4.30 P.M., excluding the dinner hour—no sort of religious instruction can be given. The managers are also strictly prohibited from using any influence to bring the children to any church or connect them with any congregation, or in favor of or against any particular denomination; any violation of these regulations would entail the forfeiture of the government grant.

So much as to the relations between religious and secular instruction in our English public elementary schools. It is quite impossible at this transition stage to give, as to several important points, any but the most vague and general estimate of the statistics bearing upon the subject. It may be safely affirmed, indeed, that the number of public inspected school departments in England at this time can not fall much short of 11,000, *i. e.*, boys', or girls', or mixed, or infants' separate departments; that the number on the school-rolls is about 2,000,000, with an average attendance of 1,500,000; that three-fourths

of the children are in schools established during the last sixty years, and worked by the Church of England; that the inspected schools—*i. e.*, separate school departments—belonging to the Church of England number nearly 8000; those of the Methodists about 1000; of the Roman Catholics about 500; those of the British and Foreign School Society (Protestant Undenominational) and of different Protestant Non-conformist congregations, excluding the Methodists—many of this class of schools having been transferred to School Board schools—about 900; and of School Board schools, making a very rough guess, perhaps 400 at present, built or transferred. The next three years, however, will probably see this last figure—the number of School Board schools—mount up to two or three thousand. I should myself like to see a British school (so called) or a School Board school brought within walking distance of every child of ten years old in the kingdom. But neither time nor place is suitable to-day for stating my reasons for such a wish; and, much as I might wish it, I have no expectation of seeing it accomplished within any assignable period. But within a very few years I have no doubt that a good inspected school, under strict and efficient national regulations, by whatever name it may be called, will be available for all the children of our country. It will be seen from what I have stated how strong the Church of England has made itself by its schools, what an immense educational work it has done. These schools are now a most important part of its line of intrenchments. Having paid nearly or quite three-fourths of the cost of building these schools, and having raised from year to year, by voluntary contributions, perhaps three-sevenths of the annual cost, and having thus furnished the country with three-fourths of its available supply of popular elementary education, it holds a wide and mighty purchase upon the country. When School Boards have done all that remains to be done, and the supply of schools is fully equal to the demands of the country, it is probable that still two-thirds of the school-provision of the country will be worked by the Church of England. I simply state facts. I do not comment on them. But they tell a full and various tale as to the past, the present, and the future, as to hopes, and fears, and heart-burnings, as to forces and controversies.

Let me now turn to the much misunderstood question of Irish popular education. In round numbers, there are in Ireland 7000 so-called national schools; of these 5000 are non-vested, that is, schools owned and confessedly managed by the different denominations, corresponding very nearly to the so-called denominational schools of England, except that the power of the denominational element is stronger and less guarded, while

the contribution of the public revenue, the state contribution toward the expense is much greater. In England, the government only pays, on an average, one-third of the cost of the denominational schools, and is prohibited in any case whatever from paying more than one-half; whereas in Ireland the government pays not less, I believe, than four-fifths of the cost of these denominational—the non-vested—schools.

The other 2000 schools are vested schools, have been built out of public funds, and are vested as property in public trustees in the National Board. These schools, however, are really as denominational as the other. The description which I am about to give applies equally to both classes of schools, vested or non-vested, and will show in what respects the Irish national schools differ from or agree with the English public inspected schools. In all the Irish schools, vested or non-vested, the catechisms of the respective denominations, in each case of the dominant denomination in the place, or at least in the school, are taught by the school-teacher. The schools are managed, all alike, by sole denominational patrons, who in almost all cases are clergymen, Roman Catholic or Protestant, who are checked by no committee or local board of any sort, and who, till within the last three months, could dismiss a teacher at their own mere option, with or without reason assigned. In all the schools, the clergymen of the ruling denominations—that is, for the most part, the patrons of the schools—give specific religious instruction themselves; all the school-rooms are used as Sunday-schools; in nearly all, the children are prepared for confirmation by their spiritual pastors; most are used by the denominations to which the patrons belong for denominational purposes, not only on the Sunday but on the week-night. Finally, in all the Irish schools, whether vested or non-vested, unlike the English inspected denominational schools, religious instruction may be given either by the patron or by the teacher at any fixed hour, any fixed intermediate hour, during the ordinary hours of general instruction, provided the hour be duly specified and made publicly known.

The only distinction of any importance between the vested and the non-vested schools is, that in the vested schools ministers of all the different denominations may demand a fixed time, before or after the general studies of the day begin, for giving instruction to the children of their flock in the school-room. In a large proportion of the vested schools, however, this is only a right on paper.

There are twenty-seven Model Schools. These are the best schools in Ireland; but they are too few to influence the general estimate of the system. They have chiefly been established during the last twen-

ty years. Originally, and for many years, there was but one such school—at Dublin. They may be said fairly to represent what the Irish National Board, at least in its better days, would have desired all the schools of Ireland, as far as possible, to resemble. In their common teaching they are not secular, but unsectarianly Christian; in their special arrangements they are, as far as need be or can be, omni-sectarian and dogmatic. They provide for teachers of different religious persuasions in the same school, each of whom is bound religiously to instruct the children of his own persuasion, and for the attendance at the school weekly of the clergy of the different churches, each to examine and supplement what the teachers have been doing, and to keep up the pastoral charge of the children of his own flock.

The original principle of the Irish system, as officially defined in Mr. Stanley's—the late Lord Derby's—famous letter, forty-two years ago, was to furnish a “combined literary and moral and separate religious instruction.” From the very first, however, the Irish Board of Education found, or at least believed that they found, that the moralities of instruction could not be practically separated from religious convictions and principles. Accordingly, from the beginning, they officially interpreted “combined literary and moral” to mean “literary, moral, and religious instruction.” They provided lesson-books which were largely impregnated with religious teaching; they prepared and published four volumes of Scripture Extracts; they even issued and recommended for use a little work (by Archbishop Whately) on the Evidences of Christianity. At the same time, they made express and abundant provision for the instruction of the children in the catechism and special doctrines of their different churches by their clergy, and, under the clergy-patrons, by the school-teachers. Besides the school-patron and the teacher, acting on behalf of the prevalent creed and sect, all clergymen were to have access to the children of their several flocks.

At first there were to have been none but vested schools. On this principle, however, the system took very little hold of the country. In 1840, the Presbyterians made terms with the Board for the admission of non-vested or denominational schools. These, as I have stated, now constitute five-sevenths of the whole.

Twelve years earlier than the foundation of the Irish system, that is in 1819, a system agreeing strictly in principle with the original Irish system had been introduced into Germany. In practice, however, it was found unworkable. Within five-and-twenty years it had slidden and grown into a liberal denominational system. Such has

been the system in Germany now for many years past.

In France the liberal statesmanship of Guizot, instructed and sustained by the philosophic capacity and culture of Victor Cousin, naturally and congenially inclined to attempt for the French the experiment of combined instruction, of which the failure in Germany was not yet declared, and of which the experiment was being made, in a spirit so large and with objects so elevated and enlightened, in Ireland. Nevertheless, in France as in Germany and in Ireland—in Germany earlier, and in Ireland about the same time—the experiment proved a failure. The combined system in France also worked into a virtually denominational system, although the denominationalism is not, I believe, so fully or impartially carried out among the free churches as some think it ought to be.

Thus has the combined system everywhere proved a failure on the principle of united moral and secular instruction—that is, of united unsectarian and generically Christian instruction, both secular and religious—and separate specifically doctrinal instruction. All the countries of Europe, with the single exception already named of Holland, provide in some way for the denominational management of public elementary schools. This is so even in republican Switzerland with its free system of common schools. Nowhere is it more distinctly the case than in Germany, where the clergy of the three established denominations are state officers. The present controversy in Germany as to education arises from the determination on the part of the government to keep the state regulations supreme in the school, and to reduce the Romish hierarchy and fraternities no less than the Lutheran or the Reformed clergy to the position of the loyal executive of all government regulations. It is parallel to the resolution of all parties in England not to submit to the Ultramontane demands as to education in Ireland.

In Ireland, as we have seen, the teacher teaches his own patron's catechism in the school. In Scotland, Presbyterian Scotland, the common national teaching will, under the act recently passed, be definitely religious in a sense unknown elsewhere in the British empire. There the School Board and rate-built schools will pervade the land, and there the education given by the teacher is to be not only Christian and religious, but very definitely dogmatic. The Bible will be used as a common reading-book in the schools, and the Westminster Catechism, as well as the Bible, will be taught by the teacher to the children, of course under the protection, as in England and Ireland, of a Conscience-clause. In both Ireland and Scotland as much common religious instruction and influence is incorporated with the universal education as can be practically accomplished.

The same also may be said to be the principle generally adopted by the School Boards in England, but our lively controversies restrict the common Christian instruction within narrow limits. The imperial administration, in fact, except in the case of reformatories or industrial schools, proceeds strictly on the secular principle, the principle of paying only in consideration of secular methods and results. Only the School Boards, I repeat, pay expressly or properly for common religious instruction.

In agreement with my promise at starting, I have not attempted to argue in this paper, or to ventilate theories, but simply to present facts in clear relation to each other. Before closing, let me touch again upon the case of Holland, the country of secular education. Roman Catholicism forced secularism upon Holland about sixteen years ago, not without great division, and struggling, and controversy. But the condition and circumstances of Holland have enabled that country to work a secular system as no other country could. Unlike the popular masses in England, but like the ancient and truly indigenous Scottish lowland population of all classes, and like the New England of earlier times, the lower classes in Holland are all church-going people, and seldom or never omit to have their children instructed by their pastor and confirmed at the proper age. This is no consequence of the modern and highly developed education of Holland. It is the basis of character and quality on which that education has been established. The lower classes in Holland—at least the Protestants—and the Roman Catholic population are always sure to be religiously indoctrinated to a sufficient extent by their priests—the lower classes in Holland generally resemble, and seem to have for generations resembled, in respectability, economy, prudence, respect for Christian profession, and, at least, external worship, our middle classes in England, and your people of almost all classes in the States, except certain foreign strains of immigrant blood. Cleanliness and thrift are universal. Christian civilization pervades the community. If a secular system can be made to work in Holland, it does not follow that it would be practicable in England. The masses on behalf of which there is the most urgent need for us to care in England, unless they are Christianly instructed and civilized in the schools, unless there they are morally, I will say, religiously trained and impressed, are certainly not likely elsewhere to receive any Christian instruction or training. Their homes are too commonly the abodes of profanity and irreligion, not seldom of all that is coarse, and animal, and degrading.

I will be frank enough to confess, in this my last paragraph, abstaining still from controversy or discussion, that ideally and in

fundamental principle I am, as to national education, a pure voluntary, or, if you like, a free-trader. I hold here to the principles of John Sturt Mill, that great economist. Government should require for every child a good education, should take proper manner to have the educational condition of children—especially before they are allowed to go to work, whether whole time or half time—of electors, of competitors for public employment, tested, but should not undertake to provide education for the nation.

“An education established by the state,” says Mr. Mill, “should only exist, if it exist at all, as one among many competing experiments, carried on for the purpose of example and stimulus, to keep the others up to a certain standard of excellence.” And the competition should, of course, be fair and equal in all conditions and respects. The interference of government in England during the last forty years is indeed to be justified, as I think, but only as exceptional, transitional, temporary; and on principles which Mr. Mill has himself distinctly laid down. “When,” he says, “society in general is in so backward a state that it could not or would not provide for itself any proper institutions of education, unless the government undertook the task; then, indeed, government may, as the lesser of two evils, take upon itself the business of schools and universities, as it may that of joint-stock enterprises, when private enterprise in a shape fitted for undertaking great works of industry does not exist in the country.” On this principle the interference in England of the Government during the last forty years may be fully justified. But I hope that another generation may see the vast system and net-work of government protection and pecuniary aid, and direct interference and management in my own country, gently and gradually done away. With the disappearance of that system, all the varie-

ties and complications of the religious difficulties will also disappear.

I am aware that what I have now said will appear very heretical to many of my American hearers. It is not my business to defend it. I will, however, say that Mr. Mill's principles are not, as I seem to see, inconsistent with the principle of the common-school system of this continent according to its original conception and essential principle.

Meantime I venture to think that a large State, including among its people many degrees and varieties of belief, and doubt or disbelief, so far as it contributes by vote out of State Funds to schools or universities, would find it both convenient and just to ignore religious diversities and distinctions altogether, and to respect alone and absolutely secular objects, attainments, and results. It seems to sound right when men say that the contribution of the State shall be only to unsectarian institutions. But a rigidly and necessarily unsectarian institution is apt to become sectarianly secular, and even propagandistly skeptical and anti-religious. To maintain such institutions out of public revenue, while liberal and largely tolerant, broadly catholic institutions are left unaided, merely because they are the property and charge of a practically and closely cemented Christian organization, seems to be a policy which at least is open to question. I venture to doubt whether this is really pure secularism, or true unsectarianism, in principle.*

* [The reading of this paper was followed by a discussion in the morning and evening on the religious element in popular education, in which Dr. M'Cosh, Mr. James Girdlestone, Rev. J. Carwell Williams, Dr. Haven, Dr. Conrad, Dr. Ormiston, and others took part. Papers on the same subject had been previously engaged from Professor Pfeiderer of Germany, Mr. Van Loon of Holland, who, however, found it impossible to attend.—*Ed.*]

THIRD SECTION.—THE PULPIT OF THE AGE.

MODERN PREACHING AND ITS REQUIREMENTS.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., LONDON.

IN discussing, even cursorily, the question of modern preaching, my contention throughout will be that in proportion as we follow the apostolic method of stating and applying truth will our preaching be adapted to this day and all other days of human sin and want. In order to wield the original *power*, is it not needful to recur to the original *method* of preaching? Take, for example, the preaching of the Apostle Paul, and inquire somewhat into its substance and manner. What did Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, preach? Paul himself answers the question: "I preach Christ crucified;" "I preach the unsearchable riches of Christ;" "Christ sent me to preach the Gospel." Here is definiteness of conviction. The man knows his business—his one, simple, beneficent business—and his mind is set upon it without doubtfulness or distraction. He does not preach *about* the Gospel: he does not show how skillfully he can abstain from touching it even where it seems impossible for him to escape it altogether: contrariwise, he preaches the Gospel itself with fullness of statement, and with a supreme desire to make it understood and felt. To Paul, Jesus Christ himself was the Gospel: the *man* was the *doctrine*; the doctrine was the man: hence, the preaching was quickened by those elements which set the personality of the Saviour at the head of all life, and make that personality the complement of all being. Thus much, then, for the *substance* of Paul's preaching, viz., a living, dying, triumphing, almighty, and unchangeable Saviour. Is it not such a Lord that is needed in this day, when men are mad in wickedness and have become the makers of their own gods?

We have inquired as to the substance of Paul's preaching; what was the *manner* of the preacher? On this point, also, the apostle speaks with peculiar and instructive emphasis. We ask him, *How* do you preach? and he answers, "Not with wisdom of words, lest the Cross of Christ should be made of none effect;" "My preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom;" "I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom."

This law of speech would destroy nine-tenths of what is falsely called "eloquent

preaching." What care is bestowed upon the manufacture of sentences! how periods are smoothed and rounded! how anxious are many speakers lest by a slip in quantity they should impair the rhythm of their utterances! Is not this the "wisdom of words" which the apostle religiously eschewed, lest the Cross of Christ should be made of none effect? Are not these the "enticing words of man's wisdom" which Paul avoided in his ministry? I put the case thus interrogatively rather than dogmatically, lest I should even seem to bring unjust reproach, or inflict needless pain, on some honest man. Am I, then, discountenancing the highest uses of speech, or would I exclude eloquence from the sanctuary of the Lord? Far from it. Seeing that we can not preach without words, I would have all words fit and seasonable; on the right hand of Truth I would set Beauty, and on her left hand I would set Music, but as they stood together in the smiling light I would say, Now abideth Truth, Beauty, and Music, but the greatest of these is Truth—Truth is the infinite quantity; beauty and music are measurable and determinate elements. There is a danger among us, and it should be clearly pointed out—a danger of setting up an *idolatry of mere words*, and so drawing attention to the casket to the disadvantage of the jewel. What do we often hear respecting a preacher and his preaching? That he is a polished speaker; that his language is exquisite in chasteness and balance; that his sermons are literary models, and that his composition is a study in art. This is thought to be complimentary—complimentary to an angel of the Lord, clothed with fire, and put in trust of mighty thunderings, a preacher of the Cross, and a revealer of judgment to come! God-speed to the eloquence of the heart; but as for the mere sentence-maker, his pulpit is a store of carved wood, not Lebanon or Bashan, not the mountain of myrrh or the hill of frankincense.

The probability is that the Apostle Paul would be impatient with a good deal of what passes among us as eloquent preaching. Would he not be ill at ease until the preacher came to the Cross and showed its bearing

upon human sin and human need? Would he be so pleased with an epithet as to forget a doctrine? Is a sermon to be an entertainment or a lesson? Is the preacher a cunning trickster in the use of words, or a teacher sent from God? Let us have a clear understanding upon these points, that we may know the scope and urgency of our work, and do it mightily with both hands.

There is a third question which the Apostle Paul will answer in a remarkable manner, *In what spirit did you conduct your ministry?* Hear his reply:

"I was with you in weakness and fear and much trembling." "With all humility of mind and many tears." "I warned every one night and day with tears."

Mark this as one secret of the apostle's power—he always felt his own weakness, and he always saw the *pathetic aspects* of his work. He trembled; he feared; he wept; he travailed in birth! Yet how few suspected the existence of such experiences! So bold that he could stand alone; so resolute that neither bonds nor afflictions could move him; yet was he heart-broken as a minister of the Cross of Christ. Paul did not attempt his work in an off-hand manner, as if he were superior to it, and could do it without strain or effort. It was evermore above him; it exhausted and mocked the mean sufficiencies of human resource; it scorched and consumed him like an altar fire! "Who," said he, "is sufficient for these things?" Think of Paul weeping! When he wept it was with "*many tears.*" Who could argue like Paul, whose every word struck like a battering ram, yet who could cry with tears so many and so bitter? A good deal of useful work may be done with logic, but without pathos we can never get that special and indescribable influence which touches all hearts, speaks all languages, and sheds the light of hope upon all lives. Pathos is not, indeed, one-sided. There is a pathos of laughter as well as a pathos of tears; there is a godly laughter, easily enough distinguishable from the merriment of fools. Argument applied with pathos means mastery the world over; argument without pathos may burn up ill weeds, but can never produce gardens of loveliness or Edens of delight. We must have the dew as well as the fire.

Looking, then, at the substance, the manner, and the spirit of Paul's preaching, I contend, in answer to the question which is involved in my subject, that in proportion as we return to apostolic doctrine and method will our preaching be adapted to all the great necessities of our own and every succeeding age. I trust I am not violating the spirit of an honest charity in expressing the belief that the time is at hand when the preaching of Christ crucified, without the wisdom of mere words, and with much trembling and pathos, will be the only *original* preaching.

In some quarters we have a Christ, but not a Christ *crucified*; a character in history, but not a sacrifice for sins, or a mediator between God and man. When Peter mentioned the name of Christ to the Sanhedrim, he set an example to all preachers evermore—"Jesus Christ of Nazareth whom ye crucified"—that is the full style and title of the Saviour! Ruinous mistakes may arise out of its abbreviation. We have now to be very definite in the statement of his name, because many false Christs have gone out into the world—creatures of the imagination, spectres seen in troubled dreams, painted things made to order and sold for a price. Let us in so foul a market-place remember that the name of the Infinite Saviour, God the Son, is *Jesus—Jesus Christ—Jesus Christ of Nazareth—Jesus Christ of Nazareth* whom every man has *crucified* by his own great sin!

This call to reproduce the substance, the manner, and the spirit of apostolic preaching is not a call to a narrow or superficial ministry. An inexperienced man might, on hearing the range of Paul's preaching, suggest the easy possibility of speedily exhausting it. "Preach Christ crucified!" he might exclaim. "Why, that may be done in a sermon or two!" Such are the mistakes of ignorance and vanity! The maturest and ablest men in the Christian ministry will testify, with tears of delight and thankfulness, that the gracious mystery of redemption by the Cross has evermore grown before the vision of their reverence and love until it has filled all things with its mournful, its holy and infinite glory. They will testify further that the Cross of Christ—the Christ of Nazareth—is the only key which can open the secrets of human history, and that human history apart from that Cross is confusion without hope—a wild, fierce fight, ending in the hopelessness of a beast's grave. He who has no crucified and redeeming Christ to preach wastes his little strength within the narrowest limits, though he may appear to have wide liberty of action: he can but talk *at* men; he can never speak *to* them, to their agonies, their heart-hunger, their helplessness, their dumb and vehement aspirations. His mouth is filled with mocking, and his words are instruments of cruelty; as for his prayers, they are as birds with broken wings, tormented by their own impotence, testifying to the presence of an instinct, but never reaching the gates of the sun. Seest thou not, O student of God, that the great, dear, sad Cross is everywhere, and, if thy course as a teacher be determined by any other meridian, thou shalt be as a thief among men, and at last be damned as a slayer of souls? History will show that the preachers who have taken deepest hold of human life have been most faithful to the Cross of Christ; others have had their reward for divers gifts and excellences, yet

beyond a momentary applause they have had but little lien upon the love and thankfulness of human hearts. The preaching of Jesus Christ crucified has always elicited the greatest answers from those who have heard it. These answers have confirmed the divinity of the doctrine, and set the seal of heaven upon the preacher's purpose and method. What have those answers been? Answers of penitence, of loyalty, of service; grief on account of sin, devotion to the Redeemer's Cross; service without weariness, a pursuit of the lost; a healing of the diseased; a teaching of the ignorant, and undespairing prayer for those who are out of the way. What results have attended preaching of an opposite kind? Pedantry, seiolism, self-worship, a theology without religion, a temple without a God—these we have found, together with a gentility cold as death, and a self-absorption cruel as the grave; but nowhere have we discovered the "living sacrifice" and the godly self-denial which are born of the atonement of God the Son.

Faithfulness to the apostolic doctrine and method will save the preacher from all the narrowness of mere denominationalism in the exercise of his ministry, and from all other narrowness of thought and sympathy. Denominationalism, properly understood and wisely administered, has most excellent uses, yet we can not have too little of it in the Christian pulpit. In the pulpit we should hear the universal language of God's love to mankind, and not the provincial dialect of zealotry and sectarianism. The wise pastor will have his classes for private instruction in many points of secondary and relative importance, but his pulpit will be sacred to the proclamation of the eternal truth which man needs in all places and at all times. This brings me to a point which should be treated with delicate discrimination. The preacher's lips need not be sealed upon what are called the questions of the day; yet, in my opinion, he will treat such questions more successfully by the exposition of great principles than by becoming a special pleader or sinking into a mere debater. On the other hand, allowance must be made for men of exceptional gifts and peculiar influence. There are ministers of various denominations, in whom we glorify God, and for whom we can never cease to thank him, who are specially qualified to discuss secular questions in the course of a religious service. Such men must ever be a law unto themselves. I have no reference, how remote soever, to them when I urgently advise those who are younger than myself to refrain while in the pulpit from the discussion of all parochial, secular, political, and other temporary questions. They will find enough to do without discussing such topics. In leading public worship, in expounding the Scrip-

tures, and in holding up the Cross over the whole field of human sin and want, the finest powers of the most brilliant preacher may well be exhausted.

As to "preaching to the day," I have a distinct opinion to express. In so exercising our ministry there is a danger that we speak very loudly and eloquently to men who never hear us. The young preacher reads the last number of a skeptical review, and instantly sits down to the composition of a sermon which is to destroy the logical position of the reviewer; yet, alas for the vigor of the preacher and the dignity of the whole situation, not a man in the assembly ever heard of the article, and the reviewer himself is unaware of the very existence of the preacher. Possibly, too, the people may unfortunately remember the objection when they have forgotten the answer, and thus the preacher may become the ally of the skeptic. That some people may be pleased with the kind of preaching which is addressed to "the day" is far from improbable, seeing that it never stings the conscience; it never condescends to enter the region of moral discipline; it is simply a sublime fight in the air, in the exciting progress of which the combatants fiercely strike at nothing, and hit it with magnificent precision. There is neither irony nor sarcasm in the statement that in listening to some preachers—deservedly conspicuous and influential, it may be—one receives the impression that there is an eager though invisible auditory before them whose one object is to give them the lie at the end of every sentence, and to convict them of lunacy in the construction of every argument. This is supposed to be "preaching to the day!" The fact is that in such cases the preacher is rather replying to the books which he has been reading during the week than devoting himself to the treatment of the actual experience represented by his congregation. I am far enough from denying that notice should be paid to current criticism upon Christian doctrine, but quite as far from asserting that such notice should be paid from the pulpit. Written attacks are best met by written defenses, and, even were it not so in a literary point of view, it is certainly more honorable to meet an enemy on his own ground than to fire upon him from the security of a privileged position. More than this: the Christian pulpit turned into a medium for the advertisement of unchristian books is a flagrant violation of public stewardship. Preachers have enough to do without degrading the sanctuary into an arena of *ex parte* debate: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

That the Gospel is a message to humanity

rather than to any special set of men will be unanimously agreed. The Christian sanctuary is not a high school for the technical education of a few pupils, but a free public school for the instruction of the whole world: the rich and the poor meet together; the master and the servant; the old man and the little child; the strong and the weak, all are there, and upon them all the rain of a common blessing should descend. Loss of sympathy is loss of power. If as preachers we become separated from the common mass by betaking ourselves to some speciality of our vocation—as, for example, the refutation of skeptics who never listen to us, and the destruction of theories of whose very existence ninety-tenths of our hearers are totally unaware—we shall cut ourselves off from those currents of sympathy upon whose right use so much of ministerial usefulness depends. From the ministry of pedantic debaters, mothers (whose lives oscillate between pain and care) will retire without a word that can make their families glad, little children will escape as from a great weariness, and men of business will turn away with the pain of grievous disappointment; and thus the man who should have come down upon human life as an angel charged with messages from the secret place of the Most High will become a mere chatterer of unprofitable words, talking an unknown tongue to men who long for truth and love.

As to the *manner* of the preacher, I may express the hope that the day will never come when individuality will cease to distinguish the ministry. It is written upon all the works of God: why should it not be written upon the sanctuary, the chiefest and brightest of his creations? Who am I that I should find fault censoriously with my brother's way? Have I had some secret revelation from heaven which has been denied to him? Hath God made but one instrument? Is not the trumpet his, and the lute, the organ, and the instrument of ten strings? Do I not hear in his house the clash of cymbals, the throb of drums, and the silver of sweet bells? Every man must preach in the way in which he can use his power to advantage—the advantage always being the spiritual progress of the hearer, and not the mere elevation and fame of the speaker. It would appear as if to win a

world-wide renown, to make the ears of all nations tingle, it is necessary to pass through a period of offense and antagonism. Faultless respectability never made itself known afar. Gentility seldom gets beyond its own parish. And even the highest quality of power—intellect in its inspired moods, and excitement so terrible that it is mistaken for calmness—is sometimes doomed to limitation, if not obscurity. The men who have become the chief figures in the Christian pulpits of all lauds—the men whose names are known in out-of-the-way places and by the most unlikely people—the men who belong to the world, have all, in some degree, been a by-word and an offense for a time; in some sense it has been said of each of them, "He hath a devil and is mad, why hear ye him?" But if the word of the Lord has been in him, and his soul has been the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, he has thrown off all the crudeness and vulgarity of early practice, and become a master and a ruler in the kingdom of the Church. The fear is, however, that, in making an admission like this, some young man may begin as an ape and end as a fool; that is to say, he will repeat extravagances and eccentricities, without knowing any thing of the spiritual power and genius of his model. There is no help for it. I can not waste my time in any attempt to reclaim such a man. It would appear as if there must be "a son of perdition" in every company. In such a man there is a great law at work, and he, by his madness, is giving all diligence to make his calling and election sure. May his day be short, and his death easy!

To those who do not preach let me say: You determine to a large extent the kind of preaching which is popular. I look to *hearers* as well as to preachers for a genuine reform of the pulpit wherever reform is needed. You must insist upon hearing the Gospel! When you distinguish between gold and tinsel, when you show your disgust for the mere prettinesses of pulpit dolls, when you protest against all trifling with the realities of life and destiny, when you set your face like a flint against all that is unsubstantial in doctrine and all that is vicious in ritual, you will soon drive the hireling from the pulpit and banish the tallow-chandler from the altar of God.

THE BEST METHODS OF PREACHING.

BY THE REV. DANIEL P. KIDDER, D.D.,

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THE experiments of eighteen hundred years have proved that the world needs no new gospel, and equally that the wisest minds can not hope essentially to improve upon the original plan for diffusing Christian truth throughout the earth. Whatever improvement is possible was comprehended in the scope of that original plan, and was designed to grow out of its appropriate working. The *desideratum* of the present as of other times is a better comprehension of the great design of the Author of the Gospel, and of the means and methods which he appointed for its promulgation. Whoever, therefore, would learn the best methods of preaching must take his first and highest lessons in the school of Christ. Let him study with devout attention the precepts and the example of Him who "spake as never man spake." Then let him well consider those direct illustrations of the Master's word and will furnished in the practice and teaching of the Apostles. From the inspired Word let him learn the power of divine truth in its application to his own heart and life. Then let his soul become deeply imbued with the love and zeal which characterized Him who came to seek and to save the lost.

These essential preliminaries having been attained, it is proper to seek auxiliary instruction from the experience of successive ages, and also to make sure of those special adaptations to our own age and circumstances which God in his providence suggests.

"Great has been the company of the preachers" in the past, and we of the present may hope to profit by the successes and failures of those who have gone before us. As time rolls on, and as the human mind becomes educated to a better comprehension of Christian truth, the practical uses of that truth should be ever improving, while Christian men and ministers become more capable of avoiding errors and mistakes. Much has already been learned of the deep things of God, but how far are we yet from having sounded the depths of the ocean of revealed truth! So, with all that has been accomplished in preaching the Gospel, who can suppose that the maximum of preaching power has yet been attained!

While we may thankfully claim that the

preaching of the past has done much for the salvation of men and the glory of God—indeed, directly or indirectly, all that has been done toward evangelizing the nations and diffusing Christianity in the world—yet how much more that it might have done has it left unaccomplished!

What multitudes within the hearing of its voice have lived and died unmoved and unsaved! What long periods of time have been barren of evangelical results! What vast regions of the earth have never yet been reached by the proclamation of the Gospel! Even in the most favored lands, what myriads, what majorities, have remained indifferent to the great salvation!

When we consider what the Gospel was appointed to do, and what it was capable of having done ere this, we are compelled to lament that the preaching of the past and even of the present has fallen very far short of its possibilities for good. What is worse, preaching has been found capable of perversion, and successive ages have suffered from its power for evil.

In the early centuries it was the propagator of prolific heresies. During the period of the ancient Church, it insinuated into well-intentioned minds the false principles of asceticism, and thus exiled to deserts and monasteries many of the best men and women of the Church whose presence was indescribably needed in society and in Christian work. In mediæval times, under the lead of such men as Peter the Hermit and Bernard of Clairvaux, it waved a fire-brand over the nations, and urged millions of men, and even thousands of children, to set out on warlike crusades, in which most of them fell victims to the false zeal which perverted preaching and ecclesiastical authority had aroused. Even in this last generation of the nineteenth century, the debasing illusions of Spiritism and the loathsome doctrines of Mormonism are propagated and maintained by a system of perverted preaching. But as such perversions, however perpetrated in the name of Christ, are obvious departures from the truth and method of the Gospel, so their one essential remedy is to be found in the more diligent and faithful preaching of the truth as it is in Jesus.

The practical question before us now is whether we can not by means of Scripture

and experience and the aid of the Holy Spirit so measure up to the original and authoritative standard of preaching, as that henceforth it may answer its full design of attracting all ears, impressing all minds, and winning all hearts. Let us, therefore, with practical ends in view, proceed to a brief analysis, seeking to determine what are the essential elements of that preaching which was appointed by the great Head of the Church for the evangelization of the world.

We find that its fundamental idea is based upon the social nature of man, and his inherent desire of communications from his fellow-men. Hence human lips are employed to address human ears and human hearts. We here strike the clue to a series of elements which have always been found in the successful preaching of the past, and which need to be combined in a greater degree and more thoroughly intensified in the preaching of the present and future.

1. *The Power to arrest and command Attention.*—Men are naturally averse to Christian truth. They prefer entertainment, excitement of the fancy, amusement, indifference, any thing that will leave them to the inclinations of their hearts or the waywardness of their lives. It is the preacher's business to break the spell that binds them, to disturb their self-satisfaction, and to disengage their anxieties from the worldliness that absorbs them. This is not to be accomplished by petty surprises or by startling paradoxes. They may excite attention for the moment, but usually they will react both against the preacher and his message. True and effective preaching demands a manner worthy of the truth it seeks to proclaim. That manner must be dignified, though not austere. It must indicate a consciousness of the supreme importance of the message to be delivered, and the extreme necessities of those who ought to receive it. Such a consciousness will banish formality as an impertinence scarcely less tolerable than frivolity itself. It will appeal alike to the self-respect and the conscious wants of the hearer, and, having arrested his attention, will tend to fasten it upon the growing interest of the theme. No preacher can hold the attention of an audience who has not important thoughts to utter, and who can not utter them in a manner worthy of their import and design. Distinctness of articulation, skill in emphasis, clearness of arrangement, and fervor in delivery, all have their uses for this object, and, well combined, ought to secure an ever-deepening interest to the truth uttered in application to the heart, and life, and destiny of the hearer.

2. *The Quality of imparting Instruction.*—One of the most important phases of Christ's character was that in which he appeared as the world's great Teacher. In his teaching

office he not only exploded the errors which, through man's apostasy and love of sin, had long brooded like thick darkness over the minds both of Jews and Gentiles, but he introduced a system of pure and positive truth, adequate to the spiritual wants of mankind. He also set in a clear light many truths previously but dimly revealed, and some that had been partially obscured by the shadows of error. In this manner he illustrated his own declaration, "I am the way, the TRUTH, and the life."

In the great commission he invested his ministers with the teaching office, magnifying their work as the instructors of men by a double stress, "Go *teach* all nations, TEACHING them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." It is only in compliance with this feature of the Saviour's command that they can claim his added promise, "Lo, I am with you always, to the end of the world." "Apt to teach" was also the requirement of a representative apostle, who commanded his son in the Gospel to commit the teaching office, as it is still required of the Church to do, "to them who shall be able to teach others also."

The perpetual renewal of human society by successive generations of the young and inexperienced makes perpetual the necessity of the task of Christian instruction. But, if it were not so, the fathomless depths and the infinite extension of Christian truth demand for it ever new applications to the changing circumstances of humanity, and invite its students onward to ever new and expanding regions of thought. Thus it is that, while secular oratory exhausts itself with special occasions, and even science becomes a "tale that is told," the Word and truth of God are like perennial fountains, ever sending forth streams of freshness and beauty. It is the privilege of the preacher to draw from those fountains, and minister the waters of life to them "that hunger and thirst after righteousness." Whatever else preaching may lack, it ought never, considering the richness and productiveness of its themes, to be barren or unfruitful of profitable instruction in reference to "the things of the kingdom of God."

3. *Preaching should convince the Judgment.*—"Knowing the terrors of the law," said Paul, "we persuade men." It was the compulsion of persuasion which the Saviour enjoined upon his disciples as a means of inducing men to come in, that his Father's house might be filled. Hence the control of attention and the impartation of instruction, however important of themselves, are nevertheless to be regarded as means to the higher end of convincing men of spiritual truth and religious duty. As God has implanted reasoning faculties in every mind, it is the preacher's duty to bring Christian truth within the action of those faculties,

so that they may be enlisted in its reception and study. To this end, he must be a lover of truth, and must illustrate its influence not only in his life, but in his modes of reasoning. No mental reservations must be allowed to underlie his statements, no covert sophistries to impeach his candor, and no evasions to betray his lack of confidence in the truths he assumes to utter. His motto must be, "Having believed, therefore do I speak," and, in showing forth the reasons for the hope that is in him, he will not fail to persuade others also.

4. *Preaching should arouse the Conscience.*—It was specially designed to reach and quicken that silent and often silenced monitor of every breast, which, however averse its possessor may be, seldom fails to respond to earnest reasoning on "temperance, righteousness, and a judgment to come." Powerless and valueless for true religious effect are those sermons which, awaken no echoes in the chambers of conscience; whereas the faithful word which startles into action a dormant consciousness of guilt before God, and confronts a careless soul with its own shortcomings and their consequences, is of priceless value in the moral history of that soul.

When the conscience is properly aroused, it becomes an auxiliary of untold power to aid the preacher in his further work. It supplies the listening ear, the tender heart, the consenting will. Thus it is that, through the office of preaching, God works within men "to will and to do of his own good pleasure," and yet in perfect harmony with their individual freedom of choice and action.

5. *Preaching should melt the Sensibilities.*—As man embraces in his nature the most varied powers and susceptibilities, so preaching was designed to address and influence every faculty of his being. Intensely fallacious, therefore, is the theory of some that preaching should only address the judgment. That, indeed, is to be done in a manly and faithful manner; but the more delicate task of warming the heart and kindling the emotions is not to be left undone. For this there is no power equal to a right exercise and an unaffected expression of the religious affections. How tame is the classic precept of Horace, "Weep yourself if you would see others weep," compared with the heart utterances of the Hebrew prophets and psalmist! Listen to Jeremiah as he exclaims, "Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!" Also to David when he said, "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." The preacher who cherishes or illustrates a cold, unsympathetic nature, or

whose ideas of propriety would repress every emotion that does not freeze in its utterance, is but a poor representative of Him who shed tears over Jerusalem and who wept at the grave of Lazars!

If "love is the fulfilling of the law," and if Christian "faith works by love and purifies the heart," then let no preacher of the Gospel fear or fail to cherish a consuming love for his fellow-men, and to imbue his messages with a warmth of sentiment which will soften frigid hearts and melt down the obduracy of impenitence. Well has it been said that he who loves most will preach best.

6. *The great End, Aim, and Result of Preaching should be to lead Sinners to the Saviour.*—All other elements focalize in this. Hence, whether by instruction, persuasion, conviction, or entreaty, or by all combined, the preacher must by all means strive to save men. Hence, also, that method or combination of methods which will save most is without question the best. At this point the controlling purpose of the preacher will greatly influence the character of his preaching. Moral and spiritual results rarely ensue by accident. The laws of intellectual and spiritual influence are not less positive than those which govern matter. He that would preach the Gospel for the glory of God and the salvation of men must study those laws and avail himself of their power. Of all the good gifts which it is permitted men to covet, that of winning souls is the greatest. For the attainment of this it is the privilege of every minister of the Lord Jesus to toil with a holy ambition and to pray with an unwavering faith, relying upon the promised aid of the Holy Ghost. For this, he should account no labor irksome, no study hard, no experiment profitless. For this, even failures may become to him lessons of help, and sacrifices the source of glorious rewards.

A ministry that is not crowned with the result of soul-saving, however it may win human applause or snuff the incense of admiration, is poor indeed! Whereas he that is blessed of God in using the appointed means of converting sinners from the error of their ways enjoys a privilege that angels might covet.

7. *Preaching should educate and train immortal Souls for Heaven.*—The Christian life is a scene of probation and development. Conversion, by introducing souls into the fellowship of the Church, places them in relations in which they can be taught with much greater hope of profit than when in the world. In the school of Christ, ministers should not only be diligent students, but practical and faithful instructors, ministering to the increased knowledge and spiritual growth of all who hear them. In this task they will prove the truth of the Saviour's words, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every

word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God;" also of Paul's declaration, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

How powerless are the precepts of merely human wisdom, and how vain the devices of men, in the great task of preparing inhabitants of earth for the companionship of angels and the society of God in heaven! It is here that secularists and all who clamor for poetry, philosophy, and the arts and parade of oratory in the pulpit fall utterly below the essential idea of preaching. Paul rejected similar solicitations to deviate from his one theme and object, and his words furnish a perfect and overwhelming answer to many of the modern would-be reformers of pulpit themes and methods. "Christ sent me to preach the Gospel: not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect." "I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." "And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

Let the preacher, then, rely supremely on the revealed truth of God, through which alone true Christian successes are won; but let him seek to use it with pertinence and power, that his labor may not be in vain in the Lord. Regarding redeemed souls as God's building, let him strive to build them up into Christ, their living Head. The best methods of doing this will usually correspond closely to those by which his own soul is strengthened and developed in all goodness and in the graces of the Christian life. In this respect, like the disciples, he should receive the bread of life at the hand of Jesus and distribute it among the multitudes.

Although it is impossible to overestimate the essential elements of successful preaching, yet let it not be supposed that absolute rules or unvarying methods are to be prescribed to all ministers of the Word. Variety of mental constitution and of spiritual experience prevails as extensively among preachers as among hearers. Not every one that is truly called of God can be a son of thunder, nor can all ministers of the truth be equally the sons of consolation. The varieties of character and capacity exhibited in the original company of the disciples are strikingly illustrative of similar varieties ever to be expected in the increasing multitude of laborers called to work in the vineyard of the Lord.

Whatever special gifts or graces any preacher may have received, he should conscientiously cultivate and diligently use for the instruction and salvation of his fellowmen, confident that, if employed with an eye single to God's glory, they will be found to the advantage of many, if not of all, who

may hear him. Moreover, while coveting the best gifts and seeking to practice the best methods, the preacher of the present day should not remain uninstructed by the bad methods and mistaken practices of those who have preceded him in the sacred office. It is the province of history to teach by examples, and unfortunately the history of preaching records many examples of poor success, and indeed of utter failure, which should serve as admonitions to the ministry of the future.

Happily the most serious errors illustrated in the history of the past find their most hopeful means of correction in the cultivation of a true and worthy MINISTERIAL CHARACTER.

If heathen rhetoricians taught the necessity of the orator being a good man, it certainly is not surprising that Divine authority should require "the man of God," the public preacher of righteousness, to "be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works" (2 Tim. iii., 17). This Scripture at its very lowest interpretation demands not only a genuine conversion and a divine call, but a high type of Christian experience.

How can a man teach others "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" who is not divinely taught himself? How can he persuade other men of the truth so well as when deep convictions rule his own thoughts and govern his actual life? How can he hope to arouse the conscience of sinners if his own conscience be palsied by self-seeking or hypocrisy! How can he hope to lead unconverted men to a Saviour whom he follows "afar off," or how can he train Christians to a higher state of grace than he himself maintains? Such questions answer themselves, and in so doing clearly demonstrate that a prime and indispensable prerequisite to all preaching worthy of the name is a deep, personal, and living experience of the power of Christian truth. Such an experience should be deemed incompatible with mental indolence. It should be to the preacher a continual prompting to improve every opportunity of self-cultivation, and to acquire all that knowledge, human and divine, which is requisite to make him "a workman needing not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth."

The preacher who walks worthy of his high vocation, which is of God in Christ Jesus, will hold his time, his talents, and his energies consecrated to the one great business of proclaiming the Gospel to his fellowmen. He will make all other engagements subsidiary to this, and with continual practice and experience in it he will acquire not only increasing skill, but a holy enthusiasm which will kindle the emotions and enlist the sympathies of those who hear him.

When in addition to his natural and acquired abilities he receives in answer to

promise and to prayer "wisdom from on high" and the blessed "unction of the Holy One," by whom he may hope to be spiritually anointed for his work, he may rest assured that, however great the difficulties before him, his labors will not be fruitless, or fail in the final day to have the approval of the Judge of quick and dead.

Such methods of preaching and of preparation for that great function of the Christian ministry are open to all who are invested with the sacred office, and for all the grand and glorious results that ought to follow from the faithful exercise of this divinely appointed agency, the preachers of the present and the future will be held responsible. Let none be deluded with the idea that the preacher's office is obsolescent, or that the absolute or relative importance of preaching is diminishing with the spread of general intelligence or the multiplying issues of the press. The truth is that Christian preachers speak to more ears and more hearts today than they ever reached before. More

nations and more individuals invite their approach and welcome their message than at any former period of the world's history.

Hence, through the opening doors of God's providence and the accumulating power of Christian influence, it is to be hoped and expected that preaching will win increasing triumphs, and that the trophies of its past success will hereafter be regarded as only the first-fruits of the grand conquest of the world for Christ. For such issues it becomes every minister of the Gospel to consecrate his best energies and efforts, in the determination to do his full part toward the hastening of that glorious consummation. Then let each one, however humble his talent or obscure his position, deem it the highest possible privilege as well as the most sacred duty to "preach the Word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine," thus sowing the seed of the kingdom of heaven, and not doubting that in due time he will "reap if he faint not."

THE MISSION OF THE PULPIT.

BY THE REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

WHY is it that it is necessary at this time of the world, when civilization has advanced as it has, that there should be an order of Christian ministers? They do very well among the heathen. They might, perhaps, be sent to advantage among the semi-civilized and the newer parts of our country; but why should there be a need here in New York, where we have so many newspapers to instruct us? Where academies and colleges and societies for the diffusion of scientific knowledge are abundant, where books are overplenty, where men are stuffed with knowledge, why is it needful that an order of men should continue who, in the earlier periods of civilization, before that analysis and separation of functions took place which always goes with civilization, embodied in themselves so much that now they mostly must lay aside? Is there any distinct field for the Christian minister separable from that of any other profession? Is he any thing more than a teacher of general morality? I hold that in the divine economy the whole globe is in some sense a university with its different colleges. There is the college of matter—nature, physical nature—which is an instructor, not alone in the uses of life, but, in a low and germinal way, in the rudiments of morality, springing from our relations to physical nature; and man is instructed by the rising and setting sun, and all that intervenes between. Then, again, another college in the great university is society itself, with the household, with business, with laws civil and criminal; and all these go to the making up of a great man. If men were to live in this life alone, I scarcely see that there would be any need of other instructing agencies than those provided through the uses of nature and the uses of human society; but if man is destined to live again and forever, if the life and immortality brought to light in the Lord Jesus Christ are a verity, and if this life is but a bud and the blossom, then there is a transcendent need of those agencies which shall bring in this last and highest element, viz., the Spiritual Element.

While we are taught by the scientists in truths that belong to the sensual nature, while we are taught by the economists of things that belong to the social nature, we need the Christian ministry to teach us of those things which are invisible. Around about this terraqueous globe is a spiritual

universe, and there are truths not only more radiant and numerous, but transcendently more important than any that we grope for and dig out of the crust of the globe, or out of the experience of human society. To teach the great population of the universe that above all is the Father of all, who in his own kingdom waits to receive us, to impart the knowledge of man's spiritual nature, and the knowledge of the invisible life, and the knowledge of that manhood which is to fit us for that life—this is the special function of the Christian ministry. To supplement, to throw the light of this higher world upon all the phases of the present in order to give all the natural world and all its functions a meaning which could not have been found out otherwise, to give to the human life both stimulus and support such as there would not be in this alone, bringing the light of the spiritual and the invisible world to bear upon it—this makes it transcendently more important, and adds to its territory, and opens a magazine of motives beyond comparison purer and more pungent and universal and more adapted to the wants of men than can be devised upon the surface of the earth.

Here, then, is where the Christian ministry comes in. It undertakes to inspire men with an idea of manhood, and undertakes to bring upon them those motive forces by which that manhood can be developed. Let me not speak without book. I accept the apostle's declaration in the most literal sense: "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers," all sorts; "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ;" and here is the full purpose, "till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." Beginning where the animals begin, or if possible lower, born into weakness, and through weakness long waiting, men come at last to a certain element of strength, wisdom, and power by the ordinary ministrations of wisdom, nature, and society. But this, which is in us, the divine, which is in sympathy with God, which brings us into relationship with him, this comes only through the interposition of higher agencies. No school teaches this. No scientist teaches this. No

economist teaches this. It is taught of God only by the power of God from on high.

And again Paul speaks to this effect, when, in writing to the Corinthians, he declares the motives which brought him to them, "I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom;" not simply to the fancy, to the ear, to the aesthetic persuasion, "but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." A character formed upon the model of the Lord Jesus Christ is a perfect manhood, making men according to the new theory of psychology, introducing along the line of development a new economy, in which the most perfect exemplar and pattern is the Lord Jesus Christ, and attempting to develop in men that close ideal of the force and power which comes from the immediate contact of the Divine soul with the human soul; not despising reason, not despising imagination, not despising all the faculties of the human soul, but giving to them the vivacity and power of the direct impact by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. By this power it is attempted, by the Christian ministry, to bring mankind into the royalty of the new manhood which is in Christ Jesus.

If, then, it be asked what is needed in our age of the pulpit, if you propose to me to discuss the pulpit in the present age, what is its object, in what respects does it need re-enforcing, where is its power, where is its weakness, I say that the first power needed in every pulpit is that so signally made known in the first pulpit—the intense sense of the need of men, of their limitations, of their ignorance, of their want, of their weakness. Call it by what terms you please in your systematic theology; call it depravity, total depravity, sinfulness, disobedience, ignorance; call it unskilled and undisciplined; whatever you choose to call it, if there is in the soul, in the pitying consciousness of every human being—midwife at birth, nurse at the next step, and father all the way through, from top to bottom—that sense of the want which all the wealth that comes from hearts in Christian society can not supply, and which can only be medicated by the touch of Him who gave the soul to man—that is the first thing that man needs; man full of flashes or germs of that which is to be yet born; so poor that there is not a bird that does not hatch out more perfect children than man does; so poor that the lion licks a better cub, with better prospects of lionhood, than the child born to the noblest mother that laughs and weeps at the same moment.

Of all the things upon the earth, the only thing that is so rich that it gets lost in it is man. There is so little to mistake in the

lion that he always grows up to be a perfect lion. They find their way themselves; but man is the metropolis of all created things, and in him are consummated the hints found everywhere else. So much is there of animal force in various ways, so much of social affection, so much of moral element reaching out everywhere and losing itself in selfish yearnings, so much of aspiration, that no man can take hold of himself and build himself up. And so there is no creature beginning so low, with such prospects, that gets so much help as man, but it is a help which no one present can give to man. The eye can see, the heart can feel, and the understanding can aspire, but the help from the source whence our souls come is necessary for our perfect birth, even when it is the beginning of that manhood of which Christ is the most perfect example in life.

The next requisite in the pulpit is the sense of "God with us." It is a good thing to believe that there is a God whom we shall one day see as he is. We have seen him as we thought he was, as we imagined he was, and we have seen him as we have been taught here and there by vain, adulterated philosophy; but, after all, we now see through a glass darkly, and shall only then see face to face. We all know and all believe that there is this supreme, spiritual, benevolent Father; but there is a revelation of God by the Holy Ghost in the hearts of men which, although it can not be stated in words, amounts to something more than philosophy. It amounts to force.

It is precisely that which the apostle expressed when he said that he should stand on the power of God rather than on the natural effects from human causation. And when he took occasion thus to speak he spoke as an orator. We know he was such by his letters. He could not help himself. Paul could not have spoken without being an orator. He used the wisdom of Athens when he belonged to Athens, and in Rome he did as the Romans did—in things that were good. We know perfectly well that all the instruments by which human life is influenced or fomented he felt at liberty to employ; but there was something behind all this. There was in his soul the consciousness that there was a power before which all other things or elements of power paled, and that was the power of God; not him that dwells behind or within philosophy, but God with us, a God we might feel, a God that fires the soul, that lifts us with strange exultations above ourselves; that gives power and an unaccountable enthusiasm of love to God, and a faith in God, by which when one man is possessed of the Holy Ghost he becomes a power altogether transcending the measure of ordinary causes. It is this sense of the belief of God, the belief that the Divine Spirit is poured out

on the souls of men as directly as the sunlight is poured out on the soil when it makes flowers, and into flowers when it gives prisms and colors, and into both when it gives fruit behind the flower—the illimitable want of man and the illimitable supply of God, the endless hunger and the endless food, the mighty weakness and the mighty power, the nothingness of the beginning and the transcendent glory of the end, when we shall be presented perfect before the throne of our Father.

Here are the two great elements of the Christian ministry. And no man can have them and be ever so ignorant and yet be fruitless, and a man may have every thing else besides these and he will have little fruit. It is sympathy with a human want, and it is faith and feeling of God in the soul—the two combined—which constitute a Christian minister, which open the door, the invisible gate, which lead men to say, "What of it?" which move back the horizon no mean thousands of miles like our horizon, lit by no morning star such as astronomers tell is our morning star, but by the Sun of Righteousness that rises in the eternal horizon that we believe in and teach continually. These give the strength and the power to the Christian minister. When that power is in man, it may be augmented; it may be supplemented in a thousand ways; it may be made more efficacious by adding those elements of knowledge by means of which easy access is obtained among men, by which we can control the forces in them. But the primary constituent of the true Christian minister is a refined sense of sympathy in the sinfulness of man, in man as a sinner because he is a sinner, and the essential certainty that a great overreaching and reigning God is pouring out his soul upon the human family, and that by that power man may be lifted out of animalhood into more than rational intelligence, into divinity itself, and become a son of God.

Here, then, is the end and aim of the Christian minister—to create such a manhood that it will last forever. It is to be more than a philosopher, more than a philanthropist: it is to be a son of God. It is a manhood on which the light never fades, which hath no summer nor winter, and is as God, and will last as long as God. Who but feels this greatness of God, as made manifest in the Lord Jesus Christ who is the interpretation of God? Poems are translated from one language into another, but who shall translate God, who shall tell what his thoughts are, as they move in the eternal spaces? You know what a mother's love is, and what a father's love is. You know what the love of noble hearts, one to another, is in this life. But these are saplings arising from the great central root. And what is that central fire of love that carries

in it true justice, and in its vastness and altitude and its dignity and glory is willing to lay down and suffer and become a road that men may walk upon it, saying, "I am the way and the life; walk with me," a conservative God, a bleeding God, a sympathizing God? That is Jesus Christ's interpretation of the eternal ruler of the universe, and that is the precise thing that Paul declared when he said that he never would hide himself, nor by any ingenuity, by any dexterity, prevent man from seeing him full in the face. Your great God must be a perfect God, and to be a perfect God he must be lifted above all else, perfect as a statue is, and as cold. The idea of those mediæval times was of a God lifted above all care; grand was he as a sovereign, reigning by centripetal forces, who sat central and received all, a gulf into which all praise ran; but the God that Paul quivered before with intense admiration—whom he could not, sleeping or waking, living or dying, forget—is the God interpreted by him who showed his great love by laying down his life. That is the God; that the cross—the sacrifice of the cross, the shame of dying, the willingness of God to die, defeated and overthrown, and yet suffering for man, as the interpretation of the innermost nature of God, who dwells in the fullest self-sacrifice. Think of the grandeur and beauty of this great fatherhood of God, who is justice, is the minister of love.

Wherever he went, Christ was a suffering God, suffering for man. Is there any thing so sad as to look on human life with an inside eye at the jealousies, the raspings, the yearnings, without knowing what they yearn for? Is there any thing so piteous as human life? I do not wonder at the words that the noble men of antiquity have sent down through ages. Spread abroad the canopy of God's love in Jesus Christ! There is an inspiration, a reason for working that makes the Christian ministry the most joyful vocation in the world, and a vocation which may be more fruitful than any vocation in life. If you ask me what does the modern minister want, I say he wants more realization of the human fact of sinfulness, and much doctrinal realization of it. A man can take the doctrine of human sinfulness, and make it into a theory and ride it, and it is like riding a hobby-horse—it is a hard and useless task. But after realization, you pity men; your heart yearns to them, you feel like a mother with a sick child that is fretful and peevish, unreasonably so, and yet every thing that the child does touches the mother's heart with pity. The Christian minister can have compassion on those who need it, doing more in proportion as men need more, giving that sort of sympathy with human wants because of human infirmity, because of infirmity whose

roots are sin. That is the want of the Christian minister.

What other want is there? The want of humanity, not in the sense of general kindness, for I believe ministers are the kindest people alive. They require the human element, the preaching that has in it that which is congenial to man. We preach sermons—express our own thoughts. But do you think that there is any mother alive who would hire a nurse who was to talk to the baby out of a book? Do you believe in strong sons kindled by each other's light and love, and that one should say, "Wait until I go home and ask my father to write me a discourse, so that I can talk to you?" It is one thing to have a philosophy of those things; it is another thing to have sense and spirit—the sense of mankind, the feeling of man in you. We go off for knowledge and forget ourselves, and come back with knowledge. We go for philosophy, which is a very good thing, and come back with philosophy. What we want is a man here. Therefore was the Gospel committed to men, because they are sinners, because they are weak; they are weeping, they stumble; men ought to have compassion on those doing the same things all round about them. And it is this yearning and longing for man that is to be the root of the true Christian ministry. We want that enthusiasm which comes from the certainty of all-concluding faith. We can't reform them, we can not build them up, we can not make them men in Christ Jesus by reason of wit and wisdom, by eloquence or appeals, but because God is in us. It tingles to the ends of our fingers. It fills the soul with the blood of the Lamb. The holy man is full of God. When men have this want, they are more powerful than their fellow-men—they have that certainty, that enthusiasm that allows no denial, running over all things, knowing neither high nor low, strong nor weak. This is the element we want.

Brethren, there are a great many men who are getting to be ashamed to be enthusiastic, to be ashamed of glowing zeal and of that nobility of a heart opened when God has touched it. Let the mountains, when the sun comes in spring to thaw them out and set their rills to music and running down, bringing out flowers on every side of every bank, let them be ashamed of all that comes when they send their streams down—and the human heart be ashamed of those enthusiasms and feelings when God is to be considered.

What, then, does the modern pulpit want? Just what the old pulpit wanted. It wants still that homely sense of the sinfulness of man and the remedial forces provided for it. It wants the men that believe in their work, and think it the best work human life could be devoted to. It wants men that believe

in a heaven—men that believe they are but a hand's-breadth from their own immortality—men that can take penalty, shame, and disgrace, knowing that in a very short time it may, it will, be all the same to them—men who are willing to spend and be spent, though the more they love the less they are loved, looking just beyond to that which is more certain than what the senses interpret here. It is this view of God and immortality, and this yearning toward man, that is the root and substance of the Christian ministry. I am satisfied that as soon as this kind of ministry begins to operate there is that in the heart of man that responds to it and ratifies it. It is what men want. We hear a great deal said by those catechisers of the pulpit—the daily papers. They are instructing us all the time as to the way to preach, warning us about sensational preaching; and we are greatly indebted in our profession to them. But I notice that wherever the stateliest eloquence and the richest wisdom prevail, without human feeling here and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, the congregations are apt to be thin, and the ministrations of the sanctuary are ineffectual.

Why do not people go to church more? One thinks it is this, and another thinks it is that. You can open a church in a hovel, and let a voice go forth that has the power of touching men, and you will find it crowded and thronged. You do not want the cobs that used to have corn. That which man wants is sappy food, refreshing food. Men are willing to be dealt with, to have their sins flashed in their faces, willing to have their consciences aroused, but do not want to be handled. They want a preacher that takes hold of them in some way, one who can do more than that, one who can give to them that which every man consciously needs—some men have aspiration, and some more indulge in superficial thought—one who can give strength to bear their burdens to men that are sore in life, men who are in sorrow; to women who don't know how to bring up their children, and who are continually having more and more added to their flock; to people who want to know where the next hod of coal is coming from, people who are afraid of the sheriff, men who are pricked with the ten thousand nettles of human life. Often they come to church and hear a long discussion on the fall of Adam. Well, that is not inopportune, but still they're so flat themselves that they feel as if they would like to know something about their own fall. They want something that deadens the struggle that is going on within them; they want some one who will take part with them, a minister who brings God down to the side of men, not as an everlasting condemner, but one who brings God down as a present help in time of trouble; a minister who brings the Prodigal Son home to his father, who,

seeing him afar off, runs to him, and before he can speak throws his arms around his neck. The helper we need is He who will help a sinner, who will help a hard-hearted, proud man, who knows he is selfish and wants to get over it, but he is too proud to do so. He wants a God to convert him, that is what he wants.

When I quarry my stone and build my house, you will come and live with me. Oh! it will be very well, but I want some one to help me quarry my stone and build my house. The greatest soul is that which is lifted out of carnality. I don't blame Darwin for thinking that we came from a lower order of animals, for we even now have snakes in us, bears—something of almost every thing in us; and men have a hard time in the menagerie of their souls.

Now there is help for such things; help while we are lying flat upon the ground. The bounty is not the bounty which comes in at the last moment. God is our leader and captain, who leads us on to salvation. He goes before us in our fight. That is what men need, and the preacher who preaches this help to human want will never have empty pulpits.

Let me say a word for sensational preaching. I know it is not considered as the highest kind. The fact is, it is thought to be dangerous, and there are a great many men sitting on empty nests who thank God that there never will be any eggs hatched. There is a great deal of outcry against sensational preaching. Very well; there may be. There is a great deal of nonsense, but, after all, do you suppose the reason people throng to hear sensational preaching is curiosity alone, a tickling of the fancy? There is something in the preaching which goes down to men that interests them and takes hold of them, and it is to hear that they go. And whose fault is it? You ought to thank the sensational preachers that they bring men up somewhere—that there is not a clear slide from the top down to the bottom. But there is a great deal of that which is called sensational preaching which is not the kind spoken of by Paul when he said men were sometimes saved by the foolishness of preaching. There are a great many thoughts that are adapted to a genteel sinner that don't do much good. There are a great many disorganized and unbalanced statements, but,

after all, the heart of the preacher corrects him in what his head mistakes. Great is the power of the human soul when it is inspired by communion with God. What we want is no new schemes. We want men. We want men with the faith of Jesus Christ; we want men with hearts that weep over men, who have the sense that it is more noble to work for one single soul—the meanest—and save it, than to wear the crown of an empire.

This is what we want. Go out into the wildest portions of the West where the throngs of our Methodist brothers go from the plow and the store; they are ill adapted in knowledge to all the exigencies of a large ministration, and yet wherever they go the grain falls before their sickles. What does it? The Spirit of God in their souls, the working and the power of God's Spirit, the most powerful instrumentality in the world. Men say that the pulpit has run its career, and that it is but a little time before it will come to an end. Not so long as men continue to be weak and sinful and tearful and expectant, without any help near; not so long as the world lieth in wickedness; not so long as there is an asylum over and above that one which we see by our physical senses; not until men are transformed and the earth empty; not until then will the work of the Christian ministry cease. And there never was an epoch, from the time of the Apostles to our day, when the Christian ministry had such a field, and there was such need of them and such hope and cheer in the work, and when it was so certain that a real man in a spirit of God would reap abundantly as to-day; and if I were to choose again, having before me the possibilities of profits and emoluments of merchant life, and the honors to be gained through law, the science and love that come from the medical profession, and the honored ranks of teachers, I still again would choose the Christian ministry. It is the sweetest in its substance, the most enduring in its choice, the most content in its poverty and limits if your lot is cast in places of scarcity, more full of crowned hopes, more full of whispering messages from those gone before, nearer to the threshold, nearer to the throne, nearer to the brain, to the heart that was pierced, but that lives forever, and says, "Because I live ye shall live also."

WHAT TO PREACH.

BY THE REV. JOHN HALL, D.D., OF NEW YORK.

[A crowd of eager friends of the Alliance, unable to obtain admission to Dr. Adams's Church, having filled Association Hall, two of the speakers from the former building were brought to give their addresses in the Hall. At the conclusion of Mr. Beecher's address, there was a general call from the audience for Dr. Hall, who happened to be on the platform. Upon this being repeated persistently, he rose and said:]

I AM unwilling to occupy your time with any remarks which, as I did not expect to say any thing, must necessarily be desultory and inconsecutive; for one thing may be said regarding all public speaking, namely, that what has not been prepared with care is usually of little value, and what costs the speaker little effort does little good to the hearer. With the remarks of the eloquent speaker to whom you have just listened I substantially agree, although I should probably employ, in some instances, a different phraseology.

The sinners to whom we preach are to be pitied; and we can not show too much compassion for them: but they are also to be blamed; and we are bound to tell them that they are culpable for rejecting and despising the Gospel we are sent to proclaim. Their condition, until they believe, is dreadful in the extreme; and we should labor to make them understand and feel that; but it is the dreadful misery not of a misfortune that has come upon them, an evil chance that has happened to them, but of a crime which they are still committing, and willingly persisting in. Very likely this will not always gratify them; very likely, instead of soothing them, this will vex and irritate them, and make them secretly angry; and then we must go on and preach so, and live so, that they shall, by the blessing of the Holy Ghost, see that they have no reason to be angry with us, who only carry God's message, but that, in point of fact, they are angry with the truth—in other words, with the message which the Lord sends them concerning themselves.

We can not, again, feel too keen a sympathy with the people who hear us—some of them altogether in the dark, some of them opening their eyes a little, some of them seeing men as trees walking, some of them loving the light and craving for more, and some of them sorely beaten down and crushed by trials and difficulties in their life. We can not feel too keen a sympathy with them, especially when we remember our own struggles, and the dim twilight through which many of us have groped, if now, in God's

light, we see light clearly. But what shall we do? What sympathy is best for all these varied conditions of the human spirit?

Here it is that the evangelical system—that is, the system which magnifies at every turn the objective truth regarding the person and work of Jesus Christ—gives, it seems to me, its true and proper power to the pulpit. My sympathy is good as far as it goes; but divine sympathy is infinitely better. And what do I know, what can I present, of divine sympathy, but in Jesus Christ? What can I gather and disclose of this sympathy from general considerations regarding Deity?

The world—God's world—is a mystery to all of us. Even to Christians Providence is a perpetual puzzle, and they must wait to see how good and wise God is by seeing the end. But in the face of Jesus Christ, God's glory, ay, the light of the knowledge of it, shines. Him we can preach to the people; on his sympathy we can expatiate; him we can lift up and unfold, the personal Redeemer, Son of God and Son of man—divine—human, the might of omnipotence in his arm, even when it was nailed to the tree; him, the prophet for the ignorance of man, the priest for the guilt of man, and the daily recurring wants and sins of man, the king for the defense and government of man, the true and tender brother to the believer, the Captain of salvation to the Christian soldier, the good master to the disciple, the Lord and Saviour to the meanest and poorest believer, yes, to the weakest and least effective of his servants here, as truly as to the Apostle Paul!

When we preach this Jesus to men, and they receive him, it is not only that they get more light, are elevated, helped, carried forward beyond the lengths to which other forms of teaching carry them; it is not this only, nor, indeed, this at all. It is that they are now enlightened with this kind of light for the first time; and they find out that whatever they knew before, in this kind of light they were blind, and in this kind of knowledge they were utterly ignorant. Now they are the subjects of a change, more or less conscious; call it conversion, or regeneration, or illumination, or any other name you will, that is understood in its meaning by the people, and in the preacher's sense of it, which ought surely to be the Scriptural sense of it. Now they have par-

don, they are accepted, they are in Christ, they are in a new condition, and are set out upon the attainment of a new character. It is not that this revelation of God's mercy, through belief of which they are in Christ, has made them better, has improved their manhood, or elevated them—a temperance society might do that—a literary society might do that—it is that they are changed, that the secret springs of the will are touched. If any man be in Christ, he is—a better man? No. A broader man? No. He is a *new creature*—made a new man by an act of God, by his word—as truly a divine act as when God said, Let there be light, and there was light. And that we ministers, ourselves thus enlightened by Divine grace, can preach this glorious Gospel of the blessed God, and in lifting up Jesus Christ produce, instrumentally, these results, this seems to me to be the real power, and, when done, the dignity and glory of the pulpit—any pulpit, ancient or modern.

We who preach are poor creatures; but the word of the Lord is mighty. Of that word Jesus Christ is the sum and substance; and the sum and substance of any ministry of permanent spiritual power must be the setting forth of him, the living Christ for dead souls, the bread of life for starving souls, the water of life for thirsty souls, the one Life-giver of divine appointment, in coming to whom the dead in sins are quickened, and

in cleaving to whom the new life of believers is fed and strengthened.

Now as to this sensationalism in the pulpit, there is but a word to be said. When a minister, by the selection of odd and queer topics, in form or reality away from the Gospel—by unique or grotesque ways of putting himself, or putting his things before the people, by vulgarisms, or startling novelties of expression, aims at making a sensation that shall terminate with the hour, or, at least, terminate upon the preacher, there is sensational preaching, which is offensive to true taste, as it is away from the spirit of the Gospel, and the dignity and power of the pulpit. That is not only contemptible as trifling—it is base and criminal, as trifling with the most solemn themes and for selfish ends. I hope there is not much such sensationalism.

But give us the ministers who go directly with Bible truth to the souls of men—who preach to them of their guilt in denying the Holy One and the Just, who urge this home on judgment and conscience with an earnestness begotten of the Spirit of God, and flowing out of souls set on fire from above, until the crowds, carried away, subdued, and terrified, cry out, "What shall we do to be saved?" Let us have sensations like this produced, anywhere, by any ministry, and I for one—if no part of this honor is given me—shall yet fall on my knees, and give thanks to God who hath given such power unto men.

FOURTH SECTION.—SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL WORK—ITS GREATNESS— THE CHURCH RESPONSIBLE FOR IT.

BY CHARLES REED, Esq., M.P., LONDON.

I AM deeply sensible of my obligation to the Sunday-school, personally and officially, and, when asked to represent the Old World institution in the New, I was rejoiced to accept so honorable a position. The time allotted to me is too brief to allow of my indulging myself in an historical review of the origin and growth of this educational organization, and, while many paths are open before me, it will be my duty to select one, and that the practical, and up that path I propose to lead you by a direct course.

Of the past I will only say, What has God wrought? It is ninety-two years since Raikes gathered his first school in 59 Catherine Street, Gloucester, and through all those years, though suspected, frowned upon, abused, and denounced, the course of the Sunday-school has been onward, its supporters have never relaxed their effort, its advances have been rapid, and its achievements marvelously great. Adam Smith, the author of "The Wealth of Nations," has declared that no plan has effected a greater change of manners, with equal ease and simplicity, since the days of the apostles; and Chief-justice Marshall, your own distinguished jurist, says, "I can not be more firmly convinced than I am that virtue and intelligence are the basis of our independence and the conservative principles of national and individual happiness; nor can any one believe more firmly that Sabbath-school institutions are devoted to the protection of both." And that which may be said of the United States and of the British Empire may with truth be averred of the great European countries, represented by distinguished friends of religious education around me here. Having mentioned them, I shall not be misunderstood if my references are mainly to the schools of the two great Anglo-Saxon communities, with whose schools I am more familiar, by long experience, and by recent extended observation. Of the English institution it may be said that it has been benevolently intended as a mission to the poor and the neglected, not embracing to any great extent the children of the congregations. The aim has been high, the numbers in proportion to population

large, and the devotion of the teachers beyond all praise; yet, encumbered by secular processes, its success has not been commensurate with the effort put forth. The schools of America, on the other hand, have been mainly for the children of the Church, while in her noble mission schools the children of the poorest are found. The fusion of classes has been more marked, a higher class of agency has been secured, and the results, if not holier, have been greater. America has reaped the advantage of her system of common schools, in the habit of order and completeness of secular teaching among the children, and in the creation of a public opinion among Christian people in favor of the Sunday-school. Great Britain is now about to realize America's great advantage; henceforth the two countries will carry on the work of religious teaching under more equal conditions, and these two great nations, one in blood and in language, and bound by the closest ties of amity and Christian affection, with a vast agency, noble, gratuitous, earnest, and pious, having for their aim the conversion of souls, and their standard the Word of God, will present to the world a spectacle worthy its admiration and imitation.

The question then is, not how to preserve peace and quiet in our streets on the Lord's day, not how shall neglected children be taught reading and writing, but how shall we secure to our children a sound religious education. When I say *our* children, I mean the youth of the nation. The work is to be done not by the State, but by religious people; not in cities and towns, but in the Western territories and in scattered hamlets, and by the combined and systematic effort of Christian people.

Truly, this is a noble mission. It is to plunge deeper for the rescuer; it is to strike higher for the prize; it is to embrace two classes, the richest and the poorest, hitherto neglected. Deeper down, to rescue the offspring of the stolid, the vicious, the brutal, the blasphemous, and the drunkard. Higher yet, to win the children of our artisans, unfriendly to religion and bitterly hostile to what they deem cant and priestly device.

Higher still, to gain access to youth, excluded from the true influences of Christian life, shut out from the glad tidings of the Gospel message, members of families whose creed it is that it is not *the thing* to be serious, and that it is a crime to be religious, "where the doors are barred against the entry of any but the worshipers of this world." And is it possible that you are going to interfere with these, the upper classes of society? I say, yes, if it be possible; and I believe it is. By what right do you do this? I reply, by every right. Is the poor man's neglected child more dangerous to society than the profligate son of the wealthy man? If we are justified in lifting the latch of the poor man's cottage, why should we avoid the rich man's mansion? This we know, that "it is not the will of our Father in heaven that one of these should perish." I divide the constituency now outside the school into three classes. The first are our own children. *Our own* peculiarly. I mean by these the children of godly parents, members of our churches and congregations, and belonging to the middle class of society, that class which forms the backbone of the strength, the virtue, and the honor of a community. Happily, America has laid hold of this class, and she has her reward. England has not. The children of her respectable people, her "superior people," the children of her deacons and of her ministers, are not, as a rule, in the Sabbath-school. Our poorest are wretchedly poor, our ragged are miserably clad, if clad at all, and their habits and language beget a wholesome fear that "evil communications corrupt good manners." Before prejudice can be overcome, we must adapt our arrangements to meet the proper expectations of the mother; and by such suitable provision we shall conquer her objections. Parents must have satisfactory assurance of some advantage to be secured, some proof that good influences will be exercised. Fortunately, I have this assurance; hence I give my testimony in favor of it, and I press home upon ministers and deacons this question: Do they act wisely in withholding the influence of their example—do they not do an injustice, by this conduct, to the Sunday-school? Our duty is to create a public opinion, and when that opinion is begotten fathers and mothers will hasten to commit their children to our trust. The second class to be secured is the neglected, the heathen—yes, the heathen of London and New York. The easiest way—and the way is not difficult—is to get them early. Parents are not reluctant; it gives happiness to the little ones; and remember, those who come earliest stick the closest, yes, as ivy, their young affections cling to the training-place of early childhood. And the rough, untutored parent, bad as he may be, does not

wish his dimpled little one to grow up as hard and as rough as he is, and the mother yields her child to the teacher whose visits bring light and comfort to their dismal dwelling. You take the infant to your school, and the elder sister can come too; and if the mother does not come to the house of prayer, we secure to her the opportunity of doing so. And who shall say that the little one will not bring back notes of music which may prove "heavenly notes" caught in the infant class? And here let me repeat, the earlier children are seenred, the longer they are retained. At fourteen, the turning point of life, when boys claim a kind of independence, and girls are in the habit of asserting their own will, the special teacher, the separate apartment, the table, the chair, and the Bible attract and hold those who, but for these special arrangements, leave us at the most critical period.

The third section includes the youth of wealthy, worldly, and indifferent families—children of the fashionable mother who sacrifices all for pleasure; whose children dwell in the nursery and are seldom seen, except at dessert, to be admired, coaxed, and spoiled; whose great concern is brilliancy of complexion, purity of teeth, and gracefulness of carriage, but has no thought of the welfare of the soul. In such a family it may be the mother or the father who is at fault—not usually both—for my experience teaches me that one is frequently prepared to admit the error and to accept help toward amendment of life. The mother will favor the visits of a Christian friend, or the father will say, when the invitation of some pious neighbor comes, "Let the boys go." Is it whispered, Who dare attempt this? The best answer is to say, Some have dared and have succeeded. A friend of my own, living in one of the fashionable parts of London, took a handsome house next to his own, and fitted it up for such a purpose. He issued his invitations to a Sunday afternoon meeting for Bible study. The result was many calls of courtesy, inquiry, and grateful acceptance. On the next Sunday nineteen youths, from fourteen to eighteen, came, and that Christian gentleman, a man high in the scientific world, is now at the head of an institution of influence and power, originated by his resolution to dare to do this godly work. Within the range of my own observation I have known many such resolute efforts, so that I am entitled, when any one challenges my recommendation, and says, "Who dares?" to answer, It is dared and done. Who does not know that in a religious communion, where zeal knows no obstructions or hesitations, ladies of all ranks and men of all conditions relinquish every thing and become "all things" to accomplish their special object? This is a means scarcely used by us, and a potent one it is.

But who is to create this enlarged agency? The responsibility must rest upon the Church. Yes, henceforth the Church must understand that the Sunday-school is not to be left to chance; it is no longer to have a doubtful position, or yield a hesitating allegiance. The school of the future must be an institution of the Church, its work must be recognized as part of the church work, and it must be felt that the root of church life lies in it. Truly, the advancement of religion is the claim of the times, and this claim lies now before the Church and demands instant recognition. And should not the school be acknowledged? Whence came the Church? Tracing things to their sources, in multitudes of cases it will be found that a Sunday-school was the nucleus; from it was formed the little congregation, and in their midst a little company of believers constituted the Church. And whence, let me ask, come our pastors and teachers? Have not our ministers usually been trained in the Sunday-school, and there first put forth their teaching power, and there given proof of their ministry? Have not our missionaries been first found zealously engaged in rescuing and teaching our heathen at home, visiting the families of scholars, and "preaching the Gospel to every creature" in the regions round about, "beginning at Jerusalem?"

Now, as a matter of fact, no church member can be indifferent to the school, for as a rule the members of our churches have come from it. Dr. Campbell says, "An immense majority of church members have been first impressed not from the pulpit, but in the Sabbath-school." And when it is alleged by some teachers that their pastors are indifferent, it is most improbable; they may be overcharged with duty, but they are not forgetful; they may be disinclined to disturb by interference, but they are not unconcerned. Still, no doubt, an impression exists that the school does not receive the consideration it deserves. If there is ground for this, let it be at once discovered, or let the suspicion be forever set at rest. The words of Dr. Humphreys may well be pondered by those to whom they are addressed: "Ministers of Christ, how much the prosperity of this glorious cause depends on your faithfulness—upon your influence. To say that it can not go on unto perfection without you is almost to say that, if it fails and languishes, you must answer for it. On you it devolves to teach the teachers, to counsel and encourage them in all their arduous duties, to persuade all the people in your congregation, if possible, to send every child to the Sabbath-school. The teachers expect, ask, nay, implore your zealous and powerful co-operation. Surely, my beloved brethren, you will not disappoint them; you will not stand aloof from so glorious an enterprise."

These are earnest words, and the plea is

cogent. If it is needed in these States, believe me, it is not less necessary in Britain, in Germany, and in France; and it were well if our ministry would assume their rightful place and take the direction of their schools. Dr. Arnold was wise when he said, "At last I have secured my long-coveted control of my Sunday-school. These institutions are as necessary to the minister as to the church; they occupy a position midway between the fireside and the pulpit. The teachers are his assistants in the work of God; their aim is the same; they are pastors in miniature; they are feeding the future flock in embryo; they are moulding the generation; they are the clergyman's right arm."

And Todd says, "The Sabbath-school takes the children, as it were, out of the pastor's hand, and becomes the pastor to the little flock, but it does not and it can not release him from the responsibility of seeing that the word is rightly divided." The figure is a beautiful one—it is Scriptural. The pastor or shepherd leads and feeds the sheep; the teacher or under-shepherd feeds and tends the lambs of the fold. The food of the one is "strong meat;" of the other, "pure milk." Barnabas was such a teacher at Antioch, before he was separated to the work of the ministry, for even then, as now, "he gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."

The children of the Church, that is, of believers, are entitled to the first place in this school of the Church. From infancy they are devoted, if not by baptism, at least by dedication to the Lord; they are the children of many prayers, and brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. This question is often misunderstood. It is supposed that parents are asked to renounce the religious education of their children, as though religion were a concern for the Sabbath, and was put on and off with the Sunday. What is wanted is not delegation, but the acceptance of co-operation; assistance by instruction, counsel, influence, and prayer. In sick children there are often hidden desires and aspirations undiscovered by the parental eye, yet revealed to the sympathetic friend. "We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen." The conscious life of such children, too, often opens with a sweet graciousness of spirit, and a sweet but not a saving faith. Parents regard this as "hopeful," and are content; but contact with another mind would often lead to the discovery of inquiry, if not yearning, after "a sure and certain hope," "the salvation that is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory."

Parents would do well to avail themselves of this outside agency, and to trust their

children to pious teachers, such as the presence of their children would secure. Their influence differs from yours, and often it is even stronger and more constraining. For, after all, this is a vital question; yea, it is the question of questions. If parents and teachers are not laboring for conversion, for what are they working? And yet the Church herself needs converting on this point. She has not believed in early decision and early profession of faith in Christ. Now, henceforth, let it be known of the school that the aim is nothing lower, nothing short of this—"to win souls." Now let us be faithful. Early piety has not been looked for; decision has been discouraged; church-membership is refused. In England, out of 384 churches with 40,000 members, 379 have no members under 14 years of age, and in 199 no members under the age of 18. It is whispered, How do we know how long it will last? But between 7 and 13 years of age—ay, younger—does not conscience dawn? does not the spirit strive? And when a dear child reads her Bible as one who loves it, and delights in prayer, when evil is resisted, shunned, and hated, when there is a cleaving to that which is good, when there is a manifest turning to God, who shall hinder a humble approach to the table of the Lord? "Ye shall judge them by their fruits." Brethren, if we did believe in early piety, we should look for the fruit, and mourn with anguish and wailing the lack of it. Yes, we do pray that all may be saved, from the "least unto the greatest," but we should start with surprise if a dozen of our infant-class children, next Sabbath morning, declared their love to the Saviour. Verily it is unto us "according to our faith."

It is recorded of an American lady that her child told her, on her thirteenth birthday, that she had given her heart to Christ. "God bless thee, my lamb," said the delighted mother, "it is in answer to prayer. I always hoped that at this age you would be a child of Christ." "But," said the girl, "I often felt like submitting to him when I was quite little." "Did you, my dear, but I did not expect it before. I was sowing the seed and cultivating your heart, looking to this time for your decision." How true! "the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth." Do not the lives of Joseph, Josiah, Samuel, and Timothy teach us? do not the histories of Zwingle, Melancthon, and Calvin admonish us? and shall we not, as in times of old, find in our children faith as great, and simplicity as sweet, and are not the prayers of infancy mighty before the throne of Heaven? "Oh, sir," said Melancthon to the discouraged Luther—"oh, sir, let us not be cast down, for I have heard our noble protectors, the little children of our parishion-

ers, whose earnest prayers I have just witnessed—prayers which I am satisfied God will hear, for 'out of the mouth of babes and sucklings he has ordained strength, that he might still the enemy and the avenger.'"

It has well been said, "An apathetic Church can not long prosper. Forbear to cherish and guide, and the affections of youth, even pious youth, are wearied; they forsake the sanctuaries of their fathers, and seek other communions and sunnier resting-places." Apathy on the part of a church is worse than opposition. It is well to have sympathetic talk; it is better to have hearty and earnest co-operation; and at the present moment there is such need of this, that the Church must lay it to her own account that the failure she sometimes complains of is due to her rather than to the pulpit. The Church must consider the needs of the school, must provide the agency required in the school, and must practically sanction and control the school. What is demanded is, not *any one* for a teacher, not boys and girls, elder scholars and monitors, but men and women, selected, qualified to teach and to rule; experienced, influential, and "mighty in the Scriptures." For it is not now a wearisome plodding, with hoe and spade, among weeds and tares, but training, watering, and tending. Where is this agency? It exists, but it is dormant, and it lies as a useless power in our midst. Thence will arise, when our voice is heard, and when the claim is felt, our spiritually-minded teachers, apt to teach not the religion of a creed, but the religion of the heart.

This true teaching is needed not more in the school than in public worship. I have long urged the adaptation of our Sabbath worship to the wants of little children; and for their sake, and to secure an intelligent appreciation of adult worship in youth, I have pleaded, and with some success, in England for separate services for infants. There is natural reluctance on the part of mothers to spare them from the pew, and of ministers from the congregation, and the argument applies with force in this country; while in England, where the families of our poorest classes are found in no place of worship, the attendance of such little ones is not only no loss, but a clear gain. The earliest children's service established in London was commenced in 1840, and now no well-regulated large school is without one. No one will venture to deny that going to the house of God is good at any age, and that it begets a certain habit, and may conduce to produce respect, if not reverence; and this was what a minister meant who said to me, "I would have them there, even if they did not comprehend a word of what I said;" but it must be remembered that worship is not really interesting to a child unless it is understood.

That want of understanding begets weariness, weariness leads to dislike, and dislike often ends in disgust. Let it, then, be considered that this is a proposal to adopt a plan proved to be pleasant and profitable to very little children, many of them so utterly neglected that the alternative is to know no worship or teaching at all. Beyond this I do not go; but some ministers should know that on Sabbath mornings there are elder ones among the youth in those upper galleries whose hearts are heavy for sin, and who, Sunday after Sunday, fail to lay hold of the hope set before them for want of greater simplicity in teaching Gospel truth. "Lift up thy hands unto Him for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger at the top of every street." There is yet another reason why the Church should see well to her Sunday-schools. In the present undetermined state of the common school, and the uncertainty as to the place religion is to hold there—not religious teaching, but even moral training, based upon the foundations of Scriptural authority—it is incumbent on the Church to fall back upon her religious schools. Hitherto day schools have been conducted by religious teachers, in a religious spirit, and the Bible held an honored place as the source of all morals and the authority of all discipline. Now that distinct religious teaching must be dispensed with, the inculcation of that practical religion which, being common to us all, is most appropriate to children must be cherished—that truth that teaches to fear God and keep his law; that makes man love men, and all men reverence God; that truth which, to use the words of Washington, "is proclaimed by the voice of the Bible, which, as the only true basis for eternal, must be the only true basis for temporal education." It is evident that, to hold our view, to say nothing of enlarging the scope of our operations, we must make our Sunday-schools more attractive and our teaching more effective; and in the great educational race we must not rest content till we bring up our teaching power to the highest degree of force and perfection.

The Sunday-school has a strong claim on the State, and by this I mean not on State support, but on the sympathy of all good citizens. In the presence of magistrates and legislators, I feel free to say that in England it is held to have been among the chief forces for good in moulding and fashioning our social condition. The founders of these States showed great foresight in laying down the principles upon which education should be secured, and the exact terms of the decree of the General Court of Massachusetts show what, in 1647, was their ruling desire: "It being one chief project of the old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former

times, by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuading them from the use of tongues, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the Church and Commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors:—It is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint teachers," etc.

What has wrought the great social changes in nations from savage to civilized; from serfs to freemen; from slaves to citizens? What has transformed grossness and sensuality to purity of life. What can diminish crime, and give virtuous direction to talent and cleverness? What can bend the dangerous and hurtful to subserve the best interests of society? While the world is impelled by the forces of violence in opposite directions—while a spirit of lawlessness and revolt is abroad, the only safety and security is the inculcation, in the mass of the people, of knowledge and probity and the fear of the Lord. In the neglect of these, knowledge, however polite and refined, will be weak and impotent in times of peril and danger, and will perish like a garland in the grasp of popular fury. A great writer says, "Wholesome laws and severe punishments are but slow and late ways of reforming the world. The timely and wise way of doing this is by early, religious education." Hence the best means of promoting the ends of civil government is to prevent the commission of crime, and that will not be done unless the law is taught with such authority as that, the foundation being opened up, the very child shall see that it stands firmly on the Divine law: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. May such wisdom and such fear be the stability of our times!

What saved England when the cry of the people for cheap bread was resisted? when the cotton famine was sore in the land, and America spared not her hand in the day of our adversity? what, when infidelity came in like a flood upon us? and what is our confidence now in the midst of hard social problems waiting for solution? What makes your people brave in disaster, calm in crises of national alarm? what voice among you rebukes corruption, condemns avarice, declares against intemperance, and denounces war? The voice of the people, the common people trained in our schools, where the heart is taught; where conscience is dealt with; where character is moulded; where man is fashioned; where generations are trained, and where the nation is controlled. Yes, wherever the bulk of the population are in the Sunday-school, the honor, the virtue, and the truth of any people are safe; and so, as education is the chief defense of nations, righteousness will exalt any people. If this consummation is desired, no other agency

can effect it. The more I look at the common or day school of either country, the more convinced I am that little more, if any more, than high moral training can be expected there. In the Sunday-school we have 800,000 teachers of all classes, 80 per cent. at least being church-members, teaching gratuitously millions of children and adults, the bulk of whom have no systematic religious instruction elsewhere. And taking yet a lower view; an honest child is less trouble, more useful and more valuable (I mean of more money value), and will do more to relieve the State from the burden of his parents' maintenance in later years than an untaught one. A vicious child, on the contrary, is a certain cost to the State, and a grievous curse to the commonwealth. Educate him in every way, and in this the best way; and recollect that "the more refined the secular instruction, the more need of religion to prevent degeneracy as one generation succeeds another."

It only remains now to glance at the *future* of this mighty agency. Those who best know its constitution know most accurately

its weak points, and we are not afraid to acknowledge them;* but, for all that, we are conscious that in the Sunday-school lies an unrevealed power. A little fire and a little water give forth the stupendous force of steam, and from these humble agents of faith and love shall issue a power for the world's regeneration altogether irresistible. The common school contemplates the physical, intellectual, and moral being; the Sunday-school, the religious, the spiritual. The common school has its limits; the Sunday-school knows none, for its teaching crowns and glorifies the completely educated man.

The cry of all enlightened nations is "Educate! educate!" Ignorance is a common foe—destroy it, and a tyrant falls. A noble countryman of yours founded his splendid gifts to both our nations upon this maxim: "Education is a debt due by each generation to the next." He is a true patriot—he the true friend to the commonwealth, who educates the people.

* "Our Weak Points:" an address delivered before the Sunday-school Union of London, by Charles Reed, M.P.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL AGENCY.

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THIS is a great theme to attempt to handle in the brief space allowed on such an occasion. And yet no single topic brought before this interesting assembly—this gathering together of the representatives of the Church of Christ from all lands—can be more worthy of their consideration, or more intimately connected with the glory of their common Master, or the welfare of his blood-bought Church. To discuss this subject in *all* its bearings would require a volume. Some one general aspect of the great theme is all that can be attempted here. The point to which I would confine my remarks is,

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL AGENCY.

I would argue this importance on the ground of *five* pertinent, practical considerations.

I. *This agency is important, in the first place, in order to realize fully the will of God in reference to the religious instruction of the young.*

We have a clear intimation of God's will on this subject in the instructions given to the members of the Jewish Church by Moses. In Deut. vi., 6-10, God says, with solemn emphasis, "And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates." There could not possibly be any clearer revelation of God's will on this subject, so far as the duty of the Church is concerned to the children of her own members.

The obligation is clear, positive, and imperative. This point is settled. There is no room for a moment's doubt respecting it. Here it is proved, with absolute certainty, that God desires to have the children of his people taught the knowledge of his truth, and that he has ordained the family relation as the agency for carrying into effect this manifestation of his will.

But, after all, this only makes provision for the children of the Church. Suppose, now, that the members of the Church are all faithful to their duty in this respect, and that all the children of the Church are fully

instructed in the knowledge of God's Word, as he designed they should be. What then? Why, the vast multitudes of children outside of the Church are still unprovided for; and how are the wants of this mighty concourse of young immortals to be met? The family agency can not meet the difficulty. However efficient it may be to secure instruction for the children of the Church, it can not provide for the instruction of the young beyond the actual limits of the Church. And it is mainly with these that the Sunday-school is occupied. Now what is the will of God respecting this large class of the young of our race? And how may that will be most efficiently carried out?

It is the will of God that the young everywhere should be taught his truth. We gather this both from the *inferential* and *direct* teaching of Scripture. We are taught this inferentially. One of the features of the state of final glory promised to the Church on earth is that "*all her children shall be taught of the Lord.*" And whatever God has determined shall be realized *in perfection* then, we may well infer must be pleasing to him to have realized *in measure now*. But we are not left to inference on this point. We have *direct* and *absolute* teachings as to God's will here. We are told most positively that "God will have *all men* to be saved, and come to the knowledge of his truth." And that his will in this matter extends to the children is clear when we hear the prophet asking, "Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he cause to understand doctrine? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts" (Isa. xxviii., 9). It is, then, the will of God, without any question, that all the young should be taught his truth. But how shall this will be carried out? To do this with any prospect of success, we need the help of just such an instrumentality as the Sunday-school furnishes. It is an agency admirably adapted to carry on and complete this work. If any object to it on the ground that it is an agency not distinctly recognized or enjoined in Scripture, they may just as well, on the same ground, refuse to avail themselves of the aid of the printing-press, or the steam-engine, or the electric telegraph. These various instrumentalities have been discovered and brought to light, in the good providence of God, just as the necessities of the world and the Church demanded them.

And it is precisely so with the Sunday-school agency. We see it brought into play at the very time when God is calling all the members of the Church to go forward in the great work of teaching the young everywhere the knowledge of his truth. There is no way in which this work can be done so efficiently and so practically as by making use of the Sunday-school agency. This is an important agency in order to realize the will of God in reference to the religious instruction of the young.

II. *It is important, in the second place, as affording an opportunity for the practical expression of love to Jesus.*

When we really love a person, nothing is pleasanter than to do what we know is gratifying to that person. But Jesus has left us in no doubt as to the way in which he desires his people to show their love to him. He made known his will on this point very clearly, in that memorable scene which transpired on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Here Jesus reveals himself to his disciples. It is his first public appearance to Peter after his resurrection. He has already seen him in private, and assured him of his forgiveness and continued favor. But now he meets him in the presence of the other disciples; and while gently chiding him, by raising a question as to his love, he points out a way for the expression of that love that will be most grateful to himself. Three times Peter had denied his Master; and three times that Master now questions his love, and then directs him how to prove it. "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs." This is very touching. But there is nothing in the words of Jesus here to restrict them to Peter. What applies here to him as one of the chief of the apostles applies equally well to every true follower of Jesus, however humble his position. We are feeding the lambs of Jesus when we are teaching the young the truth respecting his character and work. And this is only what every true Christian should be ready to do. If Jesus has pardoned our sins, and renewed our nature, and given us the hope of heaven, then certainly we ought to be willing to tell of what he has done for us. Here was just where the Psalmist stood when he said, "Come, ye children, hearken unto me, and I will tell you what God hath done for my soul" (Psa. lxxvi., 16). And this is clearly what God expects of his people when he says, "Let him that heareth say, Come." And so we may well regard our Saviour as addressing to every member of his Church the appeal that he made to Peter when he said, "Lovest thou me? Feed my lambs." And love to Jesus, whenever it exists, should respond to this appeal. Every renewed heart should warm toward this work. Every energy that grace has quickened and sanctified should be enlisted in

it, in one form or other. And as this work stands before us, and we see the finger of Jesus pointing to it, and hear the voice of Jesus calling attention to it, and feel the love of Jesus drawing our hearts to it, who will hold back from it?

Looked at from this point of view, how deeply interesting the Sunday-school work appears! It is an agency specially occupied in feeding the lambs of Christ. And when we know that he has named feeding his lambs as the most acceptable way in which those who love him may show that love, how important a part of the Church's work the Sunday-school agency is seen to be! And how earnest the interest all his people should feel in it! I often wonder how any one who really loves Jesus can read about this scene on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, and the question put to Peter there, and then be willing to remain unconnected with an agency like this. When we remember that Jesus points this out as a way in which he especially desires that his people should show their love to him, the wonder is not that so many are found willing to engage in it, but that any who claim to be the friends of Jesus should be willing to stand aloof from it.

III. *The Sunday-school is important, in the third place, because of the opportunity it affords of giving employment to the working talent of the Church.*

The Church of Christ is a redeemed Church. Every energy in it is a ransomed energy. It all belongs to Jesus. It is all bought with a price, and brought under the strongest obligation to be used for his glory. This is the Bible view of what the state of things in the Church should be. It is the normal condition—the Master's own idea—of what the Church should be. That it is very imperfectly realized or carried out does not affect at all the position here assumed.

The whole working talent of the Church—every heart, and hand, and mind, and will—is the purchase of Christ's precious blood, and should be employed for his glory. And there is no field of labor where every variety of talent can be utilized, and made to tell for the glory of our Master, as in the Sunday-school work. Here those who are endowed with the richest intellectual gifts, and who have cultivated them to the utmost, may find work that will fully task their noblest powers. At the same time, those whose mental endowments are the most slender, and who have had the scantiest opportunities of improving the same, may still find something to do. The servant with ten talents may employ them all; the servant with one talent need not wrap it in a napkin. There is work for him to do, even with that one talent. Those who have the gift of teaching, and love to exercise that gift, have before them here the grandest field that can

be presented in which to employ their powers. There is no work in which knowledge, however vast and varied its attainments, may be turned to such good account as in that which occupies the teacher in the Sunday-school. All the treasures of history, all the developments of science, all the operations of nature, and all the facts and incidents of daily life will come into play in the effort to illustrate and enforce the great truths that centre in redemption's wondrous plan.

And then in the adjuncts and accessories of the Sunday-school, apart from its great central work of teaching, how much there is to be done that gives employment to energies and capacities of a different class! In arranging and conducting the library, in providing for and managing the musical exercises of the school, in looking up scholars with which to recruit the school, in providing for those who need it decent clothing in which to attend the exercises of the school, and in spreading around it an atmosphere of prayer for God's blessing on the work, there is a broad field presented, in which all whose hearts are warmed with love to Jesus may find something to do for him.

IV. *In the fourth place, the Sunday-school agency is important as a practical aid to the diligent and systematic study of the Scriptures.*

It is in the clear understanding of these Scriptures, and in the proper application of them to the heart, that we are to look for all growth and maturity in the Christian life. This is the fountain by drinking of whose waters we are to seek that constantly renewed refreshment that we need. This is the bread that cometh down from heaven, and by the eating and digesting of which alone we can hope to secure those supplies of strength that will fit us for the daily duties of our spiritual calling. This is the inexhaustible mine in which lie hid all the treasures of the knowledge of divine things; and only by patient digging and delving here can our souls be enriched by the pure gold and silver of saving truth. This is God's armory; and only from it can his people be furnished with the weapons that they need to enable them to contend successfully with the hosts of deadly errors that in these days come swarming around us everywhere like legions from the pit. This truth is so glorious in its elements, so grand in its proportions, and so vital in its relations to us, that the desire to know it should be inducement enough to the diligent study of it. This is true. But in the imperfection of our fallen state, how great the gulf that we often find between what *ought to be* and what *is!* And in securing an end as important as this, we need to avail ourselves of all the auxiliary motives within our reach. And the Sunday-school agency supplies a powerful motive here. If I have to meet every Sunday a class of bright, intelligent, inquiring young

minds, for the purpose of studying with them a portion of Scripture, then in the desire to meet their wants and do them good I have an inducement to diligence and thoroughness, in studying that portion of the Bible, that will lead me much farther than I should be led if I were studying that same passage of Scripture with reference only to my personal edification. If I had no other motive than this to influence me, my study of that passage would probably be much less careful and exhaustive. I should be apt to rest satisfied with a general apprehension of the scope and meaning of the passage. But I dare not venture to go before my class with such a preparation.

If I hope to meet their requirements, and maintain my influence over them, I must be armed at every point. I must be fully posted on the history and the geography of the passage. I must know all about the habits and customs of Oriental people to which there may be an allusion in the lesson. If controverted points of doctrine are referred to, I must be able to give some account of the different views that are held respecting them. I must bring to bear upon the subject all the light which the most recent investigations of Bible students can supply. And in occupying a position where I am required to study the Scriptures in such a way as this, I feel that I am brought under the most powerful motive to be doing that which is most beneficial to myself individually, and at the same time most conducive to the best interests of those about me.

And the influence of this motive was never so powerful as it is now. The present system of uniform or international lessons intensifies the power of this motive to a remarkable degree. It increases vastly this stimulus to study. There never was a time in the history of the Church when so many earnest and intelligent men and women were preparing themselves so thoroughly for the work of teaching, as is now the case all through this land and in Europe also. And as this system of lessons becomes more generally adopted, till the great body of Sunday-school teachers throughout Christendom sit down on the same Sabbath to teach the same lesson, there will be growing power in this motive. The carrying out of this plan of lessons places at the control of every intelligent teacher an amount of valuable aid in studying the Word of God such as never was brought within his reach before. At a trifling cost, a teacher can provide himself with two, three, or half a dozen different expositions of the same lesson. He can thus avail himself of the calm and mature judgment of the best expositors in the different branches of the Church. He can gather up the rays of light that shine from so many different sources, and, bringing them to a focus, can throw its beaming blaze on

the passage he is studying. Thus he can meet his class as "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed," feeling sure of giving them all the aid that human means can furnish in the studying of God's Word. And an agency that operates in this way is important in carrying on the Church's work in the earth. And if it is helpful to such an extent in giving a full, clear knowledge of God's Word, then it is impossible to do any thing that bears more directly on the best interests of the Church than to have this instrumentality more widely diffused, and more vigorously supported.

V. *Lastly, the Sunday-school agency is important as aiding to develop the highest type of Christian character in the membership of the Church.*

We are reaching the last days of the dispensation under which we live. At Wagram and at Waterloo, when the battle was far advanced, Napoleon called out his "Old Guard," and left the issues of the day with the last charge on which he sent them. And the great conflict which has been waged so long with the powers of sin is now drawing to a close. In deciding this conflict, there is a *last charge* for the Church to make. In making this charge, the Great Captain of our salvation will order out not the "Old Guard," but the *Young Guard*. It will be a race of his followers in whom the highest elements of Christian character have been developed. And these are elements which the Sunday-school agency is admirably adapted to call into play. I would refer to four elements of character, as indispensable in the men and women who are to carry on that work which the Church of Christ must do in its closing conflict with the powers of darkness.

The first of these elements is *intelligence*. I use this word here in its reference to Scripture knowledge. This is the highest kind of intelligence. It is the broadest, the deepest, and the most practical. Pope said, "The proper study of mankind is man." This is only true in a qualified sense. To say that "the proper study of mankind is God—God in Christ," is much nearer the truth. In this study, the manhood and the Godhead blend, so that each throws light on the other. You enter a labyrinth without a clue in attempting to study humanity apart from Christ. We must see ourselves in God's light, if we would not be left wholly in the dark here, and we need a race of Christians now thoroughly furnished with this intelligence. They must have a practical knowledge of the truth of the Gospel; they must know the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," and the tremendous ruin it has wrought; they must know the wondrous remedy devised to meet that ruin; they must know "the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge;" they must know the freeness and fullness of God's

grace; they must take in the idea that the world belongs to Jesus, and that the first great duty of every Christian is to aid in securing it to him; they must know something of "the powers of the world to come," of the grandeur of the Christian's portion in eternity, with its promised crown and kingdom. The glare of the world will pale before this knowledge; and those who possess it will be prepared to live, in some measure, as Paul lived after he had made his visit to the third heavens.

It is the Spirit's work to give such views of truth as we have referred to. And it is in connection with the Sunday-school agency that we may expect to find the Spirit so working as to prepare a generation of intelligent Christians adapted to the Church's work in the present day.

Liberality is another element that must mark the Christians now called for. We need a race of generous, large-hearted men and women, who have a practical, influential belief in the truth that the gold and the silver belong to God, and who have a thorough conviction that there is something better to be done with money than to hoard it. We need a race of Christians trained to the *habit* of giving, who will write "Holiness to the Lord" on the bells of their horses," and who "will consecrate their gain unto the Lord, and their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth" (Micah iv., 13). I know that money will not evangelize the world, but it will go far to supply the human agencies needed to carry on this work; and until these are freely supplied, we have no right to expect that blessing of God which alone can give success. There is plenty of money in the Church now for all the purposes here contemplated, but the members of the Church know not how to use it. They need to be *trained to give*, they must be made to understand the Bible *principle of giving*, and be taught to *carry out* that principle in the use of all their means. And the Sunday-school, with its missionary organization, affords an admirable training-school in which to secure this result. It familiarizes the minds of the young with the world's great want, and shows them how they may aid in supplying this want; and so accustoms them to the habit of giving freely and gladly as God gives to us.

A third element needed in the type of character demanded by the exigencies of the present day is *consecration*. This implies a practical carrying out of the principle that "we are not our own, but bought with a price." This is a principle the correctness of which we all admit, and yet the real power of which but few exemplify. Jesus sets himself before us as the pattern of consecration. "For their sakes," he says, in his great intercessory prayer for all his people—"for their sakes I sanctify" (or consecrate) "myself,

that they also may be sanctified" (or consecrated). How thoroughly Jesus gave himself to the work of our redemption! His thoughts, his sympathies, his time, his energies, all the powers of his humanity, and all the resources of his divinity were laid upon the altar. And it is as he stands by this altar, on which every thing is laid, that we hear him saying, "For their sakes I consecrate myself, that they also may be consecrated." We need a race of Christians trained on this principle, and prepared to tread in the steps of that consecration which ran through the whole life of Jesus; and the Sunday-school is the most efficient agency we can employ in securing this result. Taking Jesus as the model of the Christian life, it aims to imbue the young with his spirit, and to reproduce in them "the same mind which was also in Christ Jesus."

The last element needed in the character of those who would properly do the Master's work in these days is *catholicity*.

Intense denominationalism is one of the growing evils of the present day. It is threatening to narrow down our sympathies and contract our hearts, and make us think more of our little company ensigns or regimental flags than of the broad banner of truth under which the great Captain of our salvation is leading on his sacramental host to victory. This spirit must be watched against and counteracted. We must have a generation of Christians who love the precious kernel of saving truth better than the hard shell of sectional peculiarity in which they receive and hold that truth; who feel, admit, and act upon the principle that the things which all true Christians hold in common, and about which they agree, are unspcakably more important than the things about which they disagree, and out of which they build up the walls of denominational differences. Denominationalism is not in itself an evil; or, if it be so, it is an evil unavoidable in the present state of things. It is one of the marks of imperfection inseparable from a militant Church.

But there are higher interests and nobler ends to be regarded than the building up of our division walls. There is work for Christ and for the world to be done, which no denominational agency can do. We have a grand illustration of this remark in the noble work that has been accomplished in this country by the American Sunday-school Union. It has entered into our new and sparsely settled Territories, and achieved a glorious work for the country and for Christ. In the half-century of its existence just reached, it has established more than fifty thousand Sunday-schools—an average of over one thousand every year. In connection with these schools it has enlisted more than four hundred thousand teachers, and gathered under their influence upward of two and a half millions of scholars. Out of these schools more than three thousand churches have been founded.

This is a work that no denomination could have undertaken. And there is similar work to do elsewhere, which can only be done by the cordial and *united* efforts of those who love the honor of Christ and the souls for whom he died better than their denominational interests. And to secure this result we must have a race of intelligent, large-hearted, consecrated, catholic-spirited Christians. Ephraim must be taught "no longer to envy Judah, nor Judah to vex Ephraim." As members of Christ's blood-bought host, we must forget the different tribes to which we belong, and march on to victory, as the Israel of God, whose highest aim and effort is to help on the coming of that blessed time in which we shall see

"All sects, and names, and parties fall,
And Jesus Christ be *all in all!*"

And if we would see a race of Christians raised up in whose characters these elements are largely developed—*intelligence, liberality, consecration, and catholicity*—there is no better way in which we can secure this end than by the general adoption, and faithful use of, the agency of Sunday-schools.

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. NATHANAEL WEISS, OF PARIS.

LADIES, GENTLEMEN, AND HONORED BRETHREN IN JESUS CHRIST,—The united and cordial salutations of numerous Churches have been presented to you in a spirit of fraternal greeting. Some of these Churches are important, and almost triumphant, when compared with others of more modest proportions, but whose trials mark a period more militant. I am not here as the representative of any ecclesiastical body. My mission is more humble: I come to salute you simply, but very affectionately, on the part of forty thousand children, of different Protestant Churches in France. These salutations, I feel sure, will touch your hearts, notwithstanding their modesty; for, are they not in themselves a beautiful manifestation of the Evangelical Alliance, since the Sunday-school Society of France, which has sent me, represents the youth of all ecclesiastical denominations of French Protestantism? Have I not the right, then, to say that, far from regretting this mission, I am proud of it?—for, although I am not the delegate of any particular Church, I represent the firmest hopes of all those who, in my country, fight for evangelical truth.

I. *History of Sunday-schools in France.*—Every one knows that Sunday-schools are of quite recent institution, as we do not find any mention of them in the time of the Reformation, either in the writings of the Reformers or in the organization of the new Evangelical Churches. In the early history of the Reformed Churches of France, there was no need for them. In the sixteenth century the truth was accepted everywhere over the country; we find that the youth received their religious instruction and education in the family circle. Any one familiar with our history knows that the Huguenots were celebrated for the austerity of their lives, and I believe that some part of their traditions remain in some American families. Parents considered it not only their duty to provide for the earthly wants of their children, but also to lead them to Jesus, and to work for the salvation of their souls; they therefore taught them the Scriptures, and inspired them with a faith as heroic as their own; and with such an education we are not astonished to find such numerous examples of individuals giving up all—affection and wealth—and often laying down their lives for Christ. As a result of this system,

those of the lower classes, who had no other means of learning than this home education, were able to hold great and convincing arguments with priests and doctors of the old religion.

But, owing to the priests and doctors, those prosperous times did not last long. Persecutions came, and I do not believe that in any country, or at any time, they were ever carried on with more animosity and persistency. They lasted for more than two hundred years; the churches were destroyed little by little; families were massacred, imprisoned, or exiled. The few who succeeded in serving God did so in secret, hiding in desert places, and firmly maintaining for their children the religious education, which they illustrated in their daily walk and conversation.

But toward the end of these dreadful trials many yielded, and pretended to be converted to the religion of their persecutors, while trying to remain faithful to the truth. Owing to this extorted hypocrisy, it was thought for a time that Protestantism was dead in France. But from time to time a torture or an execution recalled it to mind. Finally the day came when the Protestants were allowed to profess their faith, and live in their own country. This brings us to the eighteenth century; and our Church enters a period much less interesting than the preceding one. But the few who formed these churches were Huguenots of the old type, who had remained faithful to the Reformation, through all storms and trials; and a greater number of the new converts, who had pretended to be Romanists, declared themselves Protestants as soon as danger was over. To these were added, later, exiles who had returned to their country, with foreigners (Swiss, German, Dutch, English, and Alsatian) who had settled in France. The fact, that the largest proportion being those who had returned to the faith once denied against their will, shows us that we must not depend on old traditions for the religious education of our youth; other circumstances have contributed in a great measure to obliterate almost entirely these traditions.

The rationalistic doctrines of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert, reigned at that time in France, and their influence extended over a large portion of the beginning of the nineteenth century, and affect-

ed the Protestant Church. Faith lost its energy, and Christian life its ansterity; it seemed as though, after so many conflicts, a certain apathy, or invincible laugnor, had taken hold of Christians. Moreover, it was necessary to organize the Chnrch, and much time was lost, under the First Empire, by the Churches, who sacrificed a large portion of the liberty they had so dearly bought. What resulted from all this is the question which interests us. The instruction and religions education of the youth were almost entirely neglected. Parents scarcely troubled themselves about it, and that care was left in the hands of the pastors, who, faithful to the ancient custom (excellent for children trained and educated at home), limited themselves to teaching the catechism, instead of bringing the children, little by little, to the knowledge of the Word of God, and familiarizing them with the stories of the Bible, and thereby gaining their hearts; they obliged them to learn abstract formulas, which represented Christianity as a system; and when they were able to recite these formulas, they declared their belief in this system, of which they very often had little if any understanding; they then received their first communion, and were declared Christians. There were exceptions to this rule, but it must be said that this method was generally followed; and we see in it some of the causes of the religious indifference, the weakening of evangelical belief, and the intestine divisions which to-day characterize portions of French Protestantism. How is it to be wondered at that, in a country where the adherents of the Gospel are surrounded on all sides by their enemies of yesterday, with a religious education so very inefficient (for it only extends over the last two or three years of childhood, properly speaking), so superficial, and so little appropriated to the mind and heart of the child, a great part of those who were subjected to it suddenly discovered that they had completely forgotten their faith, or that they believed in nothing, and had gradually lost all interest in the religious life of their Church?

But as soon almost as we see the evil, the remedy appears. In 1810, scarcely thirty years after Robert Raikes introduced the Sunday-schools in England, we are told that in France a young minister, supported by English funds, commenced the first Sunday-school in Bordeaux. In 1814 M. Levavasseur, surnamed Durelle, a native of Jersey, who had studied at Gosport, established one in Luneray. In 1820 he founded another in Quiéry, to-day one of the strongest churches in the North of France. In 1819 we find one also at Nonain; then, in 1822, Frederick Monod is said to have established the first one in Paris. In 1826 one was formed in Bertry (Département du Nord).

In 1828 we are assured that there were twenty-eight Sunday-schools in France, and in 1852 the idea of religious instruction for children under the care of the laity had already spread to such an extent that about two hundred Sunday-schools could be counted in France. It was at this time (1851) that the Society I represent in your midst was formed. This Society proposed to spread this idea of Sunday-schools; it accepted the English and American methods in the division of the schools into classes, taught by teachers, and in the preparation of the lessons at a previous meeting, thus introducing a division of labor and universal priesthood; and the laity found in this new method of instructing the youth the means to supplement the too visible deficiency of education in the family and Chnrch, the glory of which, I repeat, belongs to England and America. A Sunday-school magazine was published, from 1851 to 1863, by this Society for instruction of teachers. But it must be granted that, while the right of lay teaching in religion was asserted, and to some extent acknowledged, beyond the immediate family of the pastor it had little or no practical effect. It was not until this period of 1852 to 1856, when a committee was formed, and France was visited by your very well-known A. Woodruff, that the universal principle of dividing into groups, and the employment of all competent lay members to give religious instruction, was held to be an obligation. Immediately following this visit, and for two years, Mr. Paul Cook, sustained by American money, and who is well known by the services he rendered to our work, visited nearly every department in France; and at the close of his labor it is believed that about four hundred and fifty Sunday-schools existed in France.

You see, gentlemen, how much we are indebted to England, America, and more especially to the visit of our great American friend, Mr. A. Woodruff, who has done so much for Sunday-schools all over the world. When he came to Paris, in 1856, he himself reorganized several schools; and to commemorate this period, a great meeting of all Sunday-school children and teachers of Paris was held, where the singing of special Sunday-school hymns gave enthusiasm to the work.

These meetings have been kept up since this impulse was given, and almost every year the vast arena of the Hippodrome at Paris is filled with from two to four thousand children, and as large a number of grown persons. These vast assemblies have done much toward popularizing our work. The Paris teachers' general meetings take place every three months, and are often largely attended. In 1857 the Society, following Mr. Woodruff's suggestion, considering it necessary to publish interesting, use-

ful, and religious books, founded a Sunday-school library, destined to become a popular Protestant bookstore. It has spent 200,000 francs for the printing of about 300,000 volumes, of about fifty different authors; and twenty-one of these works are out of print to-day. In 1864 the Rev. M. Paumier, of Paris, President of our Society, undertook the publication of a little weekly paper for children, entitled "*Le Musée des Enfants*" (Children's Museum). This paper became popular, and appeared until the end of 1868, when the publication was suspended, for want of means. Finally a new paper for teachers and Bible classes, which was to take the place of the magazine, also ceased to appear in 1870; so that to-day we have no periodical publication, and are obliged to be satisfied with publishing from time to time a new volume, when our resources permit us so to do.

Notwithstanding this, and thanks to the labors of the missionary agents, supported at first partly by the societies of America and London, and now especially by the London Sunday-school Union, the Sunday-schools have multiplied in France to such an extent that we can count about 960, showing us that since 1851 about 760 have been founded (thirty-six per year). We are fast approaching the time when each Protestant Church in France will have its Sunday-school, and we hope, with the help of God, to make new and more rapid strides toward the attainment of that completeness of organization which characterizes this work in the United States and England.

II. *Characteristics of Sunday-schools in France.*—It is time now, gentlemen, that I should give you an idea of the conditions of this work in France; its character, as well as the hopes we have a right to cherish.

1. And, first, you must not cease to remember what is so readily forgotten: that notwithstanding constitutional guaranties we have not the liberty of going everywhere, of visiting parents and inviting children to the Sunday-school. The agent who would do that, even supposing the Catholic families allowed it, would immediately be colared by a policeman, and the Society would have to spend its money in lawsuits with the Government. We may only go to the places where some Protestants have the liberty of meeting to worship. It must be known that, after having fought so long for their independence, the Protestants of France are to-day only tolerated on condition that they shall keep quiet and make no converts. And when Catholic villages or cities call us, we have many difficulties to overcome before we can obtain the right to answer these calls. I have organized Sunday-schools in two or three places where the Gospel has recently penetrated for the first time, and where small churches have been formed. I have

been almost compelled to hide myself to hold meetings, and we could have no singing, lest we attract attention, and I should be called to appear before the tribunals. Religious liberty does not exist in France, and the lack of it is a great drawback to the development of all Protestant work.

2. The French are very intelligent, and very impulsive. They seize quickly and discern promptly the right and true side of all new ideas and of all improvements that may be suggested to them; and they do not withhold their applause or enthusiasm when they hear strange and true things; but, on the other hand, they forget readily, and are often superficial and very conservative, the very slaves of tradition and custom. This is so true that some one has said that "it is only necessary for a thing to be recognized as true in France, for them to practice the contrary of that to which they were accustomed." This observation is true also of the French Protestants, and explains a fact which has often happened to me. In conversation I have often heard it said, "The Sunday-school is an excellent thing, and I believe it very necessary;" and when I ask, "Have you a Sunday-school," or "Do you work in one?" "No, sir," would be the reply. There are ministers and people in some of our French churches who are yet opposed to the principle of Sunday-schools. But they are decreasing daily in numbers, and as a general thing people approve of this new method of instruction; but between this and practically assisting and personally helping there is a vast distance; for instance: One day I met a minister who told me he saw no salvation for the Church but in the Sunday-school. I answered, "You have some in your parish?" "Oh no, sir; I had some, but had to give them up." "Suppose we endeavor to rebuild this work?" "Oh, you can form no idea of the great difficulties we have to contend with; it would be perfectly useless to try it, sir." They are accustomed to certain traditions, and have a terrible idea of the obstacles to be overcome in exchanging these traditions for new methods. I should not be just, however, if I did not state that we are overcoming this spirit of conservatism. The number of Sunday-schools proves this. But once the first step taken for the foundation of the school, the same discussions begin again for each and every improvement—teachers' meeting, necessity for a library, etc. To-day, wherever it is possible, our Sunday-schools are divided into classes; and of those I have visited more than a fourth have preparatory teachers' meetings.

In 1871 a Local Union was formed, by the energy of Mr. Paul Cook, in Nismes (Département du Gard). Many schools of this department are visited, and every six months teachers' and numerous other meetings are held, where questions concerning Sunday-

schools are studied and discussed. This Union also supplies the schools with books for their libraries, and by its activity is a great help to us in the South of France.

3. A third observation will show the principal difference between our Sunday-schools and those of America. With us the Sunday-school, except in one or two cases, is dependent upon, and can not be organized outside of, the Church.

In the United States, the Sunday-school is, in principle, independent of the Church, and we would often be tempted to say that the Church depends upon the Sabbath-school; it is a free institution, founded and directed by spontaneous and voluntary efforts, while with us the Sunday-school becomes an ecclesiastical institution. The Church to which the children belong directs it, and has the responsibility of it; and it is in the church, or in the school-room adjoining it, that the Sunday-school is held.

You see the effects of this system: if the Church is alive and active, the Sunday-school will be so also. If it is indifferent, or its teachings be more or less heterodox, the Sunday-school will feel it. This is so true that, in some towns where both the principal tendencies of French Protestantism (that is to say, the Liberal and Orthodox) are represented in the same Church, the children are divided between them. The Orthodox minister gathers in his Sunday-school the boys, and the Liberal minister the girls. It is always the Bible that is taught, but commented upon differently according to the views of the pastor.

The pastor is generally the superintendent. He it is who gives the general lesson, chooses the teachers, directs them, and gives the school its character and stamp.

Our Sunday-school Society is an association of men whose object is the development of the Sunday-school work; but the schools are independent of the society. They belong to their respective churches, who can, if so disposed, refuse us access to them.

The only tie between the Society and the Sunday-school is the missionary agent, whose duty it is to visit those schools already established, and to found new ones. When he arrives at any place, he must first call upon the pastor, or whoever represents him; obtain permission to assemble the children, and call a special meeting of his people, from among whom the pastor makes selections of suitable teachers; and, finally, the school is organized. This is the result of the agent's visit, if successful; but it is never accomplished without prolonged discussions with the pastor. But here also we are in progress. Two great societies exist in France—the *Société Centrale Protestante* and the *Société Évangélique*—for evangelistic work, with each of which the Paris Sunday-school Society are in friendly correspond-

ence, and have their promises to do their utmost to establish Sunday-schools wherever they open a regular preaching station.

4. Another fact which must not be forgotten is that in France the Protestant Churches are very much scattered. You may go over the entire extent of some departments, and only meet with a single group of Protestants. I have often traveled a whole day before reaching a small church with a modest Sunday-school. In these distant localities, lost in the midst of Catholicism, and where a stranger is seldom seen, the agent is always received with joy. It is here you see the delight and attention manifested by the children. What pleasure they take in your care for them, and in the little books you bring them! This dispersion of our Protestant population over the French soil is one of the great arguments in favor of the Sunday-schools; for were Sunday-schools formed wherever there are (if only a few) Protestant children, not only would it prevent these scattered groups from disappearing, but form the nucleus of more vigorous flocks.

Owing to these various circumstances, our visits take too much time. It requires from four to six years to visit all the Protestant churches and missions of France. Thus you can readily understand how the influence of the agent is diminished by these infrequent visits, and consequently the many years necessary to introduce the new ideas and methods represented by him.

We must now say a few words, gentlemen, with regard to the future of this our Sunday-school work in France. First, we hope, if our means increase, to be able to supplement the infrequency of the agent's visits, by a weekly illustrated paper for children.

Second, we believe it will be possible soon to organize other Local Unions like that of Nismes. If we succeed, this French Protestant work will have made a great step toward your co-operative system, which I may almost say forms the basis of your social organization.

As to the results we may expect, we may say that the future of the Sunday-schools in France is intimately bound up in the future of French Protestantism.

I have endeavored to give you a summary of the principal difficulties of our particular work. I ought, perhaps, to have dwelt more upon the facilities, the bright sides, for there are some; and the reminiscences of the agent are not always dark, some are very bright and cheering. In many localities I have met with such deep and joyful religious life as to surprise me, especially in the North of France. But I did not come here to say that all was ease and prosperity with our Sunday-schools. No, for the difficulties are real, and the activity of Catholic Ultramontanism increasing in truly frightful proportions.

Protestantism gains ground in cities, more

especially in manufacturing districts, where it makes proselytes among the working classes. In the rural districts, on the contrary, it either remains stationary or decreases. You are aware that in France the population does not increase, and the mixed marriages often carry over the few children there are to Catholicism; so that it may be said, as far as numbers are concerned, Protestantism loses on one hand what it gains on the other. Its influence, however, is greater than could be expected from its numerical strength. We are not one thirty-eighth of the population, and in the Chamber of Deputies alone one-tenth of the members are Protestants; and certainly Protestantism has overcome many prejudices, and its work has not been in vain. But it would do more were it united, active, and animated with a more powerful spirit, although it is not uncommon to meet with some energetic and decided characters. For instance, I will here relate the case of a Sunday-school scholar. At Saint Audelain, a village in the Departement of La Nièvre, where many converts have been made from Romanism, some

two years ago a Sunday-school was instituted, and now numbers ninety children. At the recent Government census the mother of one of the scholars, although secretly Protestant, described herself and children as Catholics, from fear of the priests. The child, upon hearing the same, was uneasy, saying she was no Catholic, and would not be so described, giving her mother no rest until the alteration was made. Yes, Popish bondage, the slavery of the soul and body of the nation to the Church of Rome, this is the great enemy we have to fight against, more audacious than ever; and we know that it does not hesitate to use the most extreme measures. We must, therefore, endeavor to create, by means of the Protestant Sunday-schools, a new generation, more vigorous, more Christian, and less fearful.

When our Saviour wept over Jerusalem, he knew that all would forsake him, nevertheless he hesitated not to accomplish his expiatory sacrifice. May we also in this great work never falter at any sacrifice; and the little tree, yet small and weak, will grow up to a larger and stronger one.

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS—THE BIBLE SERVICE.

BY THE REV. J. H. VINCENT, D.D., NEW YORK.

I PROPOSE to speak of a comparatively modern institution, which, although still called "Sunday-school," is quite unlike the most excellent enterprise inaugurated by Mr. Robert Raikes, of England, a century ago. Of his work and its later modifications too much in the way of praise can not be written. It has received from the churches a cordial indorsement, and under the Divine blessing has been of untold advantage to our race, saving its tens of thousands from ignorance and from spiritual death.

"The Bible Service" of which I now propose to speak, although of recent origin—in some sense, indeed, an outgrowth of the modern Sunday-school movement—is, in fact, one of the oldest and most fully authorized agencies of the Christian Church, meeting the demand which was in other ages met by ecclesiastical provisions of which I shall hereafter speak—provisions justified by the necessities of Christian character and experience, by the example of Christ and his apostles, and by specific commands in both the Old and the New Testament.

Believing that the work which this instrumentality is designed to accomplish is hindered by indefinite and incorrect theories, and by the defective methods which embarrass the Sunday-school, it is my purpose in this paper to show the distinction between the Robert Raikes "Sunday-school" and the modern "Bible Service," that the two may be no longer confounded, but that both may receive recognition, and each perform the distinctive work to which in the providence of God it is called.

I respectfully invite your attention to a few well-considered statements, which will lead us to a correct understanding of the true theory and work of the great institution to which our time and thought are now devoted.

1. The work of the Holy Spirit in the processes of awakening, regeneration, and edification is performed through the truth of God as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. This truth "maketh wise unto salvation," "converts the soul," and promotes in all believers Christian growth, strength, purity, and activity.

2. The Church is "the pillar and ground of the truth," upholding, announcing, perpetuating, and defending it, that men may be warned, attracted, persuaded, sanctified, and instructed by it.

3. The most efficient agency of the Christian Church is the CHRISTIAN FAMILY. Because of its early access to the child, its rightful authority, the susceptibility of its subjects, its opportunities for the repeated enforcement and illustration of truth, it transcends all other means in importance and power. There is no place like home for religious instruction. Our highest thought of God is as "Our Father;" our highest ideal of the redeemed Church is that of "the whole family in heaven and in earth;" and the fairest type of heaven on earth is the family where parental authority is exercised that it may be a shadow of the Divine authority; where the details of daily life are directed by the purpose to illustrate the grace and power of the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

4. The Church, in obedience to her Founder's command, provides the PREACHED WORD. In connection with it are services of prayer, praise, and Scripture reading. This agency, never more effective than now, can never yield its pre-eminence. For a little child, though he understand not one word of the sermon, I know no more powerful teacher of religion than is furnished by the great congregation, the open Book, and the living preacher. The service of praise, of Bible reading and exposition, of prayer, and of preaching puts the seal of heaven upon the Sabbath-day, brings into public notice the divinely appointed and endowed ministry, and suggests by its great assemblies the unity of the race, the universal need, and the universal provisions of grace. The Church, through the family and the pulpit, is to teach the truth which saves the soul.

5. At this point let me ask, What shall be done for the tens of thousands, even in Christian lands, who have no such home influence, and who are never brought within the sound of a Gospel sermon, who in ignorance, depravity, and wretchedness are running to ruin, imperiling at the same time the nation of which they form a part? ROBERT RAIKES'S SUNDAY-SCHOOL is the answer. Its efficiency can not be overstated. (1.) It welcomes, clothes, cares for, and instructs the young. (2.) It supplies voluntary, Christ-loving teachers, who sacrifice personal ease for the sake of souls, and who thus become to these pupils what mother and father and pastor would otherwise have been. (3.) It renders religious truth and religious service familiar

and attractive by its charms of song and picture and of skillful teaching. It was in Raikes's day a substitute for secular teaching; it is now as then a substitute for family religion, a substitute for pulpit instruction, a substitute for pastoral care. The Robert Raikes Sunday-school is a missionary institution.

6. An additional word or two concerning this substitutionary agency—the Robert Raikes Sunday-school—an institution differing widely from the “Bible Service” which I here discuss.

(1.) The Robert Raikes Sunday-school leaves its best work undone so long as it neglects the HOMES from which its members come, and so long as it fails to bring both parents and children under the influence of the PREACHED WORD IN THE SANCTUARY. Mission schools are intended to establish true home life, and to bring their members under the full influence of the Church.

(2.) The Robert Raikes School can not exist within the bosom of the Church as an accepted substitute for home and the pulpit without detriment to the institution that fosters it. The distinction which makes the Sunday-school the “Church for the Children,” excusing them in view of its provisions from the public service of the sanctuary, is damaging in the extreme to children and parents, and to the Church itself. We want no *substitutes* for the family altar and the pulpit in our modern Church!

7. I now come to speak of another agency in operation among us, usually called “The Sunday-school,” but which, as I have already said, differs materially from the missionary appliance just described. This agency I call “The Bible Service.” Of it let me assert—

(1.) That it is not designed especially for the members of irreligious families. It would have a legitimate and important service to perform even if all families represented in it were consistent, studious, Christian households. The mission element will be represented in the “Bible Service,” but its distinctive aim and character are not dependent upon that element.

(2.) I assert that it is not designed to be a substitute for the pulpit; for where the Word is preached with greatest clearness and vigor the “Bible Service” is most in demand.

(3.) I assert, again, that this new department is not designed exclusively for children. These will always be present, forming, indeed, an important section of it; but the juvenile feature will not be emphasized. Its songs and mottoes and programmes will not be chosen with exclusive reference to the needs and tastes of children, but rather with an eye to the power and preciousness of the Word of God. The young man and the maiden will be there; the strong man in

middle life and the mother of children will be there; the venerable sire, who, having long tested and long trusted and long loved the Scriptures, will be a patient, teachable, and delighted member of the “Service.”

(4.) It will no longer be SUNDAY school, as though the larger opportunities of that blessed day were the only reason for maintaining it; and the idea of *Service*, without entirely displacing that of *School*, will be predominant, for the closest study in accordance with the most approved methods of the secular schools will become a beautiful and spiritual “service” unto the Lord.

(5.) I have already anticipated in part my definition of the “Bible Service,” which, more fully stated, is that department of the Church of Christ in which the children, youth, and adults of the Church and community are thoroughly trained in Christian knowledge, Christian experience, and Christian work. It co-operates with the family and the pulpit. As much as they do, it depends upon the Holy Spirit. It has one textbook—the Holy Bible. It has one specific aim—spiritual edification. It is the training department of the Church: not a recruiting office, but rather a military academy. It is not for children merely, but for Christians of all ages. As preaching and the accompanying services of the sanctuary are for children as well as adults, the “Bible Service” is for adults as well as children. Here the instructions of the family, the secular school, and the pulpit are supplemented by class recitation, discussion, and conversation. Here take place the activity, the attrition of brain and heart, by which truth is made clearer to the understanding and gains a firmer hold upon the affections.

1. The design of this BIBLE SERVICE is in harmony with the teachings of the Word concerning the value and power of the Word as a means of grace. “The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul.” “Thy word have I hid in my heart, that I might not sin against thee.” “I write unto you, young men, because ye are strong; the word of God abideth in you.” “Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly; in all wisdom teaching and admonishing one another.” “All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is 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.”

2. The BIBLE SERVICE meets an acknowledged demand for the proper study of the Word of God. This is indispensable to spiritual growth. After preaching must come teaching. Preaching of a certain kind is teaching; but the best effect of a sermon or lecture requires a supplemental catechisation, in which, when wisely conducted, lies the very essence of teaching. Now the

profitable knowledge of God's Word can not be attained without "conversation," "discussion," "disputation," "interlocutory discourse," or by whatsoever name you please to call it. Mind must come in contact with mind. We must have study as well as reading, searching as well as hearing, teaching as well as preaching.

In the Church of Christ the cultivated must instruct the illiterate, while these, in turn, by their experience in the sweet and hidden mysteries of grace, may be able to throw light upon many a text obscure enough to those who have applied only human learning to its exposition. So shall God's people edify each other, and no member shall say to another, "I have no need of thee."

3. The BIBLE SERVICE is, moreover, a perpetuation, or rather a revival, of a custom prevalent in the days of Christ and of his apostles, and to be found in the Church whenever she has most largely enjoyed the presence of the Master. Teaching, in the sense already described, is an important part of her work. Jesus was pre-eminently "the Great Teacher." His methods were those of the modern school rather than those of the modern pulpit. By questions, conversations, and illustrations he excited the minds of his hearers to self-activity. His longest addresses were usually in reply to some inquiry which his own teachings had awakened. And even after his public addresses or sermons, in which he spake the Word to the people "as they were able to bear it," when they were alone he expounded all things to his disciples. Familiar with his methods, his followers went forth "to preach and to teach in his name." Conversation, discussion, catechisation, were ordinary methods of instruction in the New Testament times. In those days the Church was a school, and all Christians were "disciples." "They continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine," the "word of Christ dwelt in them richly," and "in all wisdom they taught and admonished one another." Paul was a constant teacher, "disputing and persuading, at Ephesus and elsewhere, the things concerning the kingdom of God"—*i. e.*, "holding conversations" with the people in order to persuade them of the truth of the doctrine of Christ.

In the Apostolic Church "teachers" were appointed, and these certainly were not in all cases "ministers of the Gospel." The Jewish "assemblies" for the careful study of the Scriptures and of the Talmud were familiar to the early Jewish Christians. In the first century, Christian schools were instituted. In the fourth century, we find a rigid and thorough catechetical system in operation. The wise leaders of the Church in all ages have recognized the necessity of this training process, in which, by way of

preparation for the pulpit, or in order to supplement its instructions, the plan of individual and class catechisation was adopted. Read the fervent appeals of Baxter in this behalf. Read Luther, Trapp, Bridges, Henry, Usher, and a score of other devoted men, who long ago felt the need of a service such as the Church now craves, and is about to find in fullness and efficiency, as the best fruit of the modern Sunday-school.

4. The BIBLE SERVICE, by embracing the adults, will save to the Church the youth who are now held in the Sunday-school with so much difficulty. It will no longer be regarded as a "children's affair." By making it a service of the Church, in which the piety and culture, the age and dignity of the Church are represented, we shall correct the false and perilous theory which now deters, especially our young men, from a cordial identification with it. It will be deemed as "manly" a thing to attend the "Bible Service" as it now is to be at "public worship."

I am not an alarmist, and yet I confess to some solicitude when I see our children brought up to neglect preaching, and at the same time taught to regard the Sunday-school as a children's institution. In early manhood they are, by their theory, graduated from the school, and, not having been habituated to attend preaching, find an easy excuse for neglecting all public worship. My hope is in the "Bible Service," which shall be regarded as a supplement to the pulpit, and not a substitute; a department of the Church, and not a human appendage; a "service" for all, and not simply a "school" for the young.

5. The BIBLE SERVICE will promote that knowledge of the Bible which is the only sure means of opposing the skepticism of our day. Error must be met by truth. It is strong faith in the Word of God that overcomes the world in whatever form its antagonisms are encountered. Thus the Master conquered in the wilderness of Judea. The Sword of the Spirit is the Word of God. Many of the charges of modern infidelity are based upon an entire misapprehension of the Word of God, and an acquaintance with the mind of the Spirit as revealed in the Scriptures will enable us promptly and triumphantly to refute them.

It is true that the Christian's power in antagonizing skepticism is found in the strong undercurrent of internal testimony which the Word of God contains, but into which those alone can come who patiently, thoroughly, and devoutly study its contents and imbibe its spirit. Again, knowledge of the Word quickens zeal, develops spiritual life and activity, and imparts that moral power which, revealed in the life, is the most effective because an unanswerable reply to all doubt.

6. The BIBLE SERVICE trains a band of devoted and competent teachers, who rightly estimate the power of truth and the dignity of the teacher's calling, and the importance of a careful preparation for so high and holy an office in the Church of Christ.

7. The BIBLE SERVICE is the most valuable auxiliary of the pulpit, because it prepares the people to desire and to appreciate expository preaching. A knowledge of the Bible, and the custom of conversing upon it in the family, the classes for study, and the social circle, will whet the appetite of the people for Biblical and evangelical sermons.

It is a significant and gratifying fact that, with the new awakening of the Church to the importance of Bible study, and while the hearts of Christians of all communions are turning toward each other in longing after closer fellowship in Christ Jesus, just at this juncture the great international lesson movement should have been inaugurated. The same Scripture lesson is studied each Lord's day by five millions of people — Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Methodist Episcopalians, Protestant Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Reformed. The London Sunday-school Union will adopt the same lesson in 1874. Already in Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, India, the lessons for 1873, from the books of Genesis and Matthew, have been translated into the languages of those countries. The prospect now is that in all the tongues of evangelical Christendom, the Holy Word being opened at the same place, the same lesson will be recited by old and young. This international movement deserves a careful consideration by the members of this great Ecumenical Council, in view of its value in exalting the Bible above all creeds; in increasing facilities for Bible study, commanding the ablest talent and the entire religious press in weekly Scriptural exposition. It promotes familiar conversation upon the Oracles of God among business men, and travelers who casually meet in the intercourse of secular life. Engaged upon the same subject, they find pleasure and profit in a comparison of opinion. It facilitates the preparation of the lesson by teachers, renders teachers' meetings more practicable, enables persons in this age of emigration and constant trav-

el to continue the same course of Bible study wherever they may be. The international system publishes to the world the fact of the true unity of God's people, as it is an answer to the Master's prayer: "Sanctify them through thy truth . . . that they may be one."

As a step toward popularizing the study of the Holy Scriptures by increasing the efficiency of teachers, the great Sunday-school Unions of this country, the American, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist Episcopal, have agreed upon substantially the same course of normal class training for Sunday-school teachers. It is expected that this enterprise will elevate the standard, command the confidence and respect of the Church, and train our senior scholars to become competent Bible teachers. This will be a realization on a broader scale than he anticipated of Dr. Moses Stuart's suggestion, made in 1852, in an article on "Hebrew Criticism" contributed to the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, in which he so ably pleads for "a seminary on an adequate pecuniary basis, the sole object of which should be to teach, to explain, and to defend the Bible." He says, "An *appendage* of this critical Bible School (into which last laymen, if they desire it, as well as theological students, should be admitted) should be another department, with at least two competent teachers, to fit youth, male and female, for the *great business of Sabbath-schools*. A residence at this department should be at the election of the pupil as to length of time, beyond a half year's course; but none should be admitted for less than six months."

I am happy to report that many churches in this country have organized these normal classes, and that in New England many have given to the "Bible Service" one-half of the Holy Sabbath, providing in their programme for each Lord's day, 1st, a sermon; 2d, a Bible service of careful investigation and class teaching; and 3d, a public devotional and conference meeting, in which the fruits of the sermon and the Bible Service are diligently, devoutly, and confidently sought.

And now to the Eternal Word, who hath revealed unto us the wisdom and glory and grace of our Heavenly Father, be honor and praise forever. Amen.

FIFTH SECTION.—CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

By CEPHAS BRAINERD, Esq., OF NEW YORK.*

No association of young men for a common purpose can be otherwise than interesting to a student of the times or a lover of his race. And as the purpose in which they make common cause increases in dignity, so must the interest with which these men are viewed intensify. When their avowed purpose is the grandest possible, when the number united to forward it is large and constantly increasing, when the tie which connects the individuals grows stronger with passing years and increasing numbers, it is fit that a place should be accorded to the movement in the discussions of a Council as august and important as this.

Young Men's Christian Associations had their origin in a desire to reach and save unconverted young men through the agency of converted men of the same age and class. This was the thought in the mind of George Williams when, in 1844, in the city of London, he organized the first Association.

That thought was carried across the Atlantic in a letter of a young sophomore of Harvard College, now a director of the Association in this city, containing a vivid description of the Society in London. This letter was published in a Boston religious paper, and suggested the organization in that city, though independently the Association in Montreal had been previously formed. Since then the societies have rapidly multiplied, except during the late war, and have grown in power and usefulness.

The large cities and towns are not exclusively their fields of service. In small towns and remote villages they do a noble work. In one county, not the largest or most populous in the Dominion of Canada, are some twenty-seven in active operation, and even there the call is for more.

Let me present, briefly, a few figures touching the present condition of the Amer-

ican Associations (*i. e.*, those in the United States and the Dominion of Canada), for I gladly confine myself to these, not only because of the necessary limits prescribed by you, but because, as I understand, several members of this Conference from abroad will address you concerning the societies in Europe, with which we are fully in accord.

Thirty-seven buildings have been dedicated to the uses of our work since 1867, varying in value from \$400 to \$500,000, and aggregating \$1,914,450, each in a good measure corresponding in its proportions to the field which the Society occupies, and many of them of rare architectural beauty. Forty-three have building funds, aggregating \$447,967; while in the important cities of Baltimore, Montreal, and Halifax, Nova Scotia, buildings are now in process of erection which will be completed within the current year. There are now sixty-three general secretaries, or agents, steadily employed by these Societies in the prosecution of their work, some of whom are clergymen, but the greater proportion laymen, who have dedicated themselves to the cause "of Christ among and for young men." Other Societies are now perfecting plans for the employment of such officers. Their duties are the general supervision of our work. In selecting them we seek those who can and will engage young men in this service for their fellows, and who will give such ideas of its character, and so present its duties and substantial joys, as to retain them as systematic and constant workers.

We now report nine hundred and twenty-four existing organizations, some in full activity, with a constantly extending sphere of labor and influence; others with but little more than a name to live. Of these one-half forwarded reports of their work, considerably in detail, to our recent General Convention, and three hundred and eighty-one reported a membership of 63,700. It is just to state our actual membership at 100,000. I do not doubt that it is more. The annual current expenses of the two hundred and seventy-two who report that item is \$272,654. During the last year, there was a net increase of eighty societies.

* [On the programme, this paper was assigned to the day devoted to "Christian Life," where it now appears; but the delivery of it was postponed to the evening of October 11 for a special meeting in behalf of Y. M. C. Associations, at which a number of extempore addresses were also delivered by foreign and American delegates.—*Ed.*]

So everywhere there is progress. States and sections on which for some years the General Committee has expended much thought and labor are now showing evidence that the seed has been well sown, and those who witnessed the planting of twenty years ago, and have watched the early growth, are now glad of heart, and more willing than ever to give and to serve in that cause aptly described in some of our formal papers as "labor in Christ's name by and for young men."

These societies had their origin in an obvious necessity. The cities were full of young men whom the churches did not influence, or even reach. These were apparently unaffected by any existing agency, and so the idea was evolved of organizations which should employ converted young men to reach the nonconverted of the corresponding class. The society has been characterized by two distinctive features:

1. It has been wholly nondenominational, and based upon the belief that the average American young man, outside of church influence, was more open to the approaches of such an agency; and,

2. Work has been performed almost wholly by Christian laymen, because these were best fitted to carry it on; and, also, because the ministry could not, under the limitations of human strength, as well as denominational exigencies, perform it.

It was not in the beginning supposed that there was a field for the society elsewhere than in the larger cities: but as the contention with the evil influences which debauch our young men continued, it became apparent that there was a place for our work in every town, where the existing denominational agencies failed to affect the young men as a class; that the town which could support a saloon where liquor was sold to young men, and where they could gather nightly, and find the gaming table, low papers, and vile companions, also demanded a counteracting agency, and hence the Associations of the smaller towns, with their modest reading-rooms, their annual courses of lectures, their receptions, their sermons, their cottage prayer-meetings and Bible classes, and, in the appropriate season, their open-air services. Even in communities where this specific effort for young men has not been made, Christian young men, associated undenominationally, have found fields for work which they could cultivate to better advantage than the individual churches.

We have definite purposes, definitely stated.

In 1855 our Conference at Paris announced, in concise formula, that Young Men's Christian Associations were "societies which have for their object the formation and development in young men of Christian

character and Christian activity. They seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour, according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be his disciples in their doctrine and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of his kingdom among young men."

And this declaration has been reiterated over and over again in our Conferences, on both sides of the Atlantic; and from it there is no dissent. Such is our object, formally, officially declared.

What is the Christian profession and character demanded of those who participate actively in our work? Let the Associations speak for themselves.

At our General Convention in 1869, one of the largest ever assembled, consisting of more than 650 accredited delegates, these declarations were adopted without dissent:

Resolved, That, as these organizations bear the name of Christian, and profess to be engaged directly in the Saviour's service, so it is clearly their duty to maintain the control and management of all their affairs in the hands of those who profess to love and publicly avow their faith in Jesus, the Redeemer, as Divine, and who testify their faith by becoming and remaining members of churches held to be evangelical. And we hold those churches to be evangelical, which, maintaining the Holy Scriptures to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice, do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ (the Only Begotten of the Father, King of kings and Lord of lords, in whom dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and who was made sin for us, though knowing no sin, bearing our sins in his own body on the tree), as the only name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved from everlasting punishment.

Resolved, That the associations organized after this date shall be entitled to representation in future conferences of the associated Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, upon conditions that they be severally composed of young men in communion with evangelical churches (provided that, in places where associations are formed by a single denomination, members of other denominations are not excluded therefrom), and active membership and the right to hold office be conferred only upon young men who are members in good standing in evangelical churches."

This action gave universal satisfaction. I have no recollection of criticism from any quarter where sympathy with an evangelical work is expected, nor have we swerved from the principles thus laid down.

Watchful, too, have we ever been lest some should claim an assertion on our part of equality with the Church.

On this point the declarations of our Conventions are explicit:

Resolved, That we consider it the bounden duty of the members of all Young Men's Christian Associations, calling themselves Christians, to hold their duties and obligations to their respective churches, and to services of the same, as having a prior claim upon their sympathy and efforts.

Resolved, That, in the prosecution of the work for the Saviour among young men which they have assumed, they should heartily and zealously co-operate with the divinely appointed ministry, and with all evangelical bodies of Christians."

In the progress of the American societies,

the General Conventions (of which eighteen have been held—whose international character you will not fail to notice) have performed a most important and controlling part. At the outset there was no thought of intercourse or union. Their annual meetings were held, as this conference is held, simply for prayer, comparison of views, and free discussion. Then, a general committee was appointed for one year. Then, declarations of principles, definitions of the work to be performed, and of its methods and agencies, until now we have reached a complete representative organization, with accredited delegates proportioned upon the membership in such societies as have incorporated into their constitutions the principles of the resolutions which have just been read. Here, more than "the comparison of views and free discussion" are contemplated. We have reports of work performed. We recommend, and intend to commit the societies to, definite courses of action; we insist upon our evangelical test, and seek to give it potential force and aggressive power in the work that is prosecuted by every one of the associations, and in the individual life and service of every one of their members. While actually pronouncing upon practical topics, and discussing them with warmth and earnestness, as matters of business, these conventions have never lacked special evidences of God's presence and blessing. They have uniformly been seasons of deep spiritual refreshment, both to the delegates and to the people of the community in the midst of which they have met; for the sessions are invariably attended—as are the sessions of this Conference—by all the people whom the place of meeting can contain; and often this sweet influence has extended beyond those who profess a love for Jesus, to those who were indifferent and careless, and has tarried after the departure of delegates, a reviving and transforming power.

To secure permanently these results, and to guarantee uniformity in effort, the convention is now represented by a committee, appointed for three years, which employs as many agents as the funds placed at its disposal will allow. It has at present two who are constantly engaged in attending local conventions, in visiting the associations, in organizing new ones, and in extensive correspondence with the leading members of the societies in all parts of the continent; while acting in concert with the committee are a large number of business men who devote more or less time, as their employment permits, to the same work of visitation.

As the societies multiplied, the General Convention failed to meet all the requirements for conference and intercourse. All the societies could not be represented, and conventions of Associations in nearer neighborhood to one another became necessary.

Such State and Provincial conventions, to the number of one hundred, have been held the past seven years in twenty States and five Provinces. They resemble closely the General Convention, having for their chief object the promotion of a better knowledge of one another's work through oral and written reports, and also suggestion and instruction in regard to the methods and agencies by which the work can be best carried on.

One familiar with these conventions is impressed at once with the striking resemblance between them and this imposing conference of world-wide influence, composed of men of world-wide fame. We meet upon the same platform of Evangelical Christian unity; the same spirit of devotion breathes in both; a kindred popular interest gathers about the sessions of each; we seek alike a comparison of views and free discussion; we aim to cultivate and extend the sentiment of Christian unity. But there exists also a single striking difference. We aim to go further and practically utilize this sentiment of Christian unity by associating Christians—especially laymen—of the various denominations in the work of leading individual men to Christ as the Saviour from sin. Nor is our work considered finished while the young man who has been led to Christ through the agency of the Associations is unconnected with a church of his own selection. His duty in this regard is always strongly urged upon him.

Some particulars in which the General Conventions have been most useful may properly be enumerated.

1. In the beginning they insisted that the Societies should be more than merely union prayer-meetings of Christian young men.

2. Then they restricted the action of the Associations to the field of service as already defined.

3. Then they insisted upon vital piety in the members, and upon labor for the salvation of young men, as the primary object.

4. Then they emphasized the importance of lay preaching, "not"—to use the words of our Convention—"because the laymen are better preachers than the clergymen, but because the preaching of the Gospel to the whole world is too large a work for the ministry alone to do, and too important to be left undone."

5. Without the fostering care and encouragement of the successive conventions, the work of building Association homes would have made but little progress.

6. The Evangelical Church test, now universally adopted, to which reference has been made, we owe to the Conventions.

7. Year by year in these conventions has the importance, yea, the indispensable necessity of Bible study been so urged upon the Associations, that the result is now apparent in the multiplication of Bible classes,

and in an increased love for and study of God's Word by individual members.

8. All along the line of these eighteen conventions, recommendations have been made relating to all the details of work in the individual societies, by which their policy has been settled, and their work adjusted, thus insuring a shapely and harmonious growth.

9. Above all, we thank God for these conventions, because in them leading Christian young men from all parts of this mighty continent, and from all the churches, have been brought together for the consideration of a common and majestic work; and by the outpouring of God's Spirit, their hearts have been so fused into one that no tie of organization or form of union is needed to secure their united action in any great work for the Master's honor. They can not be separated; but as individuals and societies, they stand together as sharers in a common work, in like trials, and the same glory.

One word as to the individual Associations. They have adopted substantially the same constitution, and the work has been performed in all of them under the supervision of committees of Christian young men, each having a prescribed field; our purpose being to employ as large a number of persons as possible.

I. We have the secular agencies:

1. An open and pleasant social resort for young men; for we hold that any place that is large enough to support saloons, where young men are ruined, is large enough to justify the opening, by its Christian young men, of some place of resort for innocent recreation. The reading-room has been the chief, too often the sole reliance of the Association in this part of the work. But something more than this has been found necessary. A cozy, pleasant parlor or sitting-room, somebody to welcome strangers, a musical instrument, a library, an occasional social meeting, with singing, readings, or other agreeable entertainment, lectures, the gymnasium—some or all of these tend to create about the well-located rooms that social stir and interest which adds greatly to their usefulness.

2. At the social meeting, simple refreshments have often promoted the object in view.

3. Much emphasis has been laid on the importance of music as a means of attractive entertainment.

4. Familiar lectures, or talks to young men on the laws of health, by the best Christian physicians in the place, have also been of service in the work of the Association.

5. The gymnasium, the library, educational classes in the evening for young men, the Employment Bureau, securing situations for those in need of them, and a hall for its own and other public meetings.

II. Prominent among the religious agencies at the rooms are—

1. The Prayer-meetings. The well-known daily union meeting has been a blessing in many of our cities and towns.

2. The Bible Class is most faithfully sustained by our societies in the British Provinces. One in every two of these Associations maintains such a class, while only one in every five of the societies in the United States are active in this branch of the work.

3. The Service of Song is an interesting and popular feature of the religious work in some of our Associations.

4. The personal activity of the individual members is the mainspring of all religious work, and is always indispensable, and always insisted on.

5. In order to carry on the work thus very briefly outlined, it has been found necessary, particularly in our larger towns and cities, to secure a competent officer to devote his whole time to the supervision and care of the Association. The General Secretary, when most efficient and useful, is *ex officio* a member of the Board of Directors, and also of every working committee of the Association.

6. A building or home of its own seems to be as necessary to the highest usefulness of an Association, as it certainly is to that of a church.

7. Christian Boarding-houses for young men have been successfully maintained in connection with a few Associations. Earnest efforts to direct young men to good boarding places has been, for many years, an acknowledged part of the work. But the experience of the past loudly calls for the maintenance, in our larger cities, of boarding-houses for young men like those above mentioned; buildings constructed expressly for the purpose, with small but cheerful and cleanly kept rooms, and where wholesome and well-cooked meals will be served in an orderly way, and at a price within the reach of those who are making an attempt of the first one or two years of business life in the city.

III. The activity of Christian laymen, to which the society owes its working force, has often found, in various quarters, a field for useful effort, wherever Christian work can, for local reasons, be better performed undenominationally than in the name of any particular church.

1. The tenement-house in our cities contains such a community, and the tenement-house prayer-meeting has often been a fruitful branch of the work.

2. The immense boarding-houses, which, in some manufacturing cities, accommodate large numbers of the operatives, are always open to us.

3. Country neighborhoods, destitute of

stated religious services, have been often found ripe for a similar good work.

4. The Cottage Meeting is more restricted in its influence, reaching only a few families.

5. The Open-air Service calls together an audience which seems to be best appealed to by those who come to it in the name of an undenominational society.

The associations and their work have been described. Let me call your attention to three striking and peculiar features especially pertinent to the discussions of this Conference:

1. The training received in these societies has increased greatly the working force of the Church. They have helped, they are helping, to solve the great problem of lay labor, which President Hopkins has justly termed "THE problem now before the Church."

2. The young men engaged in them all over the continent are from all the churches. In this common service they leave behind them denominational peculiarities, they meet on a common platform, and learn to love its simple propositions, and to love each other. They love not the Church home less, but the Church universal more; they see eye to eye, and their chief glory is that souls are saved, and the Master honored; and,

3. The men thus bound together advance in years; and one by one they come to the front in all the relations and activities of life. They take in their turn the lead in

the enterprises of Christian benevolence and philanthropy; they, too, become statesmen, legislators, and administrators. They are to stand with the foremost in church councils. Will they love each other less then? Will they shake off the effects of their early training? Shall they be less in harmony? Shall "height or depth, or any other creature, be able to separate them?" Will they not practically exemplify and illustrate, in every walk and relation of life, in administration both of Church and State, the essential unity and oneness of all the disciples of Christ—not in word merely, but in work as well? Yea, they will! The union in which they are now held shall grow stronger and closer with advancing years, and the lesson taught by this great Conference confirms the answer.

Already something has been done. Of all things capital is most sensitive. Yet this Conference meets in one of the few buildings in the wide world capable of accommodating it, which is dedicated to the work of the one Saviour, in a service in which the clerical representatives of every Evangelical denomination bore a conspicuous part. But this building is a gift of the capital of the Christian men of New York to a Young Men's Christian Association, and their unquestionable testimony to the value of its past services, and to their confidence in its promise for the future. But this is one only out of eight hundred in the brotherhood.

V.

ROMANISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

Wednesday, October 8th, 1873.

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FIRST SECTION.—MODERN ROMANISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

THE INFALLIBILISM OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL, AND NOMINAL PROTESTANTISM.

BY THE REV. I. A. DORNER, D.D.,

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It is a righteous indignation which is felt against the Council of the Vatican that it should sanction a dogma of such fearful and far-reaching importance as the Infallibility of the Pope; and it is the duty of pure and evangelical Christianity to contend against it in doctrine and life. But, in order to contend *successfully*, we must understand our adversaries, must discern the roots of the errors, which are powerful only in that they are connected with great truths. And, again, in order to contend as *Christians*, we must strive with sorrow and sympathy, with that love which would have our brethren likewise in possession of the truth, and which does not proudly exalt itself above other communions, but is mindful of the infirmities of our own. *Sin*, manifold and contradictory as it appears, is yet fundamentally *one*; and it is just so with *error*.

In this spirit I would treat both parts of my theme, in order that we may strengthen one another in the common joy of the pure Gospel, whose light has been restored to us by the Reformation, fruitful in blessings, as the mother of us all.

I. *The Vatican Dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope.*—I shall not deny but that pride and thirst for power suggested to many of the Popes the idea of the infallibility of the pretended successor of St. Peter. But it does not suffice to say that all the Vatican Council were moved by pride and lust for power, to do the will of the Pope, to sanction this dogma. For the bishops have rather exhibited servility than pride; they have thereby sealed their own submission under the Pope; they have solemnly and formally divested themselves of their official equality with him in apostolic origin and dignity. It is true, moreover, that the Romish Church has thereby been thrown back into a gross and deep error, from which it can hardly arise again without a great internal revolution; for the

whole structure of the hierarchy, the pillar of the truth, would thereby totter and become suspected. It is true also that now the utterances of the Pope are like the canon law, and must be esteemed as inspired; yea, that the Pope, as the authentic interpreter of the sacred Scriptures, is above the canon of the apostles and prophets. But, nevertheless, we can not justly understand this powerful error without seeing its connection with great Christian truths, whose caricature it is. We can not master it entirely until we clearly and purely apprehend the evangelical truth of which it is a counterfeit. The infallibility of the Pope would not have become a dogma without the consent of the bishops. Why did they yield, not only those who for a long time had acted as mere servants and menials of the Pope, not only those accustomed to regard religion as a mere mechanical, ceremonial service, who without astonishment added this dogma to other dogmas—yea, merely wondered why others regarded the matter as so serious—but other bishops likewise of more earnest spirit and deeper religious interest? Why did, particularly, the German bishops submit themselves, who at first had bravely resisted? At the beginning of the struggle they, not less than the "Old Catholics," drew back with horror from this dogma as a mystery of error, or lies. But their opposition became weaker and more lukewarm, until at last they capitulated with resignation.

I shall not acquit them of cowardice and fear of man; but the human heart is a deep thing, and strong in self-deceptions and artifices. The entire episcopal order would not have submitted themselves with so much unanimity, had they not supposed that only in this way they could preserve great Christian possessions. The error of papal infallibility was designed to subserve *two great possessions*, viz., the preservation of the *Unity of*

the Church and of Christianity, and the *security of assurance* or certainty respecting genuine Christianity, the latter through the former. The unity of the Church was for them, as it ever is for the Catholics, more important than *assurance*; for they believe that all assurance would be lost forever by a dissolution of that unity, and that if we know where the Church of the Lord is, the pillar and ground of the truth, we know likewise where his truth is. For they say, How shall the head lose its body? How shall the Lord ever give over his entire Church to error? But *if the Church be split asunder*, we no longer know where the true Church is. Therefore unity must be maintained at all hazards: for by the Church preserving its unity, even God may be compelled, as it were, to be with it; and his Spirit may be unable to leave it without rendering the entire divine work of redemption null and void.

This unity of the Church has been found for a long time in the hierarchy, which is constituted by the perpetual apostolic succession of bishops, the only legitimate descent from the apostles; and the unity of this hierarchy, culminating in the Pope of Rome, is and must be watched over by God and secured from error. But in the fifteenth century, and at the reforming councils, the hierarchy *could no longer preserve the unity of the Church*. The councils were against the Pope, and the Pope against the councils; each mutually shook the faith in the other, and thereby the Reformation became necessary and possible. After the Reformation had been accomplished, and had torn away from Rome a great part of the most energetic and promising nations, a more anxious and vehement effort was manifested to bring the faithful remnant compactly together under a monarchical head. A prelude was prepared to that system of absolute monarchy which in our day has stepped forth openly on the stage of history, chiefly through that order which is no less the vindicator of the theory of the worst absolutism of the Pope and his perpetual dictatorship as of his infallibility, than it is the bitter enemy, yea, the deadly foe of Protestantism.

But other influences also were at work for the same result. The States developed themselves after the American and French revolutions more and more independently. They withdrew themselves from ecclesiastical guardianship, and, in consciousness of their divine right, established the boundaries of civil and ecclesiastical power, freedom of religion, worship, and conscience, and the equality of citizens of different confessions. The entire modern political life called all the faculties of the citizens into activity as never before, and, accustomed to their participation in public affairs, threatened from thence a reaction upon the Catholic Church.

Moreover, the most eminent spirits among

the Catholics, at least in Germany, were carried on with the advance of learning among the Protestants. Common training-schools, common public employments, mixed marriages, common literature more and more modified Catholicism, yea, often evangelized it. The internal unity and uniformity of the Catholic faith were furthermore threatened, if not dissolved.

Then Romanism saw that the time had come either to go down to ruin, or, by a gigantic effort, a life and death struggle, to overthrow the new civilization, which is so repugnant and foreign to its very soul, and to undertake the great restoration of the Roman Catholic system against liberty, civil and religious. For this nothing seemed to avail but the establishment of the most extended dictatorship, the endowment of the Pope, as the centre of unity, *by consent of the Church*, with a power that placed at his disposition the entire energies of the Roman Catholic nations, individually and collectively.

This was and is the bold, grand plan of the Ultramontanes. They were successful in holding the Vatican Council almost undisturbed, and in fulfilling their purpose. The council accomplished the abdication of the ancient power of the episcopacy in favor of Roman absolutism; and even better spirited and reluctant bishops yielded in order to preserve and to secure for future time the unity on which for them all the possessions of the Church depend, even the greatest one of assurance of the truth.

Since, now, the entire episcopal order has submitted itself to the absolute sovereignty of the Pope, the octogenarian shows himself inspired with fresh energy, hopes, and claims. In a *brief* of this year, 6th of March, he literally teaches the Catholics: "It is a religious duty and the will of God that they should devote themselves necessarily and absolutely to the wishes and admonitions of the holy throne, and that all wisdom for believers consists in absolute obedience, and ready, constant dependence upon the throne of St. Peter." Thus the Pope is now virtually the Church, its soul, the pillar and ground of truth and tradition; for he decides respecting the true tradition of the past; or, in other words, the entire Catholic world is his body, which he rules as the ever-living Peter—yes, the representative of God. All dualism and strife between Pope and bishops, Curialism and Episcopatism, seem to be ended, and unity secured forever.

The summit has been reached; but what effect has it upon the possessions of unity and assurance? I answer, this craftily devised work of man can not do what was expected of it, neither for the unity of the Church nor for the assurance and certainty of Christian truth; but will work what was not expected. *Let us consider both points:*

first, that *papal infallibility does not further, but deeply disturbs the unity of the Church.*

Once it was not necessary for salvation to believe this infallibility, as can not be denied by the most rigid infallibilist; yes, still earlier it was forbidden by an œcumenical council of Constance. Now to believe it is considered the sign of highest piety; now it is necessary for salvation, and to deny it has become a damnable sin. The successors of Pope Honorius were obliged to curse him as a heretic; now we are to believe that the Pope, as such, is infallible, and that he who believes what the Pope believes is orthodox.

In view of such facts, what is to be said of the *unity of the Romish Church with itself?* Papal infallibility separates *present Catholicism* from its *own past*; shows the changeableness of the apparently unchangeable uniformity of the Catholic faith and Church, which is still the fascinating magic word that draws many millions in triumphant procession in its train.

Again: the Council of Trent still recognized as a fence and restraint against arbitrary innovations the principle that every dogma must rest upon *historical tradition*, and that the Church can be bound only by that which is supported by Christian antiquity, or is not in any way in contradiction to it. All this was already changed by the new dogma of the immaculate conception; still more is it the case now. *Constitutive tradition*, with the right of inventing new dogmas, has been established in place of *historical tradition*, and by that an objective perfectibility of Christianity is taught, formerly condemned in the Montanists or Tertullian. The infallible Pope is granted the right of giving forth from the shrine of his heart, like Pandora from her box, new dogmas at his pleasure; yes, likewise the right of deciding by his authority respecting tradition; the power of declaring that that has not been done which has been done, and that that has been done which has not been done—for instance, the harmony of the ancient Church with modern Romanism. The sovereign lord of the Church, the Pope, has now been emancipated from the previous bonds of historical tradition; the Church has been given over unreservedly to the unlimited *subjectivism* of a single man.

But *what is this unity in itself* of which the Romish Church is so proud, and by which even the opponents of the new dogma at last became misled? They would rather be united in error than expose the Church to the danger of a schism by resisting the error which had become strong and obstinate, and thus by their agreement the error was made incurable so far as man can see. But is unity of absolute value in itself, without regard to its substance, without regard to truth? The unity of the Church can not be artificially made by man; it is an interior invisible life,

created by God. Unity is of absolute value when it is unity in truth and in the Holy Spirit. But when the Holy Spirit is grieved by the recognition and furtherance of the universal sovereignty of error, where is any value left? If truth has disappeared from the Church, it has lost its characteristic mark, and is a corpse, however beautifully attired. Such unity is an empty shell, and there is imminent danger that the Church may in this way become like the Temple in Jerusalem, when our Lord, departing from it, said, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate."

The new dogma creates a unity which is a disunion with that apostolical and primitive Christian truth whose possession is the life of the Church. The stronghold and power of the Church are no longer to be seen in the truth, but in the carrying out of the hierarchy to its highest point.

Still further, the infallibility of the Pope deepens the *contrast between the members of the Church*, between the *clergy and the laity*; damages the *equality of all Christians before God*; yea, places all Christians in blind servitude to one mortal and sinful man as their ruler and Lord. That again is destructive of true Christian unity. It likewise threatens more than ever the *peace with the different Christian denominations*. Christian unity and brotherhood, for which our Lord prayed in his high-priestly prayer, becomes a communion under servitude, a bondage under an infallible Pope. But the saddest feature of the new dogma is that, even in its highest reference, unity is destroyed in the name of unity, through the insertion of this human mediator. For still more important than this disturbance of the internal unity of the Church is the disturbance of the union and immediate communion of the individual person with God which this new dogma sanctions as valid, since that now the Pope alone enjoys and concentrates in himself the influences, the direct communications of the Holy Spirit. The new dogma will no longer have the Holy Spirit to dwell independently in the believers; henceforth they are to be merely passive channels for the water which is to flow from the Tiber at Rome. But not even the Pope himself has this immediate communion with God for his entire person, for justification, sanctification, and eternal life. For the *new dogma involves likewise a separation of the intellectual life from the moral and religious*, since papal inspiration is independent of the degree of personal morality. Moral reprobates have disgraced and may disgrace the Roman throne; notwithstanding, according to the new dogma, the Spirit of God is bound to those who have ascended this throne by human, changeable modes of election. But it is essential to the nature of Christianity that light and life, enlightening and sanctification, should be inseparable.

What has been said may be enough to show with what result the unity of the Church has been provided for by the new dogma. *Let us now see what it has done for the assurance of the truth, or for certainty.* This dogma, we must say, as it is destructive of true unity, likewise poorly provides for assurance of the truth; not only because the unity of the Church, that is said to answer for assurance, is not established by this dogma, but weakened; but also because it is not yet quite clear and certain what, "*loqui e cathedra,*" infallibility of the Pope, *per sese,* precisely mean. Moreover, since the principle of subjectivism is let loose in the Pope, according to modern Roman Catholic doctrine, it is not certain what on the morrow may be sure and necessary for salvation. Again, since all depends, not upon the fixed substance of the Biblical truth, but upon its agreement with the Pope's formal authority and teaching, this system of *formalism* renders the whole substance of Christianity entirely indifferent, provided that the formal authority of the Pope is recognized. This formalism not only implants *indifference* concerning the substance or content of truth, but likewise involves *skepticism*: for the infallibilist can only accept each doctrine hypothetically, so long as the Pope, the master and ruler even of tradition, will allow it; and the new dogma implies the denial that truth in itself can be known, and that it has the power and the tendency of making itself known and proving itself, and that the believer can get a firm persuasion or internal conviction of Christian truth independently of changeable external authority.

Therefore we conclude that the modern Romish system does not create true unity in the Church, or certainty or assurance in the soul; but it combines Antinomianism, or the absolute autonomy of the one individual, the Pope, with Legalism and the servility of the people in ignorance and uncertainty of truth itself; a kind of Cæsarism claiming to be spiritual, with arbitrariness, indifference, and changeableness. This system can only accomplish a kingdom of external obedience, a kind of State, which has merely incidentally to do with religion, that is to say, with God, and affords only a relation of man with men.

Such a system must come into collision with every self-conscious State.

The empire of the Pope would be a spiritual empire above all States, endowed with almost all the attributes of the State, even the power of coercion. Pervading Christendom and all its States, as a second State in every State, it must sooner or later offend every State that is conscious of its office, and endeavors to realize its own idea, and does not submit itself.

It is a great error, as we have seen in Germany, to suppose that the State can avoid this conflict by not troubling itself about

this Church. If the State does not trouble itself about this Church, the Church will trouble itself about the State, and appropriate more and more the State's prerogatives.

If the State applies itself to its duty of *caaring for national education and training*, it will have to contend with this Church, which would alone conduct all training and instruction. If the State would inspect the Catholic institutions for the training of the young and the education of the clergy, in order to see whether they are abused to corrupt the national spirit, fill the youth with sectarian hatred, conspire against the independent rights of the State, implant servile doctrines respecting the superiority of a foreign sovereign, the Pope, over the State, and inculcate disobedience to the State when required by the Church—then there must be a conflict with this Church. If the State, as in duty bound, protects from violence the *freedom of those of its citizens* who have assumed vows of celibacy or the cloister, and have given to the Catholic Church the right of punishing them in body, estate, and honor should they break these vows; who, however, have subsequently seen that these vows are sinful, and that it would be fresh sin to keep them—then the Romish Church complains that its freedom has been violated, and there is conflict. Or if the Romish Church misuses its excommunication and the threat of the ban, for the purpose of preventing Catholic judges and magistrates from the fulfillment of their duty, even when against the interests of the Romish Church, or for the purpose of gaining political triumphs at the polls—the State has simply the alternative, either to repress such abuse of spiritual authority, or to be recreant to duty and honor.

The modern spiritual State of the infallibilists, governed by the Jesuits, would mass the Catholics compactly together as a particular nation in every State where Christians of different confessions are mingled; and thus divide the State within itself into hostile camps, which could not but finally lead to a life and death struggle. Therefore the principle applies with reference to the infallibilists: "*Videant consules ne quid reipublica detrimenti capiat.*" This hostile position of the Catholicism of the infallibilists toward the modern State is for us a still further proof that the unity of the Church offered by the Vatican is a false unity, because it is hostile to good and divine institutions; yes, it is a calamity. If the State does its duty with reference to this evil, it will thereby further the cause of the pure Gospel. *The State may not and must not interfere* with the *internal* affairs of the conscience and the Church; it must not itself originate or rule any one Church or all of them. But its office is to protect the freedom of the citizens, that the system of sup-

pressing the freedom of the person in religious things, or the poisoning of the national spirit by servile views, may not be allowed; that still more every one may have the opportunity of seeking the truth in religious things, and of living in accordance with the measure of the knowledge he has attained. This protection will be of advantage to the sounder elements that may still remain in the Catholic Church, and for the so-called Old Catholics. Nevertheless, true help can not come to Catholic people from the State, but only from the Gospel, which makes free in God and binds to God; which gives a firm and assured heart through the truth, and forms the right foundation of the true unity of the Church, notwithstanding the differences of denominations.

II. *Nominal Protestantism.*—We have thus been brought to the consideration of evangelical Christianity. And that we may not give ourselves over to *ecclesiastical pride*, we must now consider the evils of nominal Protestantism existing among us against which we have to contend.

Evangelical Christianity is the free-born daughter of the Reformation. It has reconciled the principles of authority and freedom in the moral and religious sphere. For the Gospel proves itself to evangelical faith as a power of God. The believer is overcome in his intelligence, will, and feelings by the spiritual power of redeeming truth in Christ; and thus has first of all an *assurance* of personal salvation in Christ, a subjective knowledge of himself as redeemed, and then, at the same time, an objective knowledge of the Redeemer—of his divine power and grace. This victory of truth, as light and life, is at the same time a victory over doubt, skepticism, disunion, and enmity with God. In one word, man, by faith, is restored to unity with himself and God—to unity of Christian character, and that is the foundation of all true unity of men in the Church. For how could there be a unity of the Church if its members have chaotic and internally discordant elements within their own persons? And, on the other hand, how can those who are born of God refrain from loving their kindred of the divine seed?

But this *possession of evangelical assurance and unity in the truth* is to be gained only by ever wrestling for it anew, and this on account of natural indolence. Moreover, the generations change; and every new member attaching himself to evangelical Christianity must begin anew, although supported by the faithfulness and earnest example of the more matured. We have the treasure of the Gospel, but only in constant reproduction. Now the process of this reproduction may be disturbed and interrupted; and where its normal course is stayed, the unity gained in the faith of the Gospel again begins to dissolve.

The different elements which had hitherto been united again separate, and there appears once more, on the one hand, a mere objective authority or law—a legalism without union with freedom; on the other hand, a freedom which is rather arbitrariness—dogmatical or ethical Antinomianism; and the substance of the Gospel is soon altered by both, on the one side in new forms of *superstition*, based, however, upon indolence of faith, or unbelief, which creates for itself, instead of the riches of spiritual experience, substitutes of a sensuous nature; on the other side in the form of an *unbelief*, based, however, upon superstition, which trusts in the self-sufficiency and independent authority of the natural man. In the one case there is a deification of the *object*, in some form of the creature; in the other case, a deification of the *subject*.

Both of these contrasts, which existed before the Reformation—even before Christianity—are again, as a matter of fact, disclosed in our times in Protestant Christendom; and this is, indeed, the chief conflict of the Church of our day.

1. Alarmed by the abuse of freedom on the one side, many flee from freedom altogether. Lest they should open the door to disorganizing arbitrariness, they imprison Christianity itself; lest they should give room for *subjectivism*, they lead the way to an *objectivism*, which is human bondage. Church authority is made the basis of faith; the symbols of the Church and their formula are placed above the Bible; and Church tradition is most scrupulously guarded, not because it is the truth, but because it is tradition; and thus there is a zeal for unevangelical doctrines which are based merely on tradition. Many who are especially anxious for the credit of orthodoxy subordinate the study of the Scriptures to the symbolical books and the ancient dogmatical writers. They are amazed when the believer in the study of the Scriptures shows the necessity of harmonizing more completely Church doctrine with the Bible. They are sluggish in the fulfillment of the duty of the true scribe, in bringing out of the treasure of the heart things new and old (Matt. xiii. 52). There is a tendency, still more extended, to substitute for the ancient, conscious, personal form of piety, an impersonal form, which lives in shadowy and aesthetic feelings of an indefinite kind. This they accomplish by means of gorgeous ceremonial and manifold symbolism; by subordinating the preaching of the word to the liturgy and the sacrament; by the propagation of Christianity rather by cramming the mind with Christian material than by leading to Christian knowledge and the personal appropriation of the truths of salvation; by sensuous forms and ceremonies, to which spiritual indolence ascribes the power of pervading the entire man, as a fluid, with mag-

ical influence. And connected with this there is likewise an unevangelical emphasis of the power of the keys, and a Romanizing distinction between the clergy and laity, which is rooted in the unevangelical doctrine of sacramental ordination. This method, which is a reaction from evangelical Christianity, is unfruitful in religion, is unsuited to the needs of the present age, and to the ever youthful Gospel, and to its regenerative power. It is related to the present as a peevish old man who would carefully guard a rich inheritance, yet allows it to rust and spoil, because he does not increase it by use, and does not continually coin and distribute the noble metal of the Gospel. The Church will never in this way prevail over the masses of the people who are estranged from it. Rather this leaven of Romanism which has again been brought in leads back behind the Reformation, of which it speaks with unhappy retractions and regrets, while it takes away or shakes the evangelical assurance of faith, destroys the present evangelical unity, and misleads, if not to apostasy to Rome, yet to weak efforts to establish on evangelical soil a kind of duodecimo popedom in every congregation. But we can not linger by this foul stream, which now flows through the evangelical Church of more than one land. It has already been condemned by what has been said with reference to the modern Romish Church, of which it is but a dwarfish, inconsistent copy.

2. We must, however, dwell for a while upon that other *contrasted form of nominal Protestantism*, that would be called *Liberal Protestantism*. In appearance it is entirely different from Roman Catholicism, and that tendency of Protestantism just described; and this is, indeed, its wish and opinion respecting itself. Yet the inconsistency is that, unconsciously, it is essentially the same. Luther once used this appropriate language: "Papismus est merns enthusiasmus" (we would now say: "Idealismus" or "subjectivismus"). Tradition, apart from the Holy Scriptures, is, indeed, a product of human *ratio*, and supposes a *justitia* such as is pleasing to the natural reason. We may likewise apply these words inversely. The nominal Protestantism of which we are speaking shows itself to be the twin of Romanism when we look deeper into its principles.

a. It is true that this nominal Protestantism would by all means have the freedom of the person and free investigation vindicated; but it is simply because it ascribes to every individual the same subjective autonomy and independence of the truth that Romanism concentrates in one person, the Pope.

b. It is true, moreover, that the liberals insist upon the individual's own *subjective assurance*; they would not have assurance from the objective power of the truth, but from the subjective decision respecting it; they would

know nothing of an objective authority. They therefore reject tradition, and oppose every kind of obligation to the symbols of the Church. And so in recent times they have, in the different countries of Europe, as if with one watch-word, concentrated their attacks especially against the Apostles' Creed. They regard the symbols of the Church as merely dead forms and heavy ballast—oppressive to the spirit. They are conscious of a freedom from all external authority, so that they claim the right of every individual to teach in his own Church whatever his free investigation has found; yes, likewise, the sacred Scriptures are of authority to them only with such reservations as render them all illusory. If any thing displeases them, they say the sacred writers have not reported faithfully, or have mingled Jewish and Alexandrine theology with it. Yea, so far have some of them already gone that they suppose they can reject even words of Christ with which they do not agree; for even the mind of Christ, they say, was tinged with erroneous Jewish ideas. Some still recognize Jesus as the sinless Son of man, or ideal man, whose origin, however, was not supernatural, for every man may be morally perfect and blameless by the use of his freedom. However, Jesus was to them the first to experience and reveal the great truth that God is not a God of wrath, but of love. Others of the same party go so far as to urge us to carefully distinguish the ideal from the historical Christ. All the lofty predicates that the Church, in accordance with the Scriptures, ascribes to the historical God-man in his unity, they heap upon the ideal Christ, who, again, is identified with the Spirit of God, or God himself; while the historical Christ, Jesus of Nazareth, is at the most a symbol of this ideal Christ, and it is indifferent how far Jesus may correspond with him. Jesus is to them a mere man, howbeit his religion is genial; God and man are persons external to one another even in Christ, so that after Jesus departed from the earth he has at the utmost the significance of an example, and the merit of having been the first to speak the great truth of the Fatherhood of God, although not always consistently. This truth, say they, can now perpetuate itself without his assistance or co-operation; and there is no more need of his mediation with the Father, for all men are children of God, and are to be brought to acceptance and blessedness, although by many ways, through virtue and morality. The natural conscience, with its power and clearness of perception, they assert, is sufficient to guide all men into all truth; for man is empowered by his conscience to sit in judgment over all dogmas. Thus this form of Protestantism, in the name of science, loosens all the historical foundations of Christianity and evaporates its doctrines. Like the Romish Church, it dissolves

the unity of God and man, and thinks that it has reserved for Christ a resurrection in the spirit; while it denies him or buries him, as the Reformers charged against Rome.

c. The Church of the Infallibilists has preserved a series of genuine Christian truths as a traditional possession; but these are buried under the rubbish of modern errors, and the weight of the monstrous and diversified apparatus of Romish ecclesiasticism, and have thus become deaf and dumb salt; and hence are hardly to be taken into consideration as a ground of difference. *The only difference between the two errors* that can be found is this: modern Catholicism limits the unrestricted arbitrariness or subjectivism to *one point*, in order that all the rest may be placed in blind dependence on it; while this modern, degenerated Protestantism demands *autonomy and self-sufficiency for all*. The results, however, with reference to the *assurance of salvation and of Christian truth*, are essentially the same, and it is even so with the *unity* which they leave us. In order to give assurance and certainty of the truth of the Church, Infallibilism sets up as the fundamental dogma that the *subjective will of the person* sitting upon the throne of Rome is to decide with divine authority respecting truth and error; while that nominal Protestantism, in the interests of assurance of the truth, endows the *subjective will of every person* with the authority of deciding what is to be binding upon him. Both alike regard the objective divine truth, given in the personal appearance of Christ, as not endowed with the power of testifying to its own truthfulness, attesting itself, and making evident, and divinely assured. Arbitrary subjectivism ascribes the power of deciding what is to be obligatory truth, to the creature, without God: on the one side to *one person*, the Pope; on the other to the *multitude of co-ordinate persons*, in their natural condition.

d. The same similarity of principles appears, moreover, especially with reference to the *reconciliation of man with God*. The Catholic doctrine is here a combination of Pelagian and magical elements. On the one side, meritorious works, propitiating man, are required; on the other, indulgence is dispensed. It is very much the same with the so-called liberal theology, which bases the reconciliation and justification of man, on the one side, on moral intentions and works (religion being subordinated to morality); on the other side they believe that men are entitled to forgive themselves their own sins, or to regard their sins as forgiven by God, basing themselves upon that idea of God which regards Fatherhood as knowing no wrath; alas! also, no justice. As they do not go back to the mediatorship of Christ, what is it but, on the one side, self-absolution, without cost to self; on the other, a delusion of possible self-atonement?

e. Now this is simply to fall back into the errors of Romanism through a form of Protestant nominal subjectivism, errors which penetrate even to the idea of God. Instead of holy justice, arbitrariness appears in both conceptions, and is called goodness. Instead of free grace for Christ's sake, without which no one can stand before God, there appears in both views the *law, demanding*, but not giving, moral purity and change of the inmost heart, which no one can accomplish of himself.

f. Again, on the one side we have the superstitions self-deification of the Church; on the other, the no less superstitious self-deification of the personal subject. In both conceptions the man who makes the creature the centre, excludes himself from the divine centre, and on the very basis of the deification of the creature there is left a mere deistic view of the world separating it from God.

g. Again, this resemblance of the principles of the so-called liberal theology with modern Catholicism may be shown from other points of view. The Church of the Infallibilists, as we have seen, establishes a formal unity and authority over the substance of the truth and its value, but thereby falls into an *indifferentism* with reference to the truth itself. They study merely the preservation of unity and uniformity, indifferent as to what the substance of the bond of union and Christianity may be. At the same time, we have seen that the background of this formal *Infallibilism* is a *skepticism* which doubts whether the truth itself can be universally known. The same indifferentism—yes, skepticism—is manifest likewise in this nominal Protestantism, so soon as it forms associations, or seeks a communion, as it has recently endeavored to accomplish in various ways. It is true they talk of assurance and knowledge; but, inasmuch as they confer upon all men the principle of unlimited autonomy, it can not but be that the most contrasted elements come together in these associations, and that a union through the same principles and their authority becomes impossible. How can persons of such opposite views bind themselves together in unity? There is but one way, that no one should value his view as true and certain. Should any one earnestly claim his view to be the true one, the union would be at once loosened or dissolved. Hence the continuance of such a union is possible merely as a school which is seeking the truth, but is not in possession of it; but not as a religious communion rejoicing and living in its faith. And yet this is the more favorable aspect. For if we are ever to be seeking and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth; if we refuse the truth when present to us, and obliging us to accept and advocate it, we fall into a skepticism which despairs of the possibility of knowing the truth as

an objective and universal entity, or else it seems indifferent whether we are in possession of the truth or not. I know that these are severe words. There are, it is true, in such associations men who are in possession of the Christian truth, but who by their membership hope to regain others who have been estranged from the Church, thinking of that comprehensive word of Christ, "He that is not against us is for us." But, if they would remain sound in faith and love, they should think likewise of that other word that reminds us of the decision which every one must make: "He that is not with me, is against me; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad."

h. So long as the bond of unity for such an association is not found in definite, positive Christian truth, nothing remains but to seek unity, partly in opposition and polemics against others, partly in certain external forms and organizations. This is the reason of the great controversial character and warlike spirit as well of the Catholic Church as of this so-called liberal Protestantism. The organization sought from this stand-point involves the idea of finding a form of communion in which every one may continue in absolute autonomy and religious sovereignty, and at the same time not be deprived of the blessings and enjoyments of communion, and the permanent right to the same. But what are they to love and cherish in common, if there is nothing positive that is held in common? That which excludes nothing includes nothing, but remains hollow and empty. So far, then, as acting in company is concerned, they lay great stress upon free election. The members ascribe to themselves the power to vote by the majority respecting all things, even respecting the doctrines that are to be allowed or held in common. Thus they fall into the same error which sound judgment blames in the councils, that they established a mechanical method of deciding respecting what is true and well pleasing to God, which method is inadequate to the truth and its laws. Nominal Protestantism and the Romish Church both alike are destitute of any clear, firm norm of decision. The former, because they would build upon the variously constituted reason of the autonomous subject, and by the various methods and results of their historical—even dogmatical—criticism of the sacred Scriptures render every proposed norm again illusory. The latter, because they establish, though unconsciously, through historical or constitutive tradition, changeable human ideas in place of the rock of evangelical truth; which ideas, when in contradiction with the Holy Scriptures, are, as the Reformers justly said, merely products of the *naturalis ratio humana*. Both, consciously or unconsciously, must arrive at the same end, and accept an objective perfectibility of Christianity. Both

finally labor for the unnatural separation of the intellectual side of man from the moral and religious. The Romish Church claims for the Pope an enlightenment through the Holy Spirit independent of his moral and religious condition. But the work of the Holy Spirit is of one piece, light and life go together. The modern so-called liberal Protestantism, again, in spite of Schleiermacher, is intellectualistic and rationalistic. They would base religion upon knowledge, less now of a philosophical than of a historico-critical character. But they show by the very fact of their undertaking that they do not understand religion, and its true independent character which Schleiermacher so classically vindicated. They put their own opinions respecting God in place of religion, while they can only ascribe to them some probability, and can not regard the views opposite to their own as impossible.

Upon this subject allow me to dwell for a moment.

Historical investigation and criticism are certainly authorized. In this way the Reformation began, going back to the sources; and never will Germany, the hearthstone of the Reformation, allow herself to be deprived of the right of free investigation, which has made her theology so rich and strong. But not every investigation rewards the investigator. We see in Germany that the object of investigation dissolves under the hands of many. The anatomical knife of their criticism can not find the spirit, which veils itself from them, so that while they retain the body, the mere external material, the soul has flown away. The only cure for these errors and defects, as well as for the errors of infallibilism and false objectivism, lies in the truth of the Reformation; for why is it that nominal Protestantism can no more than Romanism attain a firm position, a true knowledge of the Gospel? *I think there is one common fault.* They do not understand what religion is. They do not know that religion, by its very idea, can not be made by men, but by God, his prevenient grace; since religion is not thinking, or acting, but mutual, harmonious communion between the giving God and the receiving man. Again, they do not truly know their need of redemption. Pascal says, "Unless a man knows that he is no longer what he should be, he lacks the first condition of self-knowledge." The first assurance is, that we are sinners, laden with guilt. This is the fundamental certainty or assurance which leads the sincere inquirer further on. This is likewise the beginning of true fellowship, of true spiritual union—that we know our race to be one in guilt and need of a Redeemer.

Where there is this vital knowledge, and a longing for peace with God and with ourselves, history is examined, in order to see whether it any where shows the form or ap-

pearance of the Redeemer. He who thus, with the glance of longing for a Redeemer, will remain standing before the form of Christ in Holy Scripture, is susceptible of all the divine features or radiating influences of his appearance. They seem to the alien and the profane contradictory in their divine paradox; the groveling intellect gropes externally round about the holy object, or picks it to pieces like a flower. But the *susceptible soul* is met by an unexpected divine harmony shining forth to greet him. Christ would be the Redeemer and Fulfiller of mankind, nothing less; therefore where that sensorium for a Redeemer, the true religious and theological organ, is lacking, the whole person and work of the God-man falls to pieces. But the sinner longing for redemption has a burning-glass within him, which, gathering the beams in one point, concentrates them to inflame his heart, and to give light, and warmth, and life; so that in the believing look upon Christ the old man is consumed, and the new man arises in the creative glow of the love of God revealed in Christ. He is thus assured of his cause, and stands firm as a rock amid the fluctuation of human opinions; assured first of his salvation in Christ; assured no less of his divine Saviour; free through him not only from doubt and uncertainty, but likewise from seductive and changeable human authority.

Again, in close connection with true assurance is the true principle of unity, as love with faith. This is the doctrine of the Reformation—yea, still more, this is the pure Gospel.

We have looked at the errors to the right and the left: superstition based upon unbelief, unbelief the fruit of a superstition which deifies itself. May we thereby learn to love and value afresh the evangelical truth which our forefathers won by their own blood. May this joy in the kernel of the Gospel, in Christ and his free grace, likewise unite all evangelical Protestants more and more closely together.

Indeed, it becomes us to cultivate unity more than in the first three centuries of

Protestantism. It becomes us for our own sake, since we are going into a conflict of increasing earnestness. It becomes us for the sake of our opponents to the right and the left, to whom we have not to darken, but to recommend, by concord and love, that which alone can make them free and happy; "for by this shall the world know that we are *his* disciples, if we have love one to another." It becomes us for the honor of Christ, under whose banner we stand. Since the Reformation we have scattered in a hundred vessels upon the great ocean of nations; it is time, to use the language of Homer's *Odyssey*, that we should think again of the *vóστος* (the return home)—that is, the unity of the sons of the Reformation. As evangelical Christianity has almost become an image of the dispersion of the nations, as we have almost lost and in many ways misunderstood one another, it is time that we should again show ourselves to be children of Pentecost, which united the dispersed nations and tongues by the power of the Spirit, who combined an infinite variety in unity. We have fled from Romish *sameness*, that leads to mere mechanical principles and death. But differences likewise, when they alone prevail, bring poverty, bitterness, and destitution of the Holy Spirit.

Let us labor, then, that the differences existing among us, which are all before the eye of God, may straightway become, instead of means of estrangement, rather a bond of unity, in giving and receiving as it is the will of the Holy Spirit.

This is furthered in an especial manner by the *idea of our Conference*, which unites the parts of the globe together in an unprecedented manner; those two especially in which Christianity has thus far become the prevailing power on earth. May this Conference be productive of the increase, not only of the spirit of peace among us, but also of mutual appreciation and co-operation in the gifts which the nations represented here have received from God's hand for the great task of civilizing, Christianizing, and evangelizing the human race.

ROMANISM IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

BY THE REV. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D.D., LL.D.,

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WE have listened with great satisfaction to the admirable paper with has just been read. I have in mind only one living theologian who might think to better it; and that is Dr. Dörner himself. The fault must be our own if we are not now firmly rooted in the conviction that, in adding to its creed this new dogma of Papal Infallibility, the Roman Catholic Church has both erred and blundered.

But why, on a Protestant platform, this elaborate criticism? Why this concern of ours about the doings of the Vatican Council? Why so much of our programme given up to the Roman Catholic question? Partly, no doubt, because we feel that our evangelical Protestantism is newly and doubly menaced. Infidel bugles are sounding in front of us, Papal bugles are sounding behind us. And evangelical Protestants are not standing shoulder to shoulder. It would be idle to say that we are not alarmed. But this is not the whole of it. Not Protestantism only is menaced; Christianity itself is menaced. With the battle on both sides of us, before and behind, we must be careful how we handle our weapons.

We assert the unity of Protestantism, in spite of its manifold diversities and divisions. We must not forget the unity of Christendom. More than eighteen centuries have passed since the miracle of Pentecost; and infidels are saying that these Christian centuries have not, on the whole, been creditable to Christianity.

Of the thirteen or fourteen hundred millions of men now peopling the globe, three hundred and seventy millions, we are told, call themselves Christians, but can hardly be persuaded to call each other Christians. Protestantism, say the Romanists, is infidelity. Romanism, say the Protestants, is the masterpiece of Satan. And the Seven Churches of the Orient are equally disowned of both.

We need, all of us, a larger charity. Our Protestant fathers of three hundred years ago had to fight their way into history, and we can not wonder that the Magdeburg Centuriators wrote history as they did. But now the time has come to hang that trumpet in the hall. When we look into our own hearts, the best of us, the real wonder is that there should have been any Christians at

all. Human depravity has awful depths and an awful power. Grace enters for conflict. Life is a battle, ending only with life. And we go in at last through the gates of pearl, not with our shields, but on them.

As we are not ashamed of our Bible, so are we not ashamed of our Christian history. Miracles of grace adorn it from first to last. The Churches of the Orient, so fearfully scourged through all these Moslem centuries, are Churches still. It was their condemnation that they had ceased to grow, and then, like the Cologne Cathedral, it was their doom to decay, fragment and ruin both in one. The Roman Catholic Church of to-day is simply the Latin Church of the Middle Ages, which has kept on growing till now. Anselm, Bernard, Aquinas, Tauler, Luther, Melancthon, Pascal, and Fénelon have all belonged to it. Protestantism is its child. If asked, as Luther was, "Where was your Church before the Protest?" we may answer, as Luther did, "Where was your face before you washed it in the morning?"

Christianity is not to be confounded with Christendom. They are not at one; and never have been, not even while St. John sat writing his gospel at Ephesus. But neither are they to be torn asunder. Our Christian history—ancient, mediæval, modern—is both trinal and a unit: three in one, and one in three. And so is Christendom to-day, both three and one. The Ancient Age still keeps on in the Orient; the Middle Age, in Central and Southern Europe; only in Northern Europe and America is there, as yet, any nineteenth century. But the stars still hold to their courses, and human history, with God in it, can afford to wait.

What shall come next, and next after, none of us may presume to say; but we risk nothing in speaking well of what has been permitted in the past. And so we thank God to-day for Pope Pius IX., and his Vatican Council, and his new dogma, which began to be quarried so long ago. The massive block is lifted at last to its place. The edifice is crowned. Will it be crushed as well? Let us not feel too sure of that. Shorn of its temporal power, the papacy may at once put on new spiritual power. And nations which, like France, have swung off into infidelity, may be expected to swing back into superstition.

But Christian history is not to end in that way. Christianity would have perished long ago had there been any sentence of death in it. God destroys his enemies; but his friends and children he merely chastens. His ancient people are scattered to the four winds, but are still a unit, and still number as many millions as in the golden age of David and Solomon. The Eastern Church lies with torn bosom, trodden beneath cruel feet. But the heart still beats, and the pale lips still cry, "How long, O Lord, how long?" The Church of Rome has denied her Lord, not so much for want of courage as for want of wisdom. By-and-by she will repent, and her last days will be her best days. As for Protestants, three hundred years are no long time, and we are wiser than we were.

We set forth Christian unity as the goal toward which not merely all Protestants, but all Christians, are tending. Let us understand that real unity has never been wholly wanting. Our Lord's prayer that his followers might all be one can not have gone unanswered. But neither has that unity been perfect. And to-day it is precisely the most vital part of Christendom which feels this imperfection most keenly. But what is the unity of which we dream? Certainly not uniformity in external organization, some one of the historic polities, the Congregational, the Presbyterian, or the Prelatical, finally supplanting its rivals. It is against the whole genius of Christianity that polity should be of much account. That which can be shown to have undergone so great a change so early in the second century, and so many changes since, can not be a matter of any vital moment. Historic criticism is hardly yet out of its cradle. When fully matured, every *jure divino* theory of church government will be driven by it to the wall. Nor should we be looking for uniformity in ritual. Orient and Occident, racial and other diversities, di-

versities in temperament, taste, culture, are likely to be factors in the problem to the end of time. Nor may we hope for agreement in all the minor particulars of Christian doctrine. The three essential and distinctive doctrines of Christianity are incarnation, atonement, and regeneration. If these are clearly affirmed, we can well afford the allowance of the largest liberty in regard to all the rest.

And now what shall we do? Just nothing at all but keep on growing. Each sect has its own errand. The doctrines are not yet all settled. Theology, Christology, Anthropology, Soteriology, have all had their turn; but Ecclesiology and Eschatology are yet to come. We have, strictly speaking, no ecumenical creed; not even the Apostles' Creed, for each one of us interprets it for himself, making it mean more or less. But from the rising to the setting sun there is not a Christian man, or Christian woman, or Christian child, whose eyes would not moisten as he sang, "My faith looks up to Thee."

Controversy must still go on. But we are very foolish to have it so bitter. Communion is one thing; intercommunion is another: just as national law is one thing, and international law another. Into the family of nations the door is wide, admitting some nations that none of us would like to belong to. But any thing that governs at all is better than anarchy. In Palestine, beyond the Jordan, among wild Bedouin, even Turkish troops are welcome to the traveler. So in the Church. Coptic Christians in Egypt may be far enough beneath our ideal, but after all the Cross is over them, and not the Crescent. For myself, of course, I prefer my own communion, or I would leave it for another. But God forgive me if I ever looked or shall ever look into any Christian face without finding in it something of the old family likeness.

THE PRESENT STATE OF POPERY IN FRANCE.

BY THE REV. GEORGE FISCH, D.D., OF PARIS, FRANCE.

WE live at a time of a great and general struggle. Popery starts for a new battle. It has conquered at last its unity by the dogma of the Pope's personal infallibility, and has now in the Syllabus, its new Bible, something like the declaration of rights upon which the first French Revolution was based, only it is the declaration of rights of the Pope alone, and annihilates all the rights of man. Every nation feels that it will, sooner or later, have hard work with Popery. But hitherto all the powers in the two worlds have resisted its encroachments. There is only one country in which the Pope has succeeded in taking the reins of the government, and it is France. It is that nation which was called formerly the eldest daughter of the Church; that nation which sends missionaries to every corner of the globe to counteract our Protestant missions. It is that nation which sends you, by each transatlantic steamer, so many priests, monks, and nuns, all so winning and so charming that they soon take hold of your confidence. It is that nation which provides the United States with so many refined ladies of the Sacred Heart, who are all deemed to be countesses; and many blinded Protestants send their daughters to them for education, not minding that they will soon be enticed by the snares of that elegant worldly atmosphere, and become Papists. France was seized upon by Popery. The Jesuits seek to make it an impregnable fortress from which they may direct their attacks upon every country on the globe. She will be the battle-field where the great action is to be fought. How important it is, therefore, to inquire what is the present state of Popery in France!

At the first sight it appears that indeed my country has become the most Popish in the world. We Frenchmen do not know whether we dream or not. What! the people of Voltaire, so skeptical and so jeering, are now governed as a convent! The Pope, whose orders are a mere cipher in his own country, is the real sovereign in France—a sovereign both earthly and celestial. We are overrun with superstitions which go far beyond those of the Middle Ages. The prefects are placed under the orders of the bishops. Full room is given to the tens of thousands of pilgrims who throng and obstruct the streets of our cities, while three of our Protestant pastors connected with the Evan-

gelical Society have been lately condemned to a fine, and would have to suffer imprisonment for a relapse; and their crime had been to preach without permission to a few inquirers after divine truth. The Romish clergy, from fifty thousand pulpits and by innumerable journals, pour every day the grossest outrage upon modern society and all our liberties, while the newspapers in the provinces which attempted to resist them are persecuted and suppressed.

But let us look beneath the surface.

1. This movement has nothing spontaneous. It does not proceed from the people themselves. Spontaneity is the black sheep for Popery. It fears, first of all, any kind of liberty, any individual move. It remoulds the human soul by a merely mechanical process. It takes the man at the cradle in order to undo and deform him. With its fifty thousand priests in France and its innumerable monks and nuns, it works like the invisible animals which build up the coral cliffs. They are mere atoms, but they are able to create those huge mountains which emerge from the depths of the sea to a gigantic height.

2. This movement has nothing of that which we call a revival. What is a revival for us Protestants? It is an awakening of the consciences by the Holy Ghost. It brings the souls to Christ by the conviction of sin. Now conscience is very much obliterated in Popery. The truth which is the most impressive for it is done away by the Roman dogma. When a Protestant is oppressed by the burden of his sins, he is conscious of that awful fact that we are a fallen race, estranged from God, and subjected to an everlasting condemnation. But Popery so interprets the atonement as to get rid of that agonizing feeling which would lead the souls to Christ instead of the priest. According to its creed, the Lord Jesus Christ redeemed us from original sin, and infant baptism purges it away; therefore we have not any more to deal with it; we have only to cope with our actual sins, and to save ourselves by our obedience to the commands both of God and of the Church. Here, again, the notion of sin gets confused. Rome puts on the same level disobedience against God's laws and against ecclesiastic laws. Now, if eating a morsel of chicken on Friday is a sin of equal weight as speaking evil of our neighbor, how is it possible that a Roman

Catholic may realize the unutterable gulf of misery and guilt expressed by the word *sin*? Moreover, while among Protestants, who know that they are saved by faith in divine truth, lying is peculiarly hated as being the root of evil, that very sin is one of those which Popery opposes the least, as its whole system is based upon forgery. Even among the upright Roman Catholics who are not conscious of that fact, there is a general current of falsehood and deceit, which permeates the whole of the Popish nations, and demoralizes even the best of their members. Is not Jesuitism, which makes lying for the Church a virtue, the very flower of Popery? No conscience has first to be re-educated in our country; therefore there is nothing in the present movement which may resemble an awakening of conscience.

3. It is not more a religious movement, in the highest sense of that word. If religion is a satisfaction afforded to the deepest wants of the human soul, it is entirely wanting in this so-called revival. There was a time when Popery had retained a sufficient part of Christian truth to feed the souls who did not move in the still loftier sphere of free grace and inward freedom imparted by the Holy Spirit. But now, under Ultramontane impulses, Popery is more and more deprived of its spiritual marrow. The Jesuits have always worked hard in order to make it deviate from its Christian basis, and to lay its foundation upon the most worldly tendencies of human nature. They have at last succeeded to make it a complete idolatry, having a goddess in heaven—the Immaculate Virgin; and a god on earth—the infallible Pope.

This movement is, therefore, nothing but a great effort of the Jesuits in order to restore the temporal power of the Pope. They try to make France an instrument to reconquer all the ground which they have lost. They are endowed with an amazing firmness of purpose. If we only served our Heavenly Master as they serve him whom they consider as his incarnation on earth! As they believe firmly in the promise made to Peter, and which they apply to the Pope, they are never shaken nor discouraged. When they have failed, they resume their work at the very stage at which it was interrupted. They use the defeats as means for a further success. When they saw France crushed and lying in her blood, they rushed upon her from every quarter. And, indeed, at first they were admirably helped by the circumstances, which appeared to them as most providential tokens of the Divine blessing.

1. When Germany gave us only ten days to elect representatives who were to decide the question of peace or war, and when each department had to vote at once a whole list of members, nobody was ready for it. The

Republican party wished to continue the war. It was not possible to have an electioneering agitation, to discuss names, to have preparatory meetings. The German armies occupied one-third of our soil. Our railway communication was cut. But the bishops had been on the lookout. They had framed lists of men pledged both to make peace and to obey the orders from Rome. In order to make them acceptable, they had interspersed them with a few Liberals. They had sent these lists to every parish priest of their department, and, as there were none but these to present to the people, they were voted. And so it happened that the Jesuits became the real government of France. Our nation now is like a charger—allow me to add, a fine one—on the back of which a cunning horseman jumped. The charger would be led onward to the battle of liberty, and the horseman is decided to force it backward to the Middle Age. The charger kicks and kicks again, but the horseman holds fast and uses curb and spurs. We feel these spurs now very painfully. Let us hope that a tremendous move of public opinion may at least succeed to kick off the horseman and cast him to the ground.

2. The Jesuits had a powerful auxiliary in the *Commune*. The Commune was a combination of Socialist influences and of the hatred which the Parisian people feel against the priesthood. There were only sixty thousand Socialists in Paris. How is it that the majority of the inhabitants supported the Commune? Only because they thought that the National Assembly would bring back a clerical royalty, and therefore they opposed the national troops, which they called by the name of *Chouans*, which was given to the legitimists of the Vendean war at the time of our first revolution. Those atheists of the Commune who excited so much horror by their crimes had been all trained up in the schools of the friars, and felt an intense aversion to the form of religion in which they were educated. But, whatever may be our judgment of the Commune, the fact remains. The foundations of society were shaken. An abyss was opened under our feet. The nation shuddered before the consequences of irreligion. Capital and wealth were affrightened, and came to shelter themselves under the wings of the priesthood. The higher and middle classes made Popery their great insurance company.

3. The old nobility has been, since the French Revolution of 1789, the most intimate ally of the Popish clergy. These two classes of men had lost their privileges in the same hurricane. The clergy had led the noblemen to emigration. After the Restoration of 1815, they both tried to get back their former position in society. The sons of these dukes and marquises are educated by the Jesuits, who take great care to pre-

serve them from any influx of modern aspirations and modern liberties. Men of this class live still in the fourteenth century. For their schools and colleges a compound of history was prepared by Father Loricquet, which taught that there was no Emperor Napoleon the First, but a Marquis de Bonaparte, who had been for fifteen years the commander of the armies of King Louis XVIII. Of course, under the Second Empire they were obliged to make therein some slight alteration; but the fact remains, that all the teaching imparted to these noblemen is falsified. They do not understand their times better than we should understand the Chinese language if we were transported suddenly into the Celestial Empire. The priests persuade them that, if they can only bring their pupil, Comte de Chambord, upon the throne, they would be restored to all their former rights.

4. But they have a still more powerful ally. Generally, in France, in the higher and middle classes, the women who were educated in convents are bigoted; the men who were educated in the public schools are free thinkers. The men remain, however, in the Church, which they disregard and despise, for they will not displease their mother and sisters, their bride or their wife. Now the heart of the Roman Catholic women in the upper classes has been fired by their confessors. They form an army moving and fighting as one man—an army of which the weapons are seldom to be resisted too, for they are charm smiles, tears, and nervous fits. I pity, indeed, the Roman Catholic members of our legislature who wish to oppose the return of Henry V., and consider it as the doom of their country. They must have, indeed, a miserable life, without rest for a single hour.

5. In the clergy itself the Jesuits succeeded in suppressing all resistance. The French priesthood was placed by Napoleon the First, more than the clergy of any nation, in the hands and at the mercy of the bishops. The great despot thought that it was more easy for him to control the dignitaries of the Church whom he had richly endowed and promoted to their high office, and that, if the simple parish priest was nothing but an obedient slave of the bishop, all would play smoothly in his hand. Therefore the French clergy is, more than any other in Europe, deprived of any will of its own. A priest who resists or even displeases his bishop is interdicted, without a higher court to appeal to. The bishop has no motive to express, no reason to allege. And the interdicted priest is an outcast in society. He was trained in such a way that he is fit only for saying the mass. He is utterly ignorant—too ignorant to become a school-teacher—and, moreover, nobody trusts him. As the causes of his interdiction are not made public, every one supposes the worst. The best he can do is to become a cab driver. I was

told a few years ago that there were six hundred men of that sort in Paris alone. Now imagine such a fall for him who was a mediator between God and man, and even the creator of his own Creator—to have to whip on a miserable jade through the streets of our capital. Very few priests have courage enough to face such a punishment. This accounts for the general acceptance of the dogma of the infallibility among the French clergy.

6. The Jesuits silenced that portion of the former Liberals who had attempted to carry on an impossible task—the reconciliation of Popery and of liberty. They were headed by the Comte de Montalembert, and after his death by the Duc de Broglie. These very men who had devoted their life to prove that Roman Catholicism was compatible with liberty were obliged to accept the Syllabus, and, indeed, that document had been first of all directed against them. God speaking on earth cursed every thing that was dear to them. They bowed down in humility. However, I think that, in the innermost part of their soul, they did like Galileo, who, after he had been compelled to say, while kneeling, "The earth does not turn round," added, when he rose, "Nevertheless, it moves!"

7. But the Jesuits wanted to recruit an army ready for any enterprise. They wanted, moreover, to show that France had gone backward enough to justify the return of a mediæval king. Indeed, Comte de Chambord, their pupil, whom they infused entirely with their own spirit, would be nothing but a crowned monk. He is said to have built on his property at Frohsdorf a large house, where he feeds two hundred Jesuits. In order to smooth down the way before him the pilgrimages were invented. Two memorable apparitions of the Virgin had taken place in these latter years—at La Sallette, in the Dauphiné, and at Lourdes, in the Pyrenees. The first pilgrimages were directed to these places. The sites had been admirably chosen. La Sallette is surrounded with the grandest scenery of the gigantic Alps. Lourdes is at the foot of the most picturesque rocks of the Pyrenees. It was a great attraction. As we rejoice to go next week to Washington or Niagara Falls, and as we shall visit those places without any expense on account of the liberality of our American friends, French people think it very pleasant also to see admirable sites without any charge, and even to do by it a meritorious act and to win a reward for eternity. But the great success of these two pilgrimages encouraged the clergy to get up in almost every diocese apparitions of the Virgin, miraculous images, or miraculous wells. In that way they told powerfully upon the imagination of the crowds. When false miracles were performed by scores at each pilgrimage, the people were deeply

impressed by God departing in their own sight from the natural laws. They would not believe, indeed, that these healings were a mere trick of their spiritual leaders.

And, nevertheless, that present campaign which was to the Jesuits of so solemn an issue will prove a failure. The great battle into which they marched all their forces will be lost.

The Jesuits, who succeeded in every thing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are nowadays like that Sisyphus of old who in the ancient hell was said to be rolling a heavy stone up hill, which continually fell back upon him, and never reached the summit. What their cunning has half brought to success fails by their ignorance of the time in which they live. They strain every nerve to bring back an irretrievable past; but they aim at an impossibility. They must now give room to the Gospel which is suited for all times. They succeeded in bringing our French armies to Mexico, and with them an Austrian emperor; but they only prepared the way for the Gospel. The Bible was carried into that country by the Protestant chaplain of our forces. They succeeded in bringing France into a war with Germany—they were thereby instrumental in the downfall of Napoleon III., who alone kept the Pope in the possession of his temporal power, and in opening the city of Rome to the Italians, to the Bible, and to Protestant churches. Now they try again to get a king of France, who, like a Messiah, will not only restore the Pope to his throne, but redeem the Papal Israel from all bondage in the whole world. I met a few days ago at Niagara Falls a Roman Catholic Irishman, who told me that all his wishes were centred upon the restoration of Henry V. to France, for he hopes that *the* king will rescue Ireland from the jaws of England.

But in order to reach their aim they took the wrong way.

1. They counteracted all the instincts and aspirations of our country. After our disasters the watch-word of the whole nation was, "Let us raise up France again, by liberty, by education, by light in every form." My countrymen rose, all with one mind craving for compulsory education, which had made Prussia so strong against us. But, as the ideal of the Jesuits was backward, they opposed it. They made a crusade in favor of the holy ignorance. They had memorials signed by the children of their own schools. Of course, these children, who dislike very much the discipline of the friars, signed enthusiastically these petitions. It was the first mistake of the clergy.

2. They missed the opportunity for getting hold of the hearts which seemed prepared for the first one who would come to them, bringing comfort for the afflicted, and balm

for the national wounds. The souls had been prepared by unheard-of humiliations, by unwonted sufferings, by the bitter fruits which atheism brought forth in the days of the Commune. But the Jesuits liked better to offer to the nation the most degrading superstitions. Instead of answering the higher wants of the nation, they made appeal only to ignorance and credulity. They carried it too far for their own purpose. They led multitudes to implore black wooden statues of the Virgin which were supposed to act by themselves. And when the remark was made to them that they had entirely forgotten the Virgin's Son, they met that complaint by the worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. What is that sacred heart? Not the soul of Christ, both divine and human, sympathizing with us and full of mercy to the sinner, but his bodily heart, which is said to have appeared to Mary Alacoque. Now I think that it is going yet further down than the worship of the Virgin, for Mary at least is a person, while the sacred heart is nothing but a muscle of flesh.

And how unwise it was to have selected La Sallette as their foremost place of pilgrimage! When these good legitimist noblemen went there so cheerfully to that high Alpine valley, they did not know that the Virgin who had appeared there to two little shepherds was an old maid from the city of Valence, Mademoiselle Lameillère. They did not know that, as most of our French ladies are (I will not speak of other nations), she had been too talkative, had avowed to a priest at Grenoble that she was the Holy Virgin, that she had showed the dress in which she was to appear to the conductor of the coach which had brought her to La Sallette. They did not know that she had cursed the potatoes—it was a part of the message which she had brought from heaven—and the potato crop had not failed. They were ignorant of her having prophesied that the Prussians would conquer France in 1856, and that the silly little shepherd whom she had addressed was to become king of France. The secular newspapers tell now that whole history, which was unfurled at the time before the court of Grenoble. That whole campaign will have in the end no other result but to subject Popery to a greater amount of ridicule and disgust.

3. The way in which they govern France increases the hatred which the great majority of the people feel for the Popish clergy. They trample upon every liberty; they violate every protecting law. They made the whole nation burn with indignation when they threw aside our greatest citizen, the liberator of our territory, M. Thiers, and abuse him in the extreme in each number of their newspapers. They call themselves, however, the men of moral order, but people consider that name as the bitterest irony.

In the hands of God this passing reign of the Jesuits will have loosened France more completely from the bondage of Popery.

4. While they cover France with pilgrimages, we cover her with Bibles. The Bible societies have sold four millions of copies of the Holy Scriptures among our people. Our schools in Paris are overfilled with children of Roman Catholic parents, and in one of them ninety thousand francs of school fees have been contributed in one year by very poor workmen. We preach the Gospel from place to place, and, as in the Roman Catholic villages there is no place for meeting except the dancing-hall, we preach there the good tidings of salvation before crowded audiences, which come week after week to hear of God's love and of a free pardon. The Evangelical Society of France last winter had, in one department alone, nine thousand Roman Catholics in several places attending upon the Protestant worship. By a marvelous direction of God, our army, recruited from every part of the country, was for thirty years taught to read in the Gospel of John by one of the elders of my own Church, who, by the order of Marshal Soult, in 1840, had introduced that method in every regiment of French soldiers, and was the general superintendent of these reading schools. By another direction of God, the eighty-four thousand men of Bonraki's army, who had been thrown upon Switzerland, brought back from that country the sacred volume and an unbounded admiration for the Protestant faith.

5. Religious liberty is just at this time very much imperiled, but we shall have it ere long. Dr. De Pressensé, who occupies such an important position in our national legislature, made the proposal to do away with all the former laws obstructing religious liberty, and to make the worship as free as it is in the United States. That proposal, before being submitted to the House, was to

be examined by a select committee of the House. The majority had chosen its members with much care, and made it to be composed of thirteen clericals and only two Liberals. However, after a thorough examination, that committee decided unanimously to bring that proposal before the Assembly. And if it is carried, oh then what an admirable field of labor France will afford! After such a preparation, with that longing for a renovation, with that more thorough repudiation of a religion which resisted all its wants, what may we not expect from our nation! And then you, dear American friends, will stand side by side with us. France is lying before you as the wounded man on the road, and you, like the good Samaritan, will have compassion upon us, and pour oil and wine into our wounds. And let no one say that our progress in France is too slow to repay the efforts made in that direction. He who would say so is certainly not an Anglo-Saxon, and he is, moreover, in my opinion, a poor Christian. For, indeed, what distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race? Is it not that persevering energy which never yields to difficulties, but goes ahead and overcomes them one after another? We have already succeeded in an amazing measure if we take into account the obstacles which were in our way. Thousands and thousands of precious souls have been brought from Popery to the true knowledge of the Saviour. But we are still a feeble band of laborers. We struggle hard. We are just now the only Christian community in any nation which has to endure persecution. We are not in the least discouraged. It took more than a century for the Jews who had come back from Babylon to rebuild their Temple, but they succeeded at last, and the glory of that temple was greater than that of the first had been. Our work is now obstructed in many ways, but it is God's work. We know it, and we also shall succeed in the end.

ULTRAMONTANISM AND THE FOUR PRUSSIAN CHURCH LAWS.

BY THE REV. LEOPOLD WITTE, OF COETHEN, PRUSSIA.

THE four laws lately enacted by the Prussian Government, in its struggle with Rome, have an interest far beyond the limits of the German empire. They were provoked by infallible Rome, and infallible Rome is an enemy of every Protestant country—of free America as well as of free Germany. The old Roman proverb may be justly quoted here: "Non tua res agitur, paries si proximi ardes"—"Thy own house is in danger when thy neighbor's is in flame." So let me anticipate your interest in the subject of my treatise.

I will, in the first place, briefly state the contents of the said laws. They are four in number. The first asserts the right of the State to exercise a supreme control over the education of the clergy; the second establishes the right of the State to superintend the discipline exercised by the Church over clergymen; the third defines the limits of the ecclesiastical power to exercise church discipline against laymen; the fourth gives some regulations for those who are going to leave the Church.

Even this simple general statement must, I am aware, strike you, my American friends, very strangely. You live in a country where the churches are entirely independent of the State. You will therefore naturally think that the State has nothing whatever to do with affairs of the Church. But the stranger these laws appear to you at the first glance, the more perhaps you may feel a desire to have them explained by a citizen of that country in which they were enacted, by a pastor of a church which is itself pleased under them.

But what will you expect me to do? Do you think that I have come here as a delegate of the Prussian Government or of Bismarck, in order to persuade you to fall in love with these four children of the Prussian legislature, who are stigmatized by the hirelings of Rome as children of Satan? I am not here in such a capacity. Or do you think that I, rejecting with the pride of a Christian the infallible Pope, am worshipping an infallible State, and will, therefore, sanction every thing which is issued in the form of laws by the Government? I am a Christian, and believe only in one infallible Head and King of churches and states, Jesus Christ, and claim the right to criticize

freely the words of men, even if they are high in authority. Besides this, my friends, let me tell you, if *you* boast justly of the freedom of your Church, of the independence of its doings and institutions, this very freedom of the Church of Christ is dear to me also, and is dear to every evangelical minister and layman in Germany who loves the Kingdom of God. I do not in the least think that the State churches in Europe, as they have grown in history, represent that condition of the bride of Christ which is desirable for her, if she expects to unfold the full riches of her beauty. But we have to deal here not with a state of things which ought to be, but with a state of things as it is in Germany.

In your own country the principle of religious and ecclesiastical independence has been established only gradually in the course of the last and in the beginning of the present century. The Middle Ages did not know any thing of religious freedom, and even the principles of the Reformation were in the beginning not strong enough to prevent intolerance and narrow-mindedness. "Cujus regio, illius religio"—"Where I live I must accept the religion of the land." This was for a long time the ruling principle in European Church history. It is well known that the family of the Hohenzollern of Brandenburg were in this respect more enlightened than most of their contemporaneous princes. They granted a refuge within their realm to any denomination and set that was persecuted abroad, although they did not yet endow all these different churches with the same rights and privileges as their own Evangelical Church enjoyed in their country. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholics could not have any imaginable reason to complain of pressure and want of freedom in Prussia. The Brandenburg electors and Prussian kings have always been very careful not to give the least offense to the bishops of Rome; nay, have often treated the popish Church like a petted child in their household. The popes themselves have repeatedly and most gratefully acknowledged this fact. It is to be presumed that, if the character of the Romish Church had not been altered, she would still have enjoyed these ancient privileges, and her peace could not have been disturbed.

But all of you know, and thousands of Old Catholics themselves proclaim it before the whole world, that the Catholic Church of today is not any more what it used to be ten years ago. While Rome was living in full peace with the State, and no clouds threatening, a storm could be seen on the horizon of Germany. All at once, like lightning out of the clear sky, the Syllabus was thrown by the Pope, *ex cathedra*, into the Christian world; and a few years after the Vatican Council declared all definitions of the Pope concerning faith and morals to be infallible. Yea, this council overthrew the constitution of the Catholic Church by proclaiming the Pope the universal and infallible bishop of the whole Catholic world, and of every Catholic community in it.

Prince Hohenlohe, who was at that time prime minister of Bavaria, a Catholic himself, justly understood that these astonishing assumptions were as full of dangers for the State governments as the Greek horse was for the inhabitants of Troy. He tried, therefore, to issue a common protest of all the States against these aggressions. But his efforts proved to be in vain. On the 18th of July, 1870, the fatal dogma was proclaimed. What was then the duty of such governments as had granted to the Roman Catholic Church of old times a privileged position within their boundaries? No other, as it seems to me, than to tell the Pope and his satellites, "You have broken our ancient treaties, and forfeited therefore the privileges granted to you by them. You have established a new Church, to which we have not as yet accommodated ourselves. Let us regulate, therefore, the relations of this new Church to the State, in order to live in peace with each other. But do not expect us to deal with you as we did before—to support your ministers, to grant the old privileges to your ecclesiastical and pastoral buildings, and to bestow on you rights which other religious denominations do not have."

The favorable moment to make such a declaration passed by. The war with France, which had broken out, absorbed, as you may imagine, all other interests, and threw aside all church matters, even in a time when a struggle, fraught with fatal consequences had been inaugurated by Rome. Prince Bismarck has himself avowed, in one of his celebrated speeches in the House of Lords, that the political platform of the new Church party had not sufficiently terrified him at that time; but, by neglecting the golden opportunity, the Government of Prussia itself had almost obstructed the way of a suitable adjustment of the Church affairs. After having silently acknowledged the new state of things for two years, it was at least somewhat preposterous to declare all at once, "We have come to the conclusion that the ancient Catholic Church, with which we

have made our treaties, is not any more in existence."

But, at all events, an answer was to be given to the Romish aggressions. And this answer is contained in the four laws of which I am speaking.

Whatever we may think of some of the regulations of these laws, it can not be doubted that they are an act of *self-defense* on the part of the State against the Romish attacks. The right of this self-defense can not be denied. It is founded in the duty of self-preservation. As an individual has the right and the duty to defend his own life when attacked by the blow of an assassin, so the State has both the right and the duty to protect its own life and the welfare of its citizens against the aggressions of a power which claims the supreme control over the hearts, and minds, and consciences of its members. And here it is an old trick of the Roman Catholics, by which they try to confound the question, when they proclaim in this connection the word of Peter, "We must hearken unto God more than unto man." For, in reality, the authorities in question are not *God* on one hand and *man* on the other, but rather the *Pope*, who claims to be infallible, and to rule the conscience of mankind, and the State *government* of Prussia, whose sacred duty it is to guard the freedom of its subjects. The question could even be raised, whether the *Pope*, attempting to destroy personal freedom of conscience, or the *Emperor of Germany* endeavoring to protect this very freedom, better understands and promotes the will of God.

If now the Government has the duty of protecting the sacred freedom of the citizens, this duty, as it seems to me, involves the unquestionable *right* to keep an open eye on the movements of the Churches. Suppose the Pope would send word to the Catholics of this country to inaugurate another night of St. Bartholomew among the Protestants, would your Government, my American brethren, granting as it does the greatest freedom of religion to all sects and denominations, for one moment suffer such an attempt to be made? Well, I am free to think General Grant would rather bring on an army from Washington to stop the Pope on his way. Even in these United States, as far as I can see, the principle is asserted that the Government can not tolerate practices or movements in any religious community by which the moral character of human society is undermined. You Americans are practically exercising this right in the case of Mormonism. It may be questioned, however, whether Mormonism or infallible Romanism threatens human society with the greater evils.

Having thus established these general principles, let us now, by this rule, briefly examine the laws themselves. By one of

them the Prussian Government claims the right to protect its Catholic citizens against the abuse of the power of Romish priests. Now can you deny that this claim is a just one? Has not the Government the sacred duty to shelter the life and the property of its citizens? Suppose Roman priests were endeavoring to destroy, by their church discipline, the civil honor and good reputation of individuals, that is, to undermine the foundation of their lives, is not the Government compelled to interfere in their behalf? Nay, in case that the priests themselves are citizens of the State, and fully entitled to its protection, is not the Government, as it claims in another of these laws, called upon to defend them when their personal rights, their freedom, and civil honor are assailed by a foreign power, claiming control over their bodies and souls, their lives and property? Suppose they would be disciplined by order of the Pope, as has been done, by being thrown into the dungeon of a convent, by being whipped and tormented, would it not be the duty of the Government to protect them from such disgrace?

More offense than by any other law has been given by that in which the Government asserts the right of superintending the schools and seminaries in which the Roman clergy are educated. At a first glance you may feel inclined to shrink from such a law. But, in fact, suppose that in these seminaries a bitter hatred against the earthly power be planted into the young hearts, suppose that the students be taught to regard Protestantism as an abomination and to consider the killing of a Protestant as a work acceptable in the sight of God, could the Government of the State silently and smilingly stand by and look upon such proceedings? It is a fact that the Jesuits have taught such a kind of doctrine. Do they not deserve, then, to be expelled, and kept from poisoning a nation? Let us not forget, brethren, we write to-day, 1873. In 1773, Clemens XIV., Ganganelli, an infallible pope, declared this very order to be ruinous to the welfare of human society, and abolished the order for ever and ever; and Catholic powers had urged him to do it. Is, then, Prus-

sia to be blamed when she acts on the same conviction of the poisonous influence of the Jesuits, and sends them out of her dominion?

True, I can not agree with every thing contained in these laws. To define, for instance, the limits of clerical learning, the measure of knowledge in literature and philosophy which the priests have to acquire, all this ought to be left to the decision of the religious denominations themselves. But, on the whole, there *was* an urgent necessity for *these* or *similar* laws.

One thing, however, the State should never forget: *spiritual* powers can not be finally vanquished by *external* means and regulations. It wants religious truth to break down religious falsehood. May Prussia support and strengthen the bearers of such truth, and she will come out of the struggle victorious. Let the German Government, as it has begun to do in the case of Bishop Reinkens, support and strengthen the Old Catholic movement; let it support the efforts of the Evangelical Church to establish human society on the eternal principles of the Word of God; let the State proclaim the freedom and *independence* of the Evangelical Church, and surrender to the same its *propriety*; let the whole nation breathe the air of religious freedom, and the dangers by which the State is threatened at present will disappear, as the mist before the sun. The State *alone* can hardly hope finally and successfully to resist the overwhelming power and influence of Romish priests. But there is one power mightier than Rome and all the states of the world; and whosoever is in close alliance with *it* may be sure to be crowned with victory.

“Fragst du, wer der ist,
Er heisst Jesus Christ,
Der Herr Zebaoth;
Und ist kein and'rer Gott,
Das Feld muss er behalten.”

Faithful to Him, and free from the pressure of the State, the Church of the Gospel will be victorious against the church of spiritual bondage. And the State enjoying the blessings of such a Church will flourish and prosper to do God's will.

THE REACTION OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL SPIRIT AGAINST ULTRAMONTANISM.

BY THE REV. AUGUST DORNER, PH.D.

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It is not the object of these few lines to examine this important theme on all sides; for the reaction of the State against Ultramontanism has been considered by another member of the Alliance. Nor will I speak of the reaction which is to be hoped from a deeper and more comprehensive education of the clergy, and the laity as well. I will confine myself to the religious reaction against Ultramontanism. It is a religious power; and although it exerts such a great influence in other departments, yet the most lasting reaction against it can only come from a counter religious power. The counter movement within the Catholic Church is Old Catholicism, an account of which has likewise been given by another at this meeting. I will, therefore, only make a few observations.

Since the Reformation, the one-sided principle of authority in the Roman Church has been obliged, by its conflict with Protestantism, to develop more and more. The history of Jansenism in France shows how hard it has been to persevere in a milder direction within the Romish Church. The Jesuits won the victory over the Jansenists, not merely because the State was unfavorable to the latter, but because Jansenism could not rise above the infallibility of the visible Church, as claimed to be represented in the councils. In order to gain a permanent triumph over Ultramontanism, something more is needed than merely to resist the infallibility of the Pope. For so soon as it has been proclaimed by a council, the decision of the council must be accepted by those likewise who recognize the infallibility of the bishops assembled in council. For should the Episcopalists refuse to recognize a council merely on account of the contents of its decision, when the council has been called in the right form, and has transacted its business with freedom, they would thereby overthrow their own principle, that a council called together in the right form is infallible. Thus they can only attack the form of the call, the composition of the assembly, and the manner of their deliberations. But such an attack may easily be extended to all the councils—at all events, to the Council of Trent; and the discussion would be endless, because at no council are the Church criteria necessary to its validity

fully present. Thus the Old Catholics, so long as they maintain the infallibility of the councils, must be in a precarious situation. But we may hope that their opposition, as it is a matter of the conscience, will not remain satisfied with this stand-point, since it can never be shown with reference to any early council that it has the qualifications necessary to infallibility. We greet the Old Catholics with the more joy that they confess their more ecumenical direction, by a friendly position toward Protestantism which we can not say to the credit of Jansenism. It is likewise not to be denied that the Old Catholics, if they gain ground, will to the same extent be a support of the German empire against Romanism; as they recognize the right of the national life of the State, which Rome denies.

But in order to conquer Romanism in principles, it is necessary that there should be a revival of the spirit inspired by the Reformation; that there should be a deep love of the truth, a striving for personal assurance and persuasion in religious things. The counter power to Romanism is given in Protestantism, because it represents a higher stage of religious life. The Reformation vindicated the right of a free personality, the right and the duty of every one to be personally convinced by the truth. The Reformers, above all Luther, not only emphasized original sin, evil and its penalty, but they regarded the consciousness of sin and guilt, which is the most personal thing in sin, as the greatest hindrance to successful human development; and this is the more significant when we consider that the most of the Reformers, even Luther, taught the doctrine of human freedom in a deterministic form. They laid equal stress upon the assurance of salvation, which is nothing else than that every one should experience the divine love immediately in his own soul. But we can not be convinced in our own souls merely by submitting ourselves at once to an external authority, or, after a sort of conscientious examination, uniting ourselves to an authority before which all further investigation is renounced. The law holds good, not only for different generations, but for the different years of the same man's

life, that what is not constantly won anew, and thereby strengthened, no longer remains as a spiritual possession. The difference between Protestantism and Romanism is not merely that the Romanists recognize the infallibility of the Pope, while the Protestants recognize the infallibility of the Scriptures. But still more in the fact, that the Scriptures are, according to the Protestant view, intended for the use of every person, in order that he may gain immediate communion with God in Christ, who can and will bear witness to himself in the heart. And this experience must be again and again renewed, if it would not be lost, for religion is life. Catholicism remains standing upon a stage of development which may not be unsuited to a certain point in the history of nations, but since it claims absolute sovereignty, it becomes an error. Romanism is satisfied with the assurance that the Church gives, so that the Church is the absolute authority for the individual person. Thus the Church as a whole takes the place of the individual member. In the period before Christ, the worth of the individual person was still unknown. Christianity first taught the worth of the individual person, because first in Christ is the value of the human person completely revealed; first in his person does the destiny of man for union with God realize itself. But it was not enough that the individual should enjoy communion with God in Christ as an immediate religious experience. This the individual has had in all ages of the Church. It was, still more, necessary that the *thought* that the individual is destined to immediate communion with God should work itself out to clearness of view and universality of conviction. For this a long history was necessary. There is a condition in the development of the individual and the nations as well, in which they are still in religious minority, needing external authority. Regard for individual personality was not a matter of general understanding, when the prejudices of the ancient nations which had received Christianity were not yet overcome; and the German tribes had still to be trained as babes in religion. In this condition external authority was needed. But the Romish Church would still maintain that stand-point, while that which is justified as a stage of transition is from that very fact to be rejected. Protestantism represents a higher stage, because it makes men of babes.

But, furthermore, individuality and personality are in the closest connection. The individual has a special value in himself only when he occupies a special position in the whole body of the human race, when he can give something that others can not render. The value of the individual person has not been fully recognized till the individual possession can be regarded as some-

thing permanent given him by God; for the individual would otherwise become again a mere example of his class. Protestantism has from the beginning developed in many forms of individuality, although at first in a one-sided intellectual and scholastic form. Roman Catholicism reproaches us for our divisions; yet we should greatly err if we supposed that Romanism on the one side subjects the individual to the whole body, while Protestantism neglects the whole body for the individual person and the individual life and knowledge. Protestantism represents here likewise a higher stage of development. The knowledge of individuality which Schleiermacher opened up must be deepened. It is an important problem of Protestantism at the present time to show that it can reconcile the right of the individual with the right of the whole body to the individual. In this direction are the efforts of "The Union" which would not have uniformity, but rather tolerates, yes, desires differences, in order that there may be on this basis a rich and prosperous development of Protestantism in life and doctrine, provided only the fundamental principle of reconciliation with God in Christ be maintained. In the same direction are the efforts to secure a church constitution in accordance with Protestantism, which aims to secure that the individual should be not merely a passive but an active member of his communion, and that every individual may enrich the congregation with his gifts. It is the same with the controversies respecting the limits of freedom in the pulpit, in which the question is how far the right of the individual is to be limited or extended over against the convictions of the whole body. We do not pretend to decide these questions in this short sketch. We would merely call attention to the fact that in all these questions the relation of the individual to the whole body comes into consideration, and that the problem of science is to devote more thorough investigations to these questions.

The lack of unity among Protestants is a great stumbling-block. The German nation will overcome the dangers of Romanism if it can deepen the Protestantism, which has its home in Germany, as a living inheritance from our fathers; if it can show more particularly that it can likewise accommodate itself to the proper strivings for church unity; yes, that it represents a higher state of unity than the Romish Church. He who has experienced the love of God in Christ can have no pleasure in strife, but strives himself for unity, and mutual recognition in mutual giving and receiving. The Protestant Church of Germany will represent a higher stage of unity if, on the basis of a common experience of the love of God in Christ, it can so bring the Protestant part of the nation together that the differences

of Church custom and doctrine may not produce divisions, but rather union; for only thus can the different members supplement one another, and a higher unity be formed—a unity richer than the uniform structure of the Romish Church, and freer than that unity which is found in external authority and external institutions, because every individual is confirmed in his own individuality, and unites himself in the freedom of love to the whole body. The German national spirit is hindered when the individual emancipates himself from the whole body, as well as when the individual is again reduced to nonage under the Church. May the German Church be enabled to realize the idea of unity in her external body!

Finally, there is an important thought with reference to the reaction of the German national spirit, so far as it proceeds from Protestants against Romanism, which has frequently been mentioned, yet is the more worthy of remark here that the Alliance begins to realize it. The Romish Church calls itself the Catholic, the Universal Church, spreading itself over the world. Christianity would conquer the human race, because it claims to be the absolute religion. The Romish Church attempts to carry out the idea without regard to the peculiarities of nations. Protestants may here likewise represent a higher stage of development. No one is a man *in abstracto*, no one is a Christian *in abstracto*. The universal character of Christianity is not abstract cosmopolitanism. The nations are not to be Christian after a uniform type, but each one has to fulfill its own tasks. The true Catholic disposition unites the right of the individual nations with the duty of universal love of man, and the recognition of unity in one and the same Church among all nations. Every nation has its gifts, and every one its special methods of manifesting the Christian spirit in knowledge and life. They supplement one another, and every one is bound to assert itself over against the others, in every mutual giving and receiving, yes, for the very sake of this interchange of gifts. The more now the Protestant German theology becomes international, the more will it be enriched, in order to

be truly national; and the more our clergy learn to know the Protestant life of other nations, the more will they be able to serve their own Church. There is strength for the combat with Romanism in the joy of communion with other Protestants. But yet the combat with Rome is at the same time a national combat against a falsely understood unity of the nations. The reaction of the German national spirit against Romanism is a reaction of the national life against a false cosmopolitanism. The true cosmopolitanism can only succeed by preserving and enlarging the bonds of brotherly communion, which are to embrace all nations without swallowing them up. For the surest sign that the individuality of the nation as well as the individual is the will of God is the fact that the more the individual appropriates and the more he accomplishes, the more his peculiarities of nature, instead of being effaced, increase and prosper.

We have confined ourselves to the counter-movement to Ultramontanism in the sphere of religion. As a matter of course, Protestantism does not prevent the State in the protection of its rights against the assaults of the Romish Church. For as Protestantism is favorable to the national life, it recognizes that the State is independent of the Church. For the State represents Justice, and justice is a divine idea. It is not based merely upon a voluntary compact of individuals, as the individual can not exist for himself alone, but is born into the whole body. No more would a revival of the Protestant spirit be prejudicial to the development of science or the efforts for the extension of culture. For Christianity is not hostile to human culture. It would rather make men as cultivated as possible. If Christianity is hostile to that which is truly human culture, if it can not endure the development of the human spirit, it must perish. But this is not the case. What would Christianity do but order the relation of man to God; bring love into man's heart—divine love, which the human heart needs? And what is the task of science but to consider divine thoughts? But here we must stop, confining ourselves to the reaction of the religious life against Romanism.

THE APPEAL OF ROMANISM TO EDUCATED PROTESTANTS.

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It is always easy, though always unsafe, to underestimate the attractive force of a system of belief adverse to our own. Standing on the outside of it, we see only its external proportions. The inner chambers, filled with whatever precious and pleasant riches, are hidden from us; and one must be of a remarkably sympathetic and comprehensive mind to be able to enter into them, and to see the whole structure as its inhabitants do.

It is especially difficult for us as Protestants to understand the attractive power of Romanism. Jealousy of it, as of a stealthy and dangerous system, careless of virtue, eager for power, exquisitely adjusted to win mankind by condoning their vices and consecrating their pride—this is an inheritance to which we are born. And such hereditary impressions ripen with most of us into personal conviction. Not only does it seem to us hostile to liberty, and to rational progress, incompatible with a liberal and fruitful civilization; it seems so distinctly to antagonize the Gospel, so positively to contradict the fundamental ideas of the Divine Government—dissociating religion from morality, and destiny from character—its description and its doom seem so luridly and indelibly written in history, that we can not, without a distinct and strenuous effort, understand how any should accept it.

We have, therefore, been wont to regard the Roman Church as the Church of the ignorant and the superstitious alone; to expect that those born and trained within it will come out from it, with intelligent protest or with passionate revolt, when they shall have reached a higher level of education and moral force; and it has seemed well-nigh incredible that any one educated under Protestant influences should be allured into its fold.

When such a one has gone to its communion, we have been apt to feel that he must have been moved either by a desire for political preferment, and the aid of the priesthood in his personal schemes; or by the wish for terms of salvation which would leave his lusts free, and yet quiet his fears; or by regard for particular teachers, as Newman or Faber in England, Brownson, Hecker, or Hewit, in this country; or that he was attracted by the tone of authority, and the

splendid pomp of the outward spectacle; or that he was moved by a general uncertain eccentricity of mind, which might have made him a Shaker or a Mormon, but which, by chance, did make him a Papist; or, finally, that it has been with him a blind leap after belief, in a desperate reaction from the lonely gloom of infidelity.

In one or other of these ways we almost always account for the transfer to Romanism of one who has been educated outside its influences; while at last we are often constrained to leave it, as a strange phenomenon, not wholly explained by any thing which the man himself has said, or any thing which our thoughts can suggest.

For some have gone who have certainly not been thus impelled; of whose change no one of the motives which I have mentioned gives any more account than it does of the origin of the Paradise Lost. They are serious, devout, conscientious persons, intent on learning, and then on doing, the will of the Almighty; of no peculiar turn of mind, with no marked predominance of imagination or emotional sensibility; many of them educated in the best and most liberal Protestant schools; some of them among the noblest of their time, whom it is a serious loss to us to lose.

And it is to be distinctly observed that these men accept the system of Romanism with no languor or reserve, with no esoteric and half-Protestant interpretation of it, with no thought at all of modifying its dogmas for their personal use by the exercise of a private judgment upon them. They take the system as it stands. They take it altogether. They look with pity, not unmixed with contempt, on those who are eager to adopt its phraseology and to mimic its ceremonies, while declining to submit their minds to its mandates; and for themselves they confess doctrines which seem to us incredible, and conform themselves to practices which look to us like idolatrous mumery, with gladness and pride.

Now, what moves these men? What is the attraction which the system presents to such as these, in Germany, England, this country?—an attraction which is strong enough to wholly detach them from their early associations, and to make them devotees of a spiritual power which from child-

hood they were taught to dread and to detest ?

It is this question to which I am asked to give a partial and rapid answer. Of course it must be an imperfect answer, since I am not a Romanist, in any sense or any measure. On the other hand, I am a Congregationalist, in the broadest significance; believing for myself, without the wish to impose the belief on any body else, that each society of believers, permanently associated for the worship of God, and for the celebration of Christian ordinances, is a proper and complete church; competent to elect and ordain its officers, to administer the sacraments, and to fashion its rules and its ritual, under Christ, while bound to maintain and teach his truth, to honor the law of Christian purity, and to live in unity of spirit, and in fellowship of good works, with all similar societies. So far, therefore, as the Roman organization is concerned, I stand at almost the furthest remove from it; with nobody beyond me, so far as I know, unless it be the Society of Friends.

And concerning the whole immense system which that organization represents and subserves, I confess my sympathy with the most radical of the Reformers. I believe that the Fathers were thoroughly right in revolting against Rome; that we are under the highest obligations to maintain that revolt; and that Christian civilization would perish from the earth, if the Papal supremacy should become universal.

So it can not be that I should understand the system, or feel its attractions, as those do who live in it; and if they were here to speak for themselves, they might well decline to have me represent them. But I can see some of the fascinating features which Romanism offers to its disciples, and can understand, in a measure at least—as it has been part of my business to understand—the appeal which it makes to educated Protestants. And from among its attractive forces, selecting them for their prominence and as easy to be exhibited, I will specify eight.

1. The prime secret of its attractiveness for such minds is, I think, that it claims to offer them in the Roman Church a present, living, authoritative Teacher; which has the mind of God immanent in it; which is the witness and the interpreter of Revelation, and is itself the living medium of such Revelation; which has thus authority to decide on all questions of religious doctrine and duty, and whose decisions, when announced, are infallibly correct, and unspeakably important. This is its first claim; imperative in tone, stupendous in substance, unique in its kind, and very effective.

According to it, as you are aware, the bishops in communion with the See of Peter are the *Ecclesia docens*; the divinely con-

stituted, perpetual, inerrant corporation, in which Christ, by the Holy Ghost, is always present; which is filled, in its totality, with his inspiration, and which thus utters, in its decrees, his voice to the world. It does not merely articulate the general Christian consciousness of truth or of duty; it speaks Christ's mind, as the apostles did in their day, with a superior fitness to modern needs, and with an equivalent, an identical authority.

Debate is, therefore, always in order till the Church has spoken. But after that, doubt is a deadly sin. For it is not a mere perilous dissent from the majority. It is, in its essence, infidelity to Christ. And, on the other hand, the belief of the faithful in a dogma properly formulated and declared needs no argument, allows no hesitation, and asks for no support of reason. It is immediate and final; since it rests solidly on the utterance of the Church, which is to it the testimony of God.

This may seem to us immensely absurd, looked at in the light of history. It may seem prodigiously to transcend all the prerogatives promised by the Lord to the Church to which his truth was given. We may hold ourselves able to count the rings by which the successive increments of influence gathering to that Church hardened at last into the tough and oaken fibre of this unyielding and gigantic claim. It may seem to us to put dishonor on the Bible. And we may feel that it reproduces, with strange exactness, with an almost fearful fidelity, the prediction of Paul concerning that Son of Perdition of whom he forewarned the Thessalonian disciples, "that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." But the claim thus outlined has certainly a subtle and grand attraction for many minds. They do not feel limited, harassed, or foreibly overborne by this Divine authority in the Church. On the contrary, they feel invigorated and elevated by it, because holding themselves assured of the truth, by the very voice of God, speaking now as at the beginning, only speaking now, in tenderness to them, not through trumpet or tempest, in articulate thunders or earthquake throes, but through the consenting votes and voices of consecrated men.

It seems to them the grand privilege of their minds to have such a Church; the contemporary of the apostles; full now, as at Pentecost, of the Holy Ghost; a majestic, abiding, undecivable power, the very body of Christ, through which the present benignant Lord, always in the world, declares with perfect clearness and certainty what is to be believed and what to be done. All their expectations of progress and success in the attainment of divine knowledge rest on this; and their minds are profoundly animated by it. A present revelation, not one in the past

—a revelation through men, not through a book—is that which, according to their conception, now brings to them the thoughts of the Eternal.

Especially in times like ours, when religious doubt is passionate and ubiquitous, when a whirling and vehement skepticism darkens and hurtles in all the air, they greet with peculiar desire and welcome such a basis of certainty, such a guaranty of the truth, such a centre of enlightening and unifying authority. Amidst the many divisions of Christendom they long for this the more. And the Bible, interpreted by each for himself, seems in no degree to meet their want; while neither of the most cultured Protestant churches offers it satisfaction.

Most of all, if they have themselves been assailed by the skeptical spirit, and have wavered and wandered in restless inquiry on the great themes of the soul's well-being, they feel attracted to such a Church, claiming such a prerogative, and offering such relief and assurance; as Döllinger says of Christina of Sweden, that she "took refuge in the ship of ecclesiastical authority from the ocean of philosophical doubt."

And every mind must admit, I think, that there is a certain inspiring grandeur, august yet winning, in such a conception of God's enduring and holy Church; that however far the ambitious corporation whose heart is Jesuitism, and whose head is the Pope, may fail of realizing it, the ideal itself is lofty and seductive; and that our timid and limited human nature, surrounded by so many puzzles, and faced by such tremendous problems, may well at times admit the wish that such a conception had been permitted of God to be realized, and had not been left, as we assuredly hold it to have been, a delusive dream.

This is the first of the attractions of Romanism, to an educated mind. Another is—
2. That it claims to offer to such a mind a body of doctrine, mysterious, no doubt, in some of its parts, but on the whole solid, consistent, consecutive, complete; containing what they accept as a sufficient and satisfying answer to the questions of the soul, the antithesis to infidelity in all its forms, and the consummation of what is true in other systems. It boasts that in this not only the Scripture is fulfilled, but philosophy is illumined, man's history is interpreted, God's ways to man are clearly vindicated; and the appeal which it makes, through this doctrinal scheme, is of immense persuasive force.

The scheme, of course, starts, as every organized theology must, with the doctrine of Original Sin.

Socinianism affirms that man's nature and spirit are right at birth; that they involve, at any rate, no innate and governing propensities to sin, and only need education, with favorable circumstances, to develop all

forms of goodness and virtue. So it holds Jesus a created teacher, the Holy Ghost an impersonal influence, and regeneration a monkish myth.

The Evangelical doctrine affirms that man, as originally created, was like God in nature, and like him also in moral perfection; having the true knowledge of him, and standing in intimate communion with him through the sympathy of supreme and holy love; that no one of his constitutional powers was lost in the fall, though their activity was perverted, and their development hindered; but that the change which then took place was in the essential temper of his heart—selfish idolatry and sinful passion supplanting the Divine love which had preceded, and the inmost dispositions and tendencies of the soul being thereafter averted from God, and directed to selfish pleasure and gain.

The change now needed, therefore, is in this dominant spirit of the heart; to alter the dispositions, to fix the supreme affection upon God, and to restore the spiritual discernment which was possessed, but has been lost. And this is effected by the Divine Spirit, through the truth as his instrument, and especially through the revelation of God's love, as declared, with transcendent fullness and tenderness, in his Son. When this is accomplished, no direct addition is implied to the inherent properties of the soul, but a change is realized in its temper, tastes, and spiritual activities, in its relations to God, and its personal destiny; a change so radical, vital, complete, and so enduring in consequences, as to constitute a true regeneration. Conversion, to the loving obedience of Christ, is its sign and fruit. The beauty of holiness flows from it into life. It is completed in sanctification. And, on the ground of Christ's atonement, he who has not yet reached that sanctity, but in whom its principle has been implanted, is reconciled to God, and is treated as if he had been righteous; is, in other words, justified.

Preaching the Gospel is therefore here the means of regeneration. To lead men to affectionate faith in God, as made manifest in his Son, is the office of the ministry. He who has most of this faith in his heart, other things being equal, is best adapted to excite it in others. The Church and its sacraments are the instruments of God for propagating in the world the truth concerning him, as revealed in his Word, and for maintaining in renovated men the faith and love which by his Spirit have been inspired. His wisdom and grace are illustriously exhibited in this plan of redemption; the angels take new conceptions of him from it; and man is brought back to a holy love which commences Paradise, and which prophesies heaven; which, being made complete and immortal, must make a heaven. Though every gate of pearl should vanish.

This is the Evangelical doctrine. The Romanist system differs from it in essential particulars. It also holds that man is fallen, and inwardly depraved, but in this distinct sense:—By the image of God, in which he was created, it understands his rational and voluntary nature alone, by no exercise of which could he attain true inward righteousness, the knowledge of God, or the beatific vision. This nature being left to itself, the flesh must fight against the spirit, concupiscence gain the mastery, disorder and corruption follow. To prevent this result were therefore superadded in Adam, by the grace of God, the supernatural gifts of Divine knowledge and righteousness, through which the spirit, re-enforced from its Maker, was enabled to rule and restrain the flesh “as with a golden curb,” and to rise to communion with the Almighty.

It was these Divine supernatural gifts which Adam forfeited in the fall, sacrificing them for his posterity as well as for himself, so that all men now are born without them; are born in the state in which Adam was before he possessed them. And through this loss comes again the victory of concupiscence, the flesh everywhere conquering and debasing the undefended spirit. There is, therefore, nothing to be effectually done for the soul of man, for its holiness and its peace, until these gifts have been restored to it. Without them, whatever teaching it may have, and whatever high influence through that teaching, it is naturally incapable of aspiring to share the wisdom, the holiness, and the blessedness of God, as the flower is of flight, or the bird of solving a question in morals; and, without them, its course is continually downward, toward darker depths of ignorance and of sin.

It is to supply *this* need of men, then, that the incarnation of God in Jesus is divinely ordained and divinely accomplished; to make up to the soul, which has suffered a loss so essential and extreme, for this tremendous transmitted deprivation. By that incarnation the supernatural gift which Adam forfeited is introduced anew into the world; and it thenceforth is distributed, by the Holy Ghost, through the priesthood of the Church, and on its sacraments. It is properly given at the beginning of life, before activity has commenced, at the outset of consciousness.

It is communicated in Baptism; in which is effected an instant, essential, complete regeneration—the infusion of a supernatural life, the removal of all corruption of sin, the immediate and full introduction of the soul into the spiritual household of God. All the saving benefits of Christ's redemption are thus and there conveyed to the soul, as it enters upon life, and begins the career which can never close.

The grace thus imparted is afterward confirmed in Confirmation.

It is nourished and renewed in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

It is restored, if lost, in the sacrament of Penance.

It is replenished and re-enforced in the sacrament of Marriage, by which human love is exalted and transformed into holy affection.

It is renewed, for those who receive this, in the sacrament of Orders.

It is finally sealed, and divinely completed, in the Extreme Unction; after which the soul, pursued and attended with gifts of grace from birth to death, goes forth to meet the grand assize.

Regeneration and Sanctification are, of course, synonymous with Justification, on this system.

The sacraments are efficacious means of grace; having power to convey grace, by the Divine appointment, as material food has to nourish the body, or cold to congeal, or fire to burn.

Transubstantiation is a necessity to the system, the means of realizing continually on earth the gift which came with Incarnation.

The succession of the priesthood is an inevitable part of it; as much so as is the succession of generations to a continued human history. The lines of transmission *must* be uninterrupted; but personal purity in the priest is nowise essential to the virtue of his sacraments.

True spiritual life is a thing impossible outside the Church, and miracles are still to be expected within it. For it is the supernatural Saviour, constantly present in the supernatural Church, who gives authority to every priest, and gives its efficacy to every sacrament; and, if he shall will it, the lame may now leap, the canvas become divinely luminous, the solid marble tremble into speech.

The visible Church is the permanent Divine kingdom in the world, whose numerical limits are exactly defined; and the state of each soul after death is absolutely determined by the relation it has held to that Church and its sacraments.

This is, in brief, the substance of the doctrine. Of course it seems to us in sharp contrast with the Sermon on the Mount; with the teachings and the letters of Paul and his associates; with the very frame and aim of the Gospel; with consciousness itself, and the self-revealing facts of Christian experience. The vices which have risen, and rankly flourished, in the Roman communion—its own historians being the witnesses—are testimony against it. The spiritual attainments of persons and of peoples under Protestant influences become inexplicable, if it be true; they explicitly contradict it.

The answer is immediate, and to us overwhelming. But the system is logical, consistent, very commanding, and to many

thoughtful and questioning minds very attractive.

Whatever there is of mystery, height, inspiring power, in our doctrine of the Incarnation or of the Trinity, is here as well; whatever of solemn motive and warning in the doctrine of the Fall, and of Human Depravity, and of the Judgment for which we wait. And the advocates of this system hold it complete, while ours is partial; theirs finished, and ours fragmentary.

They do not in the least regard this system as tending to subvert a sound morality, sincere and spiritual piety, belief in Christ as the author of grace and justification, but as simply essential to all these. And while they recognize Evangelical Protestantism as containing still some elements of the truth, they look upon these as scattered timbers, not built into a house, and not sufficient to make one; as plates of iron, worthless separately, and not capable of being framed together, except upon the Roman plan, into the vast and symmetrical fabric which is to bear up, over whelming waves, the heart and hope and faith of the world.

By its claim of authority, and by this articulated body of doctrine, Romanism has a continual attractiveness for many fine minds.

3. There is, too, a vast and subtle power in the representations which it presents of the invisible and spiritual world, and the intimate relations which it declares as always subsisting between that world and this.

The human spirit, conscious of affections, and haunted by premonitions, that overpass death, is always reaching out, with eager desire or with forecasting fear, after knowledge of the world which lies beyond its sense or science; a knowledge more exact and complete than God in his wisdom has seen fit to bestow. So necromancy is never dead; and so Spiritism comes, in our own time, to tip its tables and rap its floors, in a juggling offer to disclose the Unseen. Its incitement is in the hunger of the soul for some apprehension of the realms whose bounds, of beauty or fire, it has not reached.

And now Protestantism, which limits itself to what has been clearly expressed in the Bible, and which deals timidly even with that, seems vague, undefined, and essentially unsatisfying, in its treatment of all that mystic domain which lies before us, in comparison with the exact descriptions which Romanism presents.

This affirms that those who die after baptism—really regenerate, and having committed no unforgiven and mortal sin, yet confessedly imperfect in action and in virtue—are to undergo, in the future state, certain temporal pains, by which they are to be purified, and satisfaction to be rendered to the Divine Justice; that these pains may be abridged by the offering of prayers, pen-

ances, and alms, and of the unbloody sacrifice, on the part of those who tarry behind; and that the limiting or remitting of the pains is within the prerogative of the authorities of the Church.

So friends who linger, with aching hearts, on this side of the grave, have power still to bless their dead. Across the far untrodden spaces they can send reliefs, and tidings of joy, to those who have vanished from their sight. And, in return, they may receive real aids and blessings from the dead. Those now sainted and beatified can intercede with God for us, and will do this if we invoke them. They are living, conscious, in the presence of God, in enjoyment of the beatific vision, yet informed of what we need and desire—perhaps by the mind of God himself—and are fraternally sympathetic with us. We may pay them homage: not the *Latreia*, due to God only, or the *Uperdouleia*, due to the Virgin Mother, but the *Douleia*, proper to saints. And we may implore with joyful freedom their ready assistance as intercessors for us with the Almighty.

Angels, too, in their power and splendor, and their relative sovereignty over nature and life, are still the guardian spirits of men—of the least and humblest, to whom has come God's gift through Christ.

Especially the Virgin Mother of Christ may be asked to aid us, with her tender sympathy, and her unbounded power with her Son. The growth of reverence for her in the Roman Church shows how dear and alluring the thought of her is to the minds of mankind. The vision of her seems to flash a certain tender light over realms that were otherwise so high as to be dreadful. First, her perpetual virginity is declared. Then, she is formally styled and proclaimed the Mother of God. Then temples are built, and prayers are arranged to be offered to her, as Queen of Heaven. Then her immaculate conception, without stain of original sin, is declared to be a dogma of faith. Now, she is undoubtedly more frequently implored in the Roman Communion than God or Christ.

Women and children are especially attracted—but not they only, the strongest and most philosophic are attracted—by the thought of a Woman, at once maiden and mother, the spotless and illustrious head of her sex, so near the eternal throne of the universe, while full of gentlest memories and love.

And so the whole mysterious realm beyond the grave—from which no traveler returns to us, the gloom and glory of whose shadows and lights have been reflected on thoughtful minds from the outset of history, but the vision of which only death reveals—seems brought nearer the earth, and made palpable by Romanism; its inhabitants to be declared; their relations to us

to be revealed as mutual and sympathetic; our offices for them and theirs for us to be shown surviving the dread separation, and still to be accomplished across the vast and dim abysses. And however we may dismiss the whole, as unauthorized by the Lord and unwarranted by Scripture, the simple creation of man's imagination, as wholly ideal as a fancy concerning the civil constitution of republics in Sirius, we must not forget that there is prodigious attraction in it for many longing and sensitive souls. It seems to them too beautiful in itself, and too congruous with their wishes, not to be true.

4. Then, further, Romanism claims to offer a greater security of salvation than other systems afford; and to those accustomed critically and conscientiously to examine their inward processes of feeling, their successive vanishing states of mind, and who thus come to suspect the reality of their own virtue, this is immediately and immensely attractive.

For feeling seems to fly, as we touch it with our analysis, almost as life flits and fleets beneath the destructive dissecting edge. Spiritual states inevitably disappear when we look away from that which inspires them, and search, with an introverted scrutiny, after themselves. Many a person of a sincere piety questions, therefore, if he may not have been deceiving himself as to the realness of his faith and repentance; if what seemed contrition may not have been an unloving fear of the consequences of sin; if what had been taken for Christian faith may not have been an assent of the understanding, with no affectionate devoutness of spirit to make it vital.

He questions this all the more as his reverence for God becomes more supreme, and his personal humility becomes more complete. He questions it most of all when he fronts, face to face, the tremendous facts of Death, Judgment, and the long Hereafter. Because a mistake must have such consequences, he is tremulously ready to suspect its existence. The fact that he suspects it seems to furnish fresh evidence that he has made it; and the passage is no long one from such a doubt to remorseful despondency.

Now, in such a mood of apprehensive self-questioning, Romanism appeals to him with a prodigious force of invitation. For, whatever the fact may prove to be when its offers are analyzed, it seems to propose certain definite and practicable conditions of salvation, which appear as unmistakable as the ladder against a burning house, or the life-boat at sea.

Baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, confession, penance, obedience to the Church, absolution by the priest, in whom authority to pronounce it has been vested by God, and whose declaration is ratified in heaven, the

final anointing, and then, if any thing still remain of unfulfilled obligation, a full and eternal satisfaction to God by temporary pains beyond this life—this is the plan which it proposes, and on which it offers the assurance of heaven.

It will certainly turn out that all this presupposes certain spiritual states in him who adopts it, without which it becomes confessedly ineffectual, and that the same doubts which perplexed him before may, therefore, here as easily arise; and it also will appear that an intention of the priest is needful to the efficacy of every sacrament, of which intention the man who receives this can never have certain and infallible proof; while it seems to us as plain as the stars that the whole scheme is wanting in Scriptural authority; that it is not implied in the words of the Master, nor in any teaching of his apostles; that it tends to give men a false security, and to substitute an exact ecclesiastical obedience for the faith and love which alone can spiritually unite men to God. But, after all, it is very alluring, especially, as I said, to a mind introspective, self-distrustful, conscious of sin, and feeling the doom of immortality upon it.

When such a one draws near the point of final passage to realms unchanging and eternal; when he thinks of the Eye which searches every thought and wish, and traces the secret windings of desire; when he feels on his prophetic soul the heat and splendor of the great White Throne—to hear God's voice, through human lips, giving him quittance and final absolution, as Jesus to the loving woman, it is a thing which any one might desire if he could persuade himself that God had committed an authority so awful, an office so sovereign, to human hands!

5. And still further, Romanism seems to many to offer them a higher sanctity of spirit and life than Protestantism does; a sanctity, indeed, which is wholly peculiar to it, and for which Protestantism, under whatever name or form, presents no equivalent. So it attracts some whom it is a grief to us to lose.

They want a life set apart from earthly care and labor, from desire and pleasure, from all the fascinations and entanglements of the world; a life devoted to religious meditation, and to works of constant beneficence and piety; a life in sympathy with that of ancient martyrs and confessors, of Agnes and Perpetua, of Basil and Benedict, and Francis of Assisi, and of princes who left their crowns for Christ; a life that is hid with Christ in God.

They long for this. Because the spiritual nature in them is tender and deep, and has been moved by a mighty impulse, it yearns with inexpressible desire for fellowship with the Lord, and for the utmost possible attain-

ment in the Divine virtue. This is, as it ought to be, the supreme and inspiring passion of their souls, for which they are ready to sacrifice all.

All the more they desire it as life around them is hurried and hot, full of ambition, lust, and greed. Amidst the rush and glare of pleasure, amidst the incessant roar of trade, this desire, in finer minds, becomes only the more intense and imperative. It has the energy of a recoil from that which offends, as well as the strength of a personal aspiration. It operates at length like a law of their being; no more to be resisted than that which quickens the mother's love, or makes self-accusation follow a conscious and deliberate sin. "My soul be with the saints," they say. The inmost, incessant thirst of their hearts is for a celestial life on earth.

And Romanism seems to offer them satisfaction. The sacraments are declared to communicate, and continually afterward to renew in the heart, this inner sanctity. They invest the whole progress of life on earth, and meet and sanctify all its changes.

Manuals of devotion, wonderfully rich, tender, and varied, are offered to the disciple, to assist him to gain, and then to maintain, the white chastity and the radiant charity of this divine life.

The confessional offers its ear, never shut, into which the story of every impulse of doubt or passion may be instantly breathed, and behind which is a mind declared to be instructed of God to clear the doubt and quench the passion.

Calvaries are constructed in Roman Catholic countries, with successive stations representing the stages of the way to the cross, at each of which men may bow and pray, as with tender love and shuddering awe they climb toward the crucifix. And convents and monasteries open to men and women alike their hospitable doors, outside which all cares and possessions may be left, where homes for life are furnished to the devout, and within which the world's clamor and glitter are unheard and unseen.

To the active and energetic, for whom rest would be weariness, the most arduous and dangerous missions are assigned; to pierce the forest and the jungle, and spend their years among savage tribes; to face the biting arctic cold, and the blazing fierceness of tropic heat; to front the pestilence, shadowing at once the city and the sea with its dark wings.

Now I need not tell you how fascinating is all this—to women of fine and sensitive natures, to whom the common life of society seems demoralized drudgery; to men of the heroic mould, to whom a supreme self-sacrifice is attractive, and who count a life-long service to God the only royal good on earth. Protestantism seems to them, in comparison

with this, gross, secular, essentially earthly, in its spirit and aims. When it bids them consecrate their business to God, and doing it in his fear, to do it all to his glory, it seems to them illicitly trying to unite God and Mammon. When it insists on the household life as the purest and noblest for both men and women, it seems to them Epicurean in spirit, hazarding the attempt to find a flowery path to the paradise which can only be reached over thorny roughnesses, and entered through sorest wrestle and pain.

Protestant missions are to them too luxurians; our labors for the poor appear dainty and haughty. And when an order of Protestant devotees is anywhere established, they feel instinctively that that is play, while they are in earnest; that only an absolute self-abnegation, guarded by irreversible vows, can match the height of their desire. So they welcome the severer tasks, the stricter limitations, the more austere and exacting discipline which Romanism offers, and seek in its services the life of God.

They may be disappointed, with a blasting surprise that shall blacken and wreck their whole subsequent life.

One of the most impressive pictures which the recent traveler sees in Europe is by the fertile French Doré, exhibited last year in London, representing a young monk, who has just learned how greedily and gross his associates are, and on whose sad and sensitive face, as his missal drops in his languid hands, is breaking forth the passionate sense of disappointment, detestation, of inner repugnance, and an utter despair. The power of the picture is in its reflection of an experience not unfamiliar.

Blanco White, who knew intimately the convents of Spain, and whose veracity has never been questioned, speaks of those convents in one of his letters as "those European jungles, where lurks every thing that is hideous and venomous." And the key to his final entire skepticism, who began public life as a devout priest, is found by those who know most of his career in that fierce sentence.

But whatever the final experience may be, the offer which Romanism makes to these men is great and shining; and it need excite no wonder in us that they should find it grandly attractive.

6. Then, with all these forces of attraction, the Roman Catholic Church is a vast, venerable, historic organization, of unequalled age, of immense extent, whose history has, in some of its aspects, been a grand one; whose history appears to those whom it attracts the one sublimest thing on earth—inexplicable, except upon the hypothesis of its Divine origin.

It is to them the Church of the Apostles; which saw the splendor of the Ascension, which heard Peter and John at Jerusalem,

Paul afterward at Corinth and at Rome, and which directly conveys to us the *deposition* of faith received from them.

It is to them the Church of the Catacombs; where the new Christian kingdom was working underground, in garments of sackcloth, along galleries of rock, to overthrow and replace the armed empire above.

It is the Church of the Fathers, and the canonized Doctors, to whose learning and eloquence, and spiritual insight, the world is debtor; of Clement and Polycarp, of Justin Martyr and Hippolytus, of Ambrose, Athanasius, and him of the flaming Numidian heart.

It is the Church of the great Councils; before which were lowered imperial standards, to whose decisions faction bowed, and whose creeds and decrees have governed and assimilated the mind of Christendom.

It is the Church of the Middle Ages; of Anselm, Bernard, and Peter the Hermit; the Church which civilized barbarians, liberated slaves, organized crusades, built cathedrals, established libraries, founded universities; which preserved learning, laws, and arts, amidst the shock of terrific forces, in what an ancient Gallican sacramentary hardly exaggerated when it called it "the crash of a falling world;" the Church which taught the emerging peoples subjection to authority, while it set sharp bounds to the rapacity of barons, and admonished and ruled the haughtiest kings; the Church which has since sent forth its heroic and conquering teachers to the ends of the earth, "*Ad majorem Dei gloriam.*"

And, ancient as it is, this powerful Church appears to them to-day the only power which nothing in fact centrally disturbs; the only one which can defy infidelity, rule the licentious wills of men, subdue and inspire the daring and refractory human intellect, enoble and rectify human society; the only one which science can not shake, no revolution dethrone, nor the fiercest antagonism of secular interests override and destroy.

The supremacy of the spiritual order in the world appears to them guaranteed by it, and by it alone. Secure itself, from all assault, it judges the world.

To us, who look on the same long records from a wholly different point of view, it seems as certain as any thing in experience that much of this is unhistorical, is purely fanciful; that it has been the Gospel, as a spiritual force, working apart from and often directly against the Hierarchy, which has done the best part of this; that whosoever now preaches that Gospel, with fervent faith, is the true successor of all the saints; and that the history of the Roman corporation, which only came to its full development under Leo and the Gregories, has been crowded with bigotry, pride, persecution; with prelatical tyranny, priestly license, and

popular degradation; with carnivals of folly, and carnivals of crime; has been blackened with the names of inquisitors like Torquemada; has been stained, so that hyssop can not purge it, by prelates and pontiffs like the Borgias and the Medicis.

This is our conception of it. But to those minds whose different attitude toward it I am trying to present, the opposite aspect is the one which it offers; and often they are profoundly impressed by it. They seem to themselves ennobled by partaking in a history which looks so sacred and august. They feel themselves confederate with the men, God's champions in the world, whose majestic achievements amaze and delight them. They are strengthened for swifter and grander work by all the heroic wisdom and devotion to which the Church appears to them heir. A baptism of power falls on them from the past, which is animating and precious beyond all words. And this is an appeal which we must not overlook, if we would master the secret of their zeal.

7. Still further, too, we must not forget that Romanism powerfully appeals to these men by its cordial relations with all the fine arts; with music, painting, sculpture, architecture; with whatever impresses and most delights the senses and the taste.

Its cathedrals are the wonders of the world; mountains of rock-work set to music.

Its elaborate, opulent, mighty masses make the common hymn-tunes of Protestantism sound almost like the twitter of sparrows, amidst the alternate triumph and wail of commingling winds.

Its ritual is splendid, scenic, impressive, to the ultimate degree; and all is exquisitely pervaded and modulated by the doctrine which underlies it, every gesture, every posture, of the officiating priest, and every vestment which he wears, being full of significance.

Its liturgical forms have not merely been arranged by studious men, with apt and practiced gifts for the office. They have some of them been born of those immense crises in personal or in public experience when intensity of feeling, surpassing all poetic impulse, infused spiritual fire into the sentences. Not only reminiscences are in them, therefore, of perils passed and victories achieved; their present utterance is that of the faith which soared upward from the flame, or looked from the damp darkness of dungeons and beheld above the heavens opened. And architecture can not be too majestic to echo such voices. The tone-speech of music, in its most tender or jubilant strains, becomes their meek and glad handmaid.

Nothing, therefore, is too ornate or magnificent to be incorporated in the superb ceremonial of this immense organism. It

marches, as it fights, an army with banners. It would copy, if it could, the very ceremonial of the Temple above. The king's daughter is all glorious within, and her raiment must be of wrought gold.

To one who wants his whole æsthetic nature gratified and educated in his worship, while it shall be also and always subordinated to spiritual attainment—who accepts this nature as from God, and feels its thrilling and sweet impulsions demanding a lawful and large domain—there is here a constant and vast attraction. Other, more strictly intellectual services, appear to him barren and frigid in comparison. He seems to himself to be honoring God with a worthier worship, while gaining for himself a peculiar delight, by making the sanctuary a poem in stone, and then bringing into it the purple and the gold, the veils of silk, and fragrant incense, by hanging it with pictures, and paneling its walls with significant marbles. It is not the understanding alone, or the moral nature, which that worship is designed to enlist. The imagination is to be reached by it, and profoundly stimulated. The most secret sources of feeling are to be searched; the most delicate and retiring sympathies. The whole soul is to be suffused with its subtle influence, as the atmosphere of the church is struck through with golden or crimson lights, till holy memories arise within one; till he is wrapped in sweet ecstasy of reveries; till he is conscious of undefined and transporting expectations, and almost waits to hear around, upon the charmed and perfumed air, the rustle of angelic plumes.

The apostles worshiped well and truly, not at all in this way. The Saviour made no suggestion of this to the woman of Samaria, when he taught her how to offer her devotions. Our fathers found delight in praise, and were heard in their prayer, though offering it in rudest forms, under bleakest skies, because incense stifled them, and the gorgeous vestments seemed to them dipped in the blood of the saints. We do not maintain the passion of their reaction; but we, too, are afraid of that sensuous pleasure which may be easily confounded with worship, while wholly dissimilar; which may leave the soul intoxicated with joy, while utterly wanting in the devout love which links to God, and in the faith which conquers death.

But the convert to Romanism delights himself in this service, so rich and tender, so various and so ancient, with a passionate fondness; while the occasional attempts of ambitious High-churchmen to emulate that which the blending genius of many centuries and lands has produced are to him simply Indianisms; like building another equal St. Peter's of scantling and boards, or reproducing Warwick Castle in cake and sugar.

8. And, finally, let us not forget that Romanism offers to these men what they accept as the Church of the Future; through which, continuing to the end of time, and only growing mightier with age, the perfect society shall be realized on earth. We have not reached the hiding of its power till we recognize this.

It presents itself as ancient, but as still in the fullness of unworn strength; as having the compactness, the hardihood, the confidence, which come with a long and vast experience, but as combining with this the ardor of its most fervent and hopeful youth.

It seems conservative, beyond all other human societies; since its government is, and must always continue, in the hands of a trained and practiced class, shrewd, vigilant, closely combined, everywhere represented. It seems communitistic, beyond the dream of any Socialist; since all baptized persons are made equally its members, and if continuing subject to the Church are one, eternally, in Christ Jesus.

It claims to be eminently the Church for the rich; whose utmost treasures can not rival its revenues, whose titles and pedigrees it immensely surpasses, and whose palaces dwindle before its cathedrals.

It claims, more emphatically, to be the Church for the poor; for whom its buildings and many services are always open, on whose behalf it builds great hospitals, to whom it preaches in historic cathedrals, like Notre Dame in Paris or the Duomo at Milan, as well as in the humblest chapels, and before whom it displays the most exquisite splendors of its magnificent ritual.

Compare its churches with ours, open only on Sunday, and then occupied chiefly by the cultured and the prosperous, and ours look partial, exclusive, in the contrast; careless of those for whom the Lord died, and in whom he now presents himself to us.

It is limited to no nation, this ever-expanding, exploring Church; but is equally at home on every coast, and under every form of government. It grasps the most barbarous, while it trains the most civilized. It has an office for every power, and has a lure for every desire. Its plans extend to all the lands, and anticipate in their reach the coming generations. And that perennial energy of it which is shown on the one hand in its doctrinal progress from dogma to dogma, till now it has concentrated such transcendent authority in the person of the Pope, on the other hand is shown in the missionary work which, radiating from Rome, is ever proceeding, with uncounted expenditure of money and of life, with unwearied patience, and an unsurpassed skill, on every shore where life is found.

If any institution seems likely to endure, then, by reason of its inherent strength, and in the absence of Divine interventions, this

is the one. To those who see in it the kingdom of God, made visible in the world, and filled with his eternal force, nothing else which is future seems as certain as this. It saw the downfall of the empire of Rome. Unchanged itself, it has watched the change, and seen the end, of kingdoms and thrones from that day to this. They expect it to see the end of those which now look stately and strong on earth, and to have the perpetuity which can belong to nothing else upon this whirling, inconstant planet.

It is to them still in the beginning of its years. They anticipate the time when it shall have reconquered Germany and England, shall have conquered this country, shall have reconciled to itself the severed and feebler Eastern Churches, shall have set the cross above the crescent, shall have baptized Buddhist and Brahmin in its faith, shall have come to the full inheritance of the earth. And then they expect the perfect society, through the wisdom, justice, and spiritual sanctity, which it will everywhere propagate and maintain.

Their glory in being permitted to reach forward, through this expanding, enduring organization, to mould the distant future of the world; not limiting themselves to a fugitive influence, which shall have passed when they are buried, but projecting their influence directly and sensibly into the future, and with the mightiest instrument of time working for the good of the latest generations.

In the ultimate triumph of this Church' of their devotion they expect the Millennium; and in the peaceful glories of that they look, each one, to have some share. It is a great anticipation. We must not wonder if it grapples their hearts as with hooks of steel.

So it is, then, Fathers and Brethren, as I conceive it, and so far as the time allows me to state it, that Romanism appeals to educated Protestants; as offering them an authoritative teacher, always present, in which it claims that the mind of God resides and is revealed; as presenting what it affirms to be a solid, consistent, and satisfying theology; as claiming to bring the spiritual world more clearly and closely to their minds, and to show their relations to it more intimate; as professing to give them a security of salvation unattainable elsewhere; as offering them what it declares the only true sanctity of spirit and life; as showing a long and venerable history; as welcoming and cherishing all the fine arts, and making these its constant helpers; as promising to rebuild and purify society, and at last to possess and regenerate the earth.

To those who are attracted by it, it seems to have all which other systems possess or claim, and to add vital elements which others lack, supplying their imperfections, sur-

passing their power, and meeting wants which they can neither interpret nor answer.

It influences men by its immense mass, without their conscious discrimination of its separate attractions. Its bulk is so gigantic, its energy so incessant, that it seems to them to verify its claims without other argument, and to make a private judgment against it the most rash and reckless of spiritual acts. So it draws them to it with a moral momentum which increases as they approach; with a force almost like that of the physical suction of a current or a whirlpool. Once started on their course to it, opposing argument becomes nearly powerless. The pull of this immense and consummate system is so strenuous and enveloping that theological, philosophical, historical objections are evaded or overleaped by the yielding mind, as are rocks in a rapid by rushing timbers.

Where it has once become firmly established it impregnates every thing with its mysterious and penetrant influence. It becomes a pervading spiritual presence; which has its voices not only in the pulpit or in books of devotion, but in homes, and schools, and all places of concourse; which touches life at every point where that is sensitive and responsive; which is associated with ancestral memories and renown, and more vitally associated with the hopes of the future. It gives stability to rank, yet makes the humblest at home amidst its more than royal pageants. It invites the scholar to a happy seclusion, yet smites the most laborious life with a gleam from the supernatural. It paints the story of Christ on windows, and carves it in lordly and delicate marbles, for the eager and wondering eyes of childhood, and for the fading sight of age. It occupies itself with imperial cares, yet connects itself intimately with the deepest aspirations which move the soul, and with its longing love for the dead. It is like displacing the atmosphere to remove it. Rebellion against it seems to dislocate the frame of society itself. Only a tremendous moral reaction, inspired and sustained by forces which are in their nature incompressible, and which have been gathering through successive generations, can break its hold on a nation which once it has firmly grasped.

It is still too recent and too limited with us to have such a general sweep of power. But it is working, with unwearied resolution, to make itself supreme among us. Its very strangeness gives it prominence in our American or English society; as a palm-tree attracts more attention than an oak. It brings forces that have been disciplined for a thousand years to act on our plastic modern life; and converts to it may be expected from many quarters.

Some have held its doctrine before, in the feebler, more fanciful, and more fragmentary

form in which that is avowed by a section, for example, of the Angelical communion, in England and here. Their logical sense must carry them to its conclusions, if logical sense has been able to maintain itself through the enfeebling prettiness of their previous career.

Some, holding the evangelical doctrine of the Divinity of our Lord, and the present operation of the Holy Ghost, find here what seems to them the necessary complement, and the justifying reason, of these transcendent disclosures; the only exact and final antithesis to Socinianism, or even to atheism. Some are drawn to it by the fervor of feeling, the energy of pathetic and admonishing eloquence, which mark the sermons of the Paulists, and of others who, like them, appear from their retreats to stir men's hearts as messengers from God. Some simply and gladly react into it from a restless, sad, and weary skepticism. But all are greatly in earnest when they go. They are true devotees, and they rarely return. They are usually Ultramontanists afterward. There is nothing languid, moderate, tepid, in their conviction or their feeling. They are resolute, enthusiastic, with a fire of zeal which works alike in brain and heart. And they have a tone of assurance in their words, and of certainty of victory. Bellarmine is their favorite theologian. De Maistre is widely popular with them. Hyacinthe and Döllinger are "fallen angels."

They had no trouble with the dogma of Papal Infallibility. It was desired and welcomed by them, as articulating what had been latent for centuries in the unvoiced consciousness of the Church, and as bringing the whole system to its legitimate and prophesied climax. That Pope Honorius had been formally condemned by the Sixth Council, his dogmatic writings burned as heretical, and his name anathematized and stricken from the liturgy, was not even a hindrance to the eagerness of their faith.

They make great sacrifices for their convictions, and do it joyfully. Indeed, the sacrifice becomes to them a fresh motive, an argument for the system which demands it. For, according to the cross shall be the crown, and they who have come out of great tribulation shall find their robes of a more lustrous white. Before the intensity of their aspiration the ties of friendship, the strongest bonds of earthly relationship, if tending to withhold them from the Church of their desire, yield and are severed as flaxen fibres in the flame. For they regard the system which they accept, not only as essential to the future of mankind, to the well-being of persons, to the safety and glory of peoples and states; they regard it as alone Divine in its nature, overwhelming in its authority, whose touch should properly shatter and consume whatever opposes it. Even the

temporary toleration of a different faith is to them an unwelcome necessity. A system of popular education not pervaded by Roman Catholic influences, is ensnaring and dangerous. They have the courage of their convictions; and they use without stint the instruments of Protestantism to further their system and to make it universal.

Even present failure does not dishearten them. That they expect; and they can wait, for the Church lives on. The ages are hers; and to her supreme incorporeal life, which time does not waste nor change impair, the final victory always is sure!

If we are to resist the vast effort of these men, and to make the liberties which our fathers bequeathed to us, and the Gospel in which they surely trusted, supreme in the land, we must at least know more than we have known of the seductive and stimulating forces which operate against us, and which we are to encounter. To treat the cases of those who have gone from us to Rome as merely sporadic—the effect of accidental causes, or of personal eccentricity—one might as well treat thus the power which drives the Gulf Stream northward, or which hurls the monsoons of the Indian Ocean back and forth across the equator.

The one tremendous fact against them is that they can not alter, and can not obliterate, the record of the past. Their system has been abundantly tried; and, fascinating as it looks, its prodigal promises have been proved as unreal as the stately pleasure-dome of Kubla Khan seen by Coleridge in his dream. The scheme which looks so seductive and magnificent, when searched by the passionless logic of events, when tested in the slow and solemn ordeal of succeeding centuries, in Italy, Spain, Mexico, the West Indies, turns out as unreal in what it claims and in what it proposes, as the island of Nowhere in the famous romance of Sir Thomas More.

Good men have lived under it, multitudes of them; saintly women, as pure and devout as ever brightened the earth with their presence; and such live in it now. But their goodness is wholly and constantly paralleled outside their communion, because it has come, not from what is peculiar to that, but from the quickening light of God's Word, and the transforming energy of his Spirit, which we as freely and consciously partake. In that which is peculiar to it—its hierarchy, its ritual, its efficacious sacraments, its indulgences to the sinner, its vast and complex organization, the concentration of all authority in its "Vice-God" at Rome—wherever the system has had its way it has wrought such mischiefs that the pen hesitates to recount them.

It has been powerful to depress peoples,

ineffectual to uplift them. It has, with sure instinct, discouraged and diminished secular enterprise. It has linked itself most naturally with the harshest and most tyrannous civil institutions. It has made religion a matter of rites, and a matter of locality; till the same man became a devotee in the chapel, and a bandit in the field. It has accepted a passionate zeal for the Church in place of the humility, the purity and charity, which Christ demanded; till the fierce Dominic becomes one of its saints; till forged decretals were made for centuries to bulwark its power; till its hottest anathemas have been launched at those who complained of its abuses; till all restraints of humanity or morality have been overleaped in many excesses to which its adherents have been prompted from the altar. Its most devoted and wide-spread order, the Society of Jesus, in spite of its invincible heroism and its unequalled services to the popes, by the monstrous maxims which Pascal exposed, and the practices which expressed them, so kindled against it the indignation of Christendom that Clement XIV. was compelled to suppress it in all Christian states.

The rage of this system against whatever would hinder its march—against its own subjects when they have conscientiously paused in their submission—has had something trausendent in its pitiless malignity. The fierceness of its persecutions has been precisely proportioned to its power. The hand which looks so full of blessing has opened the deep of *oubliettes*, has added tortures to the rack, has framed the frightful Iron Maiden, has set the torch to martyr fires. The breath which should have filled the air with sweeter than Sabaean odors has blighted the bloom of many lives, and floated curses over the nations so frequent and so awful that life itself was withered before them, till their very extravagance made them harmless.

Instead of true wisdom, where this system has prevailed with an unquestioned supremacy, it has fostered and maintained wide popular ignorance. Instead of true sanctity, its fruit has been shown in peasantries debased, aristocracies corrupted, an arrogant and a profligate priesthood. It has honored the vilest who would serve it, and crushed the purest who would not. It sent gifts and applause, and sang its most exulting *Te Deum*, for Philip the Second; while its poisoned bullet killed William of Orange. The medal which it struck in joyful commemoration of the bloody diabolism of St. Bartholomew's is one of its records. Its highest officials have sometimes lived lives which its own annualists have hated to touch. Alexander VI., cruel, crafty, avaricious, licentious, whom it were flattery to call a Tiberius in pontificals—who bribed his way to the highest dignity, who burned Savona-

rola, the traditional portrait of whose favorite mistress, profanely painted as the Mother of God, hangs yet in the Vatican, who probably died by the poisoned wine which he had had prepared for his cardinals, and whose evil renown is scarcely matched by that of Cæsar Borgia his son—stands as one of its infallible popes, holding the keys of heaven for men.

If any system is doomed by its history, this is the one. Protestantism has now so checked it, the advancing moral development of mankind has set such limits to its power, that these are largely facts of the past. The Vatican Court is now free from scandal. The Church at present seeks strength through beneficence, not through control of the secular arm; by its helps to piety, not through appeals to physical fear. But its more spontaneous and self-revealing development has been in this more friendly Past. Therefore the nations whom once it has ruled, when they finally break from it, hate it with an intensity proportioned to the promises it has failed to fulfill, and the bitter degradations it has made them undergo. Atheism itself—that moral suicide—seems better to them than to be again subjected to Rome.

This is the system as realized in history, and there forever adjudged and sentenced. Of course this gives immense advantage to those who now resist its progress. It can not fascinate the nations again till the long experience is forgotten. But such is not at all its appearance as presented to those whom it wins to its fold. And we must look at it, in a measure at least, as those who honor and love it look, if we would understand its power, if we would know how it is that it hopes a second time to conquer the world.

Travelers have often and glowingly described the silver and golden illuminations of St. Peter's, as seen from the Pineian Hill at Rome, on the great Easter festival. Wonderful, ethereal, almost celestial, appears the majestic Basilica, with its dome, when suddenly over all its lines flashes that startling, unearthly radiance.

It has never been noticed, so far as I have observed, that the illumination is wholly confined to that half of the dome which fronts the city. The other remains frowning and stern, while this is glowing through the darkness like a golden temple let down by God from heaven to earth.

We must not look only, as often we do, on the sombre and sterile side of Romanism, if we would comprehend its attraction. We must know, and feel, that there are aspects of it in which, to those who look with admiring eyes on its immense illuminated front, it appears more beautiful and serene than any vision of poets, while as solid and commanding as the very, and only, Temple of God.

PROTESTANTISM, ROMANISM, AND MODERN CIVILIZATION.

BY THE REV. GEORGE P. FISHER, D.D.,

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IN this discussion I shall take "Civilization" in the broad sense, and include under the term all that enters into the improvement of the individual and of society—all the elements that unite to constitute an advanced stage of human progress. Whenever we contemplate the growth of civilization, we should not confine our attention to the organized institutions, political or ecclesiastical, which minister to the welfare of mankind, but should take into view, also, whatever influences spring from the individual and contribute to his well-being. In other words, the term "civilization" includes culture. The inventions and discoveries that lighten the burden of labor and conduce to material comfort, the safeguards of law, refined sentiments, literature, art, and science, the amenities of social intercourse—all that raises man above the rude and narrow life of the barbarian is embraced in this comprehensive term. In defining civilization, however, it has been justly said that no nation can be considered highly civilized in which a small class is possessed of the benefits of scholarship, the charm of polished manners, and the conveniences and luxuries derived from wealth, at the same time that the bulk of the population are sunk in poverty and ignorance, perhaps degraded to a condition of serfdom. Nor can that nation be deemed civilized, in the full idea of the word, where the fine arts flourish while agriculture and the mechanic arts are in a low state. Civilization should involve something like an impartial or proportionate development of the capacities of man and a fair distribution of social advantages. It should likewise carry within it the germ of further and indefinite progress.

We are absolved from inquiring, in this place, what sort of a civilization could exist, and how long it were possible for civilization to continue, without any aid from religion. Whoever believes in the teachings of Christ needs no argument to convince him that Christianity is essential to the enduring life of all that is excellent and noble in the products of human activity. "Ye are the salt of the earth." It is clear that Christianity, from the moment when it first gained a foothold in the Roman Empire

down to the present time, has never ceased to exert a profound influence upon society. Of the several agencies which have chiefly conspired to determine the course and the character of modern history, Christianity and the Church are first in importance. Attribute whatever weight we may to the legacy that was transmitted from the nations of antiquity, or to the peculiar genius of their barbarian conquerors, every discerning student must allow to Christianity the predominant part in moulding the history of the European communities now on the stage of action.

No enlightened Protestant, in our day, will be inclined to disparage the wholesome influence which the Roman Catholic Church may still exert in certain places and over certain classes of people. We are not disposed to undervalue the benefits which that Church, in the Middle Ages, when it was the only organized form of Christianity in Western Europe, conferred on society. We are even quite willing to concede that the Papacy itself, the centralized system of rule, which has been the fountain of incalculable evils, was providentially made productive of important advantages during the period when ignorance and brute force prevailed, and when anarchy and violence constituted the main peril to which civilization was exposed. Let us thankfully acknowledge the debt that is due to the mediæval Church for preserving from utter destruction the remains of ancient literature and art, for training the minds of undisciplined men, and imparting to them what knowledge had outlived the wreck of ancient power and culture, and for curbing the passions and softening the manners of rude peoples. Christianity in the mediæval Church existed in a corrupt form, but its life was not extinct, and it operated as a leaven, according to the promise of its author. Our attention is to be directed to more recent times. We have to compare the influence of Romanism with that of Protestantism, as that influence is seen in the course of the last three centuries, and as it is deducible from the nature of the respective systems.

There is one point of contrast between the two systems which deserves to be placed in

the foreground of our inquiry. The Roman Catholic system is the rule of society by a sacerdotal class. This is a fundamental characteristic of that system. The guidance of the conscience of individuals, and of the policy of nations, so far as their policy may be thought to touch the province of morals and religion, is relegated to a body of priests, or, according to the recent Vatican Council, to their head. The authority to decide upon the questions of highest moment resides in this body of ecclesiastics. It is not, indeed, like those hereditary priesthoods which are separated by an impassable barrier from other orders of men, and which are found, as an established aristocracy, in certain Oriental religions. Nevertheless, it is a limited class, admitting to its ranks none whom it chooses to exclude, and assuming the exalted prerogative of pronouncing infallibly upon questions of truth and duty, and of conveying or withholding the blessings of salvation. Protestantism denied this prerogative. It broke down the wall of separation between priest and layman. It accorded to the laity the full right to determine for themselves those questions over which the clergy had claimed an exclusive jurisdiction. It declared that the heavenly good offered in the Gospel is accessible to the humblest soul, without the intervention of a mediatorial priesthood. The emancipation of the laity from clerical rule is one of the prime characteristics of the Reformation.

1. Protestantism, as compared with the opposite system, sets free and stimulates the energy, intellectual and moral, of the individual, and thus augments the forces of which civilization is the product. The progress of civilization, in the long course of history, is marked by the growing respect paid to the rights of the individual, and the ampler room afforded for the unfolding of his powers, and for the realizing of his aspirations. There was something imposing in those huge despotisms—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia—in which a multitude of human beings were welded together under an absolute master. Such empires were an advance upon a primitive state of things, where every man's hand was against his neighbor. Yet they were a crude form of crystallization; and they were intrinsically weak. The little cities of Greece, with their freer political life, and the larger scope which they allowed for the activity and the culture of the individual—communities of citizens—proved more than a match for the colossal might of the East. Among the Greeks and Romans, however, although governments of law had supplanted naked force, the State was supreme, and to the State the individual must yield an exclusive allegiance. It was a great gain when the Christian Church arose, and when the individual became con-

scious of an allegiance of the soul to a higher kingdom—an allegiance which did not supersede his loyalty to the civil authority, but limited while it sanctioned this obligation. But the Church itself at length erected a supremacy over the individual inconsistent with the free action of reason and conscience, and even stretched that supremacy so far as to dwarf and overshadow civil society. It reared a theocracy, and subjected every thing to its unlimited sway. The Reformation gave back to the individual his proper autonomy. The result is a self-respect, an intellectual activity, a development of inventive capacity, and of energy of character, which give rise to such achievements in science, in the field of political action, and in every work where self-reliance and personal force are called for, as would be impossible under the opposite system. In the period immediately following the Reformation, signal proofs were afforded of this truth. The little States of Holland, for example, proved their ability to cope with the Spanish Empire, to gain their independence, and to acquire an opulence and a culture which recalled the best days of the Grecian republics. They beat back their invaders from their soil, and sent forth their victorious navies upon every sea, while at home they were educating the common people, fostering science and learning, and building up universities famous throughout Europe. England, in the age of Elizabeth, proved that the native vigor of her people was re-enforced in a remarkable degree by the stimulus derived from the peculiar genius of the Protestant religion. It was the period when she was acquiring her naval ascendancy; the period, likewise, of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Raleigh. Who can doubt that the United States of America are—not indeed wholly, but in great part—indebted to their position, as contrasted with that of Mexico and the political communities of South America, to this expansion of the power of the individual, which is the uniform and legitimate fruit of Protestant principles?

2. The spirit of Protestantism favors universal education. The lay Christian, who is to read and interpret the Scriptures, and to take part in the administration of government in the Church, must not be an illiterate person. Knowledge, mental enlightenment, under the Protestant system, are indispensable. The weight of personal responsibility for the culture of his intellectual and spiritual nature, which rests on every individual, makes education a matter of universal concern. Far more has been done in Protestant than in Roman Catholic countries for the instruction of the whole people. It is enough to refer to the common-school system of Holland, and of New England, and to Protestant Germany, to show how natural it is for the

disciples of the Reformation to provide for this great interest of society.

The free circulation of the Bible in Protestant lands has disseminated an instrument of intellectual, as well as of religious, improvement, the good effect of which is immeasurable. As a repository of history, biography, poetry, ethics, as well as a monitor to the conscience and a guide to heaven, the Bible has exerted an influence on the common mind, in all Protestant nations, which it would be difficult to exaggerate. The practice of interpreting the Bible and of exploring its pages for fresh truth affords a mental discipline of a very high order. How often have the Scriptures carried into the cottage of the peasant a breadth and refinement of intellect which otherwise would never have existed, and which no agency employed by the Roman Catholic system, in relation to the same social class, has ever been able to engender!

3. That Protestantism should be more friendly to civil and religious liberty than the Roman Catholic system would seem to follow unavoidably from the nature of the two forms of faith. Protestantism involves, as a vital element, an assertion of personal rights with respect to religion, the highest concern of man. Moreover, Protestantism casts off the yoke of priestly rule, and puts ecclesiastical government, in due measure, into the hands of the laity. As we have already said, it is a revolt of the laity against a usurped ecclesiastical authority.

The Church of Rome teaches men that their first and most binding duty is to bow with unquestioning docility and obedience to their Heaven-appointed superiors. How is it possible that Protestantism should not foster a habit of mind which is incompatible with a patient endurance of tyranny at the hands of the civil power? How can Protestantism, inspiring a lively sense of personal rights, fail to bring with it, eventually at least, a corresponding respect for the rights of others, and a disposition to secure their rights in forms of government and in legislation? How can men who are accustomed to judge for themselves and act independently in Church affairs manifest a slavish spirit in the political sphere? On the contrary, the habit of mind which the Roman Catholic nurture tends to beget leads to servility in the subject toward the ruler, as long as an alliance is kept up between sovereign and priest. It is true that the Church of Rome can accommodate itself to any of the various types of political society. Her doctors have at times preached an extreme theory of popular rights and of the sovereignty of the people. While the State is subordinate to the Church, any form of government may be tolerated; and there may be an interest on the part of the priesthood in inculeating political theories which operate, in their

judgment, to weaken the obligations of loyalty toward the civil magistrate, and to exalt by contrast the divine authority of the Church. When the civil magistracy presumes to exercise prerogatives, or to ordain measures, which are deemed hurtful to the ecclesiastical interest, a radical doctrine of revolution, even a doctrine of tyrannicide, has been heard from the pulpits of the most conservative of religious bodies.

Generally speaking, however, the Church of Rome is the natural ally and supporter of arbitrary principles of government. The prevailing sentiment, the instinctive feeling, in that Church, is that the body of the people are incapable of self-guidance, and that to give them the reins in civil affairs would imperil the stability of ecclesiastical control. To this reasoning it is often replied by advocates of the Roman Catholic system that Protestantism opens a door to boundless tyranny by leaving the temporal power without any check from the ecclesiastical. The State, it is said, proves omnipotent; the civil magistrate is delivered from the wholesome dread of ecclesiastical censure, and is left free to exercise all kinds of tyranny, without the powerful restraint to which he was subject under the mediæval system. He may even violate the rights of conscience with impunity. The State, it is sometimes said, when released from its subordinate relation to the Church, is a godless institution. It becomes, like the pagan States of antiquity, absolute in the province of religion as in secular affairs, and an irresistible engine of oppression. It must be admitted that Protestant rulers have been guilty of tyranny; that, in many instances, they can not be cleared of the charge of unwarrantably interfering with the rights of conscience, and of attempting to govern the belief and regulate the forms of worship of their subjects, in a manner destructive of true liberty. The question is, whether these instances of misgovernment are the proper fruit of the Protestant spirit, or something at variance with it, and therefore an evil of a temporary and exceptional character.

The imputation that the State as constituted under Protestantism is heathen depends on the false assumption that the Church and the priesthood as established in the Roman Catholic system are identical, or so nearly identical that one can not subsist without the other. It is assumed that when the supervision and control which the Church of Rome aspires to exercise over the civil authority is shaken off, nothing is left but an unchristian or Antichristian institution. The fact that a layman can be as good a Christian as a priest is overlooked. The Christian laity who make up a commonwealth, and the Christian magistrates who are set over them, are quite as able to discern, and quite as likely to respect person-

al rights, and to act for the common weal, as if they were subject to an organized priesthood.

Since the Reformation, a layman has been the head of the English Church and State, and civil magistrates in England have borne a part in ecclesiastical government. Without entering into the question of the righteousness or expediency of establishments, or broaching any of the controverted topics connected with this subject, we simply assert here that the civil government of England is not to be branded as unchristian or Antichristian on account of this arrangement. As far as the administration of public affairs in that country has been characterized by justice and by a regard for the well-being of all orders of people, the Government has been Christian—as truly Christian, to say the least, as if the supremacy had been virtually lodged with the Pope, or with an aristocracy of priests.

History verifies the proposition that Protestantism is favorable to civil and religious freedom, and thus promotes the attainment of the multiplied advantages which freedom brings in its train. The long and successful struggle for independence in the Netherlands, the conflict which established English liberty against the despotic influence of the House of Stuart, the growth and establishment of the Republic of the United States, are events so intimately connected with Protestantism and so dependent upon it, that we may point to them as monuments of the true spirit and tendency of the Reformed religion. That religious persecution has darkened the annals of the Protestant faith, and that the earliest leaders in the Reformation failed to recognize distinctly the principle of liberty of conscience, must be admitted. But Protestantism, as is claimed, at the present day, both by its friends and foes, was illogical, inconsistent with its own genius and principles, whenever it attempted to coerce conscience by punishing religious dissent with the sword and the fagot. Protestants illustrate the real character and tendency of their system by deploring whatever acts of religious persecution the predecessors who bore their name were guilty of, and by the open and sincere advocacy of religious liberty. Liberty of thought, and freedom of speech and of the press, however restricted they may have been by Protestants in times past, it is the tendency of Protestantism to uphold. It is more and more recognized that freedom in the investigation of truth, and in the publication of opinions, is required by the true principles of the Reformation.

On the other hand, the dogma of persecution has never been authoritatively disavowed by the Church of Rome. Who has ever done penance for St. Bartholomew and the burning of Huss? Even at this day this hateful dogma is boldly professed by

the organs of the Ultramontane party, which is now in the ascendant. It is difficult to see how these doctrines can be given up by a Church which attributes to every one of the long line of pontiffs infallibility on questions of morals. In recent times the doctrine of "liberty of conscience" and of worship has been branded by Pius IX., in an address to all bishops—branded, therefore, *ex cathedra*—as an error to be abhorred and to be shunned as the contagion of a pestilence. The recent dogma of the Council of the Vatican involves a formidable attack upon civil liberty. This new article of belief subjects all civil legislation to the moral criticism of the Pope of Rome, and binds every member of the Roman Catholic Church, whether ruler or subject, to submit to his decision. No limit is set to the power of the priest to intermeddle with the governments that acknowledge his jurisdiction.

4. Protestantism has bestowed a great boon upon civilization in supplanting the ascetic type of religion. Christianity came not to destroy, but to fulfill. It was not to supersede any one of the normal activities, or to proscribe any of the legitimate products of human exertion. It was to mingle in the earthly pursuits of mankind, a renovating and purifying influence. Family life, letters, art, science, amusement, trade, and commerce were to suffer no blight, but were rather to experience a quickening and, at the same time, an elevating power from contact with the Gospel. Christ bade his followers not to retreat from the world, but to stay in it and transform it. The kingdom of God on earth was to draw within it all that is pure and admirable in the infinitely diversified works and achievements of the natural man. It was not to be a ghostly realm of devotees, but a society of men and women, not indifferent to the labors and pleasures that pertain to this life, but infusing into all things a spirit of religious consecration. The ascetic type of religion interposes a gulf between religion and the business of the world, between things natural and supernatural. The creation of a separate priesthood, who are cut off from family life and from the ordinary relations of society, exemplifies the ascetic tendency, which appears more or less distinctly throughout the Roman Catholic system. The effect of the compulsory rule of celibacy is to attach a stigma to the institution of marriage and to the domestic relations. These relations are held to involve an inferior condition of sanctity. Apart from all the other evils which are connected with the law of celibacy, it strikes a blow at the sacredness of an institution on which the interests of civilization essentially depend. But the ascetic spirit, the unauthorized divorce of things sacred and secular, penetrates much further.

It is a remarkable fact in history that the rise of commerce helped to undermine the authority of the clergy, and was one of the potent instruments in educating the European mind for the revolt of Protestantism. Commerce, it is true, produced a keenness and sagacity of intellect, and led to an activity of social movement and intercourse, which tended to break the yoke of superstition. Municipalities of busy merchants soon began to chafe under the sway of ecclesiastics. Independently, however, of these peculiar effects of trade, there was a secret but growing consciousness that great industrial enterprises and secular activity do not find any link of connection with the ascetic type of religion. They may get from it a bare toleration, but they must look elsewhere for a sanction and a baptism.

5. The Protestant religion keeps alive in the nations that adopt it the spirit of progress. There may exist a high degree of civilization in certain respects, but a civilization which has ceased to expand through forces inherent in itself. China is an example. There may be a richer and more complex development which yet culminates, and, thenceforward, either remains stationary, or, which is more likely to occur, becomes degenerate and goes backward. The civilization of the ancient Roman empire is a signal case of such an arrest of progress and of such a decadence. The spirit of progress, the fresh and unexhausted energy and hopefulness, with the consequent rapid growth in material and intellectual achievements which distinguish the Protestant nations, are due, not to characteristics of race alone, nor to incidental advantages of any kind, but, in a great degree, to their religion. There is a disposition to look forward as well as backward, to expect a future greater than the past, and to believe in the practicableness of carrying improvement to heights heretofore unattained. France is a prosperous and highly civilized nation; but of all countries nominally Roman Catholic, France is the one in which the Church of Rome has had the feeblest sway, and the one most alive to the influences which Protestantism and the Protestant civilization of other European nations have set in motion. The effect of the reactionary Catholicism that followed the Reformation upon the nations of Southern Europe was deadening. In the decay of the Renaissance, music, painting, and poetry revived, in the ferment of religious enthusiasm excited by the Catholic reaction; but the intellectual vigor of Italy and Spain beneath the iron tread of the Inquisition was soon crushed. The history of these naturally gifted peoples, subjected to the stifling atmosphere of ecclesiastical tyranny, is a convincing illustration of the fatal effect of such a system. The present aspect of South America and Mexico, when compared

with the American communities which have been reared on Protestant foundations, impressively exhibits the same thing.

Roman Catholic polemics maintain that Protestantism is responsible for the skepticism and unbelief that prevail so extensively among Christian nations. They assert that there has arisen in the wake of Protestantism a spirit of irreligion which threatens to subvert the social fabric. The causes of this evil, however, do not lie at the door of Protestantism. The free inquiry that had developed in Europe in connection with the revival of learning could not be smothered by mere authority. The earnest religious feeling which the Reformation at the outset brought with it counteracted the tendencies to unbelief, for a time, at least; and it was only when Protestantism departed from its own principles, and acted upon the maxims of its adversary, at the same time losing the warmth of religious life so conspicuous at the beginning, that infidelity had a free course. The ideas which Plutarch long ago embodied in his treatise on Superstition and Unbelief are well founded. They are two extremes, each of which begets the other. Not only may the artificial faith which leads to superstitious practices, and drives its devotees to fanaticism, at length spend its force, and move the same devotees to cast off the restraints of religion; but the spectacle of superstition, also, repels more sober and courageous minds from all faith and worship. Such has been the notorious effect of the superstitious ceremonies and austerities of the Roman Catholic system, both in the age of the Renaissance and in our own day. Religion comes to be identified, in the opinions of men, with tenets and observances which are repugnant to reason and common sense; and hence truth and error are thrown overboard at once.

Disgusted with the follies which pass under the name of religion, and attract the reverence of the ignorant, men make shipwreck of faith altogether. The same baleful influence ensues upon the attempt to stretch the principle of authority beyond the due limit. It is like the effect of excessive restraint in the family. A revolt is the consequence wherever there is a failure to repress mental activity and to enslave the will. The subjugation of the intelligence which the Roman Catholic system carries with it as an essential ingredient compels a mutiny which is very likely not to stop with the rejection of usurped authority. There is a general source of unbelief which is independent of the influence of any particular form of religion. Rationalism has been correctly described as the fruit of the understanding stepping beyond its sphere, and supplanting the normal action of the moral and religious nature. It is due to a one-

sided, exclusive, and narrow activity of a single function of the intellect, at the expense of conscience and the intuitive power.

Such, for example, was the character of that skepticism which the Sophists encouraged, and which Socrates, appealing directly to the immediate, ineradicable convictions of the soul, did so much to overthrow. When the free and accountable nature of the soul, and the aspirations and presentiments, as profound as they are natural, of the spirit of man, are flippantly set aside to make room for something called "science," which is converted by its votaries into a fetish, infidelity is the inevitable consequence. There is nothing in Protestant principles, rightly understood, to warrant or to induce such a procedure. Looking at the matter historically, we find that, in the age prior to the Reformation, unbelief was most rife in Italy, the ancient centre of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In recent times, skepticism is nowhere more prevalent than among the higher, cultivated classes in Roman Catholic countries, where the doctrines of that religion have been perpetually taught, and where its ritual has been celebrated with most pomp.

To the relation of Protestantism and Romanism to special evils that afflict our modern civilization, it is hardly possible within the space given to this paper to allude. War is still a terrible scourge of nations. It is obvious that the power of the Church of Rome, as an organized body, to avert war, even between countries owning its authority, amounts to nothing. It has been reserved for two English-speaking nations, professing the Protestant faith, to furnish, as they have lately done, an impressive proof of what may be accomplished by the peaceful method of arbitration. The Church of old favored the emancipation of slaves; but slavery was abolished in the United

States with little or no help from the ecclesiastics of the Roman Church.

In the disposition to minister to poverty and to the various forms of physical distress, Roman Catholics, be it said to their honor, vie with Protestant Christians. But this may be claimed for Protestantism, that its disciples are more zealous to devise the means of prevention, to pry under these great evils, and then to apply radical and permanent remedies. Political economy and social science, although still immature, flourish chiefly under the auspices of Protestant Christianity. There are questions, of which the "labor question," as it is called, is one of the most prominent, with which neither Church can be said to have fully grappled. But Protestantism has a better promise of contributing to the solution of these grave and portentous problems than the opposite system; for the laborer has no real quarrel with the Protestant religion. The hostility of the laboring class to a priestly system may take the form of a hatred to religion itself; but better teaching and a true spirit of philanthropy may give them the needed light.

The Roman Catholic Church is at present engaged in the hopeless struggle to uphold in the midst of modern society the religious ideas and customs of the Middle Ages. A dietatorial attitude toward the civil authority, the management of education by ecclesiastics, an appeal to the senses by a gorgeous ritual, an exorbitant demand upon the credulity of mankind by unverified miracles and prodigies, an attempt to revive pilgrimages and other obsolete or obsolescent superstitions, an increased devotion to the Virgin Mary, which borders on idolatry—such are some of the characteristics of this movement. It is the endeavor to re-instate or maintain a type of civilization on which history has pronounced a final verdict.

ROMAN AND REFORMED DOCTRINES OF JUSTIFICATION CONTRASTED.

BY THE RT. REV. GEORGE DAVID CUMMINS, D.D., OF KENTUCKY.

It is a question of no ordinary interest, Where did the Reformation of the sixteenth century take its rise? Which of the countries of Europe can rightly claim the honor of giving birth to this sublime movement? For this high distinction different nations are still contending. "Surely," exclaims the German, "the Reformation began at Wittenberg, in the cell of an Augustinian monk, and the nailing of Luther's Theses to the church door of the little Saxon town was the sound that awoke all Christendom, and is reverberating with ever-increasing volume through the earth."

"Nay," responds the Switzer, "it was the child of the Toekenburg Mountains, the son of the shepherd of Wildhaus, who first cleared a path for the free flowing of the Water of Life, the River that makes glad the city of our God, even as the little fountain rising among the same everlasting hills becomes the mighty Rhine, the bearer of plenty and prosperity to nations."

"Not quite true," interposes the Frenchman; "to France belongs the glory. The University of Paris was the cradle of the Reformation. At a time when Luther was making a journey to Rome on some business touching the interests of the monks—when Zwingle was traversing the Alps in a company of troops to fight under the Pope's banner, Paris and France heard the life-giving truths from Jacques Lefèvre, the doctor of Etaples—surely well deserving to be called the Father of the Reformation. Was it not he who, as early as 1512, said to his beloved pupil Farel, 'William! God will renovate the world, and you will live to see it.'"

England has yet to be heard. In the very year that Luther nailed his Theses to the Wittenberg church door, two young students at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Thomas Bilney and William Tyndale, divinely guided, found in the study of Erasmus's Greek Testament the great truth that scattered all the darkness of superstition—"It is Jesus Christ alone who saves."

How shall we settle these conflicting claims? There is but one mode. The Reformation had a simultaneous beginning throughout all Christendom. It was the simultaneous action of the Holy Spirit through the Word upon the hearts of men

in different nations. The truth which was to make the human mind forever free made itself felt at one and the same time in provinces widely separated and dissimilar. Germany did not communicate the light to Switzerland, nor did the University of Paris to Oxford and Cambridge, Lefèvre to Tyndale, nor Luther to Zwingle. "I began," said Zwingle, "to preach the Gospel in the year of grace 1516—that is, at a time when the name of Luther had never been heard among these mountains. It was not from Luther that I learned the doctrine of Christ; it was from God's Word. If Luther preaches Christ, he does as I do, that is all."

The beginning of the Reformation was like the bursting forth of spring, when from sea-shore to mountain top the breath of returning life is everywhere felt bursting the icy bonds that fettered a thousand streams, covering the valleys and hill-sides with verdure, clothing the grand old forests with beauty, foretelling the coming of rich harvests for the glorious summer-tide.

This simultaneous beginning of the Reformation in the great nations of Europe is a feature of profound interest. It stamps it as pre-eminently the work of God and not of man, and at the same time it discloses another great truth which underlies this feature.

The Reformation was not a sudden outgrowth of that century alone. Do we conceive of the Reformers of the sixteenth century as sturdy laborers, who went forth into a field all fallow and unbroken, into which no precious seed had been cast, and as themselves breaking up the fallow ground, and casting in the ever-living seed, and then coming back at even-tide with their bosoms filled with sheaves of golden grain, the fruit of their own planting alone? Far from this is the true conception. Such a supposition would be out of harmony with all the movements of God's Providence, by which he accomplishes great results by slow processes, and by many and oftentimes unseen agencies.

The Reformation was existing centuries before its actual advent. Long and slow were the processes which brought it to its final and full development. "Like the birth of the beautiful islands of the Pacific, the foundations of the new convictions which

were so greatly to modify and purify the mediæval faith were laid slowly, unseen and unsuspected by ten thousand souls who labored they knew not for what, save to accomplish the necessity of their own spiritual belief. Mighty convulsions suddenly cast up the submarine foundations of Pacific isles into mountain peak and lake and plain, but the foundations were laid long before, silently and slowly." Even so with the Reformation. For centuries there had been workers in this field—reformers before the Reformation—for the most part silent workers, men who lived quiet and holy lives, who had found the truth amidst all the corruptions surrounding them, and silently and unconsciously prepared the way for the dawn of a better day; others who were constrained to bear witness openly, and became a part of the noble army of martyrs, like Huss and Jerome in Bohemia, Savonarola in Italy, and Wicliffe in England. "And herein is that saying true, One soweth, and another reapeth."

But the Reformation was not more marked in the simultaneity of its origin than in the common likeness which it bore in all lands. Two great principles distinguish Protestantism: *the supremacy of Scripture, as the only infallible authority, and salvation by grace through faith only.*

Without communicating with others, almost unknown to each other, the Reformers gave utterance in every country where the light spread to the same testimony to these great truths. "It is God alone," taught Lefèvre in the Sorbonne at Paris—"it is God alone who by his grace justifies unto eternal life. There is a righteousness of our works, and a righteousness which is of grace—the one a thing of man's invention, the other coming from God; the one earthly and passing away, the other divine and everlasting; the one discovering sin and bringing the fear of death, the other revealing grace for the attainment of life." "What?" replied Beda, the leader of the crusade against the first French Reformers, "Lefèvre affirms that whosoever ascribes to himself the power to save himself will be lost; while whosoever, laying aside all strength of his own, casts himself into the arms of Christ shall be saved! Oh, what heresy! what delusion of the devil! Let us oppose it with all our power."

Lefèvre's voice in the Sorbonne found an echo all unknown to him on the banks of Lake Zürich. From the pulpit of the quiet monastery of Einsiedeln, Ulrich Zwingli proclaimed to the throngs of pilgrims who flocked to that shrine: "What power can there be in unprofitable works, weary pilgrimages, offerings, prayers to the Virgin and the saints, to secure you the favor of God? *Christ alone saves, and he saves everywhere.*"

Bilney, too, in the University of Cambridge, coming unexpectedly upon a copy of the New Testament in Greek, hastened to shut himself in his room to peruse it. At the first opening his eye caught the words of St. Paul, "This is a faithful saying, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief." He laid down the book, and meditated on the astonishing declaration. "What! St. Paul the chief of sinners, and yet St. Paul is sure of being saved." He read the verse again and again. "O assertion of St. Paul, how sweet thou art to my soul!" he exclaimed. "I am also like Paul, and, more than Paul, the greatest of sinners. But Christ saves sinners. At last I have heard of Jesus."

I need not surely bring the testimony of the great Saxon Reformer, the great workman of the sixteenth century. It was this truth that flashed into his soul from God's Word in the convent of Erfurt, "The just shall live by faith," the truth which at once made him free, and became to him, as he says, the very gate of Paradise, the very heart of the Gospel, which he lifted up and magnified perpetually, rightly proclaiming it for that age and this, and for all coming time, "*Articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesie.*"

My work, Fathers and Brethren, in this great Conference composed of the children of the Reformers, is to exhibit the contrast between the doctrine of justification as held by the Roman and the Reformed Churches; to place before you the diverse and antagonistic answers which Protestantism and Romanism give to the mightiest of all questions, "What must I do to be saved?"—to prove, by God's help, that in the perversion of this great truth lies the great apostasy from God; or, as Hooker puts it, "The mystery of the man of sin is in the Romish doctrine of justification," or, as Calvin declared, "If this one point were yielded safe and entire, it would not pay the cost to make any great quarrel about other matters in controversy with Rome."

It is the remark of the latest American historian of the Reformation, "The Roman Catholic theory of justification may be so stated as to approximate closely to that of the Protestants, but on a close examination the two doctrines are seen to be discordant with one another." But, small as the divergence may seem at first view, the two teachings will be found at last separated by a great gulf, even as wide as that which divides truth from error, light from darkness. On the summit of the Adirondaek Mountains there are found two springs of water, so close together that the wild fox, while slaking his thirst at the one, sweeps with his tail the other, and yet from the quiet nook where they spring one hurries away to the north and east to form the majestic St. Lawrence, with its thousand isles and

grand expanse of gulf-like water; the other turns southward, and becomes the beautiful Hudson, breaking through the Highlands to bear its full tribute to the sea. That Rome regards this as the essential point of divergence between her own system and that of Protestantism is evident from the importance given to this subject in the discussion of the Tridentine Council, convened to oppose and overthrow the work of the Reformation. The divines of that council were exhorted to "be assiduous and exact in their studies" on this subject, "because all the errors of Luther were resolved into that point."

I. The Romish and the Reformed Churches differ as to the *nature of justification*. According to the teaching of the Reformed Church, the term Justification has but one meaning in the Word of God. "*It is acquittal from guilt*. It is a judicial act on the part of God, *accounting us righteous, not making us so*. It is an act done *for us, and not in us*. It implies a relative change in the state of an accused person in respect of the sentence of the Divine law.*"

The Church of Rome, on the other hand, holds that justification and sanctification are one and the same. Says the Council of Trent, "Justification is not only remission of sins, but the sanctification and renewing of the inner man by the voluntary reception of grace and gifts;† or, in the language of Möhler, its most accomplished modern defender, "It is a power truly emancipating, dissolving the bands of evil, and *extirpating sin*."‡ This, then, is the contrast:

The Church of Rome holds the justification of a sinner to be the sanctification of his nature, the extirpation of sin, the making him truly and personally holy.

The Reformed Church holds the justification of a sinner to be the act of God accounting him righteous, his acquittal from guilt, the forgiveness of his sins, and his reconciliation to God.

Here, then, issue is made, and we make our appeal confidently to the Word of God to decide between the two teachings.

Deuteronomy xxv., 1: "If there be a controversy between men, and they come unto judgment, that the judges may judge them; then they shall justify the righteous, and condemn the wicked." Proverbs xvii., 15: "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord." Job ix., 20: "If I justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me." Psalm cxliii., 2: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." Romans viii., 33, 34: "Who shall lay any thing

to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth?" Romans v., 18: "Therefore, as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life."

In all these passages it is impossible to assign but one meaning to the terms "justify" and "justification." The judicial sense is prominent in all. Justification is the opposite of condemnation: it is acquittal from guilt.

Here, indeed, the divergence of the two systems may seem to be very slight, and many may regard the difference as only a conflict of words and of subtle distinctions of theology. But, in fact, this divergence will be seen, as we examine more closely, to underlie all opposing teachings of the two systems. Let us mark this as the second great point of contrast.

II. The Romish and Reformed Churches differ in their teachings concerning the *ground or basis* of a sinner's justification before God.

Great caution is needed here to bring forth clearly the error of the Church of Rome, obscured as it is by the scholastic subtleties of the Tridentine doctors.

The doctrine of the Reformed Church is most clearly stated in the eleventh of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England: "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works and deservings."

The doctrine taught here so plainly is that the ground or meritorious cause of our justification is the merit of Christ only.

This the Church of Rome anathematizes. Says the Council of Trent: "Whosoever shall affirm that men are formally justified by the righteousness of Christ, let him be accursed."* Again, another decree says: "Whosoever shall affirm that men are justified by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, to the exclusion of grace and charity which inheres in them; or that the grace by which we are justified is *only the favor of God*, let him be accursed.†"

What, then, does the Church of Rome hold to be the *ground or basis* of a sinner's reconciliation to God? She makes a distinction between the *meritorious* and the *formal* cause of justification. "The *meritorious* cause," she says, "is His most beloved, only-begotten Son, who, when we were enemies, on account of his abounding love with which he loved us, by his own most holy passion on the cross, merited justification for us, and satisfied us to God.‡" Thus far we agree. But proceeds the Council: "The only *formal*

* Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta.

† Sess. VI., cap. viii.

‡ Möhler's "Symbolism," page 190.

* Sess. VI., cap. x.

† Sess. II., cap. viii.

‡ Sess. II., cap. viii.

cause is the righteousness of God, not that by which he himself is just, but that by which he makes us just."

Here, then, the Church of Rome teaches that our justification before God is a righteousness in us. Says Hooker: "When they of the Church of Rome are required to show what the righteousness is by which a Christian man is justified, they answer that it is a Divine spiritual quality; which quality received into the soul doth first make it to be one with them who are born of God; and, secondly, indue the soul with power to bring forth such works as they do that are born of God. This grace they will have to be applied by infusion; to the end that as the body is warmed by the heat which is in it, so the soul might be righteous by inherent grace."^{*}

The same far-seeing mind discerned the specious error here concealed. "This," says he, "is the mystery of the man of sin, that they make the essence of justification to consist in a divine quality inherent, a righteousness within us. If it be in us, then it is ours, even as our souls are ours, though we have them from God, and can hold them no longer than he pleaseth; but the righteousness wherein we must be found if we would be justified is not our own; therefore we can not be justified by any inherent quality. Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in him: in him God findeth us, if by faith we are incorporated into Christ."

Subtle and obscure as may be the utterances of Rome concerning the nature of justification, it can not conceal the deadly error that the doctrine of infused personal righteousness lays a foundation for the doctrine of human merit. By this infused righteousness, the Christian is made capable of meriting God's grace, and securing salvation by a righteousness of his own. "It is not the logic of this point we contend for," says Bishop Hall, "it is not the grammar, it is the Divinity; what that is whereby we stand acquitted before God; whether our inherent righteousness, or Christ's imputed righteousness apprehended by faith. The divines of Trent are for the former; all antiquity is with us for the latter."

III. The Romish and Reformed Churches differ vitally in their teachings as to the instrument or instrumental cause of our justification.

"Faith," says Hooker, "is the only hand that putteth on Christ unto justification." And this is the unanimous testimony of all Protestant Christendom; the witness of all the Reformers—a witness founded upon personal experience. "They had sought in vain for this infinite good," says Professor Fisher, "in the teachings, injunctions, cere-

monies, and services of the Church. They found it in the doctrine of gratuitous pardon from the bare mercy of God, through the mediation of Christ; a pardon that waits for nothing but acceptance on the part of the soul—the belief, the trust, the faith of the penitent."^{**}

What, then, according to the teaching of Rome, is the instrument of our justification? It is *baptism*, and not *faith*. Hear the Council of Trent: "The instrumental cause of our justification is the sacrament of baptism, without which no one ever attained to justification."[†]

Then the dying thief was not justified when Christ opened to him the gates of Paradise. Then Mary Magdalene was not justified when Christ said to her, "Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace." Then the publican was not pardoned when he went down to his house "*justified rather than the other.*"

We see now the relation of the teaching of an infused personal righteousness to the whole system. Justification or personal righteousness or sanctification is communicated by baptism in infancy; and thus baptismal justification or sanctification becomes the *πρωτον φενδος* out of which the whole system naturally is developed.

If it be asked, "What is the relation of baptism to justification according to the Reformed Church," perhaps the best reply is to be found in the Twenty-seventh Article of the Church of England: "Baptism is not only a sign of profession, whereby Christian men are discerned from those that be not christened; but it is also a *sign* of regeneration, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of the forgiveness of sins and of our adoption to be the sons of God are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer to God."

To this all Protestantism agrees:

Faith is the sole instrument of justification. Baptism is—

1. A sign of a Christian man's profession.
2. A sign of regeneration or new birth.
3. An instrument, when rightly received, by which we are grafted into the Church.
4. The promises of our forgiveness and adoption are visibly signed and sealed; and,
5. Faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer to God.

IV. The Romish and the Reformed Churches differ most essentially in their teaching as to the relation of good works to justification. It is the doctrine of the Reformed Church that all our works are utterly worthless to merit salvation of God, and any attempt to regard them as a ground of

^{*} "Discourse on Justification."

^{**} "History of the Reformation," page 461.

[†] Conc. Trident., Sess. VI., cap. viii.

forgiveness is to disparage the work of the Redeemer, who made upon the cross "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world" — "one sacrifice for sins forever." "Good works," says the Twelfth Article of the Church of England, "which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, can not put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment."

Now hear the Council of Trent: "Whosoever shall affirm that the good works of a justified man are in such sense the works of God that they are not also his worthy merits; or that he being justified by his good works, which are wrought by him through the grace of God, and the merits of Jesus Christ, of whom he is a living member, does not really deserve increase of grace, eternal life, the enjoyment of that eternal life if he dies in a state of grace, and even an increase of eternal glory, let him be accursed."

Which is right? "To the law and the testimony." Hear, then, what the Spirit saith unto the Churches. "By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." "To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness." "By grace are ye saved, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." "That I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith."

Does the Protestant theory disparage and depreciate good works—holy living? God forbid. It teaches that good works are—1. The necessary fruit of faith, springing from it as certainly as good fruit from a good tree; 2. That they are the evidence of a living faith, as the tree is known by its fruits; 3. That they are pleasing and acceptable to God, and are rewarded, but of grace and not of merit.

But while holding strenuously that the motive to good works is higher under the Evangelical than under the legal system, Protestantism declares that to claim any desert of God for man's righteousness is to deny the sufficiency of Christ's righteousness, and presumptuously to attempt to strengthen and complete it by our own.

V. One other point of contrast yet remains, practically of greater importance than all: it is concerning the pardon of sins committed after justification, or, what is synonymous, in the view of Rome, after baptism.

In the teaching of Rome, "for all sins committed after baptism the offender owes, and must render, satisfaction." Sins are divided by the Church of Rome into two classes: venial and mortal sins. Venial sins do not destroy our justification before God.

Mortal sins do, and these are removed only by the sacrament of penance.

Hooker thus sets forth this teaching of Rome: "As grace may be increased by the merit of good works, so it may be diminished by the demerit of sins venial, and may be lost entirely by mortal sin. To such as diminish it by venial sins, grace is applied by holy water, Ave Marias, crossings, papal benedictions, and such like. To such as have lost it by mortal sin, it is applied by the sacrament (as they term it) of penance, which sacrament hath power to confer grace anew, yet in such sort that it only changeth the punishment eternal into a temporal, satisfactory punishment in this life, if time is given; if not, hereafter to be endured, except it be lightened by masses, works of charity, pilgrimages, fasts, and such like." "This is the mystery of the man of sin!" he exclaims; "this maze the Church of Rome doth cause her followers to tread when they ask her the way to justification. I can not stand now to unrip this building and sift it piece by piece; only I will pass it by in few words, that that may befall Babylon in the presence of that which God hath builded, as happened unto Dagon before the Ark."

In strong contrast to all this will-worship, Protestantism teaches that for all sins there is during life full and free forgiveness, by the immediate approach of the penitent soul in faith to the fountain opened in the house of David for sin and all uncleanness.

Rome denies this great truth, and in its stead has built up that gigantic system of error whose essence consists in placing the Church between the soul and God, as the sole dispenser of this grace, and without whose ministrations there is no salvation. From this spring all the kindred errors, the elevation of the ministry into a hierarchy, a sacrificing, mediating priesthood, through whose offices alone all heavenly blessings can come; a priesthood in whose hands sacraments convey grace *ex opere operato*, independent of the faith of the recipient; a priesthood empowered to forgive sins after securing the confession of the penitent; a priesthood by whose words the bread of the sacrament becomes God incarnate; a priesthood empowered to offer sacrifices for the quick and dead. From this error, too, spring the doctrines of works of supererogation, a treasury of which is laid up in the Church, to be dispensed in indulgences—of the invocation of saints and the mother of Christ, of pilgrimages and fasts, and the whole system of asceticism.

All these fall before the doctrine of justification by faith as Dagon fell before the Ark. "Whenever justification by faith is held in its true Protestant sense, the doctrine of a human priesthood becomes a useless exercise, and falls off of itself. For what need can he feel of a human medi-

ator who already enjoys fellowship with God in and through Christ? Hence is to be explained the peculiar vehemence with which the Romish writers have ever assailed this doctrine, and the misrepresentations to which, in their hands, it has been subject. The assaults may, in many cases, be too well acquainted with the writings of the Reformers, not to know that Solfidianism, so far as the word expresses a tendency to laxity in practice, is as earnestly repudiated by the latter as by themselves; the animosity exhibited proceeds from a different source, and the Protestant doctrine of justification is assailed, not so much because it is thought dangerous to morality, as because it robs the Church—that is, the clerical order—of its assumed priestly character. As the dogma of the corporate life makes the Church, and not Christ, the author of spiritual life, so the doctrine of a human priesthood, under the Gospel, makes the clergy the arbiters of the Christian's destiny; for such surely they are, to whom is committed the power of barring or opening as they please access to God. With an instinct that never errs, the advocates of the Tridentine system feel that justification by faith—by which is simply meant that Christ in his priestly office is *present* instead of being *represented* by a sacerdotal order—is out of place in their doctrinal structure, and must either remain to mar its symmetry or be expelled from it.*

A recapitulation of the two theories will now be of value. According, then, to the teaching of the Reformed Church—

Justification is the office of God, and not the work of man.

It is the act of God *accounting* us righteous, not making us so.

It is the forgiveness of the sinner, the acceptance of the penitent believer, as righteous, into Divine favor and the hope of eternal life.

It can not be purchased by our good works, and is therefore dependent on no internal righteousness, but is wholly dependent on the righteousness of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The only means of our securing it is faith, and this not because faith is meritorious, but because faith remits us altogether to Christ, "faith being only the instrument to convey so great a benefit to the soul, as the hand of the beggar receives the proffered alms."†

This faith is the principle of all good works, and the parent of holiness. Good works spring from it as fruit from a living tree, and the incentive to their performance is the love of Christ constraining the soul.

And for all sins committed after justification there is full and ample provision in the free grace of God, received by faith, upon genuine repentance.

Such is the simple yet sublime doctrine of all Protestant Christendom.

According to the teachings of Rome—

Justification is the sanctification of the soul. This sanctification is an inherent or internal righteousness, the formal cause of our acceptance before God. This internal righteousness is imputed to the soul through baptism, and chiefly in infancy.

This justification is increased by our good works, which merit of God eternal life and an increase of glory. For all mortal or deadly sins committed after baptism a sacrament of penance is provided which removes the eternal consequences of guilt, but not the temporal. These must be expiated by self-inflicted punishments in this world, or else by purgatorial fires in the world to come.

Such is the dark and perplexing *maze* into which the followers of Rome are led when they ask, "What must I do to be saved?"

It remains only to characterize these opposing theories as to their effect and results upon the individual and society.

1. The one is justification by immediate access of the soul to the Redeemer, through the Holy Spirit.

The penitent believing heart approaches, not through media, but directly, the mercy-seat of God in Christ, lays hold of the blood-sprinkled sceptre of mercy, and receives from a reconciled Father's hand the grace of pardon and peace.

The other is a justification by the Church, by and through the sacraments in the hands of a mediating priesthood. It is first effected by the sacrament of baptism. It is renewed or recovered, if lost, by the sacrament of penance. It is nourished and sustained by the sacrament of the mass. It is perfected in the hour of death by the sacrament of extreme unction. "The substance of this sacrament," says the Council of Trent, "is the grace of the Holy Spirit, whose anointing wipes away offenses, if any are yet to be expiated, and the remains of sin."*

2. The one is a *humbling* doctrine; the other, a self-exalting doctrine, inculcating the proud notion of human merit.

The one humbles the sinner and exalts the Saviour. It cuts at the root of all self-righteousness. It renounces all dependence for salvation upon human worth. It points only to the Lamb of God. It lays the sinner low at the foot of the Cross. It teaches him to say from the first moment of repentance to his latest hour, "I will make

* Litton's "Church of Christ," London edition, pages 652, 653.

† Archbishop Usher, "Body of Divinity," page 196.

* Conc. Trid., Sess. XIV., cap. ii., De Extrema Unctione.

mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only." It puts into his mouth the jubilant song, "Thou only art worthy; for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed and washed us in thy blood, and hast made us kings and priests unto God."

The other exalts self. It encourages complacency and confidence in human righteousness. It mingles man's merits with Christ's merits. It aggrandizes the Church and abases the Saviour. It falls in with the innate self-righteousness of the human heart. "There is no man's ease so dangerous," says Hooker, "as he whom Satan hath persuaded that his own righteousness shall present him pure and blameless in the sight of God."

3. The one is a *comforting* doctrine; the other, where it operates upon sincere and earnest minds, leading to gloom, to fear, to despair.

The Reformed doctrine, according to the Eleventh Article of the Church of England, is "*very full of comfort*." "There is," says Asher, "no such comfort to a Christian soul like that which floweth from this well of salvation, this sweet doctrine of justification." "Let it be accounted," says Hooker, "folly, or frenzy, or fury, whatsoever; it is our comfort and wisdom; we care for no knowledge in the world but this: that man hath sinned, and God hath suffered; that God hath made himself the Son of man, and that men are made the righteousness of God."

What heart but the heavy-laden and sin-burdened shall tell the preciousness of this truth? It is the word of freedom to the captive. It unveils the face of a reconciled Father. It discloses the beaming smile of a God of love. It is the spirit of adoption. Its first lisping is, "Abba, Father! my Lord and my God!" Its challenge to the Universe is, "It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth?" Its firm and unshaken Rock is this: "There is now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus." And amidst all the changes and chances of this mortal life, its exulting song is, "Neither life nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ our Lord."

The opposing doctrine is a doctrine leading to uncertainty and dread. It is a spirit of bondage again unto fear, and not a spirit of adoption. It puts a yoke upon the truly earnest soul more galling than the Jewish, "which," says the apostle, "neither we nor our fathers were able to bear." After leading the devout soul through its maze of will-worship, it leaves its eternal salvation in doubt and uncertainty.

Hence the type of piety which this teaching has ever produced. What are the "Lives

of the Saints" but records of appalling austerities, of macerations, of penances, of self-inflicted cruelties?

"Where Rome's doctrine of justification lays hold of earnest and devout minds," says an able American review, "what labyrinths does it lead them to mistake for the way of holiness! Their attention, of course, will be mainly directed to that satisfaction which they must make for past sins, notwithstanding their release from its eternal penalties by the satisfaction of Christ. Their whole life thus becomes a scene of purgatorial endurance, and their attainments in holiness which are held forth for admiration in the lives of their most esteemed saints are those self-inflicted mortifications and sufferings in which the Fakirs of India excel them. Such is the sanctity which, in the lives of eminent saints, published in our own day, is commended to the pious aspirations of the faithful of Rome. The sanctity of hair shirts, and galling iron chains, and cruel scourgings, and eating of unwholesome and putrid food, and all the strangest devices of self-torture which can be conceived—this was the sanctity, as set forth by Romanists themselves, of Alphonsus Liguori, and Francis de Girolamo, and Joseph of the Cross, and Pacificus, of San Severius and Veronica, Gimbraui, and the saints whose lives are contained in the Breviary; all of whom Rome loves to honor, and for such sanctity canonizes. And who shall say that such sanctity is not the native result of the Romish teachings on justification and satisfaction? But such teachings are a strange exhibition of that liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, a most sad forgetfulness of his saving grace, and a most lamentable caricature of that holiness to which he hath called us. And yet such achievements as those above alluded to are the very masterpieces of the Romish system. What well-instructed Christian will say that they do not stamp with falsehood the doctrine of justification from which they spring?"

4. Once more, the Reformed doctrine is a "*wholesome* doctrine;" the Roman teaching, *pernicious* in its tendencies and effects. The objection to the doctrine of justification by faith only, that it is unfavorable to morality and holy living, is as old as the apostles' day. Even then St. Paul is found defending it against the gainsayers: "Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid; yea, we establish the law."

The Scriptural doctrine of justification is eminently a "*wholesome*," a holy doctrine. It can not be embraced earnestly and truly and fail to bring forth fruit unto holiness. It implants within the soul the mightiest mainspring of all exertion. "The love of Christ constraineth us," is its noble incentive. "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" the first cry of the pardoned soul. "How

much *must* I do for the Saviour?" is the Romanist's utterance; "How much *can* I do for Him?" the Protestant's response.

In evidence of the might of this faith to bring forth fruits of holiness, Protestantism points triumphantly to the records of the past three hundred years, to the lives begotten and nourished under its influence, to patriots like a Coligny, a William the Silent, a Sydney, and a Washington; to scholars and scientists like Selden, and Grotius, and Hale, and Newton, and Boyle, and Locke, and Milton, and Addison, and Brewster, and Faraday; to philanthropists like Howard and Wilberforce, Fliedner, and Franke, and Müller; to divines like Melancthon and Farel, Hooker and Leighton, Herbert and Ken, Neander and Tholuck, Monod and Vinet, Baxter and Doddridge, Wesley and Payson, Chalmers and Hall; to missionaries like Martyn and Elliott, Brainard and Schwartz, Cary, and Marshman, and Judson, Williams of Erromanga; Hober, and Mackenzie, and Patterson, the martyr of Melanesia.

With equal confidence she points to the nations where this great truth has been received in contrast with those which have rejected it, and says to all mankind, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Wherever this doctrine is "truly preached, truly believed, and truly followed," there will ever be found all the virtues that sanctify the home, all the charities that sweeten life, all the sterner moralities that adorn and dignify human nature; and, on the other hand, when the opposing doctrine is taught and held, its fruits will ever be seen, to a vast extent, in a decay of private and public virtue. Let the fruits of the two systems be seen on the one hand in England, and on the other in Italy; in Scotland contrasted with Spain; the United States, with Mexico and Brazil.

Fellow-Protestants of every name and nationality! children of the Reformation! this is the very citadel of our faith, the very heart of the Gospel. *This truth made the Reformation.* And, under God, this truth alone can preserve it; revive it where it has become

sickly and feeble, purify it where it has fallen from its first estate. In the reception, maintenance, and personal experience of this "truth as it is in Jesus," we are to find the real unity of all Protestant Christendom. United to Christ by a saving faith, I am one with every other believer.

Two incidents in history strikingly contrast the two systems.

In the magnificent cathedral of Toledo, in Spain, among the portraits of its archbishops painted by Murillo and other eminent artists, and by the side of the portraits of Mendoza and Ximenes, may be seen that of Carranza, the confessor of Charles V. When that Emperor was dying in the convent of Yuste, Carranza exhorted him to faith in the Crucified as the only hope of salvation. For that offense he, an archbishop of Toledo and a confessor of Charles, was arrested on the charge of being "infected with Lutheran opinions," was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and died at last a prisoner in the dungeon.

In the month of March last the great and saintly Bishop M'Ilvaine lay dying in the city of Florence, in Italy. His whole life had been one long testimony to the great truth of Justification by Faith only. He gave his profoundest studies to the establishment and defense of this doctrine. As he stepped down into the dark valley, this truth became most precious to his soul. With a child-like faith he grasped the Cross alone. "Read to me," he asked, "the hymn,

'Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in thee.'

Then again,

'Jesus, Saviour of my soul,
Let me to thy bosom fly.'

Once more, read to me,

'Just as I am, without one plea,
But that thy blood was shed for me,
And that thou bidst me come to thee,
O Lamb of God, I come!'

That hymn," he said, "contains the whole of my theology. Let it be sung at my burial." And it was sung by a vast multitude, as we laid him away to his quiet rest on the banks of the beautiful Ohio.

HOW SHALL PROTESTANT MINISTERS BEST MEET THE DEMANDS OF THE PRESENT AGE?

BY THE REV. FRANCK COULIN, D.D., OF GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

THIS is a very interesting and well-timed question, an answer to which would fill a volume. The tenor of such an answer must depend on the nature of the medium and of the church organization of any particular ministry. To turn to the best possible account the limited time granted us, I will lay before you, under three principal heads, the succinct summary of my observations and serious reflections.

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE EVANGELICAL MINISTRY.

To enable Protestant ministers effectually to meet the intellectual and practical demands of the present age, it would, above all, be desirable to make them share more largely in a system which more than any other has quickened industry; I mean the division of labor, which is justified not only by the wants of the day, but by the teaching of the Bible and of the early Church. The Apostolic Church had not to contend with the varied and crowding wants of the present day; still she instituted distinct functions and ministries answering to the varied God-sent gifts which her specially trained ministers imparted to the people with special ability (Acts vi., 1-4; Rom. xii., 3-8; 1 Cor. xii., 4-12; Eph. iv., 7, 11-16).

The Roman Church has, in its own way, largely applied this principle, and found therein one of the elements of her strength. Wherever she meets a special gift, she appropriates it to a corresponding special work.

The Reformation had, on its appearance, every thing to provide. Its founders—men raised up by God and gifted by him with rare endowments—had to do, and did, every thing simultaneously. They were men of science, men of action, pastors, apostles, and evangelists. They instituted a ministry in accordance with their views. Now what was for them a necessity is for us a mistake and a weakness. Our world is a different world to their world, and we must adopt a system calculated to meet its requirements.

Right it is, doubtless, that every man, according to his opportunities, should strive to become as complete a man as possible. Christendom is one, and has a oneness of purpose; its several parts must, then, be harmoniously blended, not pedantically separ-

ated. Life is to be distributed, not to be divided. Yet surely you can not but all agree that the intellectual and practical wants of the age require the varied treatment of special men, according to the instructions of St. Paul.

1. In this age of ours which strives at recasting science, in this age when the Titan pride of man dares scale the heavens and attempt God's throne, the Church is more than ever in need of many valiant teachers; of men deeply and widely read, especially in the different branches of theology, who will live for her, and firmly will face her scientific unchristian opponents, as well as the Christian rationalists who, under the garb of theology, sap Christian faith. In Switzerland, in a late foray made by the so-called liberal Christians, we could appreciate the signal services done to the cause of the Gospel by a few men who were so fortunate as to be already fore-armed by hard study. How useful it would be for the churches, in view of such eventualities, to enable fitly endowed men to keep to the front of the scientific phalanx, by publishing books, holding conferences, and communicating to the masses a luminous and solid instruction! Too long have reading men been kept in the shade; now is the time to give them a lead in religious education.

2. In an age of easy and rapid locomotion, when for several reasons Christians are scattered over the surface of the earth, as they were in the early ages of Christianity, men should be chosen for the *apostolic* duties of messengers and delegates. We have, indeed, our missionaries among the heathen, and we esteem the valuable services by which they, so to speak, widen the kingdom of God and quicken its soil by varied culture. A foreign mission has its sphere of activity, but can not replace a home mission, the want of which is felt, and which ought to occupy seriously the attention of all churches. Now I say that life is motion; it is maintained, is assimilated, is strengthened only by circulation. Let us encourage, therefore, the relations and the communication of the diverse members of the Body of Christ. To stir up the zeal of pastors, to bring together the diverse Christian congregations, to collect and make known the fruits of experience, to make preaching more

telling, to draw the attention of the churches to their reciprocal duties, etc., let us endeavor to institute an apostolic ministry, by consecrating to it such men as the Lord may particularly point out for that purpose (see Acts xiii., 2, 3). They would be in Christianity the representatives of the ecumenical element—of unity in diversity. The general conferences of the Evangelical Alliance come within the sphere of this activity. We are here as delegates, as apostles; we have the feeling of carrying on by this temporary ministry a work of the highest usefulness. Perhaps it may belong to the Alliance to add to its institution of ecumenical conferences that of a permanent apostleship. It alone sufficiently represents evangelical catholicity to take up this initiative.

3. In the primitive Church, there were prophets—men specially consecrated to the ministry of preaching. By public preaching especially the Gospel has made its way in the world. But in democratic mediums like ours, in which public speaking is the first of all influential means, preaching under different forms tends to assume a preponderating importance. We think it our duty to recommend very earnestly to the attention of the Church what is called High Pulpit Eloquence—that is, preaching studied both in matter and manner, so as to enable the student to compose literary and oratorical sermons. Pulpit eloquence not only influences for good sympathetic crowds and numberless readers when reproduced by the press, but possesses an important conservative value as a high testimony in honor of the Gospel, projecting far around the rays of the truth, and drawing from far around the attention of cultivated minds and dissipating their prejudices. Now Cicero says, "Nascuntur poetæ, fiunt oratores." That men gifted with the eloquence of public assemblies should be able to develop their precious talent, they must have time to devote to it, they must to a great extent be relieved from other pastoral cares, so that their conscience may not have to reproach them with the time given to study, to retirement and meditation, and that the preparation of their solemn duties may become their first and chief business. Pulpit eloquence depends on such conditions. The Roman Church has understood that, and may serve us therein as an example.

4. The primitive Church had its *pastors*, men whose gift and office was the cure of souls. The cure of souls is in one sense the aim and purpose of an evangelical ministry; never should I imagine a servant of Christ, be he who he may, saying, "That's not my business!" In our days of excited and artificial life, it is more than ever desirable that each member of the flock should meet with a man capable of enlightening, directing, and fruitifying the results of his experience.

But if there be men peculiarly gifted in this respect, possessing characters more sympathetic, better calculated to inspire confidence, why should not the Church try to enable them to make the cure of souls their principal concern? The Roman Church has its directors and confessors; what I wish is that, *mutatis mutandis*, we had our directors and our confessors. It would usually be the office of men ripe in years and experience, who have suffered much, and who have that indulgent seriousness which is the mark of Christian maturity. In the exercise of complex pastoral duties, the being obliged on account of specified functions to reserve the cure of souls for spare moments tends to undervalue this useful labor in the minds of the pastor. The more successful the Church is in finding the means of making of the cure of souls a special ministry, the higher she will raise it in the opinion of the congregation to the greater good of all.

5. One of the necessities of the day is by proper means to carry the Gospel down into the midst of the lower classes. For this purpose *evangelists* are required. The primitive Church had her evangelists, whose action was no less important than that of the apostles. The religious awakening at the beginning of this century was greatly due to the initiative of Felix Neff, Pyt, Bost, simple evangelists. The Church is at present in want of such laborers. It is important that they should be well chosen, well prepared, well directed—serious and delicate points—but it is necessary that there should be besides the staff of pastors and preachers, an enterprising company of popular missionaries. The masses fall off from the official worship; they have a repugnance for whatever smells of the priest. The Christian doctrines must be brought before the people by men of the people, living among the people, and sharing in their life struggle. Before entering the door of the workshop or the factory, he must, as in early times, wear the dress of the workman and speak the language of the humble.

6. One of the most desirable improvements is that which would tend to relieve as much as possible the pastors of such material cares as office duties, administration, and alms-giving. The primitive Church had, at an early date, her *deacons*. The evangelical ministry will be the gainer in re-adopting the institution, and developing it by a clear and definite distinction between the material and the spiritual domains. Chalmers very judiciously observes that the deacon, if a zealous believer, is always in a position, without inconvenience to join occasionally evangelization with his own ministry. Thereby he dignifies it; whereas the pastor who is charged with evangelizing and directing souls is in danger of lowering and compromising his ministry, in proportion as he is

called on to meddle with material cares, and particularly with the distribution of alms. It is needless to observe that relieving pastors of administration cares is removing their fetters, is bestowing on them freedom and wings, is devoting them to their special mission.

Let us add, moreover, that a participation as broad as possible granted to laymen in the work of the ministry, is one of the most important conditions in the answer to the question that occupies us.

The Church which, by establishing a distinction in its offices, and attributing to each individual the functions best adapted to his natural endowments, will succeed in organizing its available strength in the most complete and intelligent manner—just as an army, which has its soldiers, chiefs, special arms, and its elite, forming a whole well proportioned and knit together in all its parts—such a Church will meet best the intellectual and practical wants of the present day.

II. PREPARATION OF CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS.

Given the evangelical ministry, such as it is in most of our churches, I deem that one of the least doubtful causes of its insufficiency is to be found in the fact that the idea of a holy calling is weakened. I mean the special call from above, which beforehand is addressed directly to the heart of the future pastor by the supreme Shepherd of souls.

1. This is of all things the most necessary. Sometimes a candidate enters the ministry without having heard, like St. Peter, the call sound three times in his ears: "Feed my lambs." He enters it as a human career more or less honorable, for which a little science, a few administrative talents, an ordinary measure of piety, are sufficient. Hence so many ministries shining with a certain brightness in the sphere of theological controversy, of religious literature, of oratorical teaching, or philanthropic activity, but standing aloof from that sacred love of souls, from that devouring zeal for the house of God, which urged St. Paul to exclaim, "Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel," and which alone can make of the pastor a living leaven destined to leaven the whole Church, and through it the whole world. The anticlerical tendency of our century makes this condition all the more important. The more the calling in its external character loses its prestige, the more essential it becomes that a pastoral calling in its internal character should be a living reality. Every Church desirous of obtaining true pastors must, without delay, think on it, and decide on the means of forming positions for men who are truly called. She ought to keep this in view among the youth in the schools; to direct the attention of families to it; to direct to it the attention of who-

ever has at heart the sacred interests of the kingdom of heaven, and particularly the attention of those who have the special charge of preparing the candidates for holy orders.

2. Too much stress can not be laid on the necessity of saturating theological studies with a spirit of living, inward, personal piety. You ask for men on a level with the intellectual and social demands of the age; make true Christians! Not by their science, but by their faith, the apostles moved their century. We must not ignore that the theological studies, as now carried on in our schools of theology, tend to imperil that simple, spontaneous, communicative faith which ought to be the soul of the ministry itself. The peril is greater than ever now that religions controversies receive the widest publicity; so that to the natural dryness of science is added the profane character that infects most subjects in the public press and worldly conversation. It is incumbent on those invested with the serious and sublime charge of preparing the future leaders of the Church, to combat by the tendency of their preaching, and especially by their example, the causes of this evil. They must remember that, in the preparation for the holy ministry, studies properly so called are not the object, but a means in many respects fraught with danger. They must aim not at making theologians, but in forming pastors, that is, Christians in the highest sense of the term, Christians *ex officio*, leaders and models for the flock—in short, apostles of deep conviction, who can say with St. Paul: "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. x., 4, 5).

3. If the object aimed at is deep piety warmed by zeal and enlightened by solid science; on the other hand, as this piety must be armed with a general culture in keeping with the advanced knowledge of the age, and with the tastes of the time; moreover, as the future soldiers of Christ are necessarily destined to be brought into contact with the most advanced doctrines and manners which they will have to regulate or combat—my opinion is that, provided the proper precautions be taken, and the studies be guaranteed from disturbance, schools of theology ought to be situated in the midst of large capitals, which are the centres of the mental activity and social interests of nations. The rocks ahead in this position are the numerous forms of dissipation to be found in large towns; but, on the other hand, the concentrated experience of mankind is to be found only there. St. Paul deposited the propagating seeds of truth in the chief towns of the ancient world. Christian antiquity chose as

seats of its schools of theology towns such as Antioch, Athens, Alexandria, Rome.

4. After these general observations, allow me to mention some points of a more special character. (1.) It is of major importance now to train up, from an early age, future ministers to speak extempore. I do not mean unprepared speaking. Madame de Staël said, "On n'improvise que des phrases." In work, meditation, and prayer, the Bread of Life must conscientiously be prepared for the souls of men. But in this present century, when the freedom of speech is eagerly employed for the acquisition of all other liberties, in our century of conferences, meetings, public discussions, it is singularly important; for the pastor, constantly called on to give account for himself and the Church of the hope that is in him, should be a man capable of expressing his thoughts, if not always eloquently, at least simply, clearly, vividly, in a language both easy and correct.

(2.) I propose that the instruction given to future pastors should comprise two new branches which as yet have, I believe, seldom appeared in the official programmes: the history of religions, and the economical sciences. The history of religions is a new science, which is abusively turned to the advantage of the rationalistic doctrines which consider Christianity a natural offshoot of the development of humanity. The economical sciences (*les sciences sociales*), in their connection with the consequences and social applications of Christianity, are a study indispensable in face of the great question of the day, which the Church that ought to inherit the compassion of its Master has no right to push aside—the question of the moral and physical improvement of the lower classes.

III. DIRECTION OF THE EVANGELICAL MINISTRY.

Whatever reception be given to our observations on the organization and preparation of the evangelical ministry, let us now ask how a pastor, working in any particular corner of the Lord's field, may be enabled to meet most effectually the intellectual and practical demands of the present age.

Forms change, but in substance these demands are always the same; and the remedy we have to apply to the evils of our time will be always the same—the Gospel, the old Gospel of the Cross, a scandal to some and a folly to others. To attempt to remove from it this character, to make it more acceptable, would be both an act of guilty infidelity and a gross error. Let us repeat it over and over again: What the Master requires of us is not to stand up as his advocates, his interpreters, especially not his continuators, but simply to serve as witnesses. That is our mandate, and there lies our

strength. Let us not distrust this weapon polished by God himself, which alone will conquer the world in the future, as it alone has conquered the world in the past. Let us beware lest, in adjusting it to the fashions of the day, we do not blunt its edge and destroy its temper. If we wish to give it its primitive force, only one way is allowable—we must handle it with more faith, and with the willingness of a man who has in himself experienced its power.

It is an ever-recurring illusion at every new evolution of humanity, the finding out a new Gospel thought to be more appropriate to new wants. Which has grown old, which has been condemned, branded, and buried away by time? Is it the old Christianity of old times, or the gnosticisms and rationalisms that advance the culpable pretension of refreshing Christianity by tampering with it? All modern attempts for this purpose will meet with the same fate. Far from seeking out new ways, it is in a sincere return to the simplicity of the faith, it is in meditating more deeply and seriously on our message, it is in more humbly abiding in our modest position of witnesses (such is my firm conviction), we ought to seek, and we shall surely find our newest and most effectual resource.

With these considerations, our care should be less about the prevailing influences of the day in order to shape our conduct than about the means of taking heed to ourselves. Among these influences, one is particularly to be distrusted. I allude to what Pascal terms *diversion* (*le divertissement*). We live in times the predominant character of which is the absorption which loses sight of spiritual things under the pressure of the wheel of present earthly interests. The stage of life has widened out and become more crowded; a man finds himself forcibly in contact with very many more things and very many more persons. Now, the mingling with men tends to wear down our individual character and to assimilate it with that of the many; we think with the thoughts of others, and cease to be ourselves. A nerveless mind and an artificial life threaten to supplant our own mind and life. As a natural consequence, we lose all hold on a medium which has enthralled us and fashioned us after its own image. If we wish to be prepared to act on surrounding society, we must beware not to allow ourselves to be swamped by the preoccupation that sway it. The rather we would endeavor to keep aloof, in order to be in the midst of it men of one thought and one purpose: the thought of Christ, the purpose of the salvation of souls.

The apostles lived in a society which, like ours, was in a state of fermentation. They commanded its attention. How? Was it by rushing into the whirl of its seething interests and preoccupations? By no means?

But by coming before a thoughtless century as men intent upon a purpose, and not to be turned aside from an all-absorbing interest. To the Corinthians, the cosmopolites of the time, proud of their varied culture, envious of all the new gains of human wisdom, St. Paul wrote: "I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified." We may be convinced that what our proud and worn-out century—proud of its progress, worn out by its desires—is particularly in need of, is a society of men who, like St. Paul, are determined to know only one thing.

Those in the fourth century of our era, an epoch of subtle science and refined civilization, so similar to our own, who raised so high the influence of the Gospel ministry—the Chrysostoms, Gregories, Basils—what were they? Servants of Christ thoroughly prepared, who in their youth had largely benefited by the resources of the time, but who were especially men of solitude and thought, strengthening themselves for the struggle by prayer and meditation. Of this there is no doubt: we want men of solitude and thought more than ever nowadays; men learned and clever if possible, but seeking their strength in prayer and meditation, not in their own cleverness or in man's wisdom.

I can not better sum up the numerous and important observations that I might lay before you on this grave question of the direction to be given to our ministry than in reminding you of the example of our Divine Master. "Be my imitators, as I am of Jesus Christ," said St. Paul. Every pastor, at all times, ought to aspire to be able to use the same language. Let us leave to Jesus Christ his redeeming work. Let us hold fast to his Spirit which he has left us as an inheritance, and let us ask ourselves (how often this question has haunted us in our perplexity!), What would Jesus Christ do if he were now to come back and place himself at the head of his messengers, to direct them by his example, as he formerly did the apostles? Let us ask what special teaching this model has for us in the present time, whose excellence rises above all ages, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

1. He who devoted thirty years of inward preparation to master his vocation, who began his outward work only when he clearly and vividly realized it; he who left his home to speak and act only when he could conscientiously say, "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish his work"—he, I say, shows the extreme importance which attaches to a realizing of our vocation. That, indeed, is a tower for us to build, a war for us to wage. Let us, then, count up our forces and consider our resources, for fear of failure. And this remark refers not only to novices, but also bears on masters themselves. We whose

vocation has been necessarily imperfect, and woefully so for some of us, we can not too often put our call to the test. If Christian life is what it has been said to be, viz., a continued conversion, the ministry must be an ever renewed consecration. As we practice our ministry, the feeling of our call either grows or flags. Let us beware lest it vanish; let us ever try to keep it alive; let not the vocation become a trade; let us ever deeply feel that we depend not on ourselves, on circumstances, or any one but the Master, who, after thrice inquiring, "Lovest thou me," thrice added, "Feed my sheep!" Who would deny that our century is especially in need of self-sacrificing, consecrated men?

2. Then, if Jesus should re-appear among us, we can not doubt but that his character would be just that which our gospels have faithfully handed over to us. Perfection is unalterable! So he would be just as we know him in his meekness, in his strength, in his perfect submission to God's will, especially in his self-sacrificing devotedness. And now, as then, mainly by the manifestation of that character in words and deeds, would he enlighten the world and found the kingdom of heaven.

Let us then put on the same character, and impress our friends with it. This generation has done with miracles; well, then, compel it to accept the miracle of Christian excellence. As of yore, the light will be welcomed by some and shunned by others. Christ in us will again goad the world to opposition. But if the world hate us, let us take care that it should hate us as it hated Christ, and that it should thereby be made inexcusable. And besides, as ministers, in fact, we personify the Gospel. People look to us, not to heaven. Our Christian soundness is the light of our flock, our inconsistencies are the excuses of those who refuse to come to Christ to get life.

3. Were Jesus Christ to re-appear among us, no doubt he would bring with him the same social spirit which is manifest in his life. He would take no part in politics; he would say to those who would tempt him to do so, "My kingdom is not of this world!" With his broad sympathies, he would not be overparticular about details. In the midst of the present literary, scientific, and economical excitement, he would ever assert that "but one thing is needful." He would doubtless, as of yore, travel from place to place; no more from Galilee to Jerusalem, but from Europe to America, in a spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of doing good. He would be every thing to all men, would address monarchs, wealthy men, learned men; but the poor especially would have his most loving attention, because they are sufferers, and because, in spite of appearances, they are nearer the kingdom of heaven. He would not only teach in synagogues

and under the porticoes of temples, but in public squares and on the shores of lakes, in railway trains and steam-packets; always in a language simple, and adapted to the faculties of his hearers, blending in his expatiations the visible with the invisible. His life would thus be a busy life, fraught with occasional fatigue, but refreshed with constant meditation and prayer. Would that the men of the present day prayed more constantly! The battle of life being now harder on account of the many new paths opened up to our energy, we have a more pressing need of climbing the mountain and silently communing with God. When we are asked what ministers ought to do to meet the needs of the present day, methinks it is giving no useless advice when I urge them to give one hour a day to what the very Gospel has called the ministry of prayer (Acts vi., 4).

Be this as it may, Jesus Christ, the living Jesus Christ of the Gospels, such is the ideal

we must each of us try to aim at, in order to meet the intellectual and practical exigencies of the age. Let us become Christ-bearers, and we need not fear to be found wanting. This is no new device, you will say? Newer than one thinks. Would God we needed not the advice!

Let the Church—and the Church is represented by her ministers—let the Church return to her fountain, to Christ, and become the living manifestation of Christ. She may not christianize the world—that promise was never held out to her—but she will judge the world; she will show up the inmost thoughts and sift out God's people; she will gather in her folds those who have been elected for salvation, and will leave the rest of mankind without an excuse. Through her the Holy Ghost will "convict the world of sin, of justice, and of judgment."

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

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It is, perhaps, well that I am expected to address you, if at all, on Christian Liberty, since it is a subject of peculiar historic and present importance to the body of Christians with which I am specially connected. For members of that body have often been constrained by the love of Christ to assert, at great sacrifice, the rights of conscience in respect to the service of God, and some of them, it is supposed, are doing this at the present hour in a distant land. I shall confidently assume that the honored brethren who assigned me this theme expected a frank and earnest though temperate discussion of it from my own point of observation. For no other could be worthy of a Christian man; no other could satisfy the members of this Evangelical Alliance; and no other, unless by the overruling interposition of God, could possibly serve the cause of truth. In what I say, therefore, it will be my duty to follow a plain path, neither eulogizing one nor criticizing another, but, in the spirit of love and loyalty to Christ, aiming to set forth the principles which seem to me just and right. Without controversy, I shall best speak for one by speaking for all, and I shall best speak for all by laying, if possible, the foundations of my argument in facts that can not be moved. A word of explanation will prepare the way for this attempt.

"Christian Liberty" will be understood to signify the freedom of action in religious matters which accords with the Christian view of man in his relations to God and the State; and this view of man is furnished with sufficient clearness by the teaching of Christ and his apostles. The expression used might be understood to embrace also the freedom of religious action which comports with the Christian view of man in his relations to the Church of which in any case he is a member; but this part of the subject I do not propose to discuss. By action in religious matters is meant, of course, outward action, not that which is purely mental or spiritual; for by common consent the latter should be free from civil constraint. The inward life of man can not be regulated by the State.

Now it is evident from the teaching of Christ and his apostles that every man living in society holds important relations to God on the one hand, and to the State on the

other; and a remark upon the former of these relations will cast a ray of light upon the latter. It is this: The authority of God is absolute and original, at once the source and the limit of all other authority. Hence the relations of a Christian to God are supreme, controlling all other relations. Every man, as a creature, is rightfully subject to God, his Creator; but the grace of redemption adds strength to this primary obligation, so that Christians may be said to owe the profoundest homage and the most unqualified obedience to the Lord. This fact can not be emphasized too strongly. Jehovah is King in all the earth, and disloyalty to him can never be justified by the plea of loyalty to another. Among the facts which may help us to fix the limits of Christian liberty in religious concerns, the paramount authority of Christ must have the first place. It is plain, therefore, that such liberty never offers to man the alternative of disobedience instead of obedience to the Lord.

But it is equally certain from the language of Holy Writ that the State is of God; for one apostle exhorts his readers to "honor the king," and "submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him;" another declares that "the powers that be are ordained of God," so that "whosoever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God;" while Christ himself says, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." The authority of civil rulers is therefore legitimate, and submission to it is enforced by the voice of conscience as well as by the impulse of fear. Yet this conclusion must be restricted in some way, or there is danger of infinite perplexity and disorder. For civil magistrates must certainly be thought in many cases to command what Christ forbids, and to forbid what he commands. There is, then, I am sure, some means of escape from this seeming conflict of authority; and it may be found by adopting one of the following hypotheses: Either, first, that the State, represented by its rulers, has authority from the Lord to interpret and enforce his law in religious matters; or, secondly, that the authority of the State is limited to secular affairs. Let either of these theories be consistently applied, and a con-

flict of authority in the domain of religion is no longer possible; but attempt to mingle the two, and confusion, with injustice, is sure to follow. Which of these theories, then, is correct, when tested by the words of Christ and his apostles?

Can the former be established? Is it consistent with the Word of God to suppose that civil rulers stand between the souls of men and that Word, with authority from the Head of the Church to declare and enforce what it means? that Nero and Constantine, Frederick the Great and Charles the Second, the Parliament of Great Britain and the Congress of the United States, have been severally charged with the duty of regulating for a part of mankind the service of God? I find no evidence or even hint of this in the New Testament. Neither directly nor by implication is such a view taught. The disciples of Christ were, indeed, to stand before magistrates and kings, not, however, to learn from them the mystery of Grace, but rather to bear witness to the truth, and in many instances to seal their testimony with their blood. If they had been taught by the Lord to look to the State for instruction in the Gospel or for directions in building up churches, some reference to this important lesson would have been put into the record of their work. Yea, more than this, some provision would have been made to furnish the people of every Christian land with a succession of godly rulers, who should be able, with the burden of secular affairs upon their minds, to guide the action of men in religious concerns also, more wisely than the saints themselves, or the pastors of the flock. But I discover in the record no hint of this function of "the powers that be" in matters of religion, and no provision to qualify them for so high a service. However certain it may be that civil government, though founded by men, is sanctioned by God, and should be honored and obeyed by the Christian, it does not follow that the State has control of every thing human, and may prescribe to men their duties to God as well as to one another; it does not follow that the rough and terrible forces which the State must employ are fit to be used in dealing with cases of conscience. Acting within his proper sphere, the magistrate is God's minister, but there is no sufficient evidence that his sphere of action should embrace the duties of religion. The first hypothesis must therefore be rejected.

Is the second worthy of acceptance? May we justly conclude from the New Testament that the authority of the State should be confined to secular affairs? If I go farther in my reply to this question than some of you are prepared to go, I beg you to bear in mind the different circumstances and atmosphere in which we have lived, and to give the considerations which it may present a

charitable if not a favorable hearing. It may be true that the power of sympathy for brothers in affliction has fixed my mind on the evils which flow from State action in matters of religion, to the neglect of certain advantages which are said to result from that action, and possibly the reverse of this may be the case with some of you; but it will nevertheless be in our power to approach the sacred Word together, and look with an honest heart for the lessons which it teaches. In doing this a few significant facts will certainly deserve attention.

And the first fact is this: Christ committed to his disciples the work of preaching the Gospel to every creature; but in giving them this commission he made no allusion to consent or aid from the State. The command was explicit, and the work to be done required them to visit every land and attempt to change the religious life of every people; but not a word was said of their asking the assistance or obtaining the permission of any civil ruler, nor a hint given that the State as such had a right to direct in the matter. If any one should infer from the form of expression recorded in Matthew, "Go ye, therefore, make disciples of all the nations," that the followers of Christ were to approach the people through their rulers, and establish an organic union between State and Church, it is enough to reply that nations in their corporate form can neither be taught nor baptized, that the same expression is used in a previous chapter to denote the people composing the nations, and that the parallel passage in Mark requires us to understand the phrase "all the nations" as equivalent to "every creature," or every man in the world. So, then, the fact to be weighed is simply this—that the Saviour committed the work of evangelizing mankind and teaching them to obey his will in all things to his disciples, with no hint of aid to be sought or expected from the State.

The second fact is this: Christ provided for the proper organization, instruction, and discipline of his followers, thus preparing them for united action. This is evident from the history written by Luke, and called "The Acts of the Apostles." Believers in Christ were brought together in churches, were furnished with leaders, were taught to meet on the Lord's day for worship and instruction, and were encouraged, if able, to assist the poor. Whatever view may be held in respect to this primitive organization, whether it be declared popular or presbyterian, episcopal or elastic, it was at least from above and sufficient. Christians did not, therefore, need the patronage or constraint of the "powers that be" to hold them together in religious action. Disconnected and weak as they seemed to the world, they could be trusted, with faith in their hearts, to labor in concert for the best cause. "The locusts have no

king, yet go they forth all of them by bands." And so it was with the early Christians, having no visible head and no aid from the State, they were able, through the love of Jesus, to maintain order and carry the Gospel to the ends of the earth. As the motto at my right declares, they were "*Abgesondert wie die Woge, aber eine wie das Meer.*" The history of Christian life, labor, and success from the day of Pentecost to the reign of Constantine, is worthy of profound study by those who would answer rightly the question in debate.

My third fact is this: Christ affirmed his kingdom to be distinct in origin and agency from that of any earthly potentate. He described himself as King in the realm of truth. He repudiated for himself and for his followers, to the end of time, the use of force in defending or extending his authority over men. In saying this I but offer you a paraphrase of his reply to the Roman governor, when asked if he was the King of the Jews: "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice." If any person deny that I have set forth correctly the substance of this reply, he must, I think, suppose that the language of Christ was more comprehensive than his thought, and therefore obscure, if not misleading; for this language seems to explain his course in a particular instance by appealing to the very nature of his kingdom, which was spiritual in its means of action as well as in its origin. In perfect agreement with the answer of Christ to Pilate, was his response to certain Jews who questioned him about the lawfulness of giving tribute to Cæsar; for this response, "Render, therefore, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," presupposes a distinction between civil and religious affairs, between the service which is due to an earthly sovereign and that which is due to the Supreme Ruler, between the interests conserved by the State and those conserved by the Church. The same distinction may also be inferred from his reply to one of the multitude, who said to him, "Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me," a reply expressed in these words: "Man, who made me a judge and a divider over you?" for such a reply would hardly have fallen from the lips of Christ had the request pertained to spiritual affairs—to the matters of his own kingdom.

My fourth fact is this: The apostles denied the right of any person in authority to restrain them from preaching the Gospel. It is a significant circumstance that there is no evidence of their applying in a single

instance to rulers of any kind for permission to teach the new faith, but it is still more significant that there is conclusive evidence of their declining to refrain from the work of teaching when commanded to do so by the highest court of their nation. Behold them standing before the Jewish Sanhedrim, and listen to the words of the high-priest, as, in behalf of the great council, he commands Peter and John "Not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus!" What now do you hear in response? "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we can not but speak the things that we have seen and heard." And, as if this were not enough, the scene repeats itself—the apostles stand once more before the august tribunal, and the indignant high-priest asks, "Did we not straitly command you that ye should not teach in this name?" while clear and firm, as before, the response comes, "We ought to obey God rather than men." Now, bearing in mind the fact that a right to preach the Gospel involved a right to organize churches, and through them carry on a systematic effort to change the religious life of the whole people, it is safe to conclude from these replies that neither civil nor ecclesiastical rulers are authorized to determine what forms of religion may be taught among the people. You will observe that ecclesiastical rulers are included in this statement. Neither pope nor council, nor any other body of men, however exalted as leaders and guides, can lawfully decide for the people what truth they may hear and examine in the fear of God. In obvious harmony with the apostles' language to the Jewish Sanhedrim was their conduct ever after. They acted on the assumption that religious truth should be laid before the mind of every man, in order that he might accept or reject it freely. So, too, when the apostle to the Gentiles refers to the weapons used by Christians in their warfare, he pronounces them "not carnal, but spiritual," and describes them in language which may be summed up in two words, Christian character and Christian truth. Using such weapons only, it is not surprising that the apostles declined to rest from their holy warfare though commanded to do so.

Looking, then, to the teaching of Christ and his apostles for light, I seem to find that the rightful authority of the State is limited to secular affairs, and that Christian liberty is identical with religious liberty. But if Christian liberty is identical with religious liberty, believers in Christ are simply on a level in this respect with all other men. What they claim for themselves they should cheerfully concede to others, be they Jews or Turks, Buddhists or infidels; for, according to this view, so far as the State is concerned, the right of free inquiry and action

in matters of religion is natural and universal, belonging to men as spiritual beings, and not to the defenders of any particular creed. Hence all that any government should be expected to do in this direction is to protect the people in the exercise of their natural right to religious liberty.

I am not so vain as to imagine that the argument which has been briefly stated is either new or striking, nor so sanguine as to hope that all of you will see in it the force which it has to me; but this at least you will admit, that a practical assent by all Christians to the view advocated would put an end without delay to the religious persecutions and oppressions which in milder or more terrible forms have been almost a standing reproach to the Christian name. If man's right to religious liberty were guarded throughout Christendom as no less sacred than his right to life—which can only be forfeited by crime—it would be an easy task to bring all other nations into practical accord with the same view; and then the conflict between light and darkness, truth and error, would be waged in a fair field with legitimate weapons, insuring victory to the stronger. What better thing can you ask for our holy religion from “the powers that be” than just this undisturbed conflict? It would be certain to result in a triumph of the cross such as the world has never seen; nay, more, it would itself be such a triumph; for it would be evidence of a most tender regard for the religious convictions of every human soul, of a most singular readiness to forego the use of powers now possessed for the sake of avoiding possible wrong to others, of a most admirable and holy resolve to obey in all things the golden rule, and of a most unwavering faith in the spiritual resources of the King of Zion.

Brethren of the Evangelical Alliance, I have laid this view before you because I could not from the heart propose any other; but it is proper for me now to leave it without fear in your hands. “I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I say.” Before closing, however, I beg leave to express to you my gratitude for what you have already done in a practical way in behalf of Christian liberty. If you deem my theory ill adapted to the present state of the world, I rejoice to believe that your hearts cry out with mine against the practice of afflicting quiet citizens with fines and imprisonment because they insist upon being honest in the worship of God. If it be true that “oppres-

sion maketh a wise man mad,” we need not claim that our brothers of the Baptist faith who are called to endure it are always free from error. Should we make this claim, the shades of Münster, *per fas aut nefas*, would be summoned to rise from their graves and testify against us; but we may devoutly hope that the day will soon dawn when religious liberty will be universal; when Christian states will set the example of self-denial in this matter; when Christian rulers will see that they can best serve the cause of their Lord by using none but spiritual weapons in his service; when all who know the name of Christ will assert for others the freedom of action in divine things which they claim for themselves, and, opening wide the doors of honest inquiry, call upon every man to examine for himself the religion of their Lord; then, methinks, will all the fears which fill the hearts of many be scattered to the winds, and angels, having the everlasting Gospel to preach, will fly swiftly to the ends of the earth, persuading the heathen to believe in the Lord Jesus.

But while saying this with strong confidence, I do not overlook the bearing of such a view upon legislation in respect to the Lord's day, the marriage covenant, the use of the Bible in state schools, and the release of Church property from taxation. For the doctrine of religious liberty now explained does not forbid all legislation in these matters. It allows the State to prohibit ordinary labor on the first day of the week, in so far as such labor is found to be unfavorable to the health of the people, or to the quiet which is necessary for religious worship as practiced by large numbers of them. It allows the State to prohibit polygamy and easy divorce, in so far as they are inconsistent with the equal and natural rights of men, or with the interests of virtue among the people. It allows the State to place the Bible in its schools, inasmuch as this volume has a high literary and moral character, conducive to good order and virtue. And it allows the State to release from taxation the property of churches, in so far as this property is held in trust for a definite and humane object, with no power in the trustees to use it for their own pecuniary advantage. Such legislation would doubtless require special caution and care, but to the extent in which it can be pronounced essential to the welfare of the State, it would never prove itself incompatible with religious liberty.

SECOND SECTION.—THE OLD CATHOLICS.

LETTER FROM THE OLD CATHOLIC CONGRESS, ASSEMBLED AT CONSTANCE, SEPTEMBER 12-14, 1873.

WITH INTRODUCTION BY THE REV. PROF. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., OF NEW YORK.

I HAVE the honor to lay before you a German letter of salutation just received from the President of the third Old Catholic Congress, which was held a few weeks ago in the city of Constance. It is signed by Bishop Reinkens and the presiding officers of the Congress, and is addressed to the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. It hails from the famous chamber where, in the early part of the fifteenth century, an Œcumenical Council was convened for the professed purpose of healing the papal schism, and effecting a "reformation of the Church in the head and the members"—a Council which deposed two rival popes, and thus asserted its superiority over the papacy, but which also condemned Huss to the death on the stake for teaching evangelical truth, and thus defeated the object of a reformation. The document is important, not only for the authentic information it contains, but still more as an indication of the spirit and tendency of Old Catholicism, which now so largely attracts the attention of the religious world.

The Old Catholic movement has, by the recent election of a bishop and the adoption of a synodical constitution, passed the stage of a mere experiment, and assumed the character of a regular Church organization, which stands between Romanism and Protestantism, with the avowed desire to reform Romanism, and to bring about, if possible, a reunion of divided Christendom on the basis of the Scriptures and the unanimous tradition of the primitive Church.

The new organization, which sends us a fraternal greeting, takes its rise from the last Œcumenical Council of Rome, which presents a striking contrast to this General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. The Vatican Council was intensely Romish; the Conference is just as decidedly Protestant. The one was commanded by the pope, the other is a voluntary assembly. The one held up the standard of tradition as embodied in

the Pope ("*la tradizione son Io*"), the other raises the standard of the Bible, as the only rule of faith and practice. The one overpowered the senses by a prelatial and ceremonial splendor such as even Rome and St. Peter's Cathedral never saw before, or are likely ever to see again; the other meets in unostentatious simplicity, and appeals simply to the intelligence, the heart, and the conscience. The one lasted ten long months, the other will be concluded in ten days. The one was an assembly of bishops, excluding not only the laity, but even the lower clergy; the other is a convention of Christian brethren, and recognizes the principle of the general priesthood of all believers. The one used a dead language, the other speaks in the living languages of the people. The one sat with closed doors, and the citizens of Rome were indifferent to its discussions; the other has no secrets to conceal, and excites such an interest among all classes of the people that there is scarcely room for the crowds eager to hear solid instruction, and to join in the praise of Christ. The Council discussed the one question of infallibility, and even this the ablest of its members considered inopportune; the Conference passes in review all the leading religious topics of the age. The one claimed legislative authority which can not be resisted without the risk of eternal damnation; the other relies on the moral power of truth, which must and will prevail in the end over all force and error. The one enforced an outward unity at the sacrifice of personal conviction; the other manifests a spiritual unity in essentials, with great freedom and diversity in non-essentials. The one declared war on modern civilization and all independent civil government; the other means to extend and promote general knowledge, freedom, and reform on a positive basis of faith. The one proclaimed the absolute spiritual sovereignty and official infallibility of a sinful mortal man, though he be personally a

moral monster, like Alexander VI., or a condemned heretic, like Honorius, or a theological ignoramus, like Pius IX., who is said to be unable even to read the Bible in the original; the other upholds the infallibility of God's Word, and the exclusive headship and mediatorship of Jesus Christ, who needs no vicar, being himself ever present with his people, according to his unfailling promise. The one imposed a new and blasphemous dogma on the consciences of men as an article necessary to salvation; the other stands up for the liberty, wherewith Christ has made us free. The one threw a flame of discord into society, and provoked a new schism; the other tends to greater unity among true Christians of every land and every name. The Council ended with the glorification of the Pope, who can now say, "I am the Church (*Véglise c'est moi*);" the Conference will end, as it began, with the glorification of Christ and his Gospel, as the only hope of salvation, and the only basis of peace and union in the Church, which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all.

More than eighteen hundred years ago another council was held in a humble room at Jerusalem—a council composed of "*apostles, elders, and brethren*;" a council which allowed *free* discussion, although blessed with the presence of inspired apostles; a council in which Peter, unlike his pretended followers, spoke in favor of liberty, and warned the brethren "not to put a *yoke* on the neck of the [Gentile] disciples;" a council which proclaimed no other dogma but this, that both Jews and Gentiles are saved, not by good works, not by the sacraments, not by the Church, not by any human mediators, but only "*by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ*," as apprehended by a living *faith*; a council which maintained and strengthened the unity between the believers of the circumcision and the believers of the uncircumcision, and gave a new impulse to the spread of the Gospel.

You will not be at a loss to decide whether the Vatican Council or the New York Conference is more in harmony with the spirit and aim of the Apostolic Synod at Jerusalem.

Old Catholicism is an indignant protest, in the name of learning, reason, and conscience, against the Vatican decrees of papal absolutism and papal infallibility. It is headed by men who a few years ago were regarded as the pillars and ornaments of the Roman Church. It is strongly supported by the traditions of ancient Catholicism, including fathers, councils, and popes; by the spirit of modern civilization; and even by the former convictions of eighty-eight bishops of the Vatican Council—and they the most learned and intelligent—who, on the memorable 13th of July, 1870, voted against the dogma of papal infallibility, but who at that momentous crisis suddenly left Rome,

to make afterward a cowardly submission, in a mistaken zeal for a false peace and a hollow unity of outward organization. Their intolerant proceedings against their former teachers, friends, and pupils have forced these into the attitude of schism, and an approach to Protestantism.

As the Old Catholics meet Protestants halfway, and are sincerely aiming at a reformation of the Romish Church by a return to primitive purity and simplicity, Protestants ought to consider it a duty and privilege to extend to them the helping arm of prayer and active sympathy. They have invited theologians and dignitaries of other churches to their Congresses at Munich, Cologne, and Constance; why should we not invite them to our Conference? A meeting of the Swiss branch of the Alliance, which met at Geneva in September of last year, opened the way by addressing to them a fraternal letter of encouragement, drawn up by Dr. Merle d'Anbigné a few days before his peaceful departure into eternity.

I deemed it, therefore, right and proper, during a recent visit to Europe in behalf of the Alliance, to put myself in personal communication with Professor Von Schulte, Bishop Reinkens, Dr. Döllinger, and other leaders of the Old Catholics, and to extend to them an invitation to the New York Conference as honorary guests (without committing them to our Protestantism, nor committing the Alliance to their Old Catholicism), that they might give us authentic information on their condition, object, and aim, and at the same time get an idea of the concentrated power of evangelical Protestantism, such as they could not see on the Continent of Europe. The invitation was very cordially received, and, had not various hinderances intervened, we would now see among us two or three of the champions of this reform in the Church of Rome. Instead of their personal presence, we have from them an official letter, which, I venture to say, is one of the most interesting papers brought before this Conference, and will take its place among the historic documents of the Old Catholic Church.

As the latest item of news from Constance, I will add that, on the last day of the Congress, Bishop Reinkens delivered an eloquent and enthusiastic address before a large audience, in which he characterized the papal prohibition of popular Bible reading as a crime, and exhorted the hearers "to read again and again the Word of Life, not from idle curiosity nor for the sake of controversy, but in humility and gladness, sitting at the feet of Jesus, and listening to the voice of the heavenly Bridegroom (John iii., 29), that thus they may enter into closest communion with God."

This principle of the sovereignty of the Bible as the book of God for all the people, and of direct communion of the believer

with Christ, is the very soul of sound evangelical Christianity, and augurs well for the success of this new reformation. May God prosper it, and make it a means for reviving

other churches, and promoting a better understanding among them.

With this explanatory statement, I submit a translation of the communication received.

THE LETTER OF THE OLD CATHOLICS.*

MOST REVEREND AND HIGHLY ESTEEMED GENTLEMEN:

The President of last year's Cologne Congress received, from the Rev. Dr. Schaff, under date of July 21 of this year, a request to propose to the Old Catholic Congress at Constance that they would send three delegates to the sixth International General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, to be held in the city of New York from the 2d to the 12th of October, commissioning them "to communicate to the Christian public of America authentic information concerning the origin, progress, and aims of the Old Catholic movement." He, therefore, with the concurrence of the Synodical representation of the Old Catholics of the German Empire, submitted this proposition to the Congress at Constance. The President had first taken pains to fix upon a number of gentlemen who, by their social position and standing in the movement, as also by their linguistic and other attainments, were fit to be proposed to the Congress as delegates for the discharge of this mission. Unfortunately, various reasons, partly of a personal nature and partly relating to the circumstances of the time, especially the ravages of the cholera in several parts of Germany, compelled them to decline the mission. The President himself, for purely personal reasons, could not assume the charge. In consequence, the Conference had to forego the idea of sending delegates, and content itself with passing a unanimous resolution to address, through the presiding officers, a letter to the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, thanking them for the friendly invitation, and for the kind and generous manner in which the visit of the delegates would have been facilitated by the executive committee in New York. At the same time we were to express our sincere pleasure at the testimony this invitation renders to our unchangeable purpose and endeavor, expressed by us from the very first, to reunite all Christian confessions into one great Church of Christ, in which any particular Church, though united as far as essential doctrines are concerned, may still

preserve all other peculiarities corresponding to its national character, its historical antecedents and training, and its political and social condition.

With regard to authentic information touching the origin, progress, and aims of our movement, we need say but little after the publication of the Munich programme of Whitesnide, 1871, and the resolutions and declarations of both Old Catholic Congresses, at Munich in 1871, and at Cologne in 1872.

We, therefore, propose to give you only a brief sketch of our movement. For a long time there had been a large number of thinking Catholics, especially among the representatives of theological science, ecclesiastical law, history, and philosophy, who clearly perceived that the Roman Curia had entered upon a course which inevitably tended to the annihilation of spiritual liberty in all branches of knowledge, to the overthrow of the independence of bishops, the absolute centralization of Church government by the destruction of all national and territorial peculiarities in individual churches; in short, to the absolute sovereignty of the Pope in Church and society. It was known that the ideas of Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII. were exclusively followed by the Curia, and that every seeming concession to the exigencies of the times was due only to the fact that Rome could not yet openly come forward with its real plans. Up to the last hour a return was thought possible, and it was attempted to effect it upon the domain of science, and then to prepare the ground for further labors. The so-called Munich Congress of Catholic scholars, held September 28 to October 1, 1863, openly expressed this endeavor. The conduct of the Curia, however, prevented such meetings, and the Syllabus fully revealed the real situation. The struggle which had begun quietly in the realm of science assumed a general character soon after the announcement of an Œcumenical Council to be opened December 8, 1869, in St. Peter's Church, when the designs of Rome, and of the Jesuits who directed them, became known. The Vatican decrees of July 18, 1870, made this contest an open one for the whole Church.

First of all we have those decrees which directly and frankly pronounce the infallibility of the Pope and his universal episcopate; but which, by logical inference, include the Pope's absolute control of the conscience, mode of life, and rights of individ-

* [The letter was accompanied by a printed copy of the remarkable Pastoral Letter of Bishop Relakens, and a copy of the Synodical and Parochial Constitution, which is quite liberal, and provides for the regular participation of the lay element in the government of the Church and the congregation. A member of the Congress at Constance proposed to send to the New York Conference the whole Old Catholic literature, but this is so very voluminous that the proposal was found impracticable.—*Ed.*]

nals as well as of nations. This is the legal origin and justification for our movement, because, after the publication of those decrees, it became impossible for any one who desired to continue in Christ's Word and give evidence to the truth to remain silent without renouncing all hope of reform. It had become evident to us that these decrees had the sole object of sanctioning a system (practically called into life three hundred years ago) which identifies Jesuitism with Christianity, Romanism with Catholicism, and Ultramontaniam with Christian policy; and of giving to this whole system an immovable foundation under the mask of divine revelation. Should the decrees of July 18, 1870, be recalled in the same solemn and precise manner in which they have been promulgated, Curialism would be destroyed, and that reform of the Church would be begun which we are now striving for. In that case only could we re-enter into relations with Rome. We might acknowledge in principle the primacy of Rome as an *historical* institution in the same sense in which the ancient undivided Christian Church acknowledged it.

We hope and strive for the restoration of the unity of the Christian Church. We frankly acknowledge that no branch of it has exclusively the truth. We hold fast to the ultimate view that upon the foundation of the Gospel and the doctrines of the Church grounded upon it, and upon the foundation of the ancient, undivided Church, a union of all Christian confessions will be possible through a really Ecumenical Council. This is our object and intention in the movement which has led us into close relations with the Evangelical, the Anglican, the Anglo-American, the Russian, and the Greek churches. We know that this goal can not easily be reached, but we see the primary evidences of success in the circumstance that a truly Christian intercourse has already taken place between ourselves and other Christian churches. Therefore we seize with joy the hand of fellowship you have extended to us, and beg you to enter into a more intimate communion with us, in such a way as may be agreed upon by both parties.

In order that the work of restoring and completing the unity of the one Church of Christ may be realized, every individual Christian Church must cast off every thing which proves to be a merely human addition, and must restore that constitution and discipline which rest upon the foundation laid by Christ the Lord, and which meet the just requirements of the different nations and the present age. This it is our intention and task to perform within the bosom of the Catholic Church. We wish to cleanse it from the stains of a corruption which has gradually increased for more than a thou-

sand years. All that Roman ambition and domination have created for selfish ends must be removed. Every institution and custom hurtful to true Christian vitality must be cast out; active faith must be substituted for righteousness by works; a sincerely Christian life in faith and practice must be substituted for pious bigotry. The deterioration of the constitution of the Church into an instrument of the hierarchy and of the Roman Bishop must be set aside by the introduction of corrected rules which guarantee to the Christian laity their rights both in the local congregation and the general government of the Church. A system of discipline must be introduced in which true Christian earnestness and Christian morality united with Christian love constitute the end, instead of a blind subjection of the individual, or of all, to the fiat of a class or of a single man. In brief, we wish to reform the Church in such a manner that it shall become again a fellowship in love, in faith, and in work, of all who believe in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and as the Saviour who alone has been and still is and remains our Mediator.

Great changes will be necessary to attain this end. It can only be reached by prudence and a wise choice of ways and means. Therefore we were not disconcerted at the derision of those who said, "You only reject the infallibility of the Pope; you wish to retain all the other absurdities." We have unitedly overcome the desire that existed among ourselves for sudden change, since we have all come to the belief that the prejudices and ideas in which successive generations have been educated can not be destroyed in a single night. It has become manifest to all of us that our reform will be far more efficient if we proceed with deliberation and caution, because the experience of the good we introduce will then teach us the better to know the shadow of evil that still remains. We may contend, without vanity and without being accused of exaggeration, that no religious movement which does not aim at the destruction but at the amelioration of the existing state of things, which has to rely upon its own efforts, which has hitherto enjoyed no assistance from the State, but on the contrary has had great obstacles laid in its way, which occurs in an age when on the one hand indifference and materialism, and on the other fanaticism and political churchmanship predominate in all classes of society, has been so successful in so short a time, whether we consider its proportions or internal results, either in the domain of the law or that of life.

On September 22, 1871, it was determined in Munich to organize regular parishes. Today the Old Catholic Church numbers in the German Empire nearly 100 congregations (in Baden, 27; in Bavaria, 33; in Hesse, 2; in

Prussia, 22 congregations; 1 congregation in Birkenfeld). In these congregations over 50,000 members are enrolled. If, despite the difficulties and inconveniences which many suffer from openly joining an Old Catholic congregation, and in spite of the want of churches, etc., such a result has been already reached, we may boldly hope for far greater successes as soon as our Church has been recognized by the State. Over forty priests, of whom six have joined us in the course of this year, attend to parochial duties. They will also have accessions. Six young men next winter will study Old Catholic theology in the University of Bonn. In many places, the friendship of our Evangelical brethren has rendered regular worship possible in Protestant churches; in others, the civil local authorities or the Government have granted us churches. In Austria, in Switzerland, even in France, Italy, and Spain, our movement meets with a response.

If we look at the internal results, they are equally encouraging. By the choice of the clergy and the congregations, on June 4, 1873, Joseph Hubert Reinkens, Professor of Theology at Breslau, was elected Old Catholic bishop. His inclosed pastoral letter furnishes an evidence that the episcopal office will be carried out in the true apostolic spirit. He was consecrated on August 11 by the Bishop of Deventer, in the presence of numerous priests of all the three dioceses of the Church of Utrecht. His consecration has strengthened our fellowship with that Church. Steps have been taken to communicate with the Armenian Catholics. Thus we are in intimate communication with that portion of the whole Church, formerly united under Rome, which does not submit itself to papal absolutism, and stands fast by the rights and faith of the ancient Church. Internal reforms have already been begun, such as perhaps are enjoyed by no branch of the Christian Church. We have quietly abandoned the abuses of the adoration of saints, especially the exaggerated devotion to the Virgin Mary, and the indulgences. We have done away with the abuse of scapularies, medals, and such like. The payment of money for the reading of masses and public prayers, etc., has been given up. The national language has practically been gen-

erally adopted in the Church service, and in the administration of the sacraments as far as it was possible to do without changing the generally accepted liturgical rules of the Latin Church.

The inclosed provisional rules, which were adopted in Cologne, June 3, 1873, have already secured to laymen a certain share of authority in the government of the Church—an authority which in all its conditions is thoroughly in keeping with the rules and customs of the ancient Church of the first centuries, and fully satisfies the reasonable desires in our own age. If the proposition for a set of rules for synods and congregations should be accepted, as it doubtless will be by the Congress at Constance and by the first synod, we shall possess a constitution which will probably be for sometime a *pium desiderium* with most of our Evangelical brethren in Germany. A Catholic synod, composed of a bishop, priests, and laymen, indicates a reform in the Church which only a few years ago would have appeared impossible. Thus we have realized what appears to us essential in the Constitution of the Church, viz.: the Episcopal office as the leading one; the functions of bishops and priests for the administration of the means of grace and for the proclamation of the Word of God; the full, harmonious co-operation of all believers in a legal and orderly manner.

Thus we hope to have replaced the reign of arbitrary and centralized absolutism by laws coinciding with the spirit of love and unity, by which the communion of believers should be guided.

We close with the expression of our wish that your Conference may succeed in bringing about an active, close union between members of the different branches of the Evangelical Church; and with another wish, both for you and for ourselves, that the bond of mutual love may be drawn closer and closer, that we may found institutions fitted to prepare the way for the reconciliation of all Christian creeds, and to lead to that end we all should labor for, when, under one Shepherd, our Lord Jesus Christ, the members of his holy Church shall form a single flock.

May God grant this, and may his blessing be upon your work.

THE CONGRESS OF THE OLD CATHOLICS OF GERMANY.

CONSTANCE, September 12, 1873.

In the name thereof:

The Bishop:
JOSEPH HUBERT REINKENS.

The President:
DR. VON SCHULTE,
Privy Councillor and Professor at Bonn.

The First Vice-President:
DR. C. A. CORNELIUS, from Munnich.

The Second Vice-President:
DR. AUGUSTIN KELLER, from Aarau.

LETTER FROM PERE HYACINTHE LOYSON.

[Translated from the French.]

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE ASSEMBLED IN GENERAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK:

GENTLEMEN,—When I accepted—now more than a year ago—the invitation which your committee did me the honor to send me for the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, I could not conjecture the obstacles which would check the execution of my promise. While suffering from the sacrifice which they impose upon me now, I do not regret these obstacles, for they concern a new development of a reform to which is attached, in my opinion, the salvation of the Catholic Church.

In confiding to me a task much beyond my individual powers, but which he will aid me, I trust, to perform, God has imposed upon me duties which take precedence of all others. Will you exense me, then, gentlemen, if in heart alone I join you? By its warm impulses my whole being goes out to you. For a long time already I have counted friends among your ranks—indeed, I can call you all by that name, for, united by faith in the same Christ, the only Son of God, and the Redeemer of men, you are laboring to bring together on a common ground the different Christian confessions, which have been so sadly, and, until now, so irremediably separated.

My ambition, I confess, is still higher: where you are satisfied with an *alliance*, I would desire an organic and vital unity

(*unité organique et vivante*). I believe this unity to lie in the future destiines of the Christian Church, because I discover it in its primitive traditions, and, above all, because it is in the will of its divine Founder. If all Christianity were not like that weakened Church of the Apocalypse, more or less “fallen from its first love,” it would not be so difficult for it to realize, or even, alas! to conceive the joyous mystery of its unity.

Time does not permit me, gentlemen, to give you the details of the particular work in which I am laboring at Geneva, and which you wish to honor with your sympathetic interest. Besides, this work is sufficiently known to you through the public press. I venture to count, at need, upon the Rev. Pastor Franek Conlin (who will deliver to you this letter) to speak to you of my plans. Pastor Conlin is not only a friend of my person, but also of my work, and among our brethren of the Protestant churches in Switzerland, we count no one who has for our reform more intelligent and more cordial sympathies.

Will you accept, gentlemen, with the renewed expression of my deeply felt regrets, that also of my most respectful and affectionately devoted regards, in our common Master and Saviour.

HYACINTHE LOYSON.

GENEVA, September 9, 1873.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL AND THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

BY THE REV. W. KRAFFT, D.D.

Professor of Church History in the University of Bonn.

[Born Sept. 8, 1821, at Cologne, Prussia.]

So much has been written in regard to the history of the Vatican Council, that a whole library might be filled with this literature.* I call your special attention to Frommann's excellent representation.†

In treating of the Council and the Old Catholic movement, the former can be considered only in so far as it gave rise to the latter movement, bestowing upon it not only justification in itself, but great importance also.

On the eighteenth day of July, 1870, in presence and with the assent of the majority of the voters of the Vatican Council, at midday—but the sky being dark, under thunder and lightning, and by candle-light—Pope Pius the Ninth commanded, in the bull "Pastor æternus," all Roman Catholic Christendom to believe implicitly in the following as a sacred law, warranted by Divine revelation :

"Adhering faithfully to the Tradition delivered unto us from the beginning of the Christian faith, We, with the assent of the Sacred Council, teach and declare, to the honor of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic Religion, and the salvation of all Christendom, that the Roman Pontiff, when speaking ex cathedra, *i. e.*, when he, in virtue of his highest apostolic authority, and in the exercise of his office of shepherd and teacher of all Christians, proclaims in explicit terms a dogma, to be believed by the whole Church—may it concern either faith or morals—possesses, by right of the Divine assistance promised unto him through St. Peter, that infallibility with which the Divine Saviour wanted his Church to be endowed in all matters of faith and morals; and that, therefore, such dogmas of the Roman Pontiff are in themselves (*ex sese*), and not through consent of the Church, immutable. Should, however, any one dare to dissent from this our dogma, what God forbid!—let him be anathema!"

With this decisive sentence of the Pope the Jesuits have at last reached a long-desired aim. Papal infallibility had, years

ago, been designated and defended by them as the last consequence of the principles of their own order.

The principle of the order of Jesuits was, from the very beginning, in direct opposition to the Protestant principle of faith; the founder, Ignatius Loyola, declaring that implicit obedience is the source, and the greatest of all Christian virtues.

In his celebrated letter, *De virtute obedientie* (A.D. 1553), addressed to the Portuguese members of the order, he says :

"The members of the Society of Jesus may be surpassed by other religious orders in fasting, vigils, and ascetic mode of living, but in regard to implicit obedience, denial of self-will, and reason they exceed all others.

This obedience of the members of the "compania" to their superior was to be exercised in a military manner, as to a general. The latter was, therefore, invested with the highest authority possible: he was to act as the substitute of God and Christ. "Whosoever heareth him, heareth me," *i. e.*, Christ. "Whosoever despiseth him, despiseth me."

In consequence, the members are bound to consider the general's command as the voice of Christ, according to the word of St. Paul to the Colossians: "Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men: knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance: for ye serve the Lord Christ."

Ignatius distinguishes three degrees of obedience :

The first degree comprises those persons who fulfill their superior's command as the will of God, even if their own will and judgment be opposed to it: this act does not deserve the name of virtue.

The second degree comprises those who, in enacting the order of the general, make his will their own: this sacrifice of the will is virtue.

The third degree contains those who enact the order of the superior, not only in accordance with their own will, but their judgment also—thus making the sacrifice of their intelligence. This degree of blind, implicit obedience is the highest, and all individual responsibility of action ceases with it.

In the same spirit, the virtue of obedience

* A complete list of this literature is to be found in the "Quellensammlung" of Friedberg.

† Frommann, "History of the Vatican Council, Gotha, 1872."

is enjoined in the rules of the order; the subaltern has to so direct all his efforts that his obedience may be perfect in every regard, both according to will and intelligence.

“Let every one be convinced that those who live under obedience must needs be directed and governed by Divine Providence, through the interposition of their superiors, as if they were nothing but a mere cadaver which may be carried in any direction and treated in any manner; or they may be likened to an old man’s staff, assisting him who holds it, wheresoever and whensoever he may use it.”

In the same manner, as all the members of the order are bound to the will of their superior, thus should, according to the rules of Ignatius, the superior, in his turn, pay implicit obedience, and without any reasoning whatsoever, to him whom God placed above him, *i. e.*, the Roman Pope, the Vicegerent of God and Christ on earth. He is, therefore, the absolute sovereign of the order, and his commands must be, at all times and in all parts of the world, implicitly and unconditionally carried out by the members of the order. This nominal superiority of the Pope over the general of the order of the Jesuits was, however, a mere pretext for the real superiority of the order over the Pope. Already the founder of the order named Rome as the permanent residence of the general, so that he might live in the Pope’s immediate vicinity. The most intelligent members of the order were brought hither from all parts of the world, and thus by seemingly serving the Roman chair, the order assumed in fact the supremacy over the same, and through it over the whole church. Better than at any other period, Roman Jesuitism succeeded in our times in gaining influence over the Pope, Pio Nono, making him entirely subservient to their aims. This has been done to such an extent that at the present day the general of the Jesuits is called “Papa Nero,” to distinguish him from “Papa Bianco,” Pio Nono.

Making use of their unlimited influence, the Jesuits believed that at last the moment had arrived when they might extend the constitution of their order over the whole Roman Catholic Church. Now at last should blind, implicit obedience, the life-principle of their order, be binding upon the whole Roman Catholic Church, nay, it should thus govern the world. That is to say, the Roman Catholic Church should be changed into one grand order of Jesuits, embracing all nations and all countries.

To this end the two following dogmas were especially defended in the party-press of the Jesuits: 1st. The dogma of the universal papal episcopacy, *i. e.*, his complete, absolute jurisdictional power; and 2d. The dogma of papal infallibility in questions of faith and morals.

The declaration of the immaculate conception (A.D. 1854), which—as is almost needless to say—is in direct contradiction to the Christian fundamental doctrine of original sin, served as an introduction to the two dogmas just mentioned. This secret the Jesuits betrayed themselves. Schrader, in his book, “Pius IX. as Pope and King,” has told us that, at that time, they simply wished to test how far they could go. The votes of the bishops having been cast aside, it was declared that the Pope alone was inspired by the Holy Spirit: this virtually decided already the infallibility of the Pope.

The Jesuits, elated by this success, and certain of final victory, predicted in their papers the sure acceptance of the two above-mentioned doctrines regarding the Pope.

But as the Jesuits were striving to secure the Pope the same position in the whole Roman Catholic Church which the general holds in their order, they were obliged to increase papal authority to the very utmost. The Pope, who had formerly been considered but the visible representative of the Roman Church, and at the highest was looked upon as demonstrating the unity of the Church in a juridical sense, was now declared to be the principle of the unity of faith and love, and was placed in such close communion with God as is impossible to any other mortal being.

Under the eyes of the Pope, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the official press at Rome, published this blasphemy: “Si medita il Papa è dio che pensa in lui,” *i. e.*, “when the Pope thinks, it is God thinking within him!”

In the book of Faber, the Oratorian, “Of the Devotion to the Pope,” the faithful are taught that this devotion is an essential sign of all Christian holiness, and a necessary condition to salvation; “for *the Pope* is *the third visible presence of Christ among us.*”

This view has been openly defended by the Infallibilists. During the Vatican Council, Mermillod, the pretender of the Genevan episcopacy, preached at Rome on the threefold theophany: “In the manger at Bethlehem, on the altar in the Eucharist, and in the person of the Pope in the Vatican.”

In this sense, also, *deus* has been changed to *pius* in some hymns originally addressed to God, and the Pope himself rewarded the defenders of these outrages with a “Breve.”

By the side of Raphael’s pictures in the Vatican, Pius IX. had a picture painted, wherein he announces the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary; he is represented as touching the ground lightly with his feet; a ray of light falling from heaven upon him, while his mouth and the bull testify to his inspiration by the Holy Spirit.

The Pope even attempted to work miracles, but without success; and in order to make up for this failure he prophetically announced some future miraculous doings.

Count Montalembert, formerly a very pillar of the Catholic Church in France, was quite right when he, on his death-bed, thus, with his last words, warned the "Ultramon- tanes:" "*You are erecting an idol in the Vati- can!*" Yes, an idol indeed, for Romish anti- Christianity has never been as strong as in our days!

The Jesuits, however, did not permit them- selves to be warned, but went on. The mock council, prepared and arranged by them, was destined to execute their plans.

It is a fearful arrogance of the Romish Church to presume the representation of an Ecumenical Council in our days. The Oriental and Evangelical Churches protested decidedly against such a proceeding. Even in the midst of the Catholic Church some of the bishops opposed it, and during the ses- sions of the Council frequently declared that they *could* not recognize it as ecumenical. For who was represented at Rome but the cardinals of the Romish curia, the bishops, and orders? But the hundreds of thou- sands of priests and the millions of so-called laymen were not represented; and when they, nevertheless, urged their testimony, it was timidly refused by the bishops, as if thereby the work of the Divine Spirit was disturbed within them.

The Council was furthermore not free. The transactions of the Council were tampered with from the very beginning, as the Pope in the most arbitrary manner had himself appointed all the officers, and even before the bishops were assembled administered the oath to every one, from the president down to the last teller-of-votes. The very business transactions of the Council were fixed in the most arbitrary mode, as the Pope enforced a double order of the day. Against this outside pressure, this business mechan- ism, a very impressive protest was raised by the most intelligent bishops, but without success. Freedom of debate and confer- ence was consequently impossible; the Pope alone, through his president, brought his own resolutions before the house; no bishop had a right to do so; their resolutions had to be laid before a commission outside of the Council, and their introduction to the Council, nay, the mere knowledge of them, depended solely upon the Pope's decision. The speeches were mostly unintelligible, partly on account of the size of the hall, and partly on account of the different pronuncia- tion; and an insight into the stenographical reports was strictly prohibited. Publica- tions of the Opposition had to be printed outside of Rome, while the Infallibilists made a grand display of their views by ad- vertisements on the walls. Sudden adjourn- ments would frequently shut the tongues of half a hundred prelates, so that their testi- mony was silenced.

The order of the day, i. e., the important

questions which were to come before the house, were not published beforehand, but intentionally kept secret. Very strangely indeed, the decrees of the Pope were brought in only during the sessions of the Council. And this was the worse, as they were in contradiction to Scripture and Tradition, and were shown to be Jesuitic innovations. The only Scriptural proof for papal infalli- bility, Luke xxii., 32, which appears also in the decree of July 18, 1870, proves the very opposite, although the Jesuits consider it convincing.

Christ in this passage says to Peter, "But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." Shortly before the passion of Je- sus, Peter had made some rash and presumpt- ous remarks. The Lord now announces to him his fall, but comforts him also by refer- ring to his conversion. But when the apostle continued in his self-confidence, the Lord told him in plain words that he would deny him thrice this night.

No commentator of former times has ever seen in these words any reference whatever to the purity of the faith or to the functions of St. Peter's successors at Rome, or any suc- cessor of the apostle; they all justly refer it to Peter himself, who did deny his Lord. These convincing arguments drove the In- fallibilists to the bold assertion that the doubtful meaning of the passage referred to had now, by the papal decree of July 18, 1870, been settled for all times; and thus the fundamental doctrine of the Council of Trent, that very pillar of the Catholic Church, "that it is the right of the Church (ecclesia) to judge of the true exposition of Holy Scripture," is destroyed, and the Pope alone has been instituted sole interpreter of the Bible.

The principle of Tradition too, which might be called the corner-stone of Roman Catholi- cism, has been overturned and trampled under foot by the Vatican decree.

While the Reformation asserted that only that which could be proved from Scripture could be accepted as a doctrine of Christ, the Romish Church clung to Tradition, trying to establish a criterion for it. If, namely, the apostolic validity of any church doctrine could not be proved directly from Scripture, and if such a doctrine was found to have been taught and believed after the apostolic age—"semper, ubique, et ab omnibus"—then it was taken for granted that such a doctrine must have originated in the apostolic preaching. The Council of Trent went still further, and taught that Tradition had come down to us, from hand to hand, in uninter- rupted succession, through all generations. The Church alone, as the Romish Catechism teaches, can not err in the interpretation of faith and morals, because she is taught by the Holy Spirit.

The bishops of the Opposition, who formed by far the majority of the Roman Catholic Christians there represented, protested that the accepted criterion of Tradition did not refer to papal infallibility. Such teachings were mere innovations, and the doctrine which had hitherto been believed was the true one. "God forbid that we, on account of the necessities of the time, should forge the original meaning of the divine law." When Bishop Hefele, of Rottenburg, by his essay on "Pope Honorius" (printed at Naples), had so confounded the leading cardinals that they could not conceal their confusion before the Pope, Pius IX. decisively said, "I am the Tradition!" which means, in plain English: The agreement of the whole church with tradition does in no way concern papal decrees; for they are in themselves infallible.

The Infallibilists now openly declare that, because the doctrines of the universal episcopacy of the Pope and his infallibility are contained in the constitution of July 18, 1870, they must therefore be contained in Tradition also. Their only criterion for Tradition is the Pope, who, as teacher and shepherd of all Christians, binds the Church Universal to his teachings of faith and morals. The historical and political papers were quite elated at the decrees of the Vatican Council, for now it is established who should at any moment, by day or night, have the final decision in matters of faith and morals.

It is a pity that the old Christian Church did not know this, or she might have saved herself a gigantic task in the christological and theological disputes. One decree *ex cathedra* of a Pope whom she might have had at any moment, and the redeeming word was spoken, the proper formula found! Why did not the Pope speak at Niceæ, in the year 325?

I now come to that highly praised unanimity of which the Vatican Council boastingly says that at the last meeting 533 of 535 fathers present consented to the decree (forty of them being members of orders and cardinals). But according to the papal call there ought to have been present 1037 voting members, which leaves 502 votes wanting. More than 100 voters left during the last days, the majority of whom authentically declared that they should reject the doctrine of infallibility if they could be present. The really decisive vote was cast July 13, 1870, while the solemn meeting of July 18 was a mere formality. On the former date 88 bishops from the largest dioceses had voted *noy*, while 400 Italian bishops of the very smallest dioceses, and more than 100 missionary bishops—in part, infid.—without any diocese at all, formed the majority. This fact, which is a convincing proof that there was no agreement in the Romish Church on papal infallibility, is inscribed

on the pages of history, and no power in the world can erase it therefrom.

The Vatican Council, therefore, can not show one single quality necessary to an ecumenical council!

When afterward obedience and subjection were urged by the bishops on the plea that the Council had spoken it was justly replied: "Where do we read this? The Council has not published any resolutions!"

It was the Pope who in this mock council made the bishops perform mock work. In these solemn meetings the Pope in his own name ordained decrees, assuring his audience of the assent of the Council. In the constitution of July 18, 1870, he alone declares his infallibility, for he concludes with the above-mentioned words: "But if any one should dare to dissent from this our dogma—what God forbid!—let him be anathema!" He does not say, if any one should dare to dissent from the resolution of the Council, but "from my own doctrine and decision!"

In these solemn meetings Pius IX. was to the Jesuits not the successor of the apostle, but a Vice-God, the Representative of the King of Glory, the triple crown on his head, and his under-shepherds on their knees before him!

Former councils spoke by their own authority, but henceforth all councils are superfluous, as papal doctrines *ex cathedra* are in themselves immutable. The bishops, or under-shepherds, are henceforth nothing but the Pope's servants, and those phrases in the Vatican decree regarding the real power of the bishops are mere sham and deception.

The words of Gregory the First, "I shall have my honor when every bishop has his honor," have been thus distorted by Pius IX.: "The other bishops are honored through *my* honor."*

The former constitution of the Roman Church has thus been shaken and changed from its very fundaments, and in the place of the Ecumenical Council the Pope has been put as the Universal Bishop.

Those eighty-eight opposition bishops who, on July 13, 1870, had voted *Non placet*, were decidedly the most intelligent members of the Council, and represented almost one-half of the whole Roman Catholic Christendom. They understood the victory which the Jesuits had gained by this revolution. But instead of obeying the voice of their conscience, which before and during the Council had spoken so loudly to them, they, after the Council, submitted to the papal decree. Instead of fulfilling their holiest duty "to be witnesses of the truth," as they had solemnly promised to their charges, in accordance with the apostolic word that "whosoever wishes to please men can not be a servant of Christ," they yielded. And what did de-

* J. H. Reinken's speech at Würzburg, page 17.

termine them to take this step? Nothing but a miserable consideration for the Pope. They did not wish to grieve or provoke the Holy Father, as they had testified before their departure, July 17, 1870, to their own eternal shame! Preferring to please a poor sinful man, they ceased to be servants of Christ.

Further quotations from the later writings of these original opposition bishops—to which most of the German bishops belonged—will, I trust, be superfluous. It would be a grievous, an actually disgusting task. Giving their full and unconditional assent to the decrees of the Council, they requested the faithful to receive the dogma by pain of excommunication; and instead of thoroughly enlightening their people on this innovation, they heaped lie upon lie! And what drove them to such a cowardly, dishonorable flight of their colors? Solely the fear of a schism of the juridical unity with the Pope. To avoid this, they were prepared to bring the very highest sacrifice of obedience, that of their own reason (sacrificio dell' intelletto).

This is most clearly shown in the action of Bishop Hefele, the learned and world-renowned author of the History of the Councils of the Church, who was the last to yield to the decrees of the Council. Quite a while after the mock council had been dissolved, he wrote, "I can not betray my conscience; I would rather lose my place." But soon after, April 10, 1871, he turned apostate, giving this explanation: "The peace and unity of the Church are of such high value that the greatest and bitterest sacrifices must be made for it."

What a mistaken sacrifice! What hypocrisy! As if truth were not infinitely more valuable than mere external unity with Rome!

Listen to the following solemn declarations of the German episcopacy, given before the Council; see how they contradicted themselves by their slavish subjection to Romish tyranny!

"We solemnly declare that, first, the Ecumenical Council will never proclaim any doctrine which is not contained in Holy Scripture, or in the traditions of the Church; and that, secondly, the Council will not proclaim any new or different doctrines from those which by faith and conscience are inscribed on the hearts of all people, and which, having been considered sacred by Christian nations throughout all ages, are, now and ever, the basis upon which the welfare of states and the freedom of nations rest."

Yet these same German bishops prostrated themselves under Popish tyranny, and this at a time when, after the battle of Sedan, the whole German nation felt exalted beyond measure, and when the unity of the German Empire, the aim of long and patient efforts, was reached at last. This, above all others, was the moment when the German

Catholic Church ought to have returned to the primacy of St. Boniface, its founder.

And because this was not done, Germany now became the real and actual centre of the Old Catholic movement, just as in the sixteenth century she had been the cradle of the Reformation. The leader of the opposition was the Nestor of Roman Catholic theology, Professor Dr. Döllinger, of Munich, formerly one of the most zealous champions of Rome against Protestantism, as may be sufficiently proved from his "History of the Reformation." At his side we see Dr. Friedrich, Professor of Church History in Munich, who by his "Journal of the Vatican Council" gave evidence of his deep insight into the intrigues of the Jesuits, and of his appreciation of the position formerly taken by the opposing bishops. As the second ally, Professor Dr. Huber, of Munich, is to be mentioned, whose work on the Jesuits is among the most profound and best writings ever published concerning this order. An important influence on the consolidation of their canons was even then exerted by the professor of laws, Dr. Von Schulte, of Prague, who was afterward called to Bonn by the Prussian Government. More than any other man of the opposition, he was able to be the very soul of the movement, and subsequently to become the leader of the same. The Munich scholars were joined by a number of theologians and philosophers of Breslau and Bonn—Jos. Hnb. Reinkens, well known as a learned Church historian; Dr. Rensch, the editor of the *Theologische Literaturblatt*, which appears now in its eighth volume, and is one of the most solid scientific publications in Germany; and Professor Langen, the author of an excellent work on the Vatican decrees, in which he shows conclusively the untenability of these decrees in the light of the tradition of the ancient Church.

The battle of Old Catholicism began at Nuremberg, about the end of July, 1870, by some renowned Catholic scholars. It was the opposition of science, of historical criticism, of philosophy, and canonical law. The consequence was that the bishops, after vainly urging the subjection of their opponents, suspended and excommunicated them, thereby provoking a most decided resistance. To most of the leaders opposition became now a serious matter of conscience. A congress at Munich, about Whitsunday, 1871, was largely attended by people of all classes, and the following programme was decided upon, that they wished to continue in the Old Catholic faith as given in Scripture and in the traditions of the church, and were, therefore, obliged to reject the Vatican decrees as innovations. No council had a right to proclaim dogmas which were not in accordance with the faith and the conscience of the people. The right of scientific in-

vestigation was insisted upon; their agreement with the principles of modern states, in opposition to the papal Syllabus, was pronounced, and it was resolved, that the efforts of the Jesuits, so hurtful to public welfare, should be stopped.

The aim of their resolutions was the formation of parishes of their own, a thorough reform of the church discipline, and last, not least, the reunion with the separated Christian churches.

The party made important progress at the meeting at Cologne, the former cis-alpine Rome (Sept., 1872). More than sixty priests, among them the most eminent theologians and canonists, renowned historians and philosophers, and almost all the Catholic professors of the German universities declared their adherence. They were joined in great numbers by the educated laymen, and although the mass of the people remained passive from indifference or narrow-mindedness, steadily-rising life was nevertheless shown wherever parishes had been formed. Four hundred delegates of different parishes and societies attended, wise moderation being exercised by all, as was necessary for such a mixture of radical elements. Important resolutions on the further development of Old Catholicism in reference to itself and the state were passed. Its relation to other churches was also considered.

1. The present bishop of Rome can not be recognized any longer as the head of the Catholic Church, neither can those bishops who yielded to the Vatican dogma be considered Catholic bishops any longer. Their excommunication is, therefore, without effect.

2. The Old Catholics are justified in claiming all rights and privileges which heretofore by constitution, stipulation, and law belonged to the Catholic Church.

3. The present situation is not only distressing to the Old Catholics individually, who, cut off from the church, are driven by necessity to the organization of new parishes, which are justified in demanding recognition of the government; but it is distressing also to the whole Catholic Church at large, as formerly a heretical pope could be deposed, which after the promulgation of the new dogma is impossible. The above resolution that the Roman pope and the bishops obeying him do lawfully exist no longer, is, therefore, final.

4. As it is impossible for us to nominate the episcopacy in the normal manner, be it resolved, that we return to the ancient form of election by the clergy and the people.

Many reforms were made at Cologne, and a number of Romish statutes were abolished, as indulgences, adoration of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, scapularies, payment of (surplice fees and) stipends for masses. The German language was to be used during service.

Abolition of celibacy was recommended by the laity. The obligatory character of the confessional was to cease, and several things were to be changed in the church ceremonies.

Further reforms were postponed until an Old Catholic Church, with episcopacy and synods, could be organized. Security for further reforms is given in the expulsion of all Jesuitic excrescences, and in the very principle of Old Catholicism; only such dogmas can be proclaimed, which can be proved from the Scriptures, or from the ancient ecclesiastical traditions.

With regard to the state and modern civilization, the Old Catholics openly rejected the Syllabus of December, 1864, which is now infallible. They came to this decision, because it condemns not only freedom of faith and conscience, but freedom of scientific investigation, which, also, they especially need. They declared their adherence to the civil constitutions of their respective states, thereby rejecting the dogma of papal oversight, so dangerous to civil law, and resolved that, in the battle with Rome, they would side with the state. For these reasons the German and Swiss governments protected and recognized them. The highest court in Prussia recognized, by a decision of May 24, the Old Catholics as true members of the Catholic Church, and as having a claim on the protection of the state. The legal position of the Old Catholics before the judge is defined in this unmistakable manner: "If there is in question the formation of a new religious society, in the sense of the 'Edict of Toleration of 1847,' it affects not the Old Catholics, but rather the New Catholics, who, in fact, established a new doctrine, while they wish to prove themselves as the only true members and representatives of the Roman Catholic Church on the ground that they are actually in possession of the church buildings and other property of the Catholic Church." [The Emperor of Germany has recently recognized Dr. Reinkens as a legitimate bishop of the Catholic Church.—*Ed.*]

The "fatherland" of the German Old Catholics does not lie *ultra montes*, as that of the Infallibilists, but their hearts and their love are with united and strong Germany, flourishing in industries, and advancing in politics and civilization.

The hopes for the existence and development of the Old Catholic movement have been raised higher yet during the present year, by the episcopal election at Cologne, June 4. Twenty-two priests and fifty-five laymen, who are representative delegates of 60,000 souls, partook in it. The number of eligible priests, who must be over thirty years, was thirty. Of the seventy-seven votes cast, Dr. Reinkens, late Professor of Theology at Breslau, who was elected, received sixty-nine.

After his acceptance, free love and devotion, but not blind obedience, were promised to him. His ordination by the Bishop of Deventer, Bishop of the Utrecht Church, took place at Rotterdam, Aug. 11. In his Pastoral he proves the right of his bishopric, and describes his task as a service to the faithful.

"It is not the bishop's task to preach himself and the interests of his position, but Jesus Christ. His ministrations to the believers are not his property, but the inheritance of the children of God, of which he is but a steward. It belongs to the episcopacy to preach obedience to the civil authorities as a religious duty for conscience sake."

About three weeks ago (Sept. 14), Bishop Reinkens solemnly declared that the papal command "not to read the Bible" was thenceforth not binding for the Old Catholics; he, on the contrary, urges and recommends *that all Old Catholics should read the dear holy Book again and again*, and should, in all humility and joy, sit at the feet of the Lord; for he alone has the words of eternal life. A meeting of delegates from nearly 100 Old Catholic congregations at Constance accepted of such excellence as many an evangelical church stands still in need of, as I am sorry to state.

Who of us is not rejoiced at this Old Catholic movement, which originated in the religious conscience, and is now growing and progressing? It is an open protest against Romish, Jesuitic Ultramontanism, which approaches more and more to Antichristianity.

All of you, I trust, will unite with me in the earnest prayer that the outward expansion of the movement may be strengthened and deepened by an inward growth on the true evangelical basis; so that, in opposition to the Jesuitic principle of blind obedience, the light of evangelical faith, of free grace in God through Christ, may shine everywhere, and that Old Catholicism may break loose for all time from the canons of the Council of Trent. The new church must renounce forever the Supremacy and Primacy of the Pope, who can claim no historical rights whatever, for Rome will never withdraw the Vatican decrees, or undertake such reforms as are desired by the Old Catholics. Then will the Old Catholics reach their aim of reunion with other Christian denominations in the only possible and true manner, by joining the Evangelical Alliance! And unto this end we ask the blessing and help of God!

In the battle which is waging just now between the German Empire and Rome, the Old Catholics stand on *our* side. Bishop Reinkens will, within a few weeks, take the oath of obedience to the Emperor. [He has done so since.—*Ed.*]

According to the principle of our great warrior, Moltke, Protestants and Old Catholics will, for a time at least, march in separated bodies, but will always be united in the battles against Rome. The victory can only be ours alone, for we fight for eternal truth under the stars and stripes of Jesus Christ, who has given us the promise, "I am with you always, to the end of the world!"

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN SWITZERLAND SINCE THE PROCLAMATION OF THE SYLLABUS.

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MY DEAR BRETHREN,—You know what an impression was produced by the publication of the Syllabus, the convocation of the so-called Enmenical Council, and the dogmatic decisions promulgated by it in 1870. The impression would have been all the more profound had not the war, which deranged so much our peaceful conferences, suddenly burst forth. The thunder of the cannon drowned the voice of the Council. Every thing for the moment disappeared in the smoke of battle-fields. But when once the atmosphere was cleared up, notwithstanding the cries of the wounded, the ruins to be repaired, the debts to be paid, a mighty empire to be consolidated, an ill-assured conquest to be strengthened, it was necessary to remember what had been done at Rome in that year, at once so glorions and fatal, which marks so great an epoch in the history of European nations. It was then that the new dogma, the result of Ultramontane intrigues, produced its first effects in the relations existing between Roman Catholicism and the governments of Europe. I shall not remind you, gentlemen, of the shame of those feigned submissions of which we have been the astonished spectators. It is much better to pass them over in silence. Let us remember only the energetic protestations which have been heard, and still are, from noble-minded men unable to trifle with the truth for the sake of a lying unity; remember the Döllingers, Friederichs, Reinkens, and Father Hyacinthes; and let us for a moment glance at Switzerland, that old republic so long accustomed to struggle for liberty.

I. The entire population of Switzerland, according to the census of 1870, was 2,669,147, of which 1,034,369 were Catholics. Their interests, or rather those of the Roman See, are managed by a *chargé d'affaires*, whose ill-defined functions appear to be, above all things, to serve as a medium between the Pope and bishops.

As to the bishopries, they were five in number: 1. That of Sion, which contains 112 parishes, and comprises the canton of Valais and the district of Aigle in the canton of Vaud; 2. That of Lausanne, comprising, besides the canton of Freiburg, those of Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel. It is divided into 158 par-

ishes; 3. That of Soleure or Basle, which comprises the cantons of Soleure, Lucerne, Zug, Berne, Aargau, Thurgau, Basle, Schaffhausen, and contains about 380 parishes; 4. That of Coire, which comprises the cantons of Uri, Schwytz, Unterwald, Appenzell, (Rhodes intérieures), the Grisons, Zürich, Glaris, and contains about 160 parishes; 5. That of St. Gall, comprising the canton of that name and some parts of Appenzell, contains about 104 parishes.

Tessin, the canton in which the Catholic population is proportionally the greatest, lately formed part of the bishopric of Como and the archbishopric of Milan. By a decree of the Federal Government it has been separated from these, but no agreement has as yet been entered into with the Roman See in order to determine its new ecclesiastical position. Each of these dioceses had in addition its chapter, seminaries, and convents. A recent statistical table, prepared by order of the present President of the Confederation, enumerates 88 of the latter, and estimates approximatively their entire property, personal and real, at 22,645,915 francs.

What effect was produced in Switzerland by the proclamation of the Syllabus and by the Vatican Council? A very different effect in different parts of the country. The primitive cantons, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwald, and the canton of Valais are, more than any others, under the control of the clergy. Jealous of certain ancient privileges, ever more and more infringed upon, the population of these are animated with a spirit of the most conservative kind. Every thing is in the hands of the bishop and clergy, to whom is rendered, with the sincerity of the olden times, an almost absolute submission. There men awaited, without impatience or apprehension, whatever it seemed good to the Vatican to decree. It was understood beforehand that not the slightest desire to resist would be manifested. Rome, having succeeded, since the period of the French restoration (1815), and the dissolution of the diocese of Constance, in substituting among the lower clergy an ultramontane obedience instead of the liberal spirit of the Sailers and Wessenbergs, expected her decrees to be accepted in silence. It was not the

same, however, elsewhere. The Protestant and mixed cantons, having been for a long time up in arms against the Catholic pretensions, were on their watch against the proceedings of Roman policy. Far from being disposed to yield a single point, this part of Switzerland regarded with horror both the Pope and the Jesuits. Evangelical and rationalistic Protestants, radicals and conservatives, free-thinkers and serious believers, were found banded together as one man when it was a question of resistance to Rome. Need I add that the public attention in this part of Switzerland was strongly aroused by the ultramontane projects? Not only was there in the text of the Syllabus and the accompanying Encyclical letter a declaration of war against the fundamental institutions of our country and the principles the most respected in modern society, but men endeavored to foresee their consequences. When the Council of the Vatican assembled, its movements were watched with keen attention; the conduct of the Swiss bishops present at it was carefully observed, and conferences were held in different places. In short, every preparation was made to withstand the menacing storm which was gathering on the southern side of our mountains.

It was long however before it burst forth. Old Catholicism, continually increasing in Germany, endeavored to organize itself in Switzerland. In April, 1871, that is, after the commencement of the struggle between Canon Döllinger and the Archbishop of Munich, a meeting convened at Soleure protested loudly against the *decretum vaticanum*. In the month of September of the same year, a congress of about two hundred members met in the same town, formed a regular society of Liberal Catholics, and sent three of their principal members as delegates to the Congress of Munich. They set about forming active committees of Liberal Catholics, and in this they succeeded. Notwithstanding the demands of the Roman Catholic clergy to be permitted to proclaim the Pope's personal Infallibility from their pulpits, notwithstanding the lively discussion of the press at this period, Rome seemed to be absorbed in profound meditation. She was in no hurry to put in practice the principles of the Syllabus, but, watching attentively the anti-infallibilist movement, she was undoubtedly waiting for a favorable opportunity to execute her projects.

Why did she do so? It is not easy to say. Two facts, however, the one general, and the other applicable only to Switzerland, might perhaps explain the slowness of her movements. The first is the issue of the terrible war of 1870; the second is the revision of our Federal Constitution, the subject that then occupied the attention of our representatives, and was to be sub-

mitted to the popular vote in the spring of 1872.

Right or wrong, it is generally believed in Switzerland that, if the Franco-German war broke out at the very moment the Council proclaimed the dogma of the personal infallibility, this coincidence was not the mere work of chance. It is thought that Romanism had formed plans for reconquering the Protestant countries. At the present moment even, France, disorganized and conquered as she is, is looked upon by Rome as her most powerful champion in Europe. And in so far Rome is right. The golden rose bestowed on Isabella has not saved Spain from revolution, civil war, and a frightful anarchy which has buried her in ruins and deluged her with blood. Austria has been rendered powerless. Prussia and Italy are hostile. To whom, then, should the owner of the Vatican look from his towers if not to France, still strong, notwithstanding her reverses, and more Catholic than ever, despite all her aspirations after liberty? It was the same, it is thought, in 1870. The Pope and the Jesuits were certain that the sword of a victorious Cæsar, assisted by the advice of a Spanish lady, would turn the scale of the destinies of Europe in their favor. But the sword of the Cæsar proved more brittle than a reed. He fell, and with him, if they existed, fell the plans formed by the Court of Rome. Perhaps the short period of confessional peace that followed the war, in Switzerland and the rest of Europe, is due to the fall of the French empire in 1870. Be that as it may, it is certain that, so far as the first hostile steps, the fanatical exhortations of the priests, had caused men in the South of Germany, and even in France, to apprehend the renewal of the bloodiest catastrophes of the wars of religion, so far did the first reverses of the French arms allay the fears of the Protestants. The Ultramontane agents, insolent at first, were silenced. Permit me to adduce a striking example of this fact. The day of the battle of Wörth it was reported at Geneva that the Prussians had been routed. Thereupon the hosannas of the curé of Geneva rose to the gates of heaven, and, in delighted anticipation, he saw himself installed in our cathedral church, and in Calvin's pulpit. But he was obliged to abate his pretensions, and reduce his boasting to underhand calumnies against the Protestant mission to French prisoners. At the same time our legislature was occupied with the revision of the Federal Constitution. Do not fear that I shall occupy your time with questions of a political nature. It is not my subject. I shall therefore only say, that by one of those strange combinations with which the political world at times surprises us, the new constitution presented to the Swiss people by our legisla-

ture was opposed both by Radicals and Ultramontanes. The former rejected it as infringing on the sovereignty of the cantons, the latter, because it maintained the constitutional laws of 1848 against the Jesuits, and modified in nothing the legal position of Catholicism in Switzerland—a deplorable one, were we to believe them. From the commencement of the protracted debates on the project of the Constitution, the aims of Roman Catholicism were clearly apparent. In fact, availing themselves of so favorable an opportunity for making known their desires, the Swiss bishops addressed the Federal Assembly in a full and well-drawn up memoir which it is very curious to read at this day. It is dated April, 1871, and a summary of it may be given in these words: "Every thing went well in the past, is going badly at present, and will go worse in the future, if our just demands are not attended to."

As a conclusion to their discourse, the bishops drew up their demands in eight general and four particular propositions. The following are the most important of the former: That the right of all ecclesiastical authorities to do in things purely religious absolutely what they will, be expressly affirmed by the Federal Constitution; that in matters relating to education, marriage, convents, and religious orders, those cantons containing a mixed population be governed by a double legislature, one Catholic, the other Protestant; that the indissolubility of marriage be legally imposed on Catholics; that the religious brotherhoods be under the protection of the law like other societies; lastly, that a federal law protect the Church, her faith, worship, and dignitaries, against the abuse of the press. Such were the demands of the Swiss bishops. To you, gentlemen, who live in a country where Church and State are separated, several of their demands may appear well founded. But when viewed in the light of secular traditions, under the *régime* of a union the advantages of which the Swiss bishops had not the slightest intention of renouncing, and with the formal agreements which are at the base of our diocesan institutions, these propositions were simply monstrous. To adopt them were to give all power into the hands of Rome, and divide in two the Swiss nation. This was not even to be thought of. Nor could the bishops deceive themselves on the fate that awaited their propositions. All their ulterior projects were adjourned, undoubtedly because they did not feel themselves strong enough to pursue them.

To these two facts we owe, perhaps, the respite procured us in the struggle against Ultramontanism, armed with the Syllabus and the decree of Infallibility. But this state of things could not last long. In fact, on the 12th of May, 1872, the vote on the

new Constitution, revised by our legislature, was taken throughout the whole of Switzerland. To the great joy of Radicals and Ultramontanes, it was rejected by the majority of the people and cantons; and almost immediately after, the Ultramontanes, believing themselves masters in Switzerland, commenced the struggle on another point. Within a few months two of the most important dioceses of Switzerland were dissolved. One bishop was deposed, an apostolic vicar was escorted to the frontier by the federal police—grave events, which, with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Germany, and the laws voted by the Prussian parliament at the commencement of the present year, sound as a stern reply to the Syllabus.

II. Every thing has been said that could be said of the encyclical "Quanta cura," every thing of the Syllabus, that compendium of errors condemned by the Pope. The doctrine set forth in these famous publications is not new; and notwithstanding this, it is impossible to read them without feeling a continual surprise. Every point concerning the relations of Church and State which is considered to-day as a progress to be realized, an ideal to be attained, or an evangelical truth, is formally anathematized as pestilential error. The Church, you say, has not the right to employ force—condemned! You maintain the separation of Church and State—condemned! You think that, if the Church and State are united, the latter should at least preserve some rights relative to the hierarchy—error, damnable and condemned. Bishops have the right to publish their proclamations, ordinances, bulls, etc., without the sanction of the government that pays them; the ecclesiastical courts for the trial of the clergy, whether in matters civil or criminal, should not be abolished; all the ancient immunities of the clergy, source of the most frightful abuses, should be most carefully respected; everywhere canon law should take precedence of civil law; there is no appeal against abuses; no common school in which the Church may not intermeddle; the Catholic religion should be considered as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all others; and in Catholic countries no other should be tolerated, etc., etc. What is it, then, the Pope and his clergy desire? Nothing less than supreme authority in both domains: to dictate to the State what it shall do, to govern in every thing without having any account to render to the civil authority even in criminal cases; such is the height of their modest ambition. Gregory VII. and Innocent III. would have been contented with less.

Happily, gentlemen, the theocratic system, of which the Syllabus is in our century the most striking exponent, exists only in theory. Rome is immovable, inflexible, hard-

er than iron and keener than steel, concerning the theoretical proclamation of her principles whether in religion or politics. In practice it is quite another thing. The iron melts, the steel becomes softer than wax, and the theory, pliable as if by enchantment, assumes every shape and form with surprising flexibility. Thus, while she condemns in theory the separation of Church and State, good care is taken in countries like yours, where this mutual independence of the two societies is an accomplished fact, not to attack the principle. In theory, the right of *placet*, and the intervention of the State in the choice of bishops, in civil legislation, or marriage, and in matters relating to real property, are rejected with horror, but they do not let the opportunity slip of signing concordats in which these pretended rights of the Church are entirely overlooked. In short, the Romish Church in her relations with civil society accepts almost all transactions, resting satisfied with protesting in theory. Why does she act so? Because, in order to govern to-morrow, it is necessary to exist and live to-day; because this necessity is of a nature to justify, not the abandonment of principles, oh no; but clever concessions and skillful transactions with those governments as yet little inclined to submit to the dictation of clerical authority. Rome yields then, yet, while doing so in appearance, she in reality yields nothing; she postpones her plans, submits to the present necessity, but it is with a view to the future. The theocratic principles are there unchangeable. She never renounces them, and the most seemingly solid state of things, the most solemnly promulgated concordats, are in her eyes but temporary and void when they do not correspond to her hopes in forming them. Does she believe herself strong enough to trample them underfoot without seriously compromising her interests? She does so without scruple; and in breaking them she too often, alas, has pretended to sigh in sadness over the ruins she herself has produced, over the blood she has spilled.

The events that have taken place in Switzerland since the rejection of the revised Constitution is but an eloquent commentary on this policy of Rome. There, gentlemen, you are going to see in operation the principles proclaimed in the *Syllabus*, and sanctioned by the decree of the Council of the Vatican.

In the confusion which involved every thing at the end of the last century, the order of things established by Roman Catholicism in Switzerland was destroyed, as elsewhere in Europe. After Napoleon I.'s final defeat at Waterloo, the ruins were restored. But to reconstruct the social edifice as it was before was impossible. Men had to be satisfied with collecting a few of the ruins scattered over the soil, and it was hoped to initiate a new order of things, more lasting

than the preceding, by the treaties of Vienna. It was at this period the Swiss Confederation was formed, of twenty-two cantons, and that Geneva in particular, rejoicing in having recovered at last her lost independence, took her place in it.

On the reconstitution of Switzerland, the question of the dioceses would naturally be brought forward. After long negotiations, the history of which remains very obscure, the Papacy, in the person of Pius VII. at Rome, and his nuncio, Vincent, consented, in so far as concerned the canton of Geneva, to separate its Catholic population from the diocese of Chambéry, of which it formed a part, and place them under the jurisdiction of the bishop resident at Freiburg. This latter then received, *honoris causa*, the title of Bishop of Lausanne, Freiburg, and Geneva. A brief, dated November 1, 1819, legally confirmed the new state of things on the part of Rome. This document is drawn up in that Roman phraseology in which the shrewdest terms of a far-seeing policy are cleverly combined with the vague expressions of Catholic mysticism. The Pope declares that in granting it he yields to the prayers which have been addressed to him so fervently on different hands; he repeats at different times, and almost at each particular stipulation, the following formula: "Thus then, of our own free-will, of our certain knowledge, and after ripe deliberation, we decree," etc. He hopes that the Catholic religion, maintained and protected, as in the past, in the Catholic communes of Geneva, will receive additional adherents from day to day. In fine, the document terminates with this significant declaration: "The present brief will remain forever binding, valid, and durable; ever producing its full effect, it will be religiously observed by those bound thereby, in the present and for the future; it declares null every thing that may cause prejudice to these presents, whether knowingly or ignorantly, by whomsoever it may be, or by whatever authority." On the communication of this brief, the Conseil d'Etat of Geneva decreed the reception of the Convention thus framed, referring to the protocol of the Congress of Vienna, which determined the religious position of the new Savoyard communes annexed to the canton of Geneva. Among other laws framed later, one was to this effect: that candidates for vacant parishes should be presented by the bishop and named by the Government. Thus the legal position of the Genevese Catholics was definitely established.

Nine years later, after still longer negotiations, the bishopric of Basle was constituted or reorganized. The bull for this purpose was given by Leo XII. on the 7th of May, 1828; the same authoritative tone, with the same style, and the same solemn declarations regarding the inviolability of the contract

then formed. It is in obedience to the holy articles of the canon law, which provide that each diocese have its own spiritual director, that the papal bull is granted. It gives the new See of Solenre, the chapter and diocese in perpetuity, to the present bishop, our most worthy brother, Francis Xavier de Neven, and to his successors in the diocese of Basle, with all the rights, immunities, and privileges belonging thereto, etc. This diocese, of which the different cantons signing the Concordat were to form parts, comprised Solenre, the Episcopal seat, Lucerne, Aargau, Thurgau, and Zug, the Catholic parishes of the canton of Berne, and those of Basle. The bishop should be named by a senate of ten canons, and be accepted by the contracting states. Each of these, entering of its own accord into the diocese, reserved to itself the power to separate therefrom should it ever be deemed either snitable or necessary. Nay, they went even further. While sanctioning, on the 12th of July, 1828, the contents of the Pontifical Bull, the states then forming the diocese reserved, in formal terms, the sovereign rights of their respective governments. In their ratification of the Convention, they express themselves thus: "Without its being possible to deduce in any manner from this ratification any thing whatsoever prejudicial to the sovereign rights of the governments, nor any thing contrary to the laws of the country or the ordinances of the State, to the archiepiscopal or episcopal rights, and finally to the relations established in the Swiss confederation between the two confessions for religious toleration."

Lastly, each newly elected bishop, when entering on his functions, was to take the following oath: "I swear and promise on the Holy Gospel obedience and fidelity to the cantonal governments which form part of the bishopric of Basle. I promise, besides, neither in Switzerland or elsewhere to form any compact, nor take part in any project, nor entertain suspected relations which might endanger the public peace. And if ever I am informed of any project hurtful to the state, whether in my own diocese or elsewhere, I shall inform the Government of it. I shall faithfully and loyally keep and accomplish the tenor of this oath read in my presence. And this I swear in presence of Almighty God, relying on his grace and the support of all the saints."

Thus was concluded the Concordat reorganizing the bishopric of Basle. An Assembly representing the diocesan states was afterward summoned to deliberate on those ecclesiastical matters common to all, and serve as a medium between the bishop and each of the cantonal governments.

How unstable human things are, gentlemen! Certainly, if any transactions in the world could hope for duration, there might be those I have just described. Here we

have not two secular enemies, who, maimed and wounded in a deadly struggle, at last agree to conclude a peace. It was a friendly arrangement, a convention long deliberated upon, ripely examined in all its articles; a contract passed between the loyalty of some Swiss cantons and that power which on earth pretends to be the only representative of the gospel of truth, justice, and equity. Nevertheless, these conventions are to-day a dead letter. It is even probable that Rome never regarded them as binding.

As to the diocese of Basle, it has been greatly agitated since its reorganization. More than once the politico-religious events have endangered its existence. The Revolution of 1830, which struck so heavily the legitimate reigning line in France, by raising to power under a constitutional king the liberal party of the day, was like a mountain-billow which, upheaved by the wind, rolled toward the shore. The movement was felt in Switzerland, and the stability of the political arrangements established by the restoration was threatened. Lucerne, that canton since so Ultramontane, took the initiative, as leading canton (Vorort) in convoking an assembly, which, held at Baden in the commencement of 1834, has been long remembered in Switzerland, and has given rise to a declaration of principles that have ever since been famous among us, under the name of the Baden Articles. One of the articles proposed was the substitution for the office of nuncio of a Swiss archbishop, a national metropolitan, as in so many other countries. At first a great many cantons accepted these articles. They were about to proceed to their application; but the Roman See, which prefers dealing with several weak bishops tied to its interests rather than a powerful metropolitan, refused all action in the matter, and by an almost insulting proclamation condemned the articles of Baden in their entirety. The whole affair ended in nothing. Under the influence of the nuncio and time, the principal Catholic cantons, and Lucerne the foremost, retracted one by one their adhesion to them. Afterward agitation was produced in Aargau by disputes with the Bishop of Basle in reference to the dismissal of some curés, and an oath which the state wished to force upon them. Still later, the suppression of the convents in Aargau, the introduction of the Jesuits in Schwytz and Lucerne, the war of the Sonderbund, to which the nuncio wished to give the character of a religious war, were not without producing emotions whose effects might have been more profoundly felt than it has been in the diocese of Basle. Fortunately the titular bishops at these periods, Salzmann and Arnold, adopted a most prudent line of conduct. It was not so with their successor, M. Engene Lachat, elected bishop in 1863. Mark the date, gentlemen,

and remember that it was in 1864 that the encyclical "Quanta cura" and Syllabus were promulgated. Thus M. Lachat, aided by a chancellor who is said to be a Jesuit, and who in any case belongs to the worst school of Ultramontaniam, found himself placed in the episcopal see of Basle at the hottest period of clerical effervescence. He has been governed in all his acts by the theoeratical spirit. Regardless of his oath to the diocesan states, of the cantonal laws and liberal traditions, which in the primitive cantons are almost as old as the propagation of Christianity, he has been ever ready to withdraw himself from the sovereignty of the cantons, and to deny it in every question where the Roman hierarchy has pretended rights.

Since 1863 he tried to apply, either abruptly or by those détours so well known to Romish politicians, the principles of the Syllabus in the government of his diocese. The diocesan states have the right of *placet*, which he constantly endeavored to evade, principally in the collection of Peter-pence, the promulgation of the Syllabus, and the decrees of the Council of 1870. In matters of education and marriage he attempted to act in accordance with the domineering pretensions of the hierarchy, and not with the laws of his country. After allowing the ethics of the Jesuit Gury to be taught in the Seminary at Soleure, he tried to elude the condemnation of that book by dissolving this Seminary, and erecting, contrary to the rights of the cantons and the Concordat, one after his own model. An Infallibilist himself, he deposed of his own authority and excommunicated Old Catholics and Anti-infallibilist priests. In short, he acted as if clothed with a supreme authority to which every thing should yield. And that he acted thus in virtue of the pretended rights of the Church may be seen by the merest glance at those publications which this abuse of power has produced. It is easy to observe, in these numerous documents, and in all those which have been published latterly by the Swiss bishops, that they take good care to look at matters very seldom from the stand-point of concordats and written conventions. The divine power of the Church, the supreme authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, the canon law, such is the basis of all their reasonings and attacks against existing laws. It is thus M. Lachat has acted. In vain did the Diocesan Assembly remind him of his oath, of the violated articles of the Concordat, the reserves made by the canton, and all that constitutes positive law; he but seldom permits himself to regard the subject from this point of view. Evidently treaties are in his eyes documents of little value. Sometimes he loudly protests his innocence; at other times he accuses the can-

tons of intolerance and oppression; now he invokes the happiness and well-being of the Catholics; and again he challenges the competence of the authorities in the Protestant cantons of his diocese, but he especially insists on his authority as bishop. Listen to the commencement of one of these documents. "The bishops," says he, "are the successors of the apostles, and, as such, established by the Holy Spirit to govern the Church of God. It is from on high they have received their dignity and authority over their charge, and it is from the Church, that is to say, the Apostolic See, they hold their special jurisdiction over such or such a parish. It is on this account each bishop calls himself bishop by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See. It is not, then, in any manner from the state they have received whatever authority, power, and jurisdiction they possess." It is the doctrine of the Syllabus. As the Government of Aargau told him, the bishop recognizes in the State no other right than that of paying him.

But what has passed at Geneva is more significant still. Here the acts of the Court of Rome have not the slightest possible excuse; they appear to be those of a power which makes, unmakes, and remakes every thing that may further its interests, caprices, or the foolish ambition of its agents. The treaties of 1815 had placed Catholicism at Geneva in a situation exceptionally privileged. And what hopes have not been conceived from this circumstance! To judge by the Catholic writings only, from that moment and perhaps even before, the Court of Rome aimed at nothing less than the re-establishment of the bishopric of Geneva, destroyed at the Reformation. One man, in particular, has personified these hopes in himself, and pursued, with the tenacity of a priest, the realization of this project. The curé Vuarin, of Savoyard origin, combined in his person superior intelligence with rare administrative capacities, and an audacity of execution seldom met with. No scruple, no feeling, no moral nicety troubled him. During the time he occupied the parish of Geneva the Government was forced to resist, on the ground of law or treaties, those intrigues in which, through the influence of the curé Vuarin, the most powerful personages of Europe were involved. The bishopric of Geneva was not re-established, the titular bishop at that time, M. Yenny, having absolutely refused to abandon, in any respect, his jurisdiction.

But Catholicism was sufficiently strong in its position to be able, after the fall of the Conservative Government of 1846, to hope and expect every thing. I can not here relate in detail by what favorable circumstances Roman Catholicism has been enabled, since our radical revolutions, to take such a development as caused the hearts of

its priests to beat with joy, and the greatest enthusiasm to prevail in the Catholic countries that surround us. Permit me only to say that, thanks to measures of quite a political kind, the Catholic population has gone on increasing; that the different governments which have succeeded each other in the canton have shown favor to the new citizens, and thereby forwarded the attempts of Catholicism; that the new curé of Geneva, a Genevese himself, but an Ultramontane of the purest water, insinuating, affable, ambitious, and good-looking, wrought underhand to get himself named bishop, and had not to deal with men either able or firm enough resolutely to oppose his intrigues; let me add, in fine, that our Government only resolved to act on the day when the Ultramontane intrigues were exhibited almost without concealment. Measures were then taken, but it was too late. What had passed at Rome? Had the curé of Geneva, M. Mermillod, named successively Bishop of Hebron *in partibus infidelium*, and then vicar-general to his ordinary the Bishop of Freiburg, succeeded in having Geneva erected into a bishopric, and in getting himself elected to the new see in despite of the brief of 1819, and without previous negotiations either with the Federal Government or the cantonal authorities? No answer can be obtained to this question. The Pope's nuncio knows nothing, the lawful Bishop of Geneva residing at Freiburg knows nothing, and the curé of Geneva, Bishop of Hebron, only gives evasive answers. But in the mean while the ordinary refuses to fulfill the functions of his episcopal charge, and even gave in his resignation, so far as concerns the Genevese Catholics. M. Mermillod acts as bishop. He is obeyed by his clergy, who treat him as bishop. To every demand of explanation he responds with the haughtiness of an authority who has no account to give to the State. One day, however, matters were cleared up. The Federal Council appears on the scene. It had expressly declared to the Pope that the creation of Geneva into a separate bishopric was absolutely impossible, and that negotiations relative to the establishment of an apostolic vicariate could only be opened on two conditions: 1st. That the Government of Geneva be first consulted; 2d. That the vicariate should not be conferred on the Bishop of Hebron. But Rome was decided. Without previous warning, without negotiations, without the consent, ever demanded on similar occasions, of either the confederation or the canton of Geneva, the Pope, on the 16th of January, 1873, issued a brief appointing the Bishop of Hebron vicar apostolic for the canton of Geneva. In the same document, with the stroke of a pen, he formally annuls all the conventions so solemnly concluded in 1819. Is it possible to see, in

this tyrannical manner of acting, other than a manifestation of that absolute supremacy which the Roman hierarchy claims to possess over the nations? Rome was formerly intoxicated with the blood of the saints, but at present it is with her own power. Every thing is permitted, every thing possible, every thing legitimate, when it is she who decides and executes.

III. These events have taken place in a little country; they are, nevertheless, of universal import. It is not only in our towns and nation that men are indignant at the new intrigues of the Roman See. The echo of these facts has resounded in England, Germany, France, and Italy. It has been borne back to our ears with strains of triumph in the clerical press, and with the accent of sympathy in the journals friendly to liberty. We have rejoiced both in the sympathies expressed toward us, and in the insults which the Ultramontanism of the *Veuillots* has directed against us. In fact it is necessary to be on the watch. A solemn question is laid down. The Papacy has long waged war with the Episcopacy for the purpose of concentrating in itself the entire authority of Church and tradition. On the 18th of July, 1870, thanks to the serried ranks of the Jesuits, a decisive victory has despoiled the bishops of the last remains of independence. The Pope has been able to say, "Io sono la chiesa, io sono la tradizione" —I am the Church, I am the tradition. But another war, formerly undertaken, then more or less abandoned, is about to recommence. It is a war against nationalities; a holy war, since the Roman hierarchy pretends to have all the rights of God on earth; a terrible war, threatening Europe with awful disasters, since the whole of modern civilization is up in arms against Rome. How shall these nations resist? What can and what should they do to avoid such perils? Such is the question. I wish to draw your attention to it for a moment.

Had I only to answer the question in the abstract and theoretically, I would say the best means of combating the Papal theocracy is to place the Romish Church everywhere on a footing of perfect equality with all the other Christian communions of the same country. And should any one consider this a strange mode of warfare, I would endeavor to demonstrate its excellence in the following manner. One day the chief of a tribe that shall be nameless, composed of five or six families, was very much embarrassed on the following occasion. He was seated under his peaceful tent, and scarcely feeling the weight of his government, when the head of one of the families approached him haughtily, and spoke in almost the following terms: "Listen, illustrious chief of this tribe. I am come to warn you that I have received from on high supreme author-

ity and special revelations. Obey me, and in every thing rule according to the counsels I am about to announce to you;" and thereupon he declares them, threatening him at the same time with the anger of Heaven should he not adopt them. Plunged in profound astonishment at this discourse, the chief had not yet replied, when the head of the second family appeared. To his great surprise, he spoke in almost the same terms as the first, with this exception, however, that his principles were widely different. Scarcely had the second ceased, when the third, approaching unexpectedly, made, in his turn, a vehement speech resembling that of the two first, but also with a great difference as to conclusions, the adoption of which he demanded immediately. The remaining three did the same. And the heart of the chief was troubled! Having dismissed them without an answer, he did not sleep that night. "What shall I do?" said he to himself. "If I adopt the principles of Ibrahim or Abdallah, it is a declaration of war against the others. I shall be under the odious obligation of employing constraint, and perhaps of drawing the sword, in order to enforce an obedience which will ever cover a spirit of revolt. I shall perhaps do what is unjust, or, at least, appear to do so. What am I, then, to do? I will, in a few articles, frame a law without special reference to any one of them. It will respect their dearest principles. It will leave each of the six free to practice at home what seems good to him, but it will prevent any of them in any way compelling the others to believe or practice what they can not conscientiously. Each one will be equal in the eye of the law, and free at the same time." The illustrious chief meditated on this subject the whole of the night, and it was not too long. Early in the morning the heads of the families returned, and after having informed them of the cares that burdened his heart he made known to them the law, which was so excellent in every respect that they could only—at least so says the story, though I can scarcely believe it—prostrate themselves at his feet and celebrate the praises of his profound intelligence.

This apologue requires no interpretation. Certainly, if an order of things could be established, either in a republic or a monarchy, so that the different sects would be on the same legal footing, while preserving in an absolute manner the free exercise of their respective worship, the desired solution of the problem would be effected. What could the Catholic Church say that would not be refuted by facts? Protected like all other communions, she would undoubtedly have no legal privilege over any of them; but what could she legitimately complain of? This equality would force her to silence. She could neither dictate her will to the govern-

ment, nor declare herself persecuted. It is just this she dreads above all things. At any cost, she will have an exceptional position. She even prefers oppression to equality, because oppression is inequality—nay, a distinguished exception—flattering her to a certain extent, and attracting the public gaze on her pretensions.

Besides, gentlemen, I must add that this equality in liberty can only, in my opinion, be established by a rigorous distinction between things civil and religious, by the separation of Church and State. Wherever there is a Church privileged by any title, or to any degree whatsoever, there will be inequality, and consequently a just cause for complaint to other communions as well as to Roman Catholics. I agree, therefore, with Bunsen and Vinet against Stahl, with the ecclesiastical system of America in opposition to that union of Church and State which secular tradition has caused to prevail everywhere in Europe. I believe the separation of Church and State to be one of the most powerful preservatives against the despotism of the Papal hierarchy. I believe that, if there is a country in a better position than another to free itself from this influence, it is the United States of America. Hold firm, then, your system of religious liberty, which seems destined to procure one day for the Churches of Old Europe an era of prosperity, and for her states that confessional peace vainly sought for in legislation on religious matters.

Do not, however, think that I am laboring under delusions. To imagine that the principle of separation would solve all difficulties, no matter of what kind, between Church and State, would be to forget that such a thing as perfect peace does not exist in this world. To believe that this new social order of things could be established immediately would be to forget both that this principle is repudiated by a powerful public opinion, and that the States and Churches of Europe bow beneath the weight of burdensome traditions. Though I regret, I am not, therefore, astonished that the attacks of Rome have nowhere produced either the application of this principle, or even the measures fit for bringing it about. Time pressed. Nothing could be promptly done that was not more or less in accordance with the principles till then prevailing. To speak properly, these principles seemed to have received a new baptism in repulsing the attacks of Rome. In Switzerland, where the hierarchy placed itself boldly in presence of the State with the intention of dictating its will, the State felt itself insulted in its dignity, wounded in its sovereignty, and, arming itself, has seen it to be its duty energetically to maintain its traditional rights.

Representatives from the seven states forming the diocese of Basle met at Solerne

on the 29th of January, 1873, and adopted the following resolutions:

1st. The consent given the 30th of November, 1863, to the bishop, Eugene Lachat, of Mervelier, for the taking possession of the episcopal see of Basle, is withdrawn, and the diocese is thus declared vacant.

2d. M. Lachat is prohibited to exercise the episcopal functions in the cantons of the diocese. These will be invited no longer to pay into his hands the episcopal revenues; and in the cantons where the diocesan funds are not united to those of the State, they will, for the present, be sequestered.

3d. The Government of Soleure will be invited to serve M. Eugene Lachat with a notice to quit the official episcopal residence in due time. It will also take care to claim the inventory of the bishopric of Basle.

4th. In conformity with Article III. of the Convention, agreed upon by the diocesan States the 28th of March, 1828, for the formation of the bishopric; in conformity with the Papal brief dated 15th of September, 1828, and the decisions taken by the diocesan Assembly the 24th of October, 1830, the Chapter will be invited to appoint, within fourteen days after the communication of this decision, an administrator *ad interim* acceptable to the cantonal authorities.

5th. The five diocesan governments will immediately commence negotiations for the revision of the diocesan Convention. They will invite the governments of Zürich, Basle-ville, Schaffhausen, Tessin, and Geneva to take part in them for their Catholic population.

6th. The decision of the diocesan States will be communicated to the Federal Council, in prospect of negotiations with the Holy See.

7th. The Assembly adjourns to the 14th of February in order to know the decisions of the Chapter and attend to the settlement of current affairs.

Zug and Lucerne, thinking the deposition of the bishop beyond the jurisdiction of the diocesan States, did not sign this decree. They alone still submit to the authority of M. Lachat.

Almost at the same time, M. Mermillod, who no longer held a legal position at Geneva, caused the brief of the 16th of January, appointing him vicar apostolic, to be read by the curés from the pulpits, and that without any legal communication to the civil authority. The Pope's *chargé d'affaires* simply communicated the nomination to the President of the Confederation. Summoned to desist from fulfilling the functions of vicar out of respect for the Federal Government, that had not been consulted in the matter, M. Mermillod repelled haughtily this demand, and almost immediately after, in consequence of a decree of the Federal

Council, a carriage accompanied by a police officer and his men presented themselves at his residence. The vicar was conducted across the frontier, there to remain till he should recognize the rights of the civil power. He is still there.

Thus, to the authoritative acts emanating from the Roman See, the cantons of the Swiss Confederation replied by others equally authoritative. In this violent shock of the two powers the dioceses of Basle and Lausanne fell at the same time to pieces.

These events have caused much discussion. Pius IX., from the Vatican, has not failed to reprimand Switzerland in the most violent terms. The enthusiasm of French Ultramontanism for the martyrs of the Church has only been exceeded by their insults and contempt for our country. In Switzerland the *chargé d'affaires* of the Holy See has protested. M. Lachat, having withdrawn to the territory of Lucerne, has prayed the Federal Council for redress against the States who have had the boldness to depose him. M. Mermillod, vicar apostolic, has protested against the police measures which exiled him, and, roaming around our Genevese frontier, performs his functions of vicar as best he may. The cantons, for their part, are endeavoring to restore to something like legal order the elements dispersed by the revolutionary clergy; new ecclesiastical laws are being voted; the organization of a Swiss archbishopric is being disensed; the Federal Council is looked to, and much is expected from the new Federal constitution, the project of which, already known, is going to be submitted to our legislature. But till now this display of authority has been neither in favor of the Catholic Church nor of the States of the Confederation. As to the former, not only has it lost in this combat two of its official representatives, but it has seen, what is otherwise more serious, Old Catholicism taking a firm footing in Switzerland, which it would never have done but for the provocations of the Holy See. In the diocese of Basle a considerable number of parishes have openly declared against the new dogma. The Association of Liberal Catholics is actively engaged in organizing them. In Geneva, a man as highly respected for the nobility of his Christian character as for his oratorical powers, Father Hyacinthe, has given a number of public addresses which have been received with enthusiasm, and the practical result of which has been the formation of a congregation of Old Catholics, which in a short time may become the only Catholic Church officially recognized. Thus, as in the eleventh century, as in the sixteenth, and as in Germany at the present day, the exorbitant pretensions of Rome produce schism and convulse her dominion.

As to the States whose patience has been

exhausted by these clerical manœuvres, some are undertaking, as formerly, the management of ecclesiastical affairs. They are seen embarrassing themselves with questions which, if they are not dogmatic, are closely allied to what is. Thus the pretension of the Church to dominate over the State forces the latter on a dangerous position, where it advances with so much the less assurance as it professes with conviction the most entire respect for the liberty of conscience and worship. The claims of the theocracy produce the antagonistic assertion of the supreme authority of the State.

What will be the result of all that? Is it to be the separation of Church and State? Some think so. The exaggeration of clerical power, they say, has provoked a crisis; but this exaggeration is such that the only possible issue is the sudden and violent rupture of all the bonds which till now have united Church to State in Switzerland. I too, gentlemen, hope that the system of the separation of Church and State will be adopted. Imperfect though it be, like all things here below, yet it seems to me no less one of the most peaceful of refuges in comparison with that rock-bound coast on which the storm is driving us. But I do not believe that we are ready to cast anchor in that harbor of safety. It is not more than three or four years since one might still augur well for the future in this respect. How often have not projects of laws in the French-speaking cantons of Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Vaud been brought before the constituted authorities for the separation of Church and State! These have been rejected. Have they any more chance of being accepted to-day? Less than ever. True, the principle is accepted now almost without discussion. It is an article of faith with political liberalism; but this party, though professing it openly, recoils even before its partial application. In the German cantons it is much worse. There the principle is not even accepted by those directing the movement. The State is all in all for them; they see salvation, so to say, only in severe legislation for the recognized communions; the churches are in their eyes only a department of the State. Thus, without speaking of the considerable practical difficulties in each canton, and for the moment insurmountable in the Confederation as a whole, I do not believe we should be justified in expecting the separation of Church and State.

Shall a great national Church, Catholic but not Roman, rise out of the confusion in which we are at present plunged? Shall we have a primate or Swiss metropolitan, as the Baden Articles proposed? Is Old Catholicism strong enough in my native land to take its place as a church separated from Rome? I am afraid not yet. Ultramonta-

nism, its antagonist, is still powerful. It has in its favor all the prestige of a tradition which has not ceased to charm the senses of many, notwithstanding the Council of 1870; its organization is complete; priests, bishops, religious orders, seminaries, the majority of the population, and a majority of the governments in the Catholic cantons—every thing, in a word, is on its side. On the other hand, Liberal Catholicism has as yet nothing except the love of liberty and the hatred of clerical intolerance, some ancient liberties, the sympathy of Liberal and Protestant opinion, and a few clever leading men. It is much, you say. Yes, it is much; but is it enough to found a lasting ecclesiastical institution? No durable foundation can be laid in religious matters without an ardent faith, a disdain of polity, and an all-absorbing interest for the salvation of men's souls. Heaven grant I may be mistaken in my opinion; but till now there is, it seems to me, too much polity and too little religious zeal among the Old Catholics of Switzerland, to allow us to form great hopes for the future of their cause.

The future is, then, obscure, gentlemen; as obscure as those cloudy and indistinct horizons toward which, when crossing the Atlantic, I have sometimes seen the passengers on deck casting uneasy glances. The mighty ship was dashing through the trackless ocean; her prow was cleaving the foaming waves; her sails were swelling in the wind, and the heavy sound of her working engines struck on the ear; thus, with the ever-increasing obscurity, did we sail into night and darkness. So is it often with nations. What is in store for us I know not. Perhaps the future has in reserve for us strange surprises that will far exceed our hopes or fears. The horizon may perhaps clear when some kindly breeze springs up to drive away the thickest of the fog. But be that as it may, be certain, gentlemen, that Switzerland will never become the hot-bed of clerical fanaticism. We are assured that God will never abandon that home of liberty, that theatre of religious events which, with the names of Zwingli and Calvin, have borne the blessings of the Reformation to the most distant coast of your distant land. He will remember the work of our fathers. He will inspire the faithful preachers of his Word, the churches and societies jealous of his glory, with an heroic and simple faith. He will destroy the best-laid plans of the enemy. Therefore, gentlemen, let Switzerland hold a large place in your affections. Pray for her in this her day of crisis. Often does she direct her gaze toward you. Remember her also; and may a powerful current of sympathies traverse the seas like that submarine wire which enables us to maintain uninterrupted communication with each other!

THIRD SECTION.—EVANGELIZATION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNTRIES.

EVANGELIZATION IN IRELAND.

BY THE REV. LOWRY EDMONDS BERKELEY, LURGAN, IRELAND.

I AM to speak of "Evangelization in Ireland," and I desire that what I say may throw light upon the subject of missions among Roman Catholics in other countries. Let us survey—

The Field.—Ierne, the "Western," or, as some say, the "Saered" Isle, the "Hibernia" of the Romans, the "Scotia" of later centuries, the "Emerald Isle" of the poets. It is about three hundred miles long by one hundred and seventy broad, with an area of 32,000 square miles—a piece of territory that would hardly be missed out of these United States, yet inhabited by races exercising at the present moment world-wide influence for good and evil.

The population of Ireland in 1841 was 8,196,597. In 1871 it was only 5,402,759, a decrease of 2,793,838 in thirty years. Whither have these multitudes gone? Many of them to the grave, in the days of famine and pestilence; very many to seek homes in this and other lands. Owing to constant emigration, the missionary field in Ireland is becoming daily more manageable; but owing to the same cause the Protestant Churches of the country are in one respect, at least, becoming daily less equal to the task. They are constantly losing some of their best members, who take the deepest interest in evangelistic work in their native land, and are best qualified to take part in it.

Religious Denominations.—The adherents of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland amounted in 1871 to 4,141,933 persons; Protestant Episcopalians numbered 683,295; Presbyterians, 503,461; Methodists, 41,815; Independents, 4485; Baptists, 4643; the Society of Friends, 3834; and other Christian persuasions, including Moravians, etc., 19,035.

Agencies at Work.—The Protestant Episcopal Church, at the period of its disestablishment in 1869, had 1551 churches, and 2172 clergy. Its ministers are now about 1900. Not a few of them are able, earnest, faithful men, who labor assiduously to spread the Gospel and to bring sinners to Christ. In connection with this Church, the principal direct evangelistic agency is the "Society for Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics," formed in 1849, with which is now in-

corporated the "Irish Society of London for promoting the Education and Religious Instruction of the native Irish through the medium of their own language," formed in 1818.

It is not generally known that there were in Ireland in 1861, the latest period of which we have yet received full information, 163,275 persons who could speak Irish *only*, and that 23,180 of these were resident in Ulster. There were besides in that year 942,261 persons who spoke Irish and English, and it is well known that as a rule these people prefer to speak in Irish, and love to hear the Gospel in that tongue. To give that Gospel to them in their native language is one of the aims of the leading Protestant Churches of the country. Means could easily be had to send it to them if they dwelt in Hindostan or Thibet; but, as they have their home in the British Islands, there is little of the romantic in the effort to reach them, and it is difficult to excite any enthusiasm on the subject.

The object of the "Society for Irish Church Missions," says one of its recent publications, "is to promote the glory of God in the salvation of the souls of our Roman Catholic countrymen in Ireland." "The means employed to this end are an open, plain, faithful, and affectionate exhibition of the Gospel from the pulpit; from house to house; in schools, day, night, Sunday, and ragged; by distribution of the Scriptures; by Irish teaching and Scripture-text teaching; by friendly disputation ('In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves'); by the publication of Scripture texts on placards; by the distribution of tracts and handbills, and by every loving and faithful influence which can be brought to bear upon those who are in dangerous error, and whose salvation is earnestly sought."

"The Society has raised within the last 22 years £553,255, or over half a million pounds sterling. In addition to this sum, spent in maintaining missionaries and teachers, it has been the means of erecting, with funds specially raised for the purpose, 19 churches, 9 parsonages, 8 orphanages, and 23 school-houses." "It maintains at this date," says

a circular issued in April of the present year, "46 Sunday-schools, attended by 2198 children and adults, and 76 week-day schools, with an attendance of 3062 scholars. The Missionary Agency numbers 394, which comprises 31 ordained clergymen, 217 trained agents—Scripture readers, school masters and mistresses—and 146 agents employed in Irish teaching and teaching texts of Scripture. About 184 Sunday and 142 week-day services are held during each month, attended by aggregate congregations of over 20,000. During each month the Scripture readers make about 10,000 visits, visiting in the aggregate about 24,000 persons. Besides which, the press is largely employed for communicating truth and exposing error—nearly a million tracts, handbills, and other plain spiritual and pointed publications being circulated every year."

By a "Scripture Readers' Society," in connection with the same Church, the word of the truth of the Gospel is heard in many homes of the poor, while the revival of the "Home Mission" in some districts gives promise that that Gospel will be earnestly and faithfully preached in churches and school-houses, with a view to reach especially the outlying Protestant population.

The Presbyterian Church, under the care of the General Assembly, has increased from 433 congregations and 460 ministers in 1841 to 553 congregations and 625 ministers in 1873, and now employs various and important agencies for the evangelization of the country. By a "church extension" scheme, she seeks primarily to bring her own nominal adherents under the sound of the Gospel, and to organize them into congregations. By her "Irish Mission," she labors more directly for the evangelization of the Roman Catholic population. About £1000 a year are spent in maintaining her Scripture readers and colporters. Her system of "Connaught schools" originated in 1847, when famine opened a wide field for missionary labor in the destitute districts of Ireland. In these schools, 20,000 children have received instruction, very few of whom had such opportunities elsewhere. In connection with them there is an Orphanage and Refuge Home for females and young persons fleeing from persecution, in which they remain till fit for service at home or for emigrating. Artisans, servants, clerks, and ministers of the Gospel, on both sides of the Atlantic, are the fruits of the Connaught schools, while many happy death-beds of pupils have illustrated the power of Divine grace and the blessed effects of Scripture teaching.

In connection with the Assembly there has been carried on for the past twenty-four years a system of "open-air preaching," by which multitudes of the poor and spiritually destitute portions of the popula-

tion, of all denominations, have been brought under the sound of the Gospel. The Assembly's "Committee of Evangelization" sends ministers, if possible two and two, to leading towns, manufacturing districts, watering-places, and elsewhere, to hold special services, sometimes for four or five evenings in succession, with a view to the revival of religion and the exciting of a deeper interest in the things of God. The "Sabbath-school Society" in connection with the Assembly furnishes books and all needful appliances for the instruction of the young, while the "Orphan Society," recently organized, already sustains 1400 orphans in the homes of relatives and friends.

Besides the Presbyterian Church under the care of the General Assembly, there are in Ireland four small Presbyterian denominations, numbering about 50 ministers in all; namely, the Reformed Presbyterian, Eastern Synod of the same, the United Presbyterian, and the Secession. Their ministers all adhere to the doctrine of the Westminster Confession of Faith. The members of their own churches are carefully looked after by them, but the churches are too weak to do much general evangelistic work.

The Wesleyans and Primitive Wesleyans, with their wonted energy and zeal, have pushed into many destitute districts and some populous towns in Ireland, and through them many are made to possess the blessedness of the people that know the joyful sound. Although the number of persons returning themselves as Methodists in the last Government census is comparatively small, yet have they in their various sections about 280 ministers, including supernumeraries and missionaries, and consequently they *can* do, and they *do*, much in the way of aggression upon the territories of ignorance and carelessness.

The Independents and Baptists in Ireland have each about 19 ministers, and by them in their several spheres a full Gospel is faithfully preached, and they contribute a share to the evangelization of the country.

Of late years God has graciously quickened a goodly number of laymen in connection with the various churches, who have gone everywhere preaching the Word, and whose labors have been blessed to the conversion of souls. Much was looked for from the efforts of these earnest men; but unhappily some of them, while publicly addressing loud calls to sinners to come to Christ, have more privately addressed, if possible, still louder calls to the children of God to come out from existing Church connections, and have thus created divisions and disunion, have added to the number of sects in our island, and greatly marred what would otherwise be a most delightful and effective work.

Non-denominational Agencies.—Chief among

non-denominational institutions working in our country I mention the "Hibernian Bible Society," which has for its object the circulation of the Scriptures in Ireland and throughout the world. There is also the "Sunday-school Society for Ireland," doing an important work among the young, and there is the "Bible and Colportage Society." Though I have named this society last, I would direct special attention to its character, objects, and operations. Managed mainly, though not exclusively, by Presbyterians, it is not denominational, but evangelical in its constitution. It works by means of central dépôts, book agents, and colporteurs. It circulates the Scriptures, and books, periodicals, and tracts founded on them. Formed in 1858 by a combination of various existing societies, and commencing operations on the 1st of January, 1859 ("the year of grace"), it has sold to the people of Ireland since then upward of *seven and a half millions* of publications, besides tracts distributed gratuitously, and has received in cash for sales upward of £56,000 sterling. This Society is seeking to embrace the entire country in its operations, and has already penetrated, especially by means of colportage, into some of its darkest nooks and most distant corners.

General Results.—I give this brief account of the condition of the Protestant Churches and societies in Ireland to indicate in a general way their preparedness, so far as agencies and means are concerned, for going in to possess the land for Christ, fully persuaded as I am that there must be an enlightened, educated, revived, living, loving Protestantism in our country before we can succeed to any large extent in the evangelization of the Roman Catholic portion of the population. So long as ignorance, intemperance, party spirit, and immorality are characteristic of any considerable portion of Protestants, what inducement is there for earnest Roman Catholics to look favorably on our principles or systems? Were all Protestants, or the majority of them, "living epistles of Christ," they would be the most effective agents for the evangelization of their neighbors and countrymen. I rejoice greatly to think that of late Protestantism with us has been raised to a higher platform—has become more self-reliant, and earnest, and active, and thus the way of the Lord is being prepared. And who knows how soon "the dayspring from on high may visit" all the people of our land?

By the agencies and means above mentioned, much of the Protestant population of Ireland, numbering in 1871 1,260,568, has become well instructed in the truth, and some of the churches are enjoying a good measure of spiritual prosperity. None of the societies named are as old as the present century, some of the most important are

only a few years in existence; yet, to say the least, they are helping Protestantism to hold its own in the country. This was by no means the case during the deadness and lukewarmness of previous centuries. I believe they are also enabling it to make some aggression on the territory of the man of sin. True, there is no general stirring of the popular mind. Rome never seemed stronger outwardly than at present. Her cathedrals and churches are towering up on every side, her ministers are everywhere active and zealous, and she seems in many places to have the country at her feet. Yet am I fully persuaded that in not a few quarters the truth is quietly winning its way. Light is breaking in here and there upon the darkness, and a preparatory work is going on which may tell one day, and perhaps sooner than most people expect. There are numerous evidences that impatience of ecclesiastical control is on the increase among the people, a spirit of independence exhibits itself in the priesthood, and her long and fierce struggle for denominational education at the expense of the State shows how much she feels herself pressed by the influences at work around her.

Evangelization of Roman Catholics.—When I speak of "Evangelization in Ireland," I presume I shall be expected to refer mainly to efforts to reach the Roman Catholic population with the Gospel of God's grace. Here, however, a preliminary question presents itself. Is it a duty to try to reach them with the Gospel? Have they not got a religion already, which, if not the very best, is yet sufficient for all spiritual and eternal ends? I dread the growing latitudinarianism of these times, which would incline to deny that the system of the Church of Rome is Antichristian. Doubtless some of its nominal adherents may be and are safe in Christ; but the system as such is one of soul-destroying error, and the Church of Christ should sound in the ears of its adherents the call of God, "Come out of her, my people!" Those who hold otherwise will be found, I believe, tending to deny altogether the necessity of the new birth, of real conversion, in the case both of nominal Protestants and Roman Catholics, and the power of the truth when applied by the Holy Spirit to effect the regeneration of the human soul.

But I fear, on the other hand, that some professing Protestants, who acknowledge the doctrine of the necessity of a spiritual birth and resurrection, are yet inclined to give up Roman Catholics in hopeless despondency, and to say that "they are joined to their idols," and may be left to perish in their sins. Hindoos and Mohammedans may be converted, these people say, but can Roman Catholics be reached by the grace of God? You may well doubt the Christianity of the

man who asks or remotely suggests such a question. If a man has been himself converted, he knows that the same grace which sought and found him can reach any other member of the human family. He despairs of no one, however abandoned or blindfolded. He knows that conversion is the work of God, and that "of his own will men are begotten with the word of truth." For converts to a creed or a system outwardly we care not. If all the Roman Catholics in Ireland were to-day to make a merely nominal profession of Protestantism, the influx of them would be deeply injurious to the Christian Church. It could be hailed only as bringing them within the reach of the means of grace and under the sound of the Gospel. It is *converts to Christ* we want, and the power and love of the Holy Spirit can give them in answer to prayer, and as the result of wise and loving effort. It will not be by miracle, however, but by the truth as it is in Jesus applied to their hearts, that they will be led to renounce self and the world, to receive Christ and his righteousness, and to give themselves up to God to serve and obey him.

But is it not difficult to reach them with the truth—to get it brought in contact with their minds? In my country it is difficult. Protestantism is the religion of those whom they have been taught to regard as oppressors. With them it is not only a heresy, but a tyranny. At the same time, it would be well for time-serving agitators to remember that hatred of England and of English institutions was generated in the minds of Irishmen before the name of Protestantism was heard of. Ireland's troubles may be said to have begun with the day when Pope Adrian IV., having arrogantly claimed the sovereignty of the kingdom, by a bull issued in the year 1155, formally conferred it on Henry II., on condition of his reducing his newly acquired dominions to unqualified submission to the papal supremacy, and conformity with the Romish Church. The English court before the time of the Reformation prohibited the use of the Irish language, through the vain idea of banishing it altogether from the kingdom, to make way for the adoption of the English tongue. The Reformation in Ireland, in the first instance, consisted merely in the proclamation of the royal instead of the papal supremacy. External conformity was enforced, but no proper effort was made to instruct the people by the circulation of the Scriptures in their own tongue and by the preaching of the Gospel. Fines were exacted from those who failed to attend the parish church, yet the service was not allowed in Irish, the only language the people understood; but, where the priest and people did not understand English, it was decreed that the Latin tongue must be used! The Romish faith was formally con-

demned by acts of Parliament, and profession of the Reformed religion enforced under the heaviest penalties, before any attempts were made to convince the people of their former errors. This is the fundamental mistake made in regard to our country which has yet to be corrected. Protestantism has yet to be presented to our countrymen as a religion of love and self-sacrifice. "Even as the prince of Cuba in India is reported to have said that he would not go to heaven if the Spaniards went there, because he thought that could be no good place where such cruel tyrants were, so in days gone by in our country many would not be of our religion, because they thought that could be no true religion which had such unconscionable professors and ministers." The Bible has yet to be presented in love to the Irish people in their homes. In other days there were no self-denying men to go forth in our land, as the Vandois went on the Continent in the capacity of peddlers that they might circulate the Word of life, and no occasion was given for the utterance of the complaint made by the Romanists in England at the time of the Reformation: "The gospellers of these days do so fill the world with their noisome little books that they be like the plague of locusts that came up over the land of Egypt."

Ireland has now no just cause of complaint against the British Government; the Irish Roman Catholic now labors under no civil disability whatever; but he carries about with him the memory of bitter wrongs, some more recent and others of ancient date, and hence it is difficult for Protestants to do missionary work among Roman Catholics; but I believe the difficulty has been grievously and grossly exaggerated.

Those who talk much of the difficulty have probably never tried to any great extent to deal with men individually about their souls, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. It is not to be expected that the latter will come to our churches, in the first instance at least, to hear the preaching of the Gospel; but can they be reached in no other way? To be saved, multitudes of people of every creed must be sought out—in the field and by the wayside, in their own homes and at their own firesides—and addressed in the spirit of love and conciliation. There is too little in the churches of "warning *every* man and teaching *every* man in all wisdom," taking them distributively, and going to each of them with the message of mercy. The great Master not only preached in cities and villages, dealing with men in the mass, but talked lovingly and earnestly with Nicodemus and with the woman of Samaria, and so sought to preach the Gospel to "every creature;" and the great Apostle of the Gentiles tells the Ephesians that by the space of three years he ceased not to

warn "every one" in Ephesus night and day with tears. When will the churches feel that they have not done their duty till they have made an offer of Christ and eternal life through him, as far as may be, individually and personally, to every Roman Catholic in Ireland?

Who should do this?—We ministers of the Gospel as well as the Christian people should *make* opportunities, more than we do, of talking with ignorant neighbors about their danger as sinners, and the way of recovery through Jesus. If any minister says he can not do this *with Roman Catholics*—"that the door is shut"—it is time for him to begin to inquire as to his spirit and temper, his connections and relations, and especially if he has been taking the right way to commend the Gospel to the ignorant and opposing. If we were all like the Master, "of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord," the story of the woman at the well would be repeated in multitudes of instances; and it is worth remembering that, if there were only two Christian people in the world at this moment, and if before the end of the year each of these by prayer and effort were to be the means of bringing *one other* to Christ, and next year each of the four another, and so on from year to year, every converted person being honored of God in every twelve months to bring one sinner to the Saviour, in thirty-three or thirty-four years all the people of the world would know and acknowledge Jesus.

But with reference to Roman Catholics in particular, I am fully persuaded that, whatever ministers of the Gospel may be honored of God to do, it is by the agency mainly of converted laymen, and of women "who labor with us in the Gospel," that they are to be evangelized. Far be it from me to depreciate the Gospel ministry. It is God's own institution. It must be maintained in all its efficiency. The waste places must be occupied with Christian churches, and every pastor must be a missionary and a superintendent of missionary operations in his own district. Church-members as well as ministers need to go "everywhere preaching the Word;" but, however faithful they may be, there are multitudes whom they can not reach. We want a class of men, humble, earnest, loving, godly—"men of the Evangel"—with the love of Christ and of souls in their hearts—we call them "*colporteurs*"—who are not ashamed to carry a pack, and who, while pushing the Bible and good books into the hands of the people, can yet speak what they know, and testify what they have seen, of God's love and Christ's grace. They must be prudent, conciliatory, quick-witted men, who can give a ready answer regarding the hope that is in them; men *trained for the purpose*, and familiarized beforehand with the questions

likely to be raised by those whom they visit, and the nature of the opposition they may expect. They go, in the first instance, not as missionaries, but as traders, as the Vaudois went prior to the Reformation, with the view to lodge the Bible in the homes of the people.

There are at present fifty such men in connection with the Bible and Colportage Society of Ireland, but there should be at least five hundred. They carry the Scriptures, and good books, and illustrated papers, and periodicals. They get access to the hamlets of the poor, and sometimes to the more pretentious dwellings of the rich, and they can talk with not a few, as one says, "as much as they like," about Jesus and his love. They are asked for a "dream book," and they sell for a penny a complete copy of "The Pilgrim's Progress;" for a song book, and they present a copy of the hymns of the sweet Psalmist of Israel. They have sold to priests of the Church of Rome "The Life of Calvin," "The Blood of Jesus," "The Last Day of our Lord's Passion." They dispose of large quantities of such works as Baxter's "Call" and "Saint's Rest," "The Rise and Progress of Religion," "The Practical View of Christianity," "Blind Bartimeus," and "The Power of Prayer." And, if the circulation of the Bible and good books had so much to do in bringing about the Reformation in many countries of Europe centuries ago, why may we not expect God to bless similar means now? Colportage in Ireland is no longer an experiment. It is a success. It has been tried in every county in Ireland, and nowhere has it failed. The colporteurs traverse every part of the land without molestation, or, at least, without injury. They may be hooted at, or called by ugly names occasionally, but this only gives them an opportunity of showing "the meekness and gentleness of Christ." And

In what spirit do they go?—Not in a spirit of controversy, or, in the first instance, to engage directly in controversy. Protestantism has been long regarded by our countrymen as a mere negation—denying, and too often denouncing, much they hold dear. We wish to show them that Protestantism is a positive thing, holding fast the grand old apostolic doctrines, especially that of a present, free, full, and everlasting salvation through Christ Jesus, and teaching its adherents to live "soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." Hence our agents are instructed to talk with the people about the things in which they agree rather than about those in which they differ, to speak of sin and salvation, of Jesus and his love, of the Holy Ghost and his work, and especially to exhibit a spirit of love, and compassion, and humility in their daily conduct. Questions soon come to be asked

which compel them to turn attention to the errors of the Church of Rome. A spirit of inquiry is excited. Protestantism is seen in the life and language of its adherents to be any thing but the overhearing, persecuting system many imagined. If we began by denouncing Romanism, the door would be shut against us at once; but we seek rather to begin by teaching that, "except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God;" that "without faith it is impossible to please Him;" and that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord;" and by trying to show that religion has a positive influence on men's lives in making them humble, loving, holy, and devoted. We try to reach the conscience and the heart, and if controversy must, as we find it *must*, be engaged in, our agents seek to carry it on in a very loving spirit, and as men who "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints."

The Rhemish or Douay Testament.—The colporteurs of the Bible and Colportage Society make effective use of the Rhemish or Douay Testament in their intercourse with the people. We have an edition of this Testament in Ireland, *without notes*, published some fifty years ago by the authority of the Roman Catholic bishops, and solemnly sanctioned by Pope Pius VII. This was done when these parties were seeking emancipation, and wished to convince the British public and Parliament that the Church of Rome is favorable to the circulation of the Scriptures without note or comment. I believe they would gladly recall this edition of the Testament, but the stereotyped plates are in the hands of Protestants, and many thousands of the precious book are being printed and circulated every year. Our colporteurs and others use it thus: They are talking with Roman Catholics about the way of life, controversy ensues, and the colporteur, producing the book, says, "See, here is your own Testament. I abide by what it says;" and he opens and reads, perhaps, Acts xiii., 39, "In Him every one that believeth is justified;" or Rev. xxii., 14, in that version standing thus, "Blessed are they that have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city." And surprise is expressed, and the book is purchased, and days and nights are sometimes spent in comparing the two versions; and the priest is occasionally consulted as to the genuineness of the Rhemish, a thing he can not deny, and most important results follow. I believe the Douay Testament, thus used, to be a most effective instrument for the regeneration of Ireland; and why not of other countries as well?

Support of Colporteurs.—A sum of about £60 sterling is required to support a col-

porteur for a year. If any individual or committee give the committee of our Society £30, they engage to salary and maintain a colporteur in any given district in Ireland for a year. Could any evangelistic agency be simpler, cheaper, or more effective? We do not expect any great movement among our countrymen arising directly from the outside. We look for it from within the Church, and hence we seek quietly and everywhere to leave the leaven of the Gospel in the homes and minds of the people, till by God's blessing the whole shall be leavened.

Can the Men be got for the Work and the Pay?—This is an important inquiry, and, thank God, we can answer it satisfactorily. Men can be had, humble, loving, earnest, who, after in every case preliminary training for three or four months under one of our missionaries, make most effective agents. They are mostly the fruit of the "year of grace"—the revival of 1859. Prior to that era some had been found and were employed by the Hibernian Bible Society, on from 1846, in the colportage of the Scriptures and nothing else. Others were employed by the churches as Scripture readers, and by the Presbyterian Church in particular in the colportage of good books besides the Scriptures; but almost all those recently employed are free to testify that they were either converted or revived in 1859; and when I left Ireland they were being found in considerable numbers, who, on appeal made, responded readily and joyfully, "Here are we. Send us!"

Who should send them?—The churches in Ireland, we reply. On them especially the responsibility rests. They are placed in that land to be lights in it. Thank God, we believe many Christians there are taking as their motto more distinctly and heartily than ever, "Ireland for Christ." But the work is too great for us. Great Britain and America should help. We thank them most heartily for what they have already done; but I believe they do not see clearly enough that the work is too great for us, or they would come still more earnestly to our aid. A gentleman in Scotland the other day gave half a million to assist in overtaking spiritual destitution in that land of Bibles, and churches, and Sabbaths, and ministers. How can it be expected that 1,260,000 Protestants in Ireland can at once overtake the spiritual destitution of 4,141,000 Roman Catholics without help from abroad? Selfishness might be appealed to on this subject. Are not the Roman Catholic Irish the difficulty of statesmen in both these Protestant empires? Are not the most recently appointed and energetic bishops in both from Ireland? Do they not boast that Ireland is, like Israel of old, made to possess a multitude of people, that they may be missionaries to the world? Would it not be the wisest and

most economical thing for the Christians of these countries to help us in doing what Elisha of old did long ago while he was tarrying at Jericho? "The men of the city said to him, Behold the situation of this city is pleasant: but the water is naught, and the ground barren. And he said, Bring me a new cruse and put salt therein. And they brought it to him. And he went forth *unto the spring of the waters*, and cast the salt in there, and said, Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or barren land. So the waters were healed unto this day, according to the saying of Elisha which he spake." So here. It is the duty of the Lord's prophets and people to cast the salt of the Gospel into the springs of our country. We say advisedly it *can be done* by those who know the country and understand the people, having been brought up among them. The healing power in this as in every other case can come from God only. He has made us responsible for the use of the means; but when in answer to prayer did he refuse to give the increase to wise and loving efforts? Have you in these States 3806 Roman Catholic churches and five and a half millions of a Roman Catholic population, the greater part of which is from Ireland or of Irish origin? Then for your own protection you ought to come over and help us. But, besides, the Protestant Churches of Ireland, and specially the Presbyterian Church, have for many years, not to say for centuries, been giving the best of their people to this country. Our most earnest Sabbath-school teachers and Christian workers come hither in great numbers, and form a not unimportant element of your strength. Latterly you have been getting some of the best of our ministers. You have not been sending us, but there have been coming from this country to us in return a very troublesome class of men, in the shape of political agitators. They left home simple-minded Irishmen, but they came back apostles of anarchy, whom, to say the least, we would rather want. We wish for a better return in the shape of generous sympathies and earnest prayers, and—shall I say it?—liberal contributors for the spread of the Gospel in our country.

The Alliance Spirit in the Work.—Colporteur, as at present carried on in Ireland, is in the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance. Members of all the Evangelical Churches of the country are being associated more and more in the work. A Protestant Episcopalian and his wife, in remitting recently the £30 required toward the support of a colporteur for a year, said: "We care not of what denomination he is, provided he be of the Church which Jesus hath purchased with his own blood." A Methodist writes in great admiration of one of our agents, and offers £10 a year toward the support

of such an agent in his locality. A Baptist has for years superintended one of our colporteurs, and raised the sum required toward his support. But, above all, the colporteurs themselves long for the union of the people of God in our land, in sentiment, feeling, and work. One writes recently: "I find that the divisions among Protestants form a great barrier to Roman Catholics in the way of receiving from us any instruction concerning the way of salvation. When will the Christian Churches take their names merely from their localities, as in days of yore?"

Hinderances.—This reminds me that there are many serious hinderances to the success of the Gospel in our country, and many difficulties in the way of its dissemination. Where Rome has the sway, the people are left in ignorance. She cares for education and encourages it only where she knows that, if not given by her, it will be had by her people somehow. In other cases she is true to her motto, "Ignorance is the mother of devotion," and the darkness is "such as may be felt." The history of the past is an impediment—a history of errors, and blunders, and mistakes without number—almost without end. The nugodliness of many Protestants is a great hinderance to the truth. The use of carnal weapons—party spirit, and warfare, and exhibitions, and processions—imbitter the people against the religion of those who indulge in them. On board the vessel by which I reached this country, the only person of whom I heard who objected to the distribution of tracts among the steerage passengers was an Irish Roman Catholic, who was leaving an intensely Protestant district in the North, but a district where these things sadly prevail, and his words to me in a pleasant conversation were, "You may gain men by love, but never by force." As I have said already, want of union among Protestants is a "sore evil under the sun" everywhere, but especially in Ireland. Where, in any case, one set of professedly Christian people live apart in haughty exclusiveness, saying, "Stand by, for we are holier than you," and another set meet those pretensions in the spirit of proud defiance, what hope can there be of spiritual progress and prosperity? If the 2894 Protestant ministers of all denominations in Ireland were meeting from time to time in their different localities to pray together, to take common counsel, and to unite in Christian work, how soon might the world round about believe that the Father had sent the Son, and the Roman Catholic world be brought to look to the Saviour whom they honor and obey!

Encouragements.—There are many things to encourage us in the present condition of our country. There are 1,030,000 pupils on the rolls of our national schools alone (not reckoning private and higher schools), or

almost one in five of our population. The people have learned to read, and the art of reading is a power. They have a thirst for knowledge. A spirit of inquiry is abroad. Recent events on the Continent have shaken the faith of some in the stability of the Romish system. France, long the bulwark of the Papacy, lies prostrate in the dust. Austria has annulled the concordat with the Pope. Italy prospers in the face of the curse and excommunication. Free Churches have been formed in France and Italy. The Old Catholic movement progresses in Germany. Wise legislation at home takes away occasion from those who desire occasion. All things seem to be moving in the direction of liberty and truth. Does not the time spoken of by Haggai seem to be near at hand, "I will shake all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with my glory, saith the Lord of Hosts?"

Ireland was once full of the Gospel. When Great Britain was in midnight darkness, our schools and colleges were thronged with students from the Continent of Europe and elsewhere, who spent much of their time in studying David's Psalms and Paul's Epistles. We were in days long gone by evangelistic as well as evangelical, and missionaries from Ireland, such as Columkille, held forth the light of truth in multitudes of places as well as in Iona. Ireland was the last country in Europe that submitted to the yoke of the man of sin, and it may be the last to cast it off; but the day of its redemption draweth nigh. God is putting a spirit of desire and of expectation into the hearts of not a few in our country, that the isles shall soon wait for his law, and our island among the rest. We have been greatly encouraged by the calls to prayer issued by the Evangelical Alliance. The 31st of March last was a time of earnest wrestling, publicly and privately, with many among us. We hope that a day of prayer for Ireland will now be observed by Christians throughout the world annually. Never did I hear more sweet or earnest singing than when on that day the children of my Sabbath-schools joined in the hymn composed for the occasion by Frances Ridley Havergal:

"Father, we would plead thy promise, bending at
thy glorious throne,
That the isles shall wait upon thee, trusting in thine
arm alone.
One bright isle we bring before thee, while in faith
thy children pray
For a full and mighty blessing, with united voice
to-day."

The Alliance has been inviting us to special preaching, as well as special prayer, and the New Year is a season of union in the proclamation of the everlasting Gospel. My decided conviction is that that invitation to PREACH should be extended beyond the

bounds of Protestantism. The Pope of Rome invited us to the Ecumenical Council at Rome, but he asked us first to renounce our Protestantism. I need not say we did not go on those terms. I would ask him, and all Roman Catholic bishops and priests everywhere, not to renounce their Romanism, but on a Sabbath to be named to join us in preaching from the Word of God. I would take my text on that day from the Donay Testament, and I would invite his holiness and all his satellites to do the same, and let it be a passage already named, Acts xiii., 39, in that version standing thus, "IN HIM every one that believeth is justified." "IN HIM"—not in Mary, or Joseph, or the Pope, but in JESUS—"EVERY one," however guilty—not that worketh, or prayeth, or doeth penance, but "every one that believeth"—"is JUSTIFIED," cleared, acquitted, has a title to everlasting life. I suggest the thing to the friends here. Such a friendly challenge sent forth from this great continent to all parts of the world would meet with a glorious response; and as the walls of Jericho fell down flat while the priests blew the trumpets, so the Lord might begin in a more manifest way to consume that system "with the breath of his mouth"—the word that goeth out of it—as he has begun already "to destroy it with the brightness of his coming"—in awful providential dispensations.

The evangelizing party in Ireland especially, or anywhere, may seem few and weak compared with the number and strength of their enemies. So did David appear very weak when he went forth against the giant of Gath. "When the Philistine looked about, and saw David, he disdained him: for he was but a youth..... Then said David to the Philistine, Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield: but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied..... And all this assembly shall know that the Lord saveth not with sword and spear: for the battle is the Lord's, and he will give you into our hands..... And David put his hand in his bag, and took thence a stone, and slung it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead; and he fell upon his face to the earth." It is the stone of divine truth, slung by the Church of Christ with the arm of faith and in the spirit of prayer, and God Almighty will direct its course, and Babylon will fall. That system, *as such*, the Lord will take up as a great millstone, and cast it into the sea; and thereafter and thereupon the voice of much people will be heard in heaven, saying, "Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honor, and power, unto the Lord our God: for true and righteous are his judgments."

Meanwhile, be it ours, by the preaching of the Gospel and the circulation of the Scriptures and good books, to sound among

the adherents of Rome everywhere the cry, "Come out of her, my people!" And as a specimen of the spirit of earnest desire, and strong faith, and ardent hope which animates many of our Christian workers in Ireland, I give you the following poem, lately composed by one of our colporteurs, and entitled—

“THE CALL OF THE MASTER TO ERIN.”

“*The Master is come, and calleth for thee.*”—JOHN XI., 28.

Birthplace of poetic dreams,
Mother of romantic streams,
With thy lakes and mountains hoary,
Vales renowned in song and story,
Waving woods and fertile plains,
Scenes where virgin beauty reigns—
Erin I cradled by the sea,
Rise! The Master calleth thee!

Beautiful without; within,
Error, superstition, sin,
Blinded zeal, misled devotion;
Restless as the waves of ocean,
Fierce in hate, though strong in love,
Varying as the clouds above—
This is not what thou shouldst be,
Rise! The Master calleth thee!

Heed not what false friends may say,
Love and Duty point the way;
Lay aside thy weeds of mourning,
Gladly hail thy Lord's returning;
Be again what thou hast been—
“Isle of Saints,” a garden green.
Fling thy chains aside, be free!
Rise! The Master calleth thee!

Ah! but light and life are fled!
Can the Master raise the dead,
Bring again the loved departed,
Make the downcast buoyant-hearted?
Long the night, and dark the skies,
Can his Word make Light arise?
Erin, yes! though dark it be,
Up! E'en now he calleth thee!

Torn by fierce intestine strife,
Wake to higher, holler life.
See the nations round thee growing,
Light advancing, Knowledge flowing;
Dream not of thy days of youth,
This thy morning; seize the Truth;
God's own Truth can make you free.
Rise! In love he calleth thee!

Master, come! Thy word of might
Sounded once, and there was light!
See, we doubt thy promise never—
Faithful hearts are pleading ever
For the sunshine of thy smile
To illumine this our Isle.
Let us thy Salvation see.
Master, come! We wait for thee!

Morning-star of Hope and Love,
Shine on Erin from above!
Jesus, Source of true affection,
Thou the Life, the Resurrection,
Speak! Restore the dead to life,
Calm the waves of party strife,
That our Island, blessed and free,
May be given *entire* to thee!

Then our lakes of silver sheen,
Verdant plains and valleys green,
Rivers broad and flashing fountains,
Wooded hills and rocky mountains,
Shall re-echo full and free
Earth's glad song of Jubilee.
Truth shall flourish as of yore,
God shall bless the Shamrock shore!

THE EVANGELIZATION OF FRANCE.

BY THE REV. THEOPHILUS LORRIAUX, B.D., PARIS,

Secretary of the Central Protestant Evangelical Society of France.

A FEW years ago a man died at Chateauroux, Département de l'Indre. Every body knew he belonged to the Roman Catholic Church; and as he was wealthy, the priests arranged for him a first-class funeral. But what was the surprise of all and the disappointment of the clergy when, the man's will being opened, the following clause was found in it: "I have lived and I die a Roman Catholic; but when I was a soldier I visited Protestant nations, and my wish is that France may embrace that religion. I give all my property for the erection of a Protestant chapel in this town of Chateauroux, my native place."

During the last Franco-German war, the French soldiers were visited in their camps and on the battle-fields by ministers and Christian friends, who distributed to them New Testaments, and spoke words of love in Jesus Christ: everywhere they received the most cordial reception. Eighty thousand men of our army were driven into Switzerland: they brought back religious impressions never to be effaced. In a village of the North of France one of these *internés* came home, bringing with him a New Testament. Nobody in the place had ever seen one before, but on the pressing exhortation of the returned soldier they almost all procured the holy Volume; and now that locality is evangelized by the *Société Centrale Protestante d'Évangélisation en France*.

During the awful scenes of the Commune, while the most anticatholic feelings were manifested, we saw in Paris men coming to our ministers for religious consolation. A communist one day was being buried without the assistance of a priest; his mother entreated his friends to call for a Protestant minister. The Rev. G. Monod went, spoke to those rude men, and all of them, with tears in their eyes, thanked him for the good he had done them. A few days afterward, when Paris was on fire, the Senator Boujean (one of our most distinguished statesmen, who was to be shot as a hostage) wrote to a Protestant friend of his, "Send me a Bible, that I may prepare to die."

What do all these facts mean? What mean the meetings held by the Rev. MacAll in different parts of Paris, and crowded by hundreds of workmen and people of all classes? What mean the meetings of the

Rev. Armand Delille, assisted by clergymen of all denominations, and where so many conversions have taken place?

All these facts are most evident and joyful indications that France needs the good news of salvation, that she is susceptible of receiving it, and that in most instances when the inhabitants are brought in contact with it, especially since the war, they receive it gladly.

We would not deny the difficulties which we may encounter in propagating the Gospel. The Jesuits are certainly having a great *levée de boucliers*, and they succeed in raising a persecution against us; but, with the help of God, this persecution will be as provisional as our actual Government itself; the fact is, that never before has the door been so wide open for the Gospel.

Here is a striking instance. Every body knows that one of the most bigoted populations of the world is that of Corsica. Some time ago, a few Protestant families residing in Bastia applied to the *Société Centrale Protestante d'Évangélisation* to have a minister. The committee thought it was impossible even to consider that application. "What! in that land of fanaticism and ignorance! our agent would be murdered on arriving there." However, a missionary agent was sent to that island; the clergy were in an unspeakable rage; but the work of evangelization began, and now there is an important congregation in Bastia, among whom are many proselytes.

Since that time a similar application was received from Ajaccio, on the other side of the island, and the same result as at Bastia is being attained. And now the question is asked, What are the agencies in France for carrying on the work of evangelization?

Agencies.—There are three Bible societies, which spend together yearly 150,000 francs; four religious book and tract societies, whose expenditure is 260,000 francs; a society for promoting the interest of education among Protestants, expending 120,000 francs; a Sunday-school society, which has sent a deputy to this Conference; a Christian association for young men; a society called *Du Sou Protestant*, to encourage systematic benevolence; a society for the *Mission Intérieure*, which has also sent a representative here, the Rev. M. Lelièvre. There are, besides,

more than fifty philanthropic institutions, among which I would mention the Rev. John Bost's asylums, a foreign missionary society which expends 200,000 francs, and five societies of evangelization, the two most important of which are the *Société Évangélique* and the *Société Centrale Protestante d'Évangélisation*. The whole expenditure of our Protestant evangelical and philanthropic institutions exceeds two millions of francs. This is very little compared to the hundreds of millions that you consecrate to the service of the Lord; but the Protestants are a very small minority in France, and if you compare the present with the past you will rejoice to know that almost all our religious societies have to-day an expenditure twice as large as twelve years ago.

Especially remarkable has been the progress of the two great societies of evangelization which have just been mentioned.

The *Société Évangélique* employs sixty agents, and spends yearly 140,000 francs; it is doing a most prosperous work among the Roman Catholic population, and in some departments, as well as in Paris, it witnesses and accomplishes, under the blessing of God, great revivals. The able and devoted director of that society, Rev. Dr. Fisch, has just given you interesting particulars.

I have more especially to speak to the conference of the *Société Centrale Protestante d'Évangélisation*, established two years ago, with a view of providing for the scattered Protestants of France means of worship and religious education. In almost every locality of our country there are Protestants; but some of them live more than one hundred and fifty miles from the nearest place of worship. Left to themselves, they would become identified with the Roman Catholic population. A Protestant lady told a minister, the other day, that she went every Sunday to the Catholic Church with a New Testament, to read it during the mass. "I can not spend the Sabbath," said she, "without taking part in some public worship." The *Société Centrale* has resolved to hire a room, and have a service in that locality.

Would you judge of the importance of our work, go from Paris to the extreme limit of the west. You find a Protestant congregation at Versailles, and one at Brest; between those two towns there is a distance of five hundred miles. Some years ago, in that immense space there was not one Protestant congregation. The *Société Centrale* established three home missionary stations, at about equal distance from each other—one at Chartres, one at Le Mans, and the other at Rennes—and now these stations have become flourishing congregations.

Between Paris and Boulogne in the North, there are only three towns, including Boulogne itself, in which are found ministers

and places of worship; those three stations have been organized by the *Société Centrale*.

Notice that those localities are important towns, in which exist large schools, prisons, soldiers' barracks, where we find many co-religionists. We have stations in eighty such towns. It may be said that, without our society, whole provinces would not have yet heard of the Gospel.

It is to be remarked that, in grouping the scattered Protestants, and in forming them into regular congregations, the society spreads at the same time the light of the Gospel amidst the Roman Catholic population. The arrival of a pastor is a great event in the country; many come to hear him; the Holy Spirit reaches well-disposed souls, and frequently important religious movements take place—movements which are generally serious and lasting, because they start from the knowledge of the Gospel, and are connected with a Protestant Christian nucleus which forms the permanent and enlightening element of the new congregation.

Frequently the movement extends to populations entirely Catholic, as is the case with St. Andelin in the Département de la Nièvre. Five years ago there was not in that department one single evangelical place of worship. A religious movement sprang up at St. Andelin, a beautiful village on the Loire, not far from Saucerre, one of our oldest and most celebrated in the history of the Protestant Church of France.

The people asked the pastor of Saucerre to come and preach to them. At first the meetings were held in an inn; but a friend from Paris gave 10,000 francs for the erection of a chapel in that locality. I had the privilege, after having preached three years ago in the inn, of preaching last year in a neat, tasteful church, built on a hill, and which can be seen at a distance of more than ten miles. The day before I arrived, a violent storm had torn away the roof of the church, and carried it over the road, on the house of the Sisters of Mercy. At once the people set to work to replace the roof. Besides the church, there are now two schools, attended by more than one hundred children. Lately an English clergyman visited those schools, and he declared that the children answered on religious subjects as well as the children of a good Protestant Sunday-school.

The movement is extending to neighboring villages like fire in your Western prairies. Two schools have been opened by our society at Lamarehe, a village ten miles from St. Andelin, and the converts declare that they are ready to suffer and to die for their new convictions. One of our proselytes goes on Sundays in the country distributing tracts and engaging in religious conversations. We reckon in those two villages about six hundred people who have embraced Protestantism. Many are not born again, but all pre-

fer the teachings of the Gospel to those of the priests; all wish to be enlightened, and rejoice to think that their children receive an evangelical education.

The society is about to place an agent also at Nevers, the *chef-lieu* of La Nièvre, where there is a great prospect for evangelization. In the department of La Marne, at Troissy, in Champaign, a similar movement is progressing, which originated in this way:

Many years ago a woman of that place, a Roman Catholic, became a servant in the family of a Christian minister in Paris. There she felt, little by little, the power of the Gospel. She was converted, and, after a few years' service, she returned to her native village. She commenced a quiet but earnest work of evangelization, telling others she had found the Saviour; and this she did with such perseverance and such effect that a large portion of the population went to the nearest place where there is a Protestant church. Since that time they made up their minds to abandon Roman Catholicism. "Now," they say, like the Samaritans to the woman of Sychar—"now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard Him ourselves."

The war, and the need of spiritual truth and comfort, developed the movement, which had slowly grown in the hearts of the people. Some time ago I went there, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Cory, of Dublin. We found the people assembled in a building which one of their number had erected, at his own expense, for public worship and for a school. The service lasted about two hours; the room and street were crowded, and the preaching listened to with the most earnest attention. We received, at the close of the service, an invitation to go to another village, at a distance of about four miles, where the Gospel had only been preached once before. One of the inhabitants of the place had offered his house to hold the meeting. We went accordingly, accompanied by a few of the more prominent members of the congregation of Troissy; and "I think," says the Rev. Mr. Cory, "the scene which followed was the most interesting I ever witnessed."

Through the influence of the priests, the movement had been denounced to the authorities, which led to the arrival in our midst of the mayor of the commune, clad in his scarf of office, and come to demand, in the name of the law, by what authority we did these things. We answered that we were preaching the Gospel, and not causing disturbance in the place. The mayor admitted that all he had heard was excellent, and quite contrary to what he had been told; and the meeting terminated very calmly, with singing and prayer, the mayor remaining quite grave to the end. These people want to have a permanent pastor appointed

to take charge of them. But of all this the Archbishop of Reims was powerfully displeased; he induced the *préfet* to send men to take a census of the new Protestants of Troissy; threats were used; the people were told that this change of religion would bring upon them great difficulties. Not one of them drew back; they signed the documents by which they declared they would persevere in their resolution. A man, in writing down his name, wept bitterly: being asked the reason of his grief, he answered, "I weep because last year, at the census, I put my name down as a pagan."

Our society has opened a school at Troissy, and placed there an evangelist. The place of worship is now shut, but from time to time our faithful friends go to Reims, thirty miles away. On Easter-day more than fifty went there to be received in the Church by the pastor of Reims, and to stand, for the first time, around the holy table.

Now notice that, while in the Marne our worship is prohibited, in the department of Nièvre we meet with no opposition whatever. It depends very much on the good pleasure of the *préfets*; but notice, at the same time, the spiritual progress is deeper where the difficulties are greater. What a subject for thanksgiving and encouragement!

In the Département de l'Ain, a few years ago, there was only one minister of the Gospel and one Protestant school; now there are in that department eight faithful ministers, four schools, and ten Protestant libraries. One of those agents goes from fair to fair, selling or giving out New Testaments and Bibles, and holding open-air meetings at the same time.

The part of that department located on the frontier of Geneva was formerly almost entirely Protestant, but, under the influence of François de Salle, the Protestants were persecuted and banished from the country. Now the seed which has been dormant in the ground for three centuries seems to burst out, and bring abundant and beautiful fruit. The same remark may be made about the movement in La Nièvre. Who has not heard of the numberless Protestants drowned in the Loire by the soldiers of Louis XIV.? Well, those terrible *noyades* took place in the very localities where now people become anxious to hear the Gospel. Well may we say:

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform!"

Oh, if we could see again those glorious times when France gave to the world Calvin, Théodore de Bèze, Coligny, Cavalier, and so many other witnesses of the truth!

But why should we not see such times again? Has the arm of God become shortened? Our duty is to labor faithfully, leaving to the Lord to appoint the time for gathering

fruit. Besides, we are not to expect France to be brought to light all of a sudden. No; but the light will penetrate darkness, little by little, from one place to another; old churches will resuscitate; they will bring forth young churches; and as the sun advances, and covers new space with its rays, so will the Gospel gain ground until all know it.

A remarkable resurrection of one of our old churches is that of Villefagnan, in the Charente. It was, in the time of the Reformation, a large and influential church. Louis XIV. sent his dragoons, who dragged the minister down from his pulpit, and left not one stone on the other of the temple. From that time until now the worship has been in the woods or in a barn. (I preached in that barn.) In 1864 the *Société Centrale* placed an agent at Villefagnan, and, little by little, he gathered together the scattered members of that small flock. Just now we are building a chapel in the very centre of the locality, and the Catholics themselves contribute to the erection of that edifice, as if to make amends for the ill treatment of their ancestors.

To resume: Our society, that twenty years ago had 6 agents, employs now 107; our annual expense was then 30,000 francs, it is now 200,000 francs; we had 4 schools, we have now 43; the number of our stations exceeds 200. In order to supervise more efficiently and more minutely such an immense field of labor, we have divided it into twelve sections, which are indicated on the map our society has published by different colors. Each section is administered by a special committee, and has its own treasury; all the sectional committees report to the general committee in Paris: in one word, it is organized as a confederation.

Such an extension of our field requires a large number of agents. Indeed, that is a great subject of anxiety for our churches; there are too few laborers. However, our society has to thank God for the able and devoted men he provides for the work of evangelization. Our proselytes furnish it with a certain number; at Estissac, for instance, a young man, formerly a Roman Catholic, and belonging to the wealthiest family of the place, has entered our theological school to prepare for the ministry. That school, which is sustained by the *Société Centrale*, is located in a large and appropriate building erected by our society, 103 Rue Nollet, Paris. It is under the direction of an eminent and learned clergyman, the Rev. J. de Visme. Already one hundred and thirty-three young men have been prepared in our establishment for their higher course of studies. All except three are faithful and evangelical in life and doctrine, which fact is of great importance in the struggle we sustain against

the Liberal party in our *Église Réformée*. A member of our deputation, the Rev. Mr. Decoppet, one of our eminent pastors in Paris, was a student in our theological seminary.

It is easily perceived, by what has been said, that our field of labor in France is large. To-morrow it would be twice as large, if we could answer favorably to the applications which are under the consideration of the Committee.

Oh! let us scatter the good seed without sparing it. One of our great sources of encouragement is the sympathy our work meets with on the part of our Christian friends abroad. How encouraging for us were the words of the Rev. E. W. Hitchcock, the able and devoted pastor of the American chapel in Paris, at our last general assembly! "We gladly recognize in your society an agency, divinely commissioned, to minister to the moral and religious necessities of the people; to reach down to the fallen and lift them up to a better and holier life; to give to the ignorant the means of useful knowledge; to emancipate the masses, on the one hand, from the meshes of infidelity, and on the other from the fetters of superstition and a corrupt faith; to erect here and there substantial light-houses to illumine the paths and direct the steps of benighted wanderers over life's desert; in a word, to lay hold of the hearts and lives of men, instruct their ignorance, strengthen their faith, elevate their hopes, purify their morals, stimulate their zeal, substitute for their blind propensities convictions of truth and right, and the principles of a pure Christianity. For the wisdom and zeal and success of your society in its beneficent mission, so clearly exhibited in the reports that have been read to-night, we both congratulate you and join you in thanksgiving."

Dear friends of America, these wishes, which the Rev. Mr. Hitchcock expresses on our behalf, are for you a joyful and sacred reality. What a favored country you dwell in! For two years I have had the privilege of living with your ministers and your people. I have breathed your atmosphere of freedom and prosperity, which the Gospel alone can procure. We French, and especially we Protestant French, love this your country; we love your flag; the stars which shine in its folds seem to say, "Each State which composes this Union lives under the light of the Morning-star."

May God prosper your churches, your institutions, your Sunday-schools, your great and free country! As for us, more than ever attached to you by the tie of historical recollections and natural sympathy, we say to you, before returning home, "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the Word of God may have free course and be glorified, even as it is with you."

VI.

CHRISTIANITY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Thursday, October 9th, 1873.

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FIRST SECTION.—CHURCH AND STATE.

THE RELATIONS OF CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES TO RELIGION.

BY THE REV. THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, D.D., LL.D.,

Lately President of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

THE subject on which I have been requested to prepare a paper for this meeting of the Evangelical Alliance is "The attitude of Constitution and Government in the United States toward Christianity." If these words were meant to include only the relations of the *general Government* toward Christianity, the answer would be short and easy. The Constitution of the United States is a written instrument conveying limited powers, among which is not included, either expressly or by fair interpretation, the power either to establish or to support any form of religion whatever. In fact, the first of the amendments to the Constitution, which was proposed in 1789, expressly provides "that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Hence, while it is *on other accounts* certain that no laws of the United States could establish or support religion *in any of the states*, it is equally certain from this amendment that no such legislation in a *territory*, not yet made a state, would be constitutional. Congress could make laws touching marriage and divorce for a territory, but it could not for a state; the control of the family relations falls entirely within the province of the immediate state power, as far as those are concerned who are under its jurisdiction. And in the same way, no public Act of Congress touching religion would have any validity within the borders of any one of the United States.

Such being the nature of the Constitution, the few points where Christianity and the *general Government*—not the Constitution—come into contact, are of small importance. They are such as these: 1. The appointment of chaplains in the army and navy, in military and naval schools, and for the Houses of Congress. 2. The recognition of Sunday as a holiday for the Legislature and all employés in the civil service—a usage which in pressing cases might be violated. 3. The power of the courts to consider on appeal

contracts for any religious or eleemosynary purpose with which, it is alleged, the states may have interfered—a power, be it remarked, which relates to contracts for such purposes because they are *contracts*, and not because they are *religious*. 4. The power under the general control exercised over territories which has been mentioned, of limiting the privileges of ecclesiastical together with other corporations. Thus, by an Act of 1862, corporations and associations for charitable or religious purposes are not allowed to acquire and hold real estate in any territory of greater value than fifty thousand dollars, and all such property acquired and held by such bodies after the passage of this Act are escheated to the United States. This statute is of the nature of statutes of mortmain, and implies not a jealousy of *religion*, but of *overgrown religious corporations*.

Thus the Constitution of the United States has, properly, nothing whatever to do with religion. If the people were Mohammedans under the same constitution, similar departures in minor points from the principle of absolutely ignoring a particular religious faith would be possible.

We pass over, now, to the attitude of the particular states toward the Christian religion. Here a wide field opens before us, to explore which thoroughly would require far more time than can be allowed to papers presented to this Conference; and, in fact, a very great abridgment of this paper, as originally written, has been found necessary. The subject may be looked at under these several points of view. We may ask, *What were the earlier religious institutions and the feelings of the colonies before the Revolution?* How the institutions and feelings were altered? *What is the spirit shown in the constitutions and laws of the states within the present century, and what is the sober conviction of all denominations of Christians in the more recent times in regard to the relations of Church and State?*

I. *All the earliest colonies*—with the excep-

tion of Maryland, where the establishment of the Catholic Church would have been illegal according to English law, and of Rhode Island, where, first, equality of all Christian churches and faiths was a theory as well as a practice—followed the mother country in regarding it to be the duty of the State to set up some form of Christian worship, and to recognize, nearly or remotely, some articles of Christian faith. Such was the case in most of the Puritan colonies—in Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven; and also in Virginia, South Carolina, and New York, where the English Church was established. In New York, the attempt to create an Establishment was made in 1693, at too late a day to produce much effect. According to Chief Justice William Smith, the Dutch colonists belonging to the Church of Holland, and members of other denominations, numbered together fifteen to one Episcopalian. So that nowhere among the colonies was religious legislation so impolitic and so unreasonable.

The Puritan colonies and Virginia supply us with the results of a nearly similar experience. They passed from the establishment of one exclusive form of Church order, through toleration, to the recognition of entire religious equality. The leading Puritan colonies, however, after conceding religious freedom to all existing denominations, halted for a long time at the point of requiring all to contribute, according to general rules of taxation, to the support of their respective forms of Church order. Virginia passed, as if *per saltum*, from toleration to the voluntary system.

In all these colonies the territory was divided into parishes, where the doctrine and discipline either of the Church of England, as in Virginia, or of Congregationalism, as in the other colonies, was protected. Glebes were set apart in every parish of Virginia, and manse built. Things were left in the Puritan colonies more to the separate churches. In all, at first, other sects were not endured. In Virginia, before 1643, certain ministers from New England, sent for by some of the inhabitants, were remanded. In Massachusetts two of the early colonists were sent back to England, because they favored the worship of the Church of England.

All the colonies agreed with the mother country in protecting Sunday by law; attendance at church was required in Virginia, and, if I mistake not, in New England. Sectaries, especially Quakers, were frowned upon by the laws of all the colonies, and their assemblages for worship forbidden. In Virginia baptism was so far compulsory that every person refusing to have his child baptized by a regular minister was amerced in two thousand pounds of tobacco.

In two of the New England colonies—in Massachusetts, and New Haven, until its un-

ion with Connecticut in 1665—church members alone could be citizens with full power.

In the colonies of New England, while the ministers were held in great respect, marriage was exclusively a civil ordinance—until 1692 in Massachusetts, and until 1694 in Connecticut.

Virginia being within the diocese of the Bishop of London, the Legislature of the colony had no independent ecclesiastical legislation; it was otherwise in the New England colonies. Synods were called by advice of the general courts or assemblies—the Legislatures, as we now call them. The Synod called in this way to meet at Saybrook, in Connecticut, in 1708, prepared a confession of faith and scheme of discipline, which was accepted by the Legislature as the legally enacted Church order in the colony.

The Toleration Act of 1 William and Mary was binding in all parts of the dominions of England. Under, and after this Act, all sectaries included within its provisions could have free worship. But toleration grew every where in the colonies as in the mother country; and, finally, the actual equality in the social system of the colonies, as well as the principles of freedom, of which the Revolution was an outgrowth, carried the colonies beyond the old and more fixed habits of Old England.

Thus, for example, in Connecticut, in 1727, four years after the first Episcopal church was founded, the laws were altered so as to exempt them from contributing to the regular parish worship as well as to their own, and the same privilege was extended to the Baptists two years afterward.

In Virginia Quakers were allowed to testify on affirmation in the eighteenth century, and even acquired the right of voting for burgesses. Still, marriages could be celebrated only according to the forms in the Prayer-book. The century was marked, here as every where, by increasing toleration and increasing lukewarmness toward the established churches. The important Act of 1776 abolished all past Acts which made religious opinions criminal, or made absence from church penal; it declared that to be compelled to support a Church contrary to conscientious convictions is unjust, and ordained that all Dissenters should be free and exempt from all taxes and impositions of any kind for the support of the Established Church. Another clause suspended the Act for supporting the clergy by parish levies; and in 1779 this ancient Act was repealed. This was followed, the next year, by an Act dissolving all vestries, and appointing overseers of the poor to discharge one of their functions. Thus the last cord was cut which tied religion to the State.

As already said, the legislation in the New England colonies did not go quite as far, but

made all denominations nearly equal by allowing every tax-payer to have his tax, so far as it went to the support of religion, go to the minister of his choice.

II. Such was the progress of legislation and of public feeling influencing legislation in the principal colonies where there had been laws for the maintenance of religion. We are led to ask, next, *What are the powers and what the spirit of the states* in regard to religion? The answer in regard to the *powers* of the states is simple and brief. They lost no power in this respect by the formation of the Constitution of the United States. They could have had religious establishments and laws sanctioning religion before; some of them carried such laws and establishments over and beyond the Revolution; they could have the same now. Nothing is altered in this respect on account of the institution of a general Government. A Catholic state, like Mexico—and with a privileged clergy—*could* be admitted into the Union to-morrow. It is true that quite a number of constitutions of states lay down in their provisions the widest possible religious freedom, and the most entire separation between Church and State. But the power that made such constitutions could unmake them, and set up others of an opposite character. The only restraint, outside of the popular will, in any given state, would be retaliatory legislation on the part of other states, and perhaps, in extreme cases, the Constitution of the Union would be amended to meet the difficulty.

But such a state of things as a return to the old feelings and institutions of the seventeenth and first part of the eighteenth centuries is hardly conceivable. It would be as great a wonder almost as a change in the order of nature. It might come when ranks of society and another form of government were introduced, but certainly not before. The feeling of the country is now, and for the last generation or two has been, that the true idea of government among us involves the entire and absolute separation of Church and State; the complete liberty and exact equality of all denominations of Christians—nay, of all religionists—whether their views accord or not with the Scriptures; the freedom of all who wish to propagate any doctrine or system of religion whatever; and the inexpediency as well as injustice of restraining any one from publishing his opinions on any religious, moral, or political subject whatever, so long as private rights are not violated. A man may inveigh openly, if he please, against this policy, and seek to change the convictions on which it is founded. But it can not be denied that such is the conviction of a vast mass of the thinking persons of the country. There are many who doubt whether we are religious, moral, and steady enough to bear our prosperity and

our freedom. But probably there is almost no one, at least among Protestants, who would dream that we are to be saved by surrendering these convictions, especially by abandoning those which have a relation to religious liberty and equality.

III. Such are the settled convictions of the country. If, now, one were to ask the religious men of all Protestant denominations whether they would accept of State support to religion, given in the least objectionable form—that of a general tax, to be devoted in the ratio of numbers to *all denominations*, or even to *all Protestant ones*—they would, I think, with one voice say no. This fixed sentiment of American Christians may, I think, be expressed under the following heads with fairness and exactness:

1. That if it were admitted that in some forms and conditions of society the Church might, without evil to itself, have a connection with the State—and I for one can make this admission without unwillingness—the various forms of faith and worship in this country calling themselves Christian could never agree or consent to any relation excepting one in which all would be equal. Nay, if any one of the Protestant sects could attain to the rank of a State religion, the voice in every other one of them would be, I am convinced, most decidedly against superiority over the rest, both as an evil in itself and as unjust toward them. Still further, not one of them would consent to have Romanism frowned upon by State law.

2. That the absolutely voluntary system best answers to our political system, and best secures the spread of religion in a country ever enlarging itself like this.

3. That the evils of this system, such as competition of sects, increased sectarian spirit, proselyting, and encroachment upon one another's provinces, the weakness of new churches in new settlements consequent upon the number of sects, and the stiffness and narrowness of religious prejudices engendered by religious rivalry—while they are felt to be evils, and great ones—are not to be compared with the impotence and deadness of which exclusive State churches are in danger.

4. That our system lays a great and salutary responsibility on Christian people for spreading the Gospel, and that much of the religious life of the nation expresses itself in this way. The power to act, the duty to act, the feeling that instant action is necessary, in order to preserve and extend Christianity in a land, into which emigrants of all sorts and from all parts press, are motives of immense power.

5. That no other but an absolutely voluntary system is possible, because those who have no religion, and those who have suspicion or dislike of even the remotest tie between it and the State, would utter such

complaints as to make it to be believed that their rights were injured.

I have intended, in what has been said, to express the convictions of the great mass of thoughtful, religious men. It ought to be said, however, that these feelings have not always existed with equal strength since the days when full religious equality began. In the earlier parts of the century it was the opinion of many, in one or two of the old states, that the commonwealth ought by law to provide for the support of ministers, in such sort that all pastors of all sects in the towns could have their proportionate share in the taxes laid for that purpose. Dr. Dwight, President of Yale College, a wise and large-minded man, died in 1817, while an agitation was going on in Connecticut which destroyed in 1818 the last faint trace of State religion in that commonwealth. I can remember, as a boy, that he thought the foundations of religion were giving way, and in this feeling of his there were no elements of sectarianism mingled. So felt Dr. Lyman Beecher also, one of his scholars—a hopeful, courageous, self-relying man. Of the crisis he writes, being then a pastor of an important church in that state: “It was as dark a day as ever I saw. The injury to the cause of Christ, as we then supposed, was irreparable. For several days I suffered what no tongue can tell for the best thing that ever happened to the churches. It cut the churches loose from dependence on State support. It threw them wholly on their own resources and on God. They say ministers have lost their influence: the fact is, they have gained. By voluntary efforts—societies, missions, and revivals—they exert a deeper influence than ever they could by queues and shoebuckles, and cocked hats and gold-headed canes.” While it provokes a smile to think that so small a change as that from the parish laws then existing to perfect freedom in supporting public worship should have awakened great alarms, we admire those strong religious convictions and energies which very soon converted the apprehended curse into a blessing. For that it was a blessing to religion all unite in believing, and all facts show.

IV. While thus religion is entirely divorced from the State, it is not altogether outside of law. Worship and Church organizations need houses of worship—that is, common property; the minister must be supported out of a fund or by a contribution, which is generally stipulated beforehand; subsidiary religious institutions, such as cemeteries and parish schools, may need special funds. Thus the rights of property and of contract, to which we may add that of protection against disturbance of worship and others, come under the control of public laws. Again, there is a jealousy of large religious corporations, and of ministers as representing

them, and thus another class of laws may be called forth. And, still again, the State may judge that certain truths of natural or revealed religion in their separate form, independently of any Church or ecclesiastical power, are necessary for the well-being of the civil community, and may ingraft them in some shape into its constitution. I shall devote a few words to each of these points, beginning with the last, and referring those who wish to look at them more at large to Dr. Joseph Thompson’s “Church and State in the United States of America,” published in Berlin, in the German language, a few months since, and more recently in English in this country.

1. While most of the states say nothing of religion—even of what is called natural religion—in their constitutions, several withhold civil office from atheists, from disbelievers in future rewards and punishments, and even from disbelievers in the Christian religion (Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and perhaps others). One, a few years since, disqualified Jews from holding civil office. But, if I am not in an error, every new revision obliterates all these old recognitions of religious truth from the constitutions, as being a dead letter, or as inconsistent with the political equality of persons against whom no criminal charge can be brought.

2. In many constitutions a jealousy is shown of organized religions power; and precautions are taken against the disturbance of religious equality. Sixteen constitutions, at least, declare in different forms of words that no preference shall be given to any religious establishment or mode of worship. In others the Legislature is restrained from passing any law requiring or authorizing any religious society, or the people of any district, to levy any tax for the repair of any house of public worship or the support of any Church or ministry. Others, again, forbid the Legislature to compel any one to attend, erect, or support any place of religious worship, or to pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for the support of any minister of the Gospel. In one or two states no money can be constitutionally appropriated to any religious society, or theological or religious seminary (Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota). The constitutions of two states provide that no gift or devise to any ecclesiastical person, as such, shall be valid (Maryland, Missouri). So also one state limits the amount of real property which a church, parsonage, or burial-ground can hold to five acres. Again, the amount of income from real and personal property which the trustees of any religious corporation can acquire and hold is limited by an Act of the State of New York of 1813 to three thousand dollars per annum. A few exceptions were made to the operations of this Act in the Act itself;

and in 1863 a general exception was made in favor of Roman Catholic churches or congregations, excluding church buildings, parsonages, schools with land for the same, and burying-places, from the provisions of the Act, but otherwise conforming to the earlier law.

It is probable that such limitations of the power of holding property will become extensive through the states; owing *partly* to jealousy of Roman Catholics, *partly* to a still less defensible jealousy of all religious organized power, and *partly* to that regard for the right of family inheritance which has introduced the principle of the Roman *quere-la inofficiosi testamenti* into the legislation of France and Prussia.

An unjust discrimination is made or was made in the earlier constitutions of ten states, all of them Southern, against clergymen or ministers of the Gospel. They were incapacitated for serving in the Legislature, on the ground that such service calls them away from their proper duties. This disqualification, of old standing, received a sarcastic rebuke from Dr. Witherspoon, President of Nassau Hall. He suggested an amendment to the constitution of Georgia, that if the clergyman should be deprived of his clerical character by those who invested him with it, on account, for instance, of cursing and swearing, drunkenness or uncleanness, he should thereupon be fully restored to all the privileges of a free citizen, and become eligible to the Senate or House of Representatives, and be treated with all the respect due to his brethren.—*Works*, vol. iv., p. 423.

With a few such, for the most part, not unreasonable restrictions, the states by their laws and courts protect the outward forms of religion. Churches or religious societies can hold property, make contracts with ministers, exercise discipline according to the rules of the denomination; in short, do every thing necessary for the purposes for which outward and associated religion is necessary, and for which it actually exists. In all this the courts protect, interpret, restrain, and do all acts which the nature of such corporations requires. They will enforce the payment of salaries, prevent the members of a Church, it may be, from transferring the Church property to another denomination; protect the right of inflicting Church censures according to the usages of the sect; recognize even the authority of Bishops or of Presbyteries within their spheres, and the like. It is unnecessary to enlarge here, although many interesting cases have come up, since the general theory of the relations of law and equity to cases that may arise in the affairs of religious bodies seems to be tolerably clear.

V. Having looked briefly at the main points

of our subject, we close with the inquiry whether the United States can be called a *Christian nation*. Can a state or constitution be called a Christian one, which separates religious interests as far as possible from civil interests, although there may be a few vestiges of public respect for religion, such as chaplains of Legislatures, fasts, and thanksgivings appointed by public authority, religious instruction in the army, navy, public prisons, hospitals, and the like? Or, in other words, when a community—believing that religion, in an independent sphere, becomes purer and more pervasive; that perfect equality between denominations is the only just and peaceful policy; that Christ's kingdom will grow and stand in its true qualities and in its power if unfettered by State laws—provides for such an independent relation between State and Church or Churches in its ground law or constitution, does the instrument of government, or the state thus created, give origin to an *unchristian state*? We deny this. It is no more unchristian than an academy of science is unchristian without a creed, or a mercantile firm without daily prayers in the counting-house.

In what sense can this country then be called a *Christian country*? In *this* sense certainly, that the vast majority of the people believe in Christ and the Gospel, that Christian influences are universal, that our civilization and intellectual culture are built on that foundation, and that the institutions are so adjusted as, in the opinion of almost all Christians, to furnish the best hope for spreading and carrying down to posterity our faith and our morality.

But can Christianity be said to be in any sense the law of the land? So Daniel Webster argued in the great Girard case (1844). He says, "General, tolerant Christianity, Christianity independent of sects and parties—that Christianity to which the sword and the fagot are unknown—is the law of the land." And he refers to a judgment of the highest court of Pennsylvania—the state where the case had its seat—that general Christianity is, and always has been, the common law of that government, whether in its colonial or its state condition. And the constitution of that commonwealth, framed in 1838, declares that no person, acknowledging the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments, shall be disqualified from office, thereby implying that they who do thus deny may be disqualified.

But we fail to see the cogency of the great advocate's argument. At the most, theism is sanctioned by constitutional provisions such as that which is cited. As for general, tolerant Christianity, it is protected in its outward expression or worship; its morality—except in the matter of divorce, where most of the states are exceedingly loose—is

honored; some few customs have mingled themselves up with public life; but how can it be called the law of the land? What points of contact are there between the law and that abstract conception of Christianity which the great advocate speaks of, unless it may be in the matter of laws against blasphemy, where they exist. If the people should all turn Mohammedans or Mormons, what material change would be needed in the laws, except

in those relating to the marriage union and to the division of estates? The true statement, then, seems to be that Christianity, being the religion of the mass of the people, its usages and ideas can not be separated from legislation *by a mathematical line*;—Sunday, for instance, must differ from other days in the eye of the law—but the law has as little to do with Christianity and Christianity with the law as possible.

THE CHURCH AND THE NATION.

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WHATEVER our convictions may be as to the relations of the Church and the civil power at the present moment in particular countries, I presume that it may be taken for granted that the Christian ideal blends all the functions of the redeemed humanity into one harmonious whole. I take the words used by the apostles of our Lord as expressing their ultimate hopes and ours: "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ," and, "To the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess;" and I interpret these expressions as setting before us an ideal state in which all men will be united in spiritual obedience to our Lord, and the redeemed nations will be at peace under his dominion. In such a state of things, each separate nation must be a branch of the universal Church; and its whole life must be at one with itself. Its organization for worship, or instruction, or the practical good of its members, must express but the varying attitudes of the same body, moving under the same impulse.

We are very far from this ideal; but, if it is the Christian ideal, Christians must have it constantly before their minds, and steadily work toward it. The object, therefore, of my address will be to point out what signs we may trace of an approach toward this ideal, and what is the pathway along which we may march to its realization.

There are three assumptions which I will make, which support the hope of a national Christianity.

1. The first of these assumptions will probably seem overbold. It is that Christian principle, so far from being, as some assume, in a waning condition, is gaining an empire over men's minds such as it never had before, and is about to assume far more fully than in past ages the direction of human affairs. It is true that in the present day we witness in many quarters a revolt from the theology of the past, and in some a revolt from theology altogether. But it is equally true that we very rarely witness moral skepticism. Many of those who can not accept Christian doctrines yet rule their lives by the essential Christian principle of self-renouncing love; and the unconscionable testimony which is thus borne to the sovereignty of Christ by philosophers, by writers of fiction, by popular movements, can not

fail to strike us. And how much of the revolt from theology and worship among serious men is due to the wrong representations of these by Christians, especially to the endless controversies into which they have fallen, can hardly be estimated too highly. My conviction is, then, that Christian principle is destined to gain a much firmer hold as time goes on upon the minds and the life of men. This we must take as our basis in looking on to the future. We can do nothing without hope. Let Christians be very hopeful.

2. I notice a second fact. It is that everywhere Christians are becoming ashamed of the sectarianism which has so long divided them. Never was the cry for union so widely raised; and never had it such a hold on the conscience of Christian men. It is, indeed, considered dangerous to wish to break down the barriers which divide the churches from each other; and it is sometimes thought a mark of strong religion to make a conscience of every peculiarity of the Church to which a man belongs. But what really makes men afraid of a full abandonment of sectarianism is this: they do not know where they ought to stop. They wish to sympathize with others, but do not know how far they can trust themselves. They get puzzled, and conclude that it is safest to stay within the old lines. Yet those lines do not correspond to any thing in the Christian conscience sufficiently deep to warrant their perpetuation. There was a time, no doubt, when Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents each considered their own method of Church government to have the authority of revelation, and the others to be unscriptural. But I suppose every one here is convinced that the Scriptures leave us quite free to govern the Church in the way most accordant to our convictions and circumstances. And, though we have our preferences, we are not prepared to say that the system to which we belong is the only true system. Everywhere we meet with testimonies of one Church to the benefits conferred by the sister churches, and those who thus speak would evidently have no conscientious repugnance, if circumstances pointed the way, to joining one of those other communions. This feeling is expressed very frequently by the ministers; but among the laity, except in the case of some

few who are identified in a marked way with a particular organization, the difference between one communion and another is hardly ever felt to be one of principle. Laymen usually choose their Church with reference to quite other considerations, mostly the suitability to them of the individual minister.

The question then arises: Can separation from one another any longer be justified where conviction has reached this point? If separation is an evil in itself, if it leads to contention, and to a false representation of Christianity to the world, then to maintain separation needlessly and without a positive obligation of the conscience is to contradict the will of God.

We must expect, then, that the tendency to union will increase. I may quote an emphatic testimony from the *New Englander* (July, 1866; No. XCVI., pp. 498, 499), "To the principle that Christ's disciples in any one place are in fact, and ought to be in form and manifestation, one Catholic Church, instead of being (as they too often are) many sectarian churches."

It is, indeed, vain to attempt any such manifestation of union unless the convictions of Christians favor it. But many things tend to the belief that men are becoming convinced that the stress laid on the separating points is contradictory to the cardinal truth that we are saved only by faith in Christ, that they are therefore as injurious to truth as to love. And if actual union is for the present impossible, yet friendly intercourse is possible; and through intercourse union may be approached.

3. A third tendency which I would signalize is the increasing importance attached to Christian morality, feeling, and life, and the waning importance of mere dogma. If this be put boldly it may give rise to fear, and well-grounded fear. But put it thus, that the tendency is to look at Christianity not as a system of opinions but as a life, and I hardly see how the fact can be disputed, nor how it can be reckoned as other than a good thing. It is not that dogma is to be given up, and that it does not matter what a man thinks about God and Christ, about sin and salvation; but that all the dogmas which have arisen concerning these must be viewed in connection with the central principle of life and love. The chief assertion concerning God is not the mode of his existence, but his essential nature of love. The chief assertion concerning Christ as the Son of God is not the assertion of a metaphysical relation, but that he is the true image, the actual representative of the Divine Love. Sin comes to be seen, then, not abstractedly as guilt, but as selfishness; and salvation from sin not mere escape from condemnation, but as a life of love. If these things be held fast (and theology and literature are gradu-

ally coming to recognize them), then all the assertions of the rival churches can be harmonized. The dogmas are not abrogated, but, instead of clashing in the realm of logic, they harmonize in a many-sided Christian life.

Observe, then, how this makes for the national aspect of Christianity. While religion is looked upon as concerned mainly with abstract opinion, the general life of the nation will be left almost out of sight in our churches. But when it is found to be a matter which chiefly concerns conduct, then the whole national life comes distinctly within its purview. Add to this, that the expansiveness of Christian love must make men more and more take interest in the general life, not alone in the special and private life; and you can not doubt that the tendency on which I am dwelling will make it every day more impossible to exclude public acts from our religious services, or the thought of religion from all public occasions. The pulpit will speak more frequently of national interests, and acts, and even of laws; the legislator will feel much more the influence of religion, and take into account the bearing of his acts on the spiritual life of the people.

Now, let us suppose these tendencies to go on increasing. The condition of things will be this: 1st. That Christianity is recognized as a moral power, the function of which is to guide the whole life of the nation; 2d. That the churches are seeking for union on grounds of conscience; 3d. That their special doctrines are explained as different aspects of truth, which are harmonized in the common life which they all are leading as members of one community. Must this not lead more and more, not to a mere union, but a fusion of the Church and the nation?

I am surprised at finding that this question is always discussed as if this fusion were impossible; as if there must be two communities living in relation to each other, but separate; and as if the only issue must be whether one should dominate the other or they should remain in isolation. This was not the view of our best writers in England. The well-known passage in Hooker runs as follows: "Let it stand for our final conclusion that, in a free Christian state or kingdom, where one and the self-same people are the Church and the Commonwealth, God through Christ directing that people to see it, for good and weighty considerations, expedient that their sovereign lord and governor in causes civil have also in ecclesiastical affairs a supreme power; forasmuch as the light of reason doth lead them into it, and against it God's own revealed law hath nothing; surely they do not, in submitting themselves thereunto, any other than a wise and religious people ought to do."

It is well known that Burke, the great

philosophical statesman, held the same view. He says (Works, vol. vi., p. 102, "Speech on the Petition of the Unitarians"), "An alliance between Church and State in a Christian commonwealth is, in my opinion, an idle and a fanciful speculation. An alliance is between two things that are in their nature distinct and independent, such as between two sovereign states. But in a Christian commonwealth, the Church and the State are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole. [For the Church has been always divided into two parts, the clergy and the laity; of which the laity is as much an essential integral part, and has as much its duties and privileges, as the clerical members; and in the rule, order, and government of the Church has its share.] Religion is so far, in my opinion, from being out of the province or the duty of a Christian magistrate, that it is, and it ought to be, the principal thing in his care."

I need not say that Dr. Arnold, the greatest writer on these subjects in the present century, regarded the Church and the nation as identical.

Yet I find that the only alternative ordinarily put before us to the complete separation of the two powers is a condition of things in which the State as an extraneous power interferes with the convictions of the Christian community. The idea seems hardly ever to present itself to men's minds of a really popular church government, in which, the liberties of all being guarded as efficiently as they are in the most democratic communities, the Christian society should govern itself in civil and ecclesiastical matters alike.

It is true that there are many things which a government is not fit to handle, and which are best left to private enterprise. This statesmen in all constitutional countries have long ago come to recognize. The recognition ought to be carried into the sphere of religion, and applies there quite as much as in matters, say, of commerce or of benefit societies. When we deal with subjects such as those just named, we see that the government should interfere but little, but should regulate and foster their energy, and should distinctly frame its policy for their advantage. But, when men argue about Church and State, they say that either the State must impose penalties upon non-conformity, and tax men for the promotion of a religion which is not theirs, and elevate one religious system over others, and force articles of faith upon reluctant officers; or else that it must declare a complete separation between the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres. Even De Toqueville falls into this error. The idea never seems to have presented itself to his mind of a national Church with democratic local self-government.

There is, when we reflect upon it, no reason at all why law should interfere with liberty in spiritual matters more than in those of ordinary government. It is evidently impossible, if such an agreement as I have contemplated should ever come to pass, that the law should not take cognizance of matters relating to public worship; but it would do so under the full understanding that it must not go beyond the bounds which guard the spiritual realm. It must allow as free play as possible to the action of local communities. It must never interfere with the liberty of each man to worship God as he thinks right. It must not compel men to contribute toward objects which they conscientiously disapprove. Above all, it must guard the right of every member of the community to influence the national policy in all matters alike.

If it be said that under such a system as this Christian liberty would still be interfered with to this extent, that those who were unable to join with their brethren in the public worship agreed upon by the community to which they belonged would be placed in an inferior position to others in public esteem, it must be answered that there is no organization in which large bodies of men can live together which is not open to the same objection. But it must be answered, also, that unlimited sectarianism leads to a much more serious breach of Christian liberty. When each sect takes up some portion of the kingdom of Christ and occupies it with a partial, one-sided system, and when that sect says to any of its members who long for a wider and fuller Christian life, "We can give you nothing but our own narrow terms, and any thing more you must seek elsewhere," it forces men either to leave their dearest associations (and then where can they go?) or to stunt their religious life (and then where is their liberty?). But a national system of Church government affords free room for all. It is the nearest thing on earth to the Jerusalem which is free, which is the mother of us all.

The assumption is, indeed, sometimes made that the Church, or the organization for public worship, is a divine institution, while the State is an invention of men. But the truth is that in Scripture the authority of the ruler is spoken of more distinctly as an ordinance of God than that of the teacher. "He is a minister of God to thee for good." And further, the Church is never a mere institution for worship. It has government as one of its functions, and there are elders who rule as well as elders who teach. In many of the churches which attempted on the soil of America to organize themselves upon the model which they found in the New Testament, the force of this fact was so clearly seen that "ruling elders" were

considered necessary officers of a scriptural congregation. Why have they gradually ceased? Because in a Christian community the only efficient discipline is that exercised by the Christian magistrate. The true ruling elders in our day are our statesmen, and judges, and officers, who bear the supreme mandate of the whole Christian community.

Let me put this in another light. The Church—what is it? It is none of our human organizations, but the family of the redeemed gathered together with their Lord. Our present organizations are tentative institutions, in which we strive to realize some part of the true ideal, which comprehends man's whole nature. Now I maintain that our organizations for public worship are not themselves the Church, but partial efforts to realize the idea of the Church; and I maintain the same thing of the great society of the Christian nation. When men are gathered together to worship God, to hear Christian teaching, or to partake of the Lord's Supper, I see in their gathering some attempt to realize their true relation to God as members of the redeemed family. When Christian men are met in Christ's name in the council-chamber or the court of justice to carry into practical effect the principles of Christian equity for the good of the whole of God's children, with whom the Father of all has bonded them in the national bond, am I to say that is not the Church? I say, on the contrary, that it is, as much as the organizations for Christian worship, the Church of God. That is a church which tries to realize the true Christian life of the redeemed humanity. The Christian congregation is a church. The Christian family is a church. But, more truly than all the rest, the Christian nation is a church.

But I shall be met, perhaps, by the objection that a national religion, as soon as it comes to express itself at all in act, is latitudinarian, and that men must be admitted to a share in its worship and government who would not have been admitted into the primitive churches. I submit, in general, that the conditions of the question are altogether different from what they were when the Church was a small community in the midst of a vast heathen empire. We can not be as they were; and the total absence of what is called church discipline is better than its exercise in the petty manner which alone is possible now. But, more particularly, I would observe that we must look for discipline to other means than those of formularies or of formal exclusions in the present day. In the first place, the laws of a Christian State would exclude the worst offenders—they would have excluded the only person whose actual excommunication and its grounds are recorded in the New Testament, the incestuous man at Corinth. But, in the second place, the sound feeling of the

community acting upon the consciences of its members must, in a national system, be much stronger than the discipline of a small private society. In a sectarian system, each sect is apt to bid against the others for members, and there is a strong temptation to debase the standard; also, a large part of a man's life remains out of the purview of his Church; and, if a man feels his position uncomfortable, he can go to some other sect, or remain untouched by them all. But in a condition of things in which the whole Christian sense and feeling of the community was brought to bear upon its members in all parts of their lives, the power of Christian influence over the consciences of individuals, even if not upheld by formal exclusion, would be exceedingly great. Of the list of evil men with whom St. Paul says Christians should not even eat, it might not necessarily and formally touch some whom more definite exclusions might reach; but it would bear upon others, such as the covetous, the extortioners, the railers, where those exclusions are powerless. It is clear that the most impressive and attractive of all things is love. And if once it should be found that in religion love was strong enough to surmount the barriers of sects, the Church which would result from this would be the most attractive of all. We should have different opinions still; but they would be natural differences, forming schools within the Church; modifying one another, not pretending to draw to themselves the whole life of the Church. They would not be, as now, the fictitious products of past centuries, embittered by the recollection of the wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and founding the whole Christian life on special points of difference. A still greater benefit, I think, would result from the whole nation being conscious that it was in all its acts moving as a branch of Christ's Church, feeling that in all public matters it was engaged not in satisfying the interests of conflicting parties, but in providing that Christian justice and love should reign among all sections of the community. Such a tone must react upon the character of the men who were put forward in public life; and it must react also upon the life of individuals, as I have already pointed out.

As regards the Church catholic, made up of many nations, the relations of a national Christianity would be similar to those of a national policy in common life. We learn in matters of trade or constitutional liberty to set or to take an example from other nations, while we are independent of them; and we acknowledge the solidarity of the whole human race while we know that our national life can not be made subject to that of others. And in matters of worship and Christian instruction it might be the same. We could look upon the Christians of other

nations as members of the great Catholic Church, and could learn from the Christianity of other lands some of our most useful lessons, and impart similar lessons to them, while yet we should feel unhampered (which we hardly do at present) by the conduct of other countries, in adapting Christian institutions to the needs of our own.

And as regards the heathen, surely our national intercourse would gain very greatly from a national system of religion. We should feel that from the first landing of any of our countrymen upon the shores of a heathen state, it was a matter of national concern that their dealings should be just and humane, that we could not endure the reproach of our citizens misrepresenting our Christian name to the heathen; and we should forestall and prevent those deeds which have led at times to our arms being employed to sustain unchristian injustice. Christian missions would, as now, be conducted by voluntary agencies; but they would gain a readier access when they preached justice and love in public and private relations rather than the special dogmas of sects; and they could without compromise of principle be fostered and upheld in their work by the government of a Christian country.

I do not like to close this paper without guarding against the reproach of vagueness by showing how their principles should affect the actual and existing life of the present Christian nations. Yet such a discussion would be far too long; and I must be contented with only a few remarks.

I wish to point out that the mode in which national Christianity should work itself out must be different in different cases, according to the circumstances, the education, the traditions of each country. The ordinary question of Church Establishments is to me a matter not of principle, but of Christian expediency. I was in favor of Disestablishment in Ireland, for the Episcopal Church was not national there, but am against it in England, where the Church may at least be made national. In America, where there are many large religious organizations, we can not think of any public provision of Christian worship and instruction except as a remote contingency. You have indeed your legislature opened with prayer; and prayer and the reading of Scripture in many of your common schools; and national fasts or thanksgivings enjoined by public proclamation; and laws for the observance of the Sabbath. It appears also from the accounts of village communities in some parts that there is an agreement in religion sufficient to unite the whole of the inhabitants under one pastor. I see also that efforts are made in some quarters to obtain a fuller recognition of Christianity by the legislature, and a newspaper called the *Christian Statesman*,

representing an association for this purpose, is published at Philadelphia. These symptoms must grow for the present without our being able precisely to anticipate their issue. It is not, let us remember, so important to have a formal recognition of religion as that our public acts should bear the impress of Christian justice and love. Toward this, in growing unity, let all your churches strive.

In the European States matters are very different. There we have the traditions of a national Christianity, which, though it has in the past been often carried into effect in a way that has done violence to men's consciences, yet has been an effort to reach a true ideal. If in some cases the effort must be given up, it is only because circumstances do not admit of its realization. The ideal must still be maintained.

I would point out, also, that in countries like Italy and Germany the legislative power is not to be regarded as an extraneous body imposing its will upon the Church, but rather as the representative of the whole community, through which alone the laity can act. The legislation of Prince Bismarck, which concerns all the churches alike, has been, on the whole, approved by the laity even of the Roman Catholic Church; and its tendency is to correct by the national power, expressing the full sense of the Christian community, the influence of the really extraneous power, the Curia of Rome. This also was, I believe, the object of Cavour in Italy. When he spoke of a free Church in a free State, his meaning was that the Church should be free in the same sense as the State, by means of popular government within itself. His successors have taken his words, but have interpreted them as implying that the whole spiritual life of the nation should be given over, tied and bound, to the nation's worst enemy.

I plead that, if what I have urged as to the tendencies of religions thought be true, the sympathies of this Conference should not be thrown into the scale of the abolition of national churches, but into that of their right direction; that we should desire that they should be reformed, not destroyed. Let me point out how this is especially the case with the Church of England. There the law proceeds on the assumption that every citizen is a member of the Church, and has free influence in determining its policy. If this were as fully carried out in matters relating to Christian worship and instruction as in the general government of the country, I believe that we should soon be a long way forward in the path of unity. Unhappily, while the State constitution has given more and more scope for free action, the Church constitution has remained what it was in the time of the Tudors, and the free action in religious matters has been forced

to go on without, instead of within. The reforms which I, in common with other Church reformers in England, advocate are these.

We desire that in every parish a Church council should be elected by the free vote of the inhabitants, without the consent of which no changes should be made, and which should have the power, subject to the bishop's consent, to make any changes allowed by the general law. This being done, we desire that the general law should be progressively relaxed so as to leave as much power as possible to the free action of the local bodies, who would then adapt the Church system to the wants of the parishioners. We desire further that all restrictions which tend to division among Christians should be removed, such as that which prevents all but persons in holy orders of the Episcopal Church from preaching in the national pulpits, or the requirement of the prayer-book service and the ministrations

of the parish incumbent at all funerals in the national grave-yards. We desire, further, that the endowments and boundaries of parishes should be re-arranged, so as to meet the altered wants of the population; and that Church patronage should be placed in the hands of those who will exercise it solely in the interest of the people. By these means we believe that the great advantage of a national Church may be maintained without injustice, and the intelligence of all Christian people in the nation may be brought to bear upon the conduct of the national Church. We trust that thus the Church will truly express the Godward aspirations of its members, and train its children in active holiness; and that it will become a model to all countries of national Christianity. We desire that each nation should be truly a Church of God, a place where every citizen may find his spiritual home, and the stimulus to constant efforts toward mutual justice and love.

LEGISLATION ON MORAL QUESTIONS.

By JAMES GIRDLESTONE, Esq., of LONDON,

Member of the Incorporated Law Society of the United Kingdom.

I THINK it a very great honor to be allowed to address you, among whom for the first time I now come, and from whom I have received much individual kindness. I know that, being a member of the National Church of England, my views can not wholly accord with those that are generally predominant in this country on ecclesiastical questions. I am here, however, to ask, not for an established church, but for a religious state—a very different article, one that I love, and that I believe every intelligent American loves.

Legislation is law-making. The legislation I deal with here is not the legislation of God, for that is his work, and it is finished. It is human law-making that we are to study to-day. Not what set of men shall make laws—that is immaterial, so long as the laws themselves are good. I am here to consider laws in their essence, not their technical details, but their substance as affecting morals, and morals are the foundations of society. The question is what laws shall be made by men for the government of one another; what laws any State shall make for the government of all who are born or come within its geographical area. And the State must be very tender in such matters, for every man who is found within the geographical area of any State is necessarily subject to the laws of that State, and the State that makes unjust laws is certain to find itself obstructing the individual in the performance of his duties, and depriving the individual of his rights. State laws, therefore, being of such importance to those who come within their sphere, my object is to show how these laws must be framed when they bear upon moral questions.

Moral questions are those which everywhere and always affect all men, considered as creatures responsible to a Creator. So far as relates to a man's purely internal transactions, human legislation has no concern with these questions; but when they relate to man considered relatively to his fellow-creatures, such subjects are fit for, and are necessary objects of, human legislation.

The object of Divine legislation is to facilitate the restoration of man to the likeness of his Maker. From the day of the fall

of Adam all the race is fallen, and remains fallen, from the image of God, and now we all come into the world, not as Adam and Eve came, full grown and perfect, but singularly weak and in need of help, and are to the end of life largely ignorant, and always selfish. For the protection of such a race from mutual injury and neglect, the presence of a Divine law without the sanction of human penalties is insufficient, and it is necessary that man-made laws should be called in that shall have the sanction of human support and human penalties.

Man is a social being, and the first social law laid upon man by his Creator is to increase and multiply. That involves society, and the social fabric has to be maintained by means of laws framed upon a moral basis. Human laws affecting moral questions touch subjects which come home to us in all relations of life—subjects, therefore, upon which men have the strongest possible feelings. The principles involved in such laws are worthy of this International Conference. The art of making such laws is worthy of study by those who are, as you all are, called to be heirs of a kingdom, an eternal kingdom. In morals no law can be made by man that can ever deprive me of my right to obey God, and, if I am forced to disobey God, my will has not done it, and the State has made a law that is no law.

This raises the problem of to-day: How shall fallen man make just laws on moral subjects?

Every State needs a fixed standard of morals, by which the conduct of all, whether rulers or ruled, is to be tried, to know whether it is right or whether it is wrong. There is not a little child in one of your schools that does not know that there is a wide difference between what is right and what is wrong.

But then comes the question, what is the fixed standard by which morality is to be tried? The conscience is the moral eye by which we discern between what is right and wrong; but the conscience of a fallen man needs an infallible standard by which to correct its work. A man builds a wall. If he build high, he can not build straight without some instrument to test his work. He uses the plummet, and by this instrument, which follows an infallible law, he

corrects the fallible eye, and his work is well done. My moral work as a legislator is just the same; I must not only test it by the eye, which is fallible, but by some standard which is infallible; and then, if I keep up to my standard, my work can not fail.

To carry public opinion, the common standard of morals must be authoritative and reasonable; and it must be a precise standard, adapted to make clear that which would otherwise be obscure. Now I find such a standard ready-made to hand, and I scarcely ever met a man who would not submit to it. It is the Bible. That is my standard, not the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, to which I belong. The Bible is the standard of religion and of morals by which a State is made sound in its morals, and by which the State is kept pure in its religion. It is not for the creature to say how he will act toward the Creator: it is for the Creator to tell the creature how to act; and in the Bible the Creator does reveal his will to his creatures. Every Church that professes to be Christian attests the Divine authority of the Bible. Many of you will assert that the Church of Rome does not like the Bible. But that Church witnesses to the inspiration of the Bible; it is their book, as well as ours; it is a standard of morals with them as well as with us. But, you will say, the Jews do not assent to all the Bible teaches. Now, if there is a nation in the world to whom, under the Divine law, special honor is due from all, it is the Jews; and if there is a nation for whom I feel a special regard almost exceeding that which I feel for my own countrymen, it is for that race through whom I received the Bible, and from whom, according to the flesh, He came who is the Saviour of my soul. I shall urge nothing here that is not reasonably acceptable to the Jews, for though, as yet, they, generally speaking, deny the inspiration of the New Testament, they attest the Divine inspiration of the Old Testament, and I shall urge nothing here as moral save what is recognized, not only in the New Testament, but also in the law and the prophets. The Bible is, therefore, the common standard for every Church that adores the God of the Bible.

Then comes the rationalist, the man who does not accept the Bible as of universal authority; but the rationalist will not deny that the morality of the Bible is pure, and I will propound no proposition to which pure reason shall not be compelled to give assent before any jury of men honored in their own country. My jury shall not be taken from the United States, where the Bible is known, but shall be a dozen men from any heathen city, and I warrant they will come to the conclusion that Bible morality is pure.

Therefore, I claim the Bible as a standard of morals, already admitted by every Church, and to be admitted by every reasonable person.

You say, "Your law interferes with liberty;" I reply, "My law does not." I claim the Bible itself for my law. I find it to be what it expressly claims to be, a perfect law of liberty. The object of Divine law is love, and the object of State legislation should be to secure to every man perfect liberty to follow out his duty in this life, as loving God and as loving man.

State laws affecting moral questions must be gravely considered, and they must be precise, giving a clear yes or an unhesitating no, and they must be well known. If you have got a good thing, take care and don't change it. Some legislatures are rushing into laws so fast and in such a headlong way that no one can follow their movements. I have heard it is so even here in the State of New York. Let moral legislation be done slowly. There should be no change in any law involving a moral question without my best vote recorded on it, nor with my consent unless I had a thorough understanding of it. Legislate distinctly. Take one moral point, for instance; there should be no doubt whether a man and his wife are married or not. There is not one man or woman in this room who is not interested in this question. It is a question which rises up in every clime and at every time. I say that legislation on such a matter should be distinct and easily intelligible. Moreover, when you do make a law you should see that it is substantially obeyed. If you don't want it, don't make it; and, if you have got any law and don't want it, repeal it; but let it be a simple yea or nay, and finally, in moral matters pre-eminently let obedience be secured.

Having laid down the principles upon which human legislation has necessarily to be conducted when morals are concerned, I shall try to apply very shortly these principles to practical matters, pursuing here the Divine order of those Ten Commandments upon which God rested his covenant with his own people.

And first, it seems to follow, from admitting the Divine inspiration and pure morality of the Bible, that the book shall be recognized as a fixed standard of common law, and pre-eminently that this shall be the case in regard to the Ten Commandments. This accords with English law, both ancient and modern. I have read that the law in the United States differs from ours in England in that our laws are expressly founded on the Bible, and yours are not. I stand upon the English rule, and, under cover of that rule, I find that practically I have in England liberty, so long as I don't interfere with the rights of my neighbor, to

think, and to say, and to do what I please, and that is true liberty.

The Statutes of King Alfred begin thus:

"The Lord spake these words to Moses." (Here follow the Ten Commandments, and sundry other laws from Moses, of a moral character.) The 49th clause proceeds thus: "These are the dooms which the Almighty God himself spake unto Moses, and commanded him to keep; and after the only-begotten Son of the Lord our God, that is, our Saviour Christ, came on earth, he said that he came not to break nor to forbid these commandments, but with all good to increase them; and mercy and humility he taught." And Alfred's laws close thus:

"I then, Alfred, King, gathered those together and commanded many of those to be written which our forefathers held, those which to me seemed good; and rejected the others. I then, Alfred, King of the West Saxons, shewed these to all my witan, and they then said that it seemed good to them all to be holden."

These laws of King Alfred have never been repealed; on the contrary, the Sovereign of England only obtains the crown of England upon a solemn oath to maintain the laws of God and the ancient laws of the realm; and what is the result? King Alfred came to the throne of England more than a thousand years ago, and his throne has been preserved for his children and greatly enlarged; and counting from him in direct line, King Alfred's lineal descendant of the thirty-first generation now fills King Alfred's throne. This descendant is Victoria, the Queen.

That the Bible is the common law of England appears from the various decisions of our law courts, some of them bearing date anterior to the Reformation. The following are instances:

In the reign of Henry VI., "Ancient Scripture is the Common Law on which all manner of laws are founded."*

In the reign of Henry VII., "Every law is, or of right ought to be, according to the Law of God."†

In the reign of Henry VIII., "The Law of God and the law of the land are all one."‡

And, "Our law is founded on the Law of God."§

In 1824 it was adjudged in the Court of King's Bench that "The Law of England is founded upon the Law of Nature and the Revealed Law of God. If the right sought to be enforced is inconsistent with either of these, the English Municipal Courts can not recognize it."

In 1867 it was adjudged in the Court of

Exchequer that "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land."⁶

This doctrine is, in the law-books, carried to its logical conclusion thus:

"If any general custom were opposed to the Divine Law, or if any statute were passed directly contrary thereto, as if it were enacted generally that no one should give alms to any object, in ever so necessitous a condition, such a custom or such an act would be void."⁷

If you want your people to obey the Bible, you must teach the book to the little ones; what they get young they can not forget, and are likely to use for life; what is not attained in youth is rarely learned in after-life. Therefore, let the Bible be taught in the common schools, and fairly taught, that is, with a view to getting the meaning of the Divine words, not to force their meaning to suit the words of human formularies. And for this reason, as matters stand, I would at present have the Bible taught in the national schools by laymen alone. And I may here remark incidentally that the maintenance of teachers who read out the Bible (the book common to all) is a very different operation from the concurrent endowment of rival teachers that are generally suspected to be false.

The first and second of the Ten Commandments would rarely be broken if our children learned the Bible, and opportunity for keeping up acquaintance with the book were furnished to all. "How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?" But if the Bible is taught truly, all hear of Him. And the promise is found to have vitality, "As soon as they hear of Me, they shall obey Me." In such a State there is little occasion for human sanction to the first two commandments. However that may be, it is clear that the State has no right to set up in the public schools, or elsewhere, the worship of the goddess of Reason, or of Venus, or of her whose name I will not mention—she is blessed, although, unfortunately, some men worship her. Nor has the State any right to set up idols, whether crucifixes or others, before which men are taught to bow the knee. If human laws do at all touch the question of idols, the Bible law is plain and uniform. I give one sample from Numbers xxxiii., 52: "Destroy all their pictures, and destroy all their molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places." There is a Divine law to follow; and no State can prosper in the breaking of that moral law.

The third commandment primarily forbids any resort to the name of the God of truth to bolster up a lie. In practice human laws

* Year-book, 34 Henry VI., fol. 40.

† Year-book, 4 Henry VII., fol. 5.

‡ Year-book, 12 Henry VIII., fol. 2.

§ Kellway's Reports, 8 Henry VIII., fol. 191.

⁶ 2 Barn. & Cress., p. 471, and Law Reports, Exchequer, vol. ii.

⁷ Broom's "Legal Maxims," 1943, p. 16, citing Doct. & Stud., 18th ed., 15, 16; Noy. Max., 9th ed., p. 2; 2 Dwar. Stats., 642, *et seq.*; Finch's "Law," 75, 76.

deal with this offense, under the ninth commandment, as perjury. But there is another offense against the third commandment. Openly to assail the ears of others by blaspheming God, or openly using ribald imprecations of the Divine name, is an offense against society, and necessarily an object of restraint under just human laws.

The fourth commandment secures the Sabbath. By keeping one day in seven holy to himself, God has from the beginning of this world preserved the Sabbath-day for the working man. The State is clearly bound to preserve for me that rest which is my moral right.

The fifth commandment is necessarily to be sanctioned by human legislation, for, if parental authority were not maintained, man would not undergo the cares involved in obeying the original command to increase and multiply and replenish the earth. The fifth is the first commandment with a blessing, and the Chinese, who notably obey this law, are notable possessors of the territorial blessing here promised.

The sixth commandment preserves man's first right—his life, and this law must be maintained by the highest sanctions of State law. These must reach not only to the punishment of willful murder as ordinarily understood, but also to the prevention, and, if needful, to the punishment of manslaughter—such, for instance, as that of the sea-faring men which Mr. Plimsoll has lately brought to light—and to the establishment of sanitary laws in general. I give an instance of the sanitary laws delivered by Moses. The Jews used to walk and sleep upon their flat roofs, and battlements to the roofs were compulsory. We do not use flat roofs, and therefore need no law as to battlements; but the principle is clear that human penalties must be relied upon to meet the special dangers of local cases, so that life may everywhere be preserved and prolonged.*

The seventh commandment touches the

* The Divine law annexes the punishment of death to the crime of willful murder—a law revealed to us in connection with the covenant with Noah, but that appears to have been made known to the first generations of men. This sentence is confirmed in the law given by Moses (Numb. xxxv., 31), where it is expressly provided that satisfaction is not to be taken "for the life of a murderer." Some would have us abandon this punishment, pressing the Gospel claims of mercy; but this seems inadmissible in the absence of any express repeal of the express law of God. And on the ground of mercy alone, who is to be benefited? Not society; that must and will protect itself, if not by the tardy process of law, then by swifter remedies of which the least objectionable would be a restoration of the personal office of the avenger of blood: nor even the criminal; for he may never again have such an arousing call to wait upon the Divine Saviour as that which in England he receives from the Judge who passes just sentence of death. The reason of this sentence is found annexed to it: "In the image of God made he man."

whole social fabric exactly at its base. The law which gives one wife to every man, and preserves one husband to every wife, is as old as the human family, and is Divine. The institution of marriage is to be protected and preserved in every case, and the authority of the man over his wife maintained intact. You smile, so I will give you an illustration from the law of Moses as stated in Numbers xxx. If a wife made a vow, and her husband on hearing of it disavowed it, she stood free; but if he knew it and omitted a prompt disavowal, she was to be bound, and he was to bear her iniquity; and the law was the same in the case of an unmarried daughter who lived with her father. The authority of the man was in each case upheld over the woman, and the man was held responsible; and this is in the eternal nature of things, for man was made in the image of God, and woman was made in the image of man, and is responsible to him; and this statement is quite consistent with the honor that I owe and show to my wife at home. Believing that breaking the seventh commandment is immoral, I think myself that adulterers, both male and female, should go to prison. I say this only because bound to speak the truth on a subject where many remain tongue-tied. Is prison the proper place to which to send criminals? and are adulterers criminals? If so, they should be sent to a proper place. There is here a question of great moment. Ought the adulterers to be allowed to marry each other? The law of England, I am sorry to say, permits such marriages; but, according to the law of Moses, adulterers were to be killed. I do not ask the penalty of death, but I do ask that the marriage of the parties who have proved themselves incompetent to keep the marriage contract may not be recognized by the law, and, moreover, that a proper punishment be meted out to them as criminals, a mere money fine being quite inadequate.

Following the eighth commandment, the laws of the State must protect our property, or no one will care to till the ground and subdue it. We must not steal any of the property that belongs to God. To take property that was held upon trust to provide the teaching of the Bible and hand it, as I consider was recently done in England, to those who withhold the Bible from the people, is a case in point.

The ninth commandment protects all our rights, our property, character, and even our lives, from the injury that is done by false statements, whether under the sanction of an oath or otherwise. The laws relative to libel and perjury come in here, by which a man gets pecuniary redress for his personal loss, and, when needful, society avenges itself upon the false witness punishing him as a criminal.

The tenth commandment deals with mere motives, and so, at last, does the law of man, in this sense, that although an accusation under human law can only reach to what is overt, yet willful malice is of the essence of any criminal charge.

Such, in my view, are the principles upon which every State can safely stand, and which no State can safely withstand, when legislating upon moral questions. If any now remark, You have relied upon the law of Moses alone, and not upon the Gospel, my answer is that the principles of moral government laid down in the law of Moses bind civil governors everywhere and always. Christ "came not to destroy the law;" and the canon of the Old Testament closes with the injunction, "Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments" (Mal. iv., 4).

Finally, let me commend to your most careful attention the words of one who was a musician and a poet, who filled many posts from shepherd-boy to king, and who sinned fearfully, but afterward sincerely repented. He four times claims to be inspired of God in this, his final utterance: "Now

these be the last words of David. David the son of Jesse said, and the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel, said, The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue. The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain. Although my house be not so with God; yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things, and sure: for this is all my salvation, and all my desire, although he make it not to grow. But the sons of Belial shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they can not be taken with hands: but the man that shall touch them must be fenced with iron and the staff of a spear; and they shall be utterly burned with fire in the same place" (2 Samuel xxiii., 1-7).

Here is the divine pattern of the legislator and magistrate, the exercise of whose authority occasions universal rejoicing. He is just and fears God, and he seeks to overwhelm the wicked and to uphold the good.

SUNDAY LEGISLATION.

THE SABBATH MADE FOR MAN—HIS CONSEQUENT RIGHT TO LEGISLATION FOR SERVING ITS ENDS.

BY THE REV. MARK HOPKINS, D.D., WILLIAMSTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS,

Lately President of Williams College.

If we would know the ground on which we have a right to the protection of the civil law in the enjoyment of the Sabbath, we must know the ground on which we have a right to such protection at all.

For the idea of rights, or of a right, we go back to our primitive constitution. Under all circumstances man has a right to whatever may be necessary to the attainment of his end as that end is indicated by his whole nature, that is, by his necessities, his active principles, and his capacities. Accordingly, there are rights that correspond to each of these; and they are higher or lower, more or less sacred as these necessities, and active principles, and capacities are higher or lower, more or less sacred. If man has a necessity for food, or air, or light, then, under the conditions ordained by God, he has a right to them. If man has constitutionally as active principles the desires of property and of power, then, under the conditions ordained by God, he has a right to property and power. Or, if man has the capacity of love or of enjoyment, whether of a higher or a lower kind, then, under the conditions ordained by God, he has a right to the objects of such love and the means of such enjoyment. In each of the above cases it will be found that the conditions ordained by God resolve themselves into simply a non-interference with the rights of others, or with a higher good.

That the account of rights now given is correct, any one who will observe the phenomena may satisfy himself. In virtue of our moral constitution on apprehending the relation between our necessities and the means of supplying them, between our active principles and their objects, between our capacities and the means of meeting them, if any one would thwart the evident intention of God in regard to these, we immediately and necessarily have the idea of a right, or of rights, and this idea becomes one of the deepest and most controlling forces in the mind.

Rights having been thus originated and recognized, it is the great object of civil society to protect them. How far governments may go in promoting directly and

positively human welfare it may be difficult to say; but the protection of rights is so far their object that it may be questioned whether they would be needed or would exist but for that. With nothing to guard against but the mistakes of ignorance, with no wrongs to fear or to redress, and no crimes to punish, with each individual governing himself by the law of love or being governed in accordance with it, all necessities would be so supplied, each active principle would so find its proper object and scope, and every capacity would be so met, that little would seem to remain that might not be best done by voluntary associations for the promotion of objects requiring combined effort. But be this as it may, it is conceded by all that the great object of civil government should be, and is, the protection of rights.

With this view of the ground of rights and of the object of government, we proceed to inquire whether the Sabbath holds such a relation to the necessities, or the active principles, or the capacities of man—to either or to all of them—that he has a natural right to the protection of civil society in its enjoyment. Our position is that it does hold such a relation, and that the Sabbath may be fairly placed in this respect on the same basis with the family and with property.

In saying this, it may be supposed by some that we disregard the proper basis of the Sabbath as resting on divine authority, and its proper nature as a positive institution.

Originally the Sabbath did rest wholly on authority. It must have rested on that, since the division of time it establishes is not a natural division. It corresponds with no period of the heavenly bodies, and with no changes of the seasons. If man had been developed from an ape, such a division of time would have been impossible. By no law of association could it have been suggested to him, and it could have been *aped* from no one else. In any case, indeed, this division of time must have rested not only on authority, but on *divine* authority, since the reason assigned for it has no relation to any thing done by man; since no human authority could be competent thus to separate

a portion of undistinguished time; and since the keeping of a portion of time holy is not an object in which any human government ever took the least interest, or which it would be possible for it to enforce. A period of rest human governments might enforce; but the conception of an undistinguished and often-recurring portion of time, to be set apart by authority and to be kept as holy, could have originated only with God.

Originating thus wholly by authority, the Sabbath must have been received originally, both as to the division of time and the manner of its observance, wholly as a positive institution. So it was received generally under the Old Testament, and so it is received by many now.

But under Christianity all this is changed. The single saying of our Saviour that "The Sabbath was made for man" puts both the institution itself as originally given and the mode of its observance on a new basis as they are related to our minds. It gives us the reason for the command, and so the principle for the regulation of its observance. The Sabbath ceases to stand before us as a positive institution merely, but bases its claims upon its bearing upon human welfare. It is implied in the words of Christ that, if the day itself rightly observed would not promote the well-being of man, then it is to be abrogated, and that there is to be nothing in the mode of its observance that is not subservient to the same end. But while this is true, it is also true that Christ said no word tending to abrogate the law of the Sabbath. On the contrary, his words imply, or rather directly affirm, that the Sabbath is for the race—for man as man—and so of universal and perpetual obligation. What he did was to give us a principle for the interpretation and application of the law, limited in its flexibility only by the end of the law. He gave us a principle instead of a rule. In this view of it the law of the Sabbath is for man, just as the law of the family or of property is; and, if the fourth commandment is to hold its place with the others, it must do it as regulating, as each of the others do, one of the great elements and relations that are essential to human well-being.

And this is precisely what we say it does. The fourth commandment is God's statute in regard to the element of *time*, as the fifth is in regard to the family, the sixth in regard to life, the seventh in regard to purity, the eighth in regard to property, and the ninth in regard to truth. Let these elements be rightly adjusted, and give us in connection with them the worship of God and freedom from a covetous disposition, which are provided for in the other four commandments, and we say that we have every thing required for the best condition of the individual and of society. "The law

of the Lord is perfect." Nothing can be omitted; nothing need be added.

Of the commandments just specified as bearing on relative duties, if we except the fourth, it is conceded by all that each respects an element of human well-being that is universal, and that involves rights that require legal enactment and protection. Does the commandment recognize and regulate the family? So does the civil law. Does the commandment say, "Thou shalt not kill?" So does the law. Does the commandment say, "Thou shalt not commit adultery?" So does the law. Does the commandment say, "Thou shalt not steal?" So does the law. Does the commandment say, "Thou shalt not bear false witness?" So does the law. In connection with each of these commandments the individual has rights that need to be, and are, secured by the civil law, and what we affirm is that the fourth commandment takes its place with the rest, and stands, in this regard, on precisely the same basis.

That the law, "Thou shalt not steal," is for the race, no one doubts, because the reason for it is universal. Property and the mode of its distribution are elements related to human well-being everywhere; and the laws on our statute-books against stealing are not there simply, or perhaps at all, because stealing is forbidden in the Decalogue, but because we can see for ourselves that it violates a natural right and must be injurious to society. But *time* is an element more universal than property; and how extensively the mode of its division and employment enters into all that pertains to human well-being few of us realize. Its relations to that are even more intimate and pervasive than those of property. Of both property and time God is the Lord paramount. The eighth commandment is the statute of God to regulate by its spirit for the good of man, and for that only, the distribution and management of that property which belongs to him. In the same way the fourth commandment is the statute of God to regulate for the good of man, and for that only, the division and employment of that time which belongs to him.

What the effect upon the race would be if the fourth commandment were obeyed in full, that is, in its law of labor for six days, as well as of rest for the seventh, can be known only by trial. My own conviction is that this would give a division and employment of time in exact accordance with the demands of the constitution of man in his present state, whether as needing alternate activity and rest, or a diversity of employment for his various faculties; and that if all men would work six days, and spend the seventh in holy rest, the ideal point in regard to the division and employment of time would be reached.

And if this be so, we see the folly of those ultra-evangelicals who think they find freedom in destroying the law of the Sabbath. No law not merely ceremonial and formal, no good law whose force is in the reason of it, can be destroyed in the interest of freedom; for, if it be a good law, the benefits of it can be had only through obedience, and the abrogation of a law conferring benefits is either a mistake or sheer license. The simple question is, Is there a reason in the nature of man as it is related to the division and employment of time both for the setting apart of six days of labor with special reference to the interests of this life, and of one day in seven as a day of holy rest with special reference to the interests that lie beyond?

In reference to this, the propositions which we lay down are, first, That the nature of man, whether as *physical, intellectual, or spiritual*, whether as *individual or social*, is so pre-conformed to that division and employment of time which the Sabbath contemplates, that the best results for the individual, or for society, can be reached only through that. And, second, That, in connection with this division and employment of time, there are rights which may properly be, and ought to be, secured by legislation.

First, then, there is what may be called the physical Sabbath. For man, physically, there must be a division and employment of time, as there is of food and exercise, that will work out the best results. The division required, we might suppose, would be the natural division into day and night. It is so in part; but we here find a beautiful and striking proof of the Sabbath as from God, in that, as related to man physically, it is based on a natural law that man could not have originally known, and probably would never have discovered. All moral law that relates to physical good presupposes natural law, and must be framed with reference to it, and that the law of the Sabbath is so framed we can now see.

It is now known that the ordinary rest of sleep does not suffice for the constitution. It is ascertained by adequate induction, through observations and experiments carefully made and long continued, that both men and animals will have better health, and live longer; will do more work, and do it better, if they rest one day in seven, than if they work continuously. If this be so, and it is now unquestioned, then all those who would otherwise be compelled to labor will have a right to the rest which their constitution requires on the same ground on which they have a right to sufficient sleep, and, if need be, they will have a right to the interposition of law to give them that rest.

This is a point in which the laboring classes have a deep interest. They have a right to that amount of time for rest and

recuperation which is required for the full health and vigor of their constitutions, and those who employ them, and on whom they may be dependent, have no right to make such arrangements for pleasure or for business as will deprive them of that time. The time belongs to God. By natural law, as well as by express statute, he gives it to them, and they can not be deprived of it without injury to themselves, and wrong on the part of others. The blessing physically of the weekly Sabbath to the toiling millions of Christendom no man can estimate, and, if any one would seek to wrest it from them, there would be an imperative call for legislation to secure them their right.

But on the right to legislate respecting the division and employment of time in favor of those who labor we need not dwell, at least in this country. Those who call so loudly for a law limiting labor to ten, and even to eight, hours a day will not question the right to legislate when the limitation is called for by a natural law. The Sabbath exists now by the common as well as by statute law—a great provision of God in favor of the laboring classes; but it is so much a matter of course that we often fail to think of it as by law at all.

In its relation to the intellect, the Sabbath is a provision wholly unique. There is nothing like it, or approaching it, under any other system. In looking at it in this aspect we must judge of it, as we must of all the provisions made by God, not by its perversions actual or possible, but by its tendency and results when honestly used for the ends for which it was given. By those who would keep the people in ignorance and consequent subjection, the Sabbath has been perverted into a day of mummeries, and parades, and frivolities; but, while it is needed as a day of rest for those who toil intellectually, one great end of it is the instruction of the people, and the whole people, not in science or general education, but on all subjects pertaining to moral and religious conduct. Let a people be well enlightened in these, and enlightenment on other subjects will be sure to come. On these they must be enlightened, if they are to be free; and whatever conditions for such enlightenment it may be necessary to provide by legislation it will be proper for it to provide.

But the Sabbath is for man chiefly as it is related to his spiritual and social nature. It is in the relation of the Sabbath to these, in connection with the Bible as a book requiring study, that we find the highest proof of that supreme wisdom that everywhere sets one thing over against another. These are man's highest endowments; it is through them that he has his most sacred rights; and, if the Sabbath fail to elevate him in respect to these, its great end is lost. The spiritual

and social nature I mention together, because, though they may be cultivated apart in some measure, yet they naturally go together, and can reach their highest forms only in combination. It is here, in the social affections in combination with moral purity and with worship; in the union of men to each other through their union with God, that we find the true goal of humanity. Without these as its underlying elements society can not reach its highest state here, and in these will consist its perfection hereafter. But, if it was the purpose of God to educate and elevate the race spiritually and socially, it would be necessary that they should be brought together at frequent and stated intervals with reference to this, and we do not see how it would have been possible for him to secure these ends except by some such arrangement as the Sabbath. Left to themselves, mankind would never have come together for religious worship steadily, or in such a way as to cultivate the higher devotional feelings and social affections. With no regular return of hallowed days, or opportunity to cultivate socially the devout affections, the true worship of God would soon be lost, and the religious nature would become a means of degradation through some form of idolatry or superstition.

But what relation, it may be asked, has legislation to these ends? None directly. It is not the province of legislation to enforce the observance of the Sabbath in its aspect toward God, or to make men either moral or religious. Men can not be made religious by legislation. It is only the civil Sabbath that can be thus enforced; and by the civil Sabbath we mean a day made non-legal, in which public business shall be suspended, and in which labor and recreation shall be so far restrained that the ends of a religious Sabbath may be secured by those who wish it. To this it is that we say that the community has a natural right, and if this can be secured only by legislation, then the community and every man in it has a natural right to that legislation.

From this discussion it appears that the Sabbath is not, as some seem to suppose, an arbitrary institution, or one slightly con-

nected with the other arrangements of God for the elevation and well-being of man. Like the air, and the light, and the water, in the simplicity and yet variety of its applications and uses, it bears the evident impress of the hand of God. Kept as God commanded, it would improve the individual man physically, intellectually, morally. It would unite man to man, and all men to God. Surely, whatever he may intend, he who fights against the Sabbath, fights against the best interests of society; and as society, no less than the individual, has a natural right to whatever is necessary to secure its ends, it has a right to the civil Sabbath, and to any legislation that may be necessary to secure those benefits connected with it on which its own well-being depends.

I close by presenting, in a form convenient for discussion, the propositions which I have endeavored to establish. They are:

1. That man has a right to whatever is necessary for the attainment of his end, as that end is indicated by his necessities, his active principles, and his capacities.

2. That the chief end of legislation is the protection of rights.

3. That under Christianity we are to test the Sabbath by its relation to human well-being, and to use it for that end.

4. That the fourth commandment is God's statute in regard to the great element of time, its division and employment; and that these have a relation to the well-being of society even more intimate than that of property.

5. That the human constitution and the constitution of society is so preformed to that division and employment of time which the Sabbath contemplates, that neither the end of the individual nor of society can be fully reached except through that.

6. That hence man has rights in connection with the fourth commandment, as in connection with the others that relate to relative duties, and that these rights ought to be protected by law on the same ground.

7. That it is not the province of legislation to enforce the fourth commandment in its Godward aspect, or to promote religion directly, but simply to protect men in their rights under a great provision made by God for their well-being.

EVILS OF A UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

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THE subject assigned to me is the expediency or rightfulness of alliance between the civil and ecclesiastical power. Without aiming at strict verbal accuracy, the question may be variously stated. Is an "Establishment" proper? Can civil government rightfully interfere with liberty of conscience? Has not every rational being an inalienable right to worship God, free from molestation? Has government a right to discriminate among religions, as Mr. Gladstone phrases it, "to choose the national religion?" Should religious congregations receive the salaries of pastors from the State, and be consequently placed under its superintendence?

It ought to be premised that liberty is not unrestrained license, nor social anarchy, nor to be used "for a veil of wickedness." Liberty implies restraints and limitations, and exists where each person is guaranteed the full exercise of his faculties and rights so long as and provided that he does not interfere with a like full exercise on the part of others. "Sicutere tuo ut non alienum lædas." In the assertion of the rights of conscience, the peace or the existence of society is not to be disturbed. The legitimate authority of the magistrate is not to be impinged. Liberty does not license crimes against property, or society, or government, or individuals. This freedom of conscience, this right and prerogative of man, is sacred. It is correlative with obligation on the part of others. To disregard or interfere with this right is to be false to duty, to violate a sacred thing.

Christianity has been often allied with civil government. Since the third century of the Christian era, such a connection has been, outside of the United States, the invariable rule in Europe and America. Such a policy was induced, in part, by the fact that under the old Covenant a theocracy existed, and the civil government was instituted, in large degree, to maintain and foster religion. Civil rulers, for self-aggrandizement, subordinated Christianity, or rather ecclesiastical organizations, to their corrupt purposes. Good but deluded men thought it a duty to foster by political support the Christian religion: When the papal hierarchy became predominant, it subsidized the civil power and held it in vassalage. The Reformation, which, in some respects, was a protest rather than a reform, by a fatal blunder, copied, with some modi-

fications, this wrong of Popery. Protestant governments, to resist papacy and promote the reformed religion, took religion under their fostering care. Kings and emperors and dukes claimed to be the head of the Church in their dominions, were recognized as such, and exercised some of the power that had been withdrawn from the Pope. In England, the Oath of Supremacy, required of persons taking office, distinctly and formally asserted the right of the sovereign to be the head of the Church. The government claims the right of legislating for the national Church, and the Parliament is as supreme over the Church as over property and life.

When Church and State are united, the State practically assumes infallibility, arrogates the capability and the right to sit in judgment upon creeds, and to determine what is *a* Church, what is *the* Church, what is true, and what is false religion. An establishment prefers one denomination to another, and throws the weight, authority, power, and influence of the government in favor of a particular sect of religionists. From among several denominations, government selects one to receive its discriminating favor. It takes this denomination into partnership, establishes it, patronizes it, supports by special laws, public property, exclusive privileges, gives it power as such State Church in the State, and sometimes uses civil officers to enforce ecclesiastical discipline. The government thus places nearer the sovereign power the man or the woman who professes a particular creed. Such a one becomes a member of a privileged fraternity, and by a sovereign *digito monstrari* is held up as a more proper person than his less favored fellow. *Ex cathedra*, his orthodoxy is certified, and he stands before the community with the imprimatur of the powers that be.

Separation of Church and State is the removal of all political restraints and political supports from a Christian denomination. It means religious equality of citizenship, not the placing above or below, but on a platform of perfect equality. It is the proclamation that a citizen shall not be favored or prejudiced in property, reputation, social or official position, or in any right or privilege whatsoever, in consequence of his religion. Divorce of Church and State is an assertion of the wrong of civil interference in matters of worship and an unmistakable

declaration that it is better for the government and better for religion to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

The distinction between what is civil and what is religious may be made sufficiently clear for all practical purposes. What is civil belongs to the province of the civil government solely. What is religious is, from grounds of expediency, as well as necessarily from its character, outside of civil control. Religion rests between God and the conscience, and the kingdoms of this world have no right nor competency to prescribe or control it.

The people of the United States in Federal and State governments deny the jurisdiction of the magistrate in matters of religion, and enjoy "the distinction and the blessedness" of an entire separation, organically, of Church and State. Religion is neither fettered nor endowed. The Federal Constitution, in Article VI, Section 3, declares that no "religions test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." When the *project* of the Convention of 1787 was submitted to the States for their separate ratification, three of them proposed additional guarantees of freedom of conscience. In defence to this jealousy of interference with the most sacred personal right, the first amendment of the Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." These articles exclude the Federal Government from any administration of religion, and from all power to act on the subject. All the State constitutions are alike emphatic in the assertion of absolute religious liberty. This American contribution to the science of politics did not spring from indifference or opposition to the Christian religion. It proceeded, to quote Judge Story, "from a solemn consciousness of the dangers from ecclesiastical ambition, the bigotry of spiritual pride, and the intolerance of sects." It was incorporated into our organic laws in the interest and as promotive of pure spiritual religion. "To this consideration," said General Washington, "we ought to ascribe the absence of any regulations respecting religion from the Magna Charta of our country." Liberty of worship was not regarded by the framers of our Government as derivative from civil power, nor as a concession or boon of political generosity, but as "a right inherent in the personality of the individual conscience." Government is a *political* organism, and it is of the essence of American liberty that the government should be entirely separate from churches and religious denominations. The separation is no longer an experiment. It has the approval of every evangelical denomination and of every political

party. The different denominations are generally prosperous, enterprising, and widely influential. Ministers, in the aggregate, are as well supported as elsewhere. Churches are as numerous and as efficient. Christian activity is as intelligent. Sunday-schools are as numerous and as well conducted. Benefactions for Bible publication and distribution, for missions, church buildings, education—for all benevolence—are as liberal. The people of the United States are as well supplied with the means of religion as any like population in the world. Church accommodations are as ample and as well distributed. Infidelity and heresy have as few perverts. This success of the voluntary system, amply substantiated by the census, has been accomplished in spite of disadvantages, and yet equals what has been done for the Christian religion in countries where millions are expended to uphold establishments that have existed for centuries.

Voluntarism finds corroboration in countries where an establishment is alleviated by toleration. A comparison of Dissenters with the favored sect can be made without prejudice to the argument of the inexpediency of the reliance upon State favor. The non-conforming churches are not generally inferior in purity of doctrine, unity of faith, harmony of purpose, strictness of discipline, or consistency of conduct, to the endowed church. Bible and Mission and Tract Societies are as well sustained by Dissenters proportionately as by Churchmen. The poor and destitute are often compelled to rely upon Dissenters for religious instruction and public worship.

It would be uncautious not to concede that State patronage has insured superior culture to a portion of the ministry, and has given to the world profound scholars and eminent preachers. In spite of this admission, I must advance a step and place the opposition to union on grounds more impregnable than mere inexpediency or unnecessary. It is wrong in principle and injurious in practical operation.

1. It is an injury to the State. When governments undertake impossibilities, they frequently do intolerable grievances or bring themselves into contempt. Governments have no jurisdiction over the conscience. This is extra-territorial. Governments can not afford to lose the sympathy or encounter the just prejudice of the governed, or to do palpable injustice. An establishment fosters notions of arbitrary government, cultivates opposition to liberal principles. Its pulpit often reflects the caprice and will, and espouses the cause of the court. The advocates of the divine right of kings, of passive obedience, the opponents of revolution, of civil reform, of popular liberty, have uniformly been the adherents of an establishment. The rightness of the union of

Church and State by an inevitable logic leads to the rightness of absolutism, of despotism, to the denial of individual liberty and of the right of private judgment, to the suppression of free opinion and of the largest liberty of political action. English history is full of proofs of these assertions. A reference to the troubled condition of political affairs in Brazil, Mexico, France, Germany, Austria, Spain, and Italy shows that the union is perplexing governments, obstructing reform, fomenting strife and war. State religions generated the Crusades, the persecutions, and very many of the outrages of Popery. A State religion brings Great Britain into the anomalous position of defending the Anglican Church with three orders of ministry in England, Presbyterianism with one in Scotland, and the Maynooth grants in Ireland. According to Hooker, a national church is founded on the fiction of making every subject a member of said church. Arnold of Rugby was not able to free himself from the same hypothesis. Two corporate powers, with distinct offices and ministries, thus enlist the same persons as subjects and communicants. Statesmen and Churchmen are thus united for mutual help and defense. The State offers a premium to insincerity and hypocrisy. To get honors and emoluments, men become members of the Established Church. Moral principle is eradicated when men affect conversion to be sheriffs, magistrates, and judges, and when a petty constable is forbidden to execute process until he shall have received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of a regularly ordained clergyman as a part of the prescribed induction into office.

2. It is a wrong to other denominations. Putting out of view the hostile decision of the government as between denominations, composed of equally worthy and patriotic citizens, the effect of governmental endowment is to lower the rejected party in the eyes of all those who regard the government as possessed of superior wisdom. What is called "society" is transferred to the Establishment, and few things are more intolerant and despotic than that *profanum vulgus* which "lives, moves, and has its being" in the accidents of birth, wealth, or governmental favor. Government elects a portion of its citizens, sometimes the majority, and subjects them to inferiority, dishonors them and their religion, puts a penalty on their form of worship, degrades them at the bar, in the college, in the pulpit, in Parliament, and in places of honor and trust. Dissenter is a term of reproach, and such a person is under a stigma, and in a state of uniform degradation. This vexatious, prolonged, corroding insult is not relieved by acts of toleration. Toleration, by government, of the God-given, indefeasible right of wor-

ship is an implication of the right to withhold liberty of conscience. It makes worship an act of political grace, and is a palpable contradiction, a license to neglect duty and run in the teeth of the constituted civil authorities.

3. It is a wrong to citizens generally. It proscribes merit and makes another qualification than fitness for office. In England, under Henry VIII., a good subject "accepted the mass without the Pope: under Edward VI. he eschewed both; under Mary he took back the mass, and after a while the Pope to boot; under Elizabeth he gave them both up again;" during the interregnum, Presbyterianism was established and the prayer-book was interdicted in private houses as well as in churches; after the Restoration, Parliament reinstated the Episcopal system; and now, in Great Britain, the union of Church and State makes a citizen a turn-coat if, in crossing the border, he would keep pace with "the corporate reason." It deprives citizens of an equal participation in rights and privileges, because they can not conform to a religious standard set up by men who have no theological aptitudes and who were not selected for their piety. It makes a diploma of a college, a commission in the army or navy, a foreign mission, a crown, dependent on being loyal to the sect which happens, for the nonce, to be the favorite of the government. It compels support of a denomination which has not the approval of the tax-payers. It robs of property, for whenever a government takes from its citizens more than is necessary for a just and economical administration of its legitimate affairs, it commits robbery. Government may thus lead its own people into a fatal delusion, cause them to neglect personal regeneration, and lull them into a false security by their membership in a national church.

4. An establishment is a wrong to our holy religion. Much of what has been said, especially concerning the identity of citizenship and church-membership, has equal pertinency to this point. Public profession of a State religion is sometimes conjoined with private ineredulity. Infidelity has taken refuge under cover of an establishment, abounds where religion is enforced by law. Germany and France with their skepticism are not persuasive of an establishment. All the sovereigns of England, from Henry VIII. to James II., during a period of one hundred and forty years, the boy Edward VI. excepted, employed their supremacy to extinguish vital religion (Noel's "Union of Church and State," page 59). Froude states that at one time ordinations were bestowed on men of low life and corrupt behavior. Moral defects were accepted in consideration of spiritual complacency. The *Cornhill Magazine*, of a late date, says (I quote not to indorse

but to show tendencies): "The Church of England is broad as to Rationalism, high as to Romanism, and low as to Dissent; feeds all alike with the dew of her fatness, and decorates each indifferently with her ecclesiastical honors." Bishop Colenso holds official connection with a national church. Union of Church and State degrades the Christian religion by making it dependent on civil power. It submits questions of eternal significance, involving the essence of Divine truth and man's personal relations to his Creator, to men of most varied characters. "They may be men of high principle or of no principle; religions or profane; young men of gayety and fashion, or old men of inveterate immorality; they may be wealthy or steeped in debt; absolutists or democrats; sportsmen ever foremost at the death of the fox, or keener civic hunters after gold; lovers of pleasure, whose employments are seldom more serious than the opera or the race-track, or lovers of party, whose highest ambition may be to keep one minister in or turn another out." It dishonors the Holy Spirit by doubting His omnipotence. It calls in the sword to do the work of spiritual weapons; it encourages distrust of God and promotes weakness of faith; it is adverse to humility and spirituality, and seeks for other elements of strength than righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

5. It is injurious to the denomination in alliance. If the strength of a church or a denomination be in its spirituality, what has been said may be sufficient to demonstrate the injuriousness of the alliance. An establishment is injustice and oppression. No argument is needed to show to an assembly of Christians that injustice and oppression injure the wrong-doer as much as the sufferer. Unjust discriminations engender discontent, irritation, resentment, hostility, sometimes aversion and hatred. Patronage is invariably a source of corruption; and the history of State religions shows that religious communities are not exempt from its evil consequences. An endowment secularizes a denomination, and attracts the worldly, the selfish, the ambitious.

The system of presentation to benefices is an afflictive malady. Advowsons are regular articles of merchandise, advertised in the newspapers and sold at public outcry or private sale. From this legal right of presentment, regardless of the consent of the inhabitants of the parish, have come non-residence, huge salaries, starving incomes, sporting and dissolute clergymen. Men of frivolous characters, of infidel principles, hold livings as property, and bestow them for other considerations than a desire to save souls or promote the Redeemer's kingdom. To prevent the presentment and induction of unworthy persons and secure a pious ministry, it has been found necessary

in England to buy up livings as they become vacant.

State favor diverts attention from things spiritual to things secular, and by creating a sense of dependence enervates. To make citizenship and church-membership identical, begets formality and worldliness, and introduces unworthy elements into churches. "Simon Magnuses are more easily fostered than Simon Peters." Union of Church and State is an obstacle to reform and progress. "In England, it mutilated the Reformation; in France, in parts of Germany, in Spain and Italy, overcame and crushed it. It alone gave claws and teeth to the Inquisitions, and without its aid the powerful confraternity of Loyola would have been baffled. As the union had previously corrupted the churches, so at the Reformation it prevented their restoration to purity of discipline and to spiritual life." The power of the civil magistrate, used for the maintenance and support of religion, has had an incalculable influence in corrupting Christianity, and has been a prolific fountain of innumerable evils. The members of a State Church have their hands tied and labor under many disabilities in doing good. The facilities of the pious in this direction are lessened, while many members are indifferent to spiritual prosperity.

6. My last argument is that the union of Church and State is unscriptural. In an assembly where such contrariant opinions are held, I am embarrassed by my own individual convictions. A scripturally constituted church of regenerated persons, chosen by Christ out of the world and not made up of bad and good, vicious and virtuous, infidel and believer—a separate, local, visible, independent congregation of believers, and not a particular denomination of Christians, a national organization, a collective corporation overspreading a whole land, co-extensive territorially with political boundaries—such an independent, local assembly of saints, in my opinion, can not be in alliance with the State, nor be fused into the political power without losing the essential marks of an apostolic church. I am forbidden here by common Christian courtesy to argue the question on this hypothesis. I therefore take the common Protestant view, and from that stand-point make bold to assert the unscripturalness of the union.

Religion, man's relation to his God, is personal and individual, and can not be vicarious nor compulsory. In the economy of God's grace, a national religion, strictly speaking, is a solecism, an absurdity. The Holy Spirit regenerates by units. The Holy Spirit's work upon the individual heart is indispensable to salvation. To love God with all the heart and soul is constrained only by the antecedent love of God. State policy may establish a creed and enforce its

outward observance by penalties, but the mind, the heart, and the conscience can not be fettered.

Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and he is the supreme, absolute, single Head. No temporal prince can be. Before Pilate, Jesus asserted his kingship, and in such a manner as to show that his dominion was compatible with the rule of an earthly governor. His kingdom is independent of civil authority. Over his subjects no earthly potentate has spiritual jurisdiction. For a State, by executive or legislative power, to give law to Christian churches, to prescribe creed or ministry, to determine the guests and the manner of their gathering at the Lord's table, is to act inconsistently with the character of Christ's kingdom and in repugnance to the teachings of the Scriptures.

Christ and his disciples proclaimed and practically asserted soul liberty, preferring imprisonment and death to submission to the claim to control their worship.

Christ commissioned his disciples to preach the Gospel to every creature. The field is the world. Union has barred, until lately, one-half of Europe against zealous evangelists, and States even yet lay off their territory into parishes and prohibit Christ's ministers from preaching the Gospel therein.

Church and State have different functions and different ministers. One looks to the overt act; the other includes the inner life. The early churches were organized, grew, and prospered under the principle of absolute separation from civil authority. Prior to 313, governments never offered assistance. "In many countries, through many ages, the

union has been the alliance of fraud and force to degrade the nations; the compact of the priest and the potentate to crush the rights of conscience; the combination of regal and prelatical tyranny to repress true religion."

Inspiration enjoins giving us an act of worship. Beneficence in support of churches and ministers is a duty and a privilege. The contributions are to be cheerful and voluntary. Christ never gave to civil rulers the right to make assessments and collect money for his kingdom. To patronize all denominations is none the less a violation of the New Testament than to patronize one.

The improvement in public opinion on this subject has been wonderful. A few days ago, in the Hungarian Parliament, a course of legislation was proposed to bring about the same relations between the State and religious bodies in Hungary as exist in the United States. Much of reform is yet needed. Disabilities are still imposed by many governments, which undertake to prescribe and regulate and support religion. Russia now imprisons Baptists. The second article of the Constitution declares an object of the Alliance to be "to assist the cause of religious freedom everywhere; to hold up the supreme authority of the word of God." Religious freedom is a misnomer while an unhallowed union exists between Church and State. The longer such unions exist, the more difficult will be the solution of questions growing out of them, and the less successful will be the labors of this Alliance in assisting the cause of religious freedom.

THE FREE CHURCHES OF THE CONTINENT; OR, AMERICAN IDEAS IN EUROPE.

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It is probable that a certain number among you do not fully understand what is meant by the free churches of Europe. Though numerous, and differing in many respects, your religious denominations have a common character; they are composed of persons who share the same principles; they freely govern themselves; their financial resources arise from the voluntary contributions of those who attend religious services. Liberty, then, can not be the characteristic and distinguishing feature of any of your churches.

In Europe the case is quite different: on the one hand we have the national churches, governed by political powers and sustained by the public treasury; on the other, free churches, governing themselves and appealing for support to the system of voluntary contribution.

Although this antagonism has been but slowly developed, it nevertheless springs from the great religious movement of the sixteenth century. The Reformation, which, in so many respects, met the demands of the moment, could not then realize the notion of a truly spiritual Church. The necessity of resisting the formidable power of the Romish States, the entangled relations of political and religious questions, and other causes, all concurred to drive the nascent Protestant Churches to enter into relations so intimate with governments that almost everywhere political society and religious society were quite mingled. You are aware of the fact that the venerated founders of this Great Republic, the Pilgrim Fathers who landed on Plymouth Rock, were not in this respect more enlightened than the Protestants of Europe. They consequently established the New England Theocracy, which was distinguished from the State Churches of Europe only by a severer morality and a more rigorous logic.

Every one of you equally knows that, under the influence of the *great awakening* instigated by Jonathan Edwards, the American Churches were renovated in their internal constitutions, broke away from theocratic traditions, and were led to realize a new ecclesiastical ideal, claimed by the Gospel spirituality and by the principles of Protestantism.

Now that deep ecclesiastical revolution

which has stamped most of your religious denominations with a peculiar character has not yet been accomplished in Europe. It is for this reason that our ecclesiastical position differs in so many respects from yours. Our national churches of to-day call to mind but very imperfectly what yours were under the theocratic régime, and our free churches are yet far from realizing, either in fact or in theory, the ideal reached by those of the United States.

In almost every Protestant country of Europe, as at Plymouth and in Massachusetts, the State began by being strictly denominational; that is, one could not enjoy civil and political rights unless he were an active church-member. These perfectly logical consequences of the theocratic system have disappeared almost everywhere. Even where it has made great efforts to remain as denominational as possible, the State has to tolerate different churches side by side in the official establishment. There is even a certain country where it has come to pass that several churches are recognized as national, though one is Roman Catholic, two are Protestant, and the other is a synagogue. The French government recognizes and pays the ministers of these different denominations, which, if they are faithful to their duty, can not fail to come into conflict with each other. From this state of things has resulted a great difference between official or privileged churches on the one hand, and the free dissenting churches on the other. While the first contend for favors at the hands of power, the second do not always succeed to obtain the liberty with which they would be satisfied.

I. But it is especially on the internal constitution of the national churches that this mode of existence has exercised a profound influence. In the sixteenth century they all had a confession of faith. To-day those symbols have fallen in disuse where they have not been expressly abolished. As all the Protestants of a country belong to the official church, whatever be their dogmatic principles, their faith, or their infidelity, such must be the result. In the United States, every dogmatic or ecclesiastical difference of some importance betrays itself by a special denomination.

In Europe, on the contrary, the orthodox, the Unitarians, and the Universalists contend for preponderance in the bosom of the national Church. It is not infrequent to hear from the same pulpit on the following Sunday, or on the evening of the same day, the refutation of what has been preached in the morning. While the orthodox, appealing to historic rights, advance claims to the exclusive possession of religious establishments founded in the sixteenth century, their adversaries maintain that the normal state of the Church requires in its bosom the co-existence of those hostile parties which are called to tolerate each other and to balance one another. In consequence they modify, they even omit at their convenience the official liturgies.

There is a church in Switzerland, that of Zürich, which has officially sanctioned this mode of doing. There exist two liturgies equally authorized by the synod, though contrary to each other; every pastor can choose the one which he considers more in accordance with his principles.

The distinction between the Church and the congregation is an elementary principle at the basis of all your evangelical denominations; it exists in none of our national establishments, but only in some of our free churches in Europe.

The children are indiscriminately baptized in infancy, be their parents professors of religion or not. After having received a more or less systematic religious instruction, at the age of seventeen they are admitted to the communion, whether they possess or not what you call a personal experience of religion.

For a few years past the established churches have witnessed the outcome of a last consequence, one as important as it is unavoidable, of their internal constitution and mode of recruiting. While formerly they were administered by the clergy or by the government, of late they have had to reckon with democratic exigencies, which tend to predominate in religion as well as in politics. The Protestant Church of a country, according to the new system, is composed of all the citizens arrived at the age of majority who are neither Catholics nor Jews; they all form a part of the supreme power which, under the sanction of the government, regulates the Church, chooses its councilors and its pastors. All the established churches of the Continent have not yet come to this, but they necessarily gravitate toward this ideal, which depends on the universal suffrage of all Protestants of age, whether professors of religion or not.

This recent mode of government has not everywhere produced the pernicious consequences which one would naturally look for. The unbelieving members have not always availed themselves of the electoral rights

which had been so generously conceded to them; the indifferent have generally kept aloof. The administration has thus remained in the hands of persons more or less pious, and having a real interest in the matter. On the contrary, in establishments where opposing parties had been contending for preponderance, it has been necessary more than once to resort to electoral proceedings not unlike those of political parties. Some years ago one of the most celebrated of the established churches of the Continent witnessed, under the roof of her ancient cathedral, scenes of such a nature as to grieve all who still retain respect for holy things.

The polls were invaded at an early hour by the representatives of a particular party, who, with cigars in mouth, took possession of the ballot boxes and held them. During all the operations, messengers were busily engaged running to and from drinking saloons in the neighborhood to recruit electors. It is even asserted that wine found its way into the church itself. Seeing that success did not crown so much zeal, those strange ecclesiastical electors had recourse to hissing by way of showing their disappointment when the candidate of the other party was declared to be elected.

Finally, let us add that the minister for whom triumph was sought by such means was at the same time strongly orthodox and more or less of a Socialist. Happily, scenes of this nature are not of frequent occurrence, either in this particular national church or in others.

But as things may *legally* come to pass in this manner whenever, drawn by considerations foreign to religion, the masses choose to make use of their electoral rights, this feature, though exceptional and rare, may serve to give an idea of the internal constitution and state of official establishments. At a given moment they may legally fall into the hands of the avowed enemies of all religion.

With such a state of things in progress, you will find it natural enough that free churches should have been formed in the different countries of Europe. You may be surprised that they are not more numerous, and that they have not acquired a greater importance. What has everywhere called them into existence is the abnormal state of the national establishments, which for a long time have been deprived of the advantages of the theocratical régime of the sixteenth century, having retained to this day only the disadvantages of that system.

II. The number* of persons attached to

* It will be understood that I can not lay claim to absolute exactness as to numbers. In the first place, several isolated and unimportant congregations will probably have remained unknown to me; in the second place, the statistical data change from day to day; finally, a few churches have positively refused

the free churches of the continent of Europe may be estimated at 1,166,083 members.

1. Among those churches we may class, in the first place, the churches of foreign origin; namely, those which are the fruit of the missionary enterprises of American and English denominations. Six foreign churches have founded missions in Europe. The American Baptists number 67 churches, 16,778 members; the English Methodists, 4541 members, 15,993 hearers; the American Methodists, 23 chapels, 5396 members; the German Methodists of North America ("Die Evangelische Gemeinschaft von Nord America"), known in Switzerland under the name of Albrechts Brüder, and there having 7 churches, 15 stations, 198 members. The Free Church of Scotland has stations at Pesth, Breslan, Prague, Amsterdam; and the Irish Presbyterian Church, at Bonn, Vienna, Hamburg, and Altona.

2. Those free churches which owe their existence to some peculiar state of things on the continent of Europe may be divided into two principal classes.

a. Those that never were national churches, like the congregations of the Waldenses of Piedmont, and the Mennonites that are found in Holland (60,000), in Germany, and in Russia. They reach back to the movement of the sixteenth century. Let us, moreover, mention the Lutherans of the States of Austria, of Hungary, and of Transylvania, which number 1,000,000 of members. In this class must also be ranked the French Refugee Churches, scattered in Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, which have always governed themselves.

b. The churches which have become free in after-times are of two classes—those which have become so on account of doctrinal reasons, and those which owe their origin to the need of a more internal and spiritual constitution.

(1.) The congregations of the former group are subdivided into three very distinct classes. (a.) Some have broken off from the official Church because they looked upon her as too strictly orthodox. This is the case with the confederation of churches which issued from the movement of the German Catholics and of the *Friends of Light*, which took place in Germany, 1845–1848. This confederation numbers 144 [?] churches, destitute of any profession of faith, being an offshoot of the philosophical evolution of modern times: it rejects the most characteristic doc-

trines not only of traditional orthodoxy, but even of Deism itself. These churches number altogether about 25,000 members.

(b.) The Swedenborgians profess, on the contrary, to have received new revelations; they are not numerous in Europe. (c.) In the third place, we have churches that have left the State Church because they did not regard it as sufficiently orthodox. Much more numerous than the preceding ones, they are scattered, in the different countries of Europe, either as Reformed or as Lutherans. The most important of all these denominations is the Separatist Reformed Church of Holland. It has 102,000 members, 338 churches, 233 pastors, and a theological faculty at Kampen. Besides these, there are the *Reformed Churches under the Cross*, and a few congregations known under the name of *Free Evangelical Communities*, less strict than the foregoing, in the maintenance of the doctrines of the Reformed Churches.

There is also in Holland a dissenting Lutheran Church, consisting of 12,000 members.

We shall next point out the old Lutheran Churches of Prussia, having 40,976 members, 55 parishes, 46 pastors; those of the Duchy of Baden, with 600 to 700 members; a Lutheran Church at Copenhagen (*Evangelist Lutherk Fremenigh*), with 150 to 160 members; and the Presbyterian and Reformed Church of Uster, in the Canton of Zürich, with 150 communicants.

In French-speaking countries, there are also churches which have sprung out of the felt need of reviving the doctrines of the sixteenth century. For instance, the Presbyterian Church of Geneva, with 1200 members and as many hearers; that of Lyons, with 600 members and 3000 hearers; the group of the Union of Free Churches of France (45 churches, 67 places of worship, 2962 church-members, and 6088 hearers); and the Belgian Missionary Church (66 churches, 1700 communicants, and 5000 hearers).

(2.) Among the churches whose birth is due to ecclesiastical reasons, we find, in the first place, the Irvingites and the Plymouthists, or Darbyists.

These two denominations have precisely the same idea of the Church as the Roman Catholics; that is to say, Christianity must constitute one single external body of believers, hierarchically organized. But, while Catholicism prides itself on being the perfect realization of that ideal, the Irvingites, or apostolic churches, mean to do better, and claim to renew the gift of miracles in order to realize their mission. The Plymouth Brethren, on the contrary, originally springing from the Episcopal Church of England, assert that that ideal is at present completely unattainable, in consequence of the apostasy of the Church from the very time of the apostles. They deny to all denominations the name of churches; they

all information, intimating that they did not feel at liberty to count their numbers, for fear of the grievous consequences which befell King David on account of the numbering of the people of Israel. Some have even laid upon me the duty of remonstrating with the religious public of America concerning the too ample space they give to statistical details. They regard this as a very worldly and superficial mode of estimating the progress of the kingdom of God.

themselves insist on being looked upon only as fragments (*débris*) among other remains. They call themselves *Brethren*. They are but few in numbers, and are scattered pretty much over the whole continent.

A small religious denomination in the South of France, the *Evangelical Church of Cette*, also aims, it seems, to realize the ideal of the Apostolic Church. It has 33 congregations and 364 members.

Among the denominations which have risen from a desire for a purer internal organization, one must first point out the Moravian Brethren (Episcopalians, 7364 members); the Church of Korntal, in Württemberg, 1200 members; the community of Müncdorf, in Zürich.

The Free Church of the Canton de Vaud has issued from an ecclesiastical conflict with the State. This Church feels herself called to proclaim the sovereignty of Jesus Christ over his Church. She is Presbyterian, while allowing within her bounds considerable differences of opinion on dogmatical and ecclesiastical matters. She has 41 congregations, 4068 members, 3500 hearers, and a school of theology. One of the characteristic traits of this Church is that it considers the Lord's Supper as a simple act of worship, in which all the hearers can participate as well as in the other exercises.

Finally, let us mention those Free Churches of the Continent which more especially remind us of the internal constitution of the churches of the United States. These are the Free Churches of Nenchâtel (8 congregations, 250 members); those of Berne (4 churches, 353 members); of Elberfeld and Barmen (140 to 150 members); a few congregations of the French and Vaudois group; and a small church in St. Gall. These congregations only admit to the Lord's Supper such persons as have made a personal profession of their faith.

This rapid glance will have sufficed to show that, though not numerous, the Free Churches of the Continent differ very much from each other in their doctrine and constitution. Let us add that, for several of them, it is quite in spite of their will that they find themselves free; it is from sheer inability to realize the national and theoretic ideal, which they have not yet given up. But this very want, which often amounts to opposition, reveals in the most manifest manner all that is still defective in the religious and ecclesiastical state of Europe.

The churches which date from the sixteenth century seem no longer to be able to meet the new exigencies of the times without undergoing profound modifications which are impracticable. Finally, let us not forget to say that the men who in these free congregations profess in principle the separation of Church and State, as a necessary consequence

of a spiritual conception of Christianity and of the Church, form only an imperceptible minority within that minority itself.

Nevertheless, what they have done for some thirty years past is not at all in proportion with the smallness of their numbers. It is owing to them that attention has been drawn to the spiritual nature of religion, and to the serious disadvantages of the union of Church and State, to such an extent that, as well for the religious world as for the public in general, the question of the relations of the temporal and spiritual is now one of the most urgent problems of the day in almost every country. The principles of absolute religious liberty proclaimed by Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, the great adversary of theocracy in New England, and the father of the first free American churches, have found in Alexander Viuet a representative of the highest order. Friends and enemies agree in acknowledging that the future belongs to them in Europe as well as in America, although this fact will appear to be less the result of a triumph of the truth than of the force of circumstances.

III. In spite of the defects which in many respects have attended the free and evangelical churches, in their developments they have, nevertheless, attained results of considerable importance. In the midst of the numerous disappointments that were in store for them, prophets of woe announced with confidence that they would never succeed in attaining to self-support; it was hoped that they would surrender by famine. These natural apprehensions were but too strongly justified by the fact that the adherents of these churches, always few in numbers, were seldom drawn from among the wealthier classes; and that the habit of depending on the public treasury for the support of religious worship had been strengthened by the lapse of centuries. To-day these apprehensions are no longer to be entertained. Facts have succeeded in dispelling the fears of friends, and in overthrowing the hopes of adversaries of the new order of things. The financial status of the free churches is certainly not a brilliant one; but, after all, there are found pastors willing to work contentedly with the salaries the churches are able to offer, however insufficient to meet the requirements of our times. So much has already been accomplished that the opponents of the principle, who are certainly competent judges in the matter, seem to be more impressed with the results already attained than with the difficulties that still lie in the way of ultimate success.

A second objection, frequently raised, was this: Once separated from the State, it was predicted the members of the free churches could not fail to go on splitting up endlessly. Facts have equally belied these proph-

cles. A broader theological and ecclesiastical view resulted from the formation of the free churches. If in America every religious conviction can boldly set up its standard, certain of finding partisans in a numerous public deeply interested in matters of faith, it is not so in Europe. Consequently, when among the members of the free churches, far from being numerous, some were already found to hold Baptist views while others remained Pædobaptists, no one thought of raising the question of separation, to constitute distinct congregations that would have been painfully small. It was then a necessity to live together in the same flock, and to bear with one another.

It is not rare to see (I speak especially of French-speaking countries) churches the great majority of whose members are Pædobaptists, having a Baptist pastor. The members of the flock wishing to have their children baptized call upon a neighboring pastor to do it for them. The same disposition to unite has shown itself among other tendencies. As the professions of faith of the free churches bear more on religious facts than on theological principles, as they imply more or less consciously the fundamental distinction between religion and theology, the result is that Lutherans and Zwinglians, Arminians and Calvinists, may be found in the same Church. Persons of the strictest orthodoxy have to put up with the presence of evangelical men who, in many respects, widely differ from the historic theology of the sixteenth century.

It must be acknowledged that this state of things has been mainly brought about by the force of circumstances. And yet many regard it as constituting an important step toward spiritual liberty and a true Christian catholicity. The same enlarged views (which in this country would very likely be regarded as tending to latitudinarianism) have prevailed also in ecclesiastical questions. The new churches are neither strictly Presbyterian nor rigidly Congregational. It was thought that a central authority could be established sufficiently strong to constitute a bond of union, while at the same time the liberty of particular congregations would be respected.

You perceive, gentlemen, the free churches on the continent of Europe differ widely, in many respects, from yours. Will they succeed in reconquering for Christianity the place which it once occupied in our ancient society? Will Europe again become Christian, as it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Or is it doomed to founder amidst the overwhelming difficulties of a political and social nature—all resulting from the fact that the religious problem has not yet been solved? I say, gentlemen, is Europe destined to become once more Christian? This is indeed the real question. Our

civilization is unquestionably more or less derived from the Gospel; but personal religion, and churches founded on free and sincere individual profession of faith, these are still wanting. There lies a capital difference between the Old and the New World. In your happy country religion is, first of all, a private concern; it has no official position; it's entirely left to individual choice. All this does not prevent it from having an incalculable influence on society. In Europe, on the contrary, Christianity reigns officially everywhere—in our constitutions, in our courts of justice, in our schools, in our churches; but, notwithstanding this social position, or perhaps on account of it, the Gospel occupies but a small place in individual preoccupation. Among you, Religion enjoys a general favor, which she owes to her intrinsic power. In Europe, on the contrary, though apparently deriving great advantages from an official position which she owes to the glorious remembrances of the past, in reality she is but poorly honored, and held in small favor. With you, the public mind leans rather to the side of religion, as it was the case on the continent of Europe before the eighteenth century; public opinion is rather friendly to vital and personal piety, while with us the majority is indifferent or hostile to it. We are all officially Christians; there are but few persons who have not been baptized and received into the Church; but if one should undertake to persuade those Christians to live in earnest the religion which they are supposed to profess, the kind adviser would be in danger of passing for a fanatic, a sectarian, or an enthusiast.

This is a state of the public mind which perhaps the many Christian friends from the United States who travel in Europe may not have sufficiently noticed. In all the churches they will doubtless have met truly pious persons, but they do not know what an insignificant fraction of the population those persons represent. A profound indifference, which has often cast off all respect even for the external forms of religion, and which is always ready to assume the attitude of open hostility, constitutes the most characteristic feature of religions Europe. A large majority of our population, whether Catholic or Protestant, sustain scarcely any relation to the Church, except for baptism, marriages, and funerals.

To arouse the nations of Europe from this profound indifference, there are but two strongly organized tendencies: Infidelity and Romanism. Both are in possession of an immense advantage; they have already deduced and are deducing, more and more, the logical consequences of their principles. They present themselves to view with a perfectly frank and positive bearing. For years the populations have fluctuated between

these two schools, unable to decide finally to accept the control of the one or the other.

As for Protestantism, it appears nowhere as a power to be taken seriously into account. In countries where it is looked upon as dominant, it finds itself paralyzed for want of intelligence to draw boldly the logical consequences of its principles.

The national churches, which have suffered the peoples to slip from under their influence, have not now the power to reconquer them; the free churches are as yet too feeble and too few to exert a deep and general influence. Hence the inability of evangelical Protestantism to aspire to take the lead of European society. It is paralyzed; it hesitates between going back to the ecclesiastical and theological past of the sixteenth century, which is unquestionably on the decline, and an unknown future that would enable it to realize its principles in a consistent manner if it would only assume the championship of a Christian spiritualism.

If we had a few millions of the stamp of your Pilgrim Fathers, or of our old Huguenots, we would speedily come out of our false position. The question would be to take personal religion in earnest, and the true Church idea that flows from it. It would have to be admitted that those only are true Christians who enter into living and personal communion with God through Jesus Christ; that there is no Church worthy the name but a society of men laboring to realize these principles. Mere pretensions and divisions would then disappear as by enchantment. Either Christians would succeed in transforming the national churches, not in appearance only, but in reality, into churches consisting of professors of religion; and then, the free churches having fulfilled their mission, there would no longer be any reason for their existence; all evangelical Christians would once more be united; or, what is more probable, I must even say certain, governments would never allow national churches to be transformed into churches of professing Christians the moment they found the great mass of the population excluded from them. In that case, evangelical Christians, faithful to the ideal which they had in vain tried to realize, would be forced to go and swell the free churches already existing, and which would then be put to the test to show what they could do for the salvation of society. In either case, the true believers would be once more united to work in common.

But this is only a beautiful dream; nothing justifies us in reckoning on a solution of this kind. Let us say it with a deep humility; in this case, as in many others in the course of history, truth will owe its triumphs rather to its adversaries than to its friends. Nothing authorizes us to believe

that the separation of Church and State, destined to put an end to the distinction between the free congregations and the official establishments, will be instigated by the general movement of the faithful, desirous to give the Church a truly Christian and spiritual constitution. The need of effecting financial economies, the desire to escape from the inconveniences which result from the struggle between Romanism and infidelity, the revolutionary spirit hostile to the Gospel—these are the great auxiliaries on which the Church seems to be able to depend in order to become strong enough some day to reconquer her position as a spiritual society. A great social crisis alone will be able to place infidelity, Romanism, and evangelical Protestantism in a position to show what they can do for the salvation of the individual and of society. Pending this solemn hour, men of conviction must do their duty, and emphatically say to themselves that that coming crisis will be but the beginning of sorrow. We shall then behold re-enacted a great struggle that will recall the first centuries of our era, when Paganism had to acknowledge that it ran the risk of being supplanted by that obscure sect which it had begun by despising. Only in our day the parts will be changed; Paganism will take the offensive. Religion will have to wrestle with the numerous host of infidelity, having for its vanguard Socialism eager for prey. Religion will find itself represented by a Catholicism treacherous to Christianity, since in setting up its idol at the Vatican it has, in a manner, already passed over to the enemy, and by an undecided and inconsistent Protestantism. We must hope it is true that, under the pressure of circumstances so grave, evangelical Christians will not fail to unite. But it must be plainly avowed, even united, they will not be numerous. For any one who knows the religious state of the European continent, no kind of illusion is possible. When ecclesiastical fictions have disappeared; when the Church is divested of the prestige of tradition and of official forms; when religion is deprived of all external help, when called upon to rely exclusively on herself, the number of those will be small who, relying on the precepts of the Gospel, and determined to gain victories only through the intrinsic power of the truth, will be ready to march on to a second conquest of our old European society.

IV. And here, gentlemen, allow me to express all our gratitude to the generous and enterprising minds who have had the happy idea to invite so many Christians from Europe to see what can be accomplished in America, by a Church free from any connection with the State, and moving in the vanguard of every progress.

We tender you our thanks, gentlemen, and

dear brethren, for the offer of so precious an opportunity to see for ourselves that, if the representatives of our principles are in Europe but an unknown and uninfluential minority, here they form a respectable majority. We were quite decided to go forward by faith; but, considering the weakness of human nature, it is not superfluous that we should for a few days have the opportunity to walk by sight.

We trust that when we shall return, to be merged again in the dense ranks of the Old World's populations, hostile or indifferent to our principles, we shall carry back with us something of that confidence and cheerfulness with which you carry forward so triumphantly this beautiful motto: "The Gospel and Liberty, inseparably united." And who knows? Some of your guests who have landed on your shores still doubting, full of prejudices, wishing to see for themselves these American churches, so different from those of Europe, may return convinced, and resolved to join those who labor to secure in the Old World the triumphs of the principles which prevail in the New. What you have already done for us makes us bold to ask for more. We rely on a still more efficacious and general co-operation. When the great conflict that shall decide the religious future of Europe breaks forth, the eyes of many Christians will naturally look toward young America. Our expectation will certainly not be disappointed; and your numerous home and foreign missionary societies will doubtless be disposed to add a new institution destined to aid those who in Europe consecrate themselves to the cause and triumph of Christianity and liberty. You will extend to us a helping hand to prevent us from falling to a level with those Oriental countries whose decayed churches your missionaries are now trying to raise.

Thus it is that, in spite of distances, the strongest bond of solidarity binds us to you. At the end of the last century, when your Republic was still in the cradle, the German philosopher Kaut followed its first steps with the most lively sympathy; he was in the habit of saying that your fathers were venturing upon an experiment on the success of which the salvation of mankind was depending. Thanks be to God, the hopes of the great thinker have been realized, the experiment is a success. The whole world must now profit by it. In the day of peril you will certainly not abandon those who elsewhere defend your principles.

While waiting for that day, do not remain idle; say to yourselves that all the victories you gain will turn to our profit, and that all your defeats would be infinitely hurtful to us. Indeed it obtains in Europe, even among religious men, that the imperfections of your piety and national character must not be attributed to the inevitable conse-

quences from which the best Christians and the most spiritual churches never completely escape, but that they must be interpreted as the legitimate results of the separation of Church and State. If slavery existed too long, it was owing to the fact that the churches separate from the State were neither independent enough in the face of public opinion, nor powerful enough to demand and obtain the abolition of that iniquity. If you had failed in your great enterprise of emancipation, the want of success would have been attributed to the same cause. As to the good you accomplish, and that can not be denied, it is attributed to Christianity in general — your particular forms of piety and of churches must not be taken into account.

You see, gentlemen, great is your responsibility. We run the risk of suffering from your defects without benefiting by your victories. Make these victories so manifest that no one may be able to call them in question, and that all will be obliged to attribute them to an intimate and sincere alliance of a decided and positive Christianity with a frank and open freedom. A fatal divorce between liberty and religion is to be found at the very bottom of the antagonism which so deeply shakes European society. The most effectual means to come to our help is to show that it is wholly otherwise with you.

In Europe the Church is the natural protectress of abuses, of privileges. The Gospel is too often held out as a kind of indemnification, of consolation for the use of men who, on account of social inequalities, can not have their share of culture and well-being. That sincere Christians may at times have been led to present religious truths in this light is provoking enough; but what shall we say when men who no longer believe in the Gospel persist in representing it as the resource of the lowly and the portionless of this world? In the name of a social hierarchy revived from the feudalism of the Middle Ages, M. Rénan lately declared that it is not possible for all men to have enjoyments, for all to be well brought up, to be delicate, virtuous. He looks back with regret to the good old time "when the poor enjoyed the wealth of the rich, the monk the enjoyments of worldly men, and worldly men the prayers of the monk..... It belongs to religion," he adds, "to explain those mysteries, and to present in the ideal world superabundant consolations to all those who are called upon to live a life of sacrifices here below. Do not, then, say to the poor that he is poor through his own fault; do not entreat him to get rid of his poverty as of a shameful thing; make him love poverty; show him the ease, the charm, and the beauty and the sweetness of it. Such is the crowning work of Jesus ('Là

est le chef-d'œuvre de Jésus'). The exaltation of poverty is his master-stroke."*

In the name of free and Christian America, we can repel such a charge as a crime of high treason against humanity and against the Christian religion. Thanks be to God that in your happy country, where Protestant civilization is in a fair way to bear all its legitimate fruits, you are not dreaming of the fantastic restoration of the Middle Ages. Your ideal of society is ahead, and not behind; it is for you to be nobly bold, sublimely daring. Under the great sun of American liberty there is room for the poor emigrant of Europe, and for the negro of Africa, and very soon for the native of the Far East. To all you offer the same rights and the same chances. Very far from preaching to them the great falsehood of the exaltation of poverty by the Lord Jesus Christ, you generously admit all to the advantages of your civilization; you offer them the means to recover for themselves in every respect the obliterated features of God's image. While infidelity is inhuman, and apologizes for social sufferings of which she makes little account, because she feels herself powerless to heal them, you show successfully that Christianity is eminently human, the friend of all kinds of progress, and the dispenser of temporal and spiritual blessings for the benefit of all the children of Adam. In order that the Gospel may remain a social and a civilizing power, it must, in the first place, be a truth on which the individual man must live. It must not be debased to the rank of a mere instrumentality, of a restraint destined to insure the rest and the enjoyment of the great and the happy, by keeping the small and the disinherited in resignation, in suffering and superstition. To point those "who are called upon to live a life of sacrifices here below" to heaven and to eternal hopes for their portion, lest men should be disturbed in the epicurean enjoyment of the good things of this world, scarcely hiding, meanwhile, the smile of transcendental disdain that curls their lips, this is to mock God, and mankind, and themselves. To pretend to commend the Gospel by such considerations is not only to be guilty of a cruel irony, but it is to justify the heart-burnings of all the wretched and forsaken of this world. Indeed, one of their great grievances against the churches is that these would fain persuade them to waive their legitimate portion of this world's enjoyment, by promising them spiritual and eternal treasures no longer believed in by those who commend them.

Gentlemen, such is the leprosy which is

gnawing us in Europe. It is claimed for religion that it shall remain a social force when it has ceased to be for the individual a regenerating power. Every body wishes to have an official religion for the people; nobody wishes a personal religion for his own use. It is because they react against this evil that the free churches, in spite of their weakness, have a high historical import.

Congratulate yourselves, gentlemen, that in America you know nothing of a state of things in which the greatest inequalities of human fortune receive the sanction of religion. Away from us the boasted conception of a system, so-called religious, that would grant to the rich infidel all the enjoyments of this world, while reserving eternal blessings for the abandoned of the earth! The consequences of a wild and irreligious individualism are doubtless very great; but can they be compared to those of a social hierarchy that would cover the same selfish schemes with the varnish of an arrant hypocrisy? Bless God that, in the American civilization, religion is not a mere police contrivance, but an honored and respected power—a power from on high—having laws to dictate to the rich as well as to the poor. To the happy man of this selfish world, who has no feelings of sympathy for the unhappy, she has the right, and is bound to say as to Cain, "What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." It is forbidden a Christian to make up his mind to ignore the suffering and the misery of his brethren, however inevitable they may appear, for he believes in the power of the Redeemer to destroy here below the consequences of sin, and to make all things new.

Such, gentlemen, and dear brethren, are the principles which you have embraced and carried out in this land with success, with *éclat*. First of all, we are full of gratitude to God, and we are proud of your work, for the credit of humanity, and of the Protestant Churches of the sixteenth century, of which you are still the most faithful exponents. A thought is here pressing upon my mind for utterance; I must not silence it: Will the future be worthy of the past? I must confess that your best friends in Europe are not always without anxiety concerning you; they understand the greatness, the immensity of your task; they ask themselves whether, in the United States as elsewhere, evil will not finally succeed in gaining the mastery over the good. But this must re-assure us in the days of faint-heartedness: In our Christian world progress is not a vain word, but a reality; in our day we can not go forward but by frankly accepting all the consequences of a democracy made moral by Christianity. Were the ideal that you pursue unattainable, we should still say to ourselves that in this world nothing

* "Préface de la Vie de Jésus," Edit. illustrée, *Le Temps*, 20 Février, 1870; "De la Monarchie Constitutionnelle en France depuis la révolution de Février," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 Nov., 1869.

but the impossible is worth striving after. Do not soon forget the traditions of your glorious past; remain ever faithful to them. Pursue your work—a work as noble as it is difficult—convinced that you have the sympathies and the best wishes of all intelligent hearts which place the claims of humanity above those of private nationalities.

May God bless this great Christian Repub-

lic. May he preserve her from the dangers that might threaten her. By increasingly blending the cause of Christianity with that of liberty, may she utter the most earnest and most timely of all preaching; remain as a city set upon a hill, and promoting in the world the kingdom of Him who hath said, "If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

SECOND SECTION.—CHRISTIANITY AND LIBERTY.

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

BY THE REV. W. H. CAMPBELL, D.D.,

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CHRISTIANITY is the power of God abiding in his Word, in his people, and in his supernatural Providence, in order to save men. Its central truth is the worth of a human soul, and the purpose of God to save it. The human soul is the lost sheep, the lost piece of silver, the lost son of the parables; and God and the good angels rejoice when the lost is found, and the dead son is alive again. And to save a lost soul is to free it from the guilt and degradation of sin. From the guilt of sin at once, and upon believing. From the degradation of sin little by little, *pedetentim et gradatim*, step by step, yet surely; for God is engaged in it, and it must go on. Salvation from this degradation is, furthermore, a progress in which the lost one is made able and willing to do the will of God. His capacities and susceptibilities of doing and delighting in the true, the just, and the good steadily enlarge, and at length he shall attain to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.

Now just in proportion as this gradual work advances, the man will crave the right and the room to enjoy all that may be helpful to his highest well-being, and to be freed from all without which may hinder it. And perfect civil and religious liberty is that state of society in which each one is allowed to seek, and is helped to seeking, his own highest good. We are very far, as yet, from having attained this perfection. As to the imperfect manifestations of liberty which we do see, the conviction is strong that they are due directly to Christianity, and our confident expectation of far better things in the future rests upon the promise and power of God alone; for we can not find elsewhere the factors capable of producing the desired result. The selfish heart of the natural man says: "It is not from me. From me comes the despot and the iron-heeled oligarchy, and the murderous army bearing fire and sword." No, no! From the selfish, unrenewed heart, uninfluenced by Christianity, comes no lifting up of the down-trodden, no earing for the individual,

no giving him room and help for his goodness.

The Christian, however, will have no quarrel with the historian, who, in tracing the progress of the peoples, enumerates the power of the sword, the power of wealth, the power of learning, and the power of adventitious circumstances, and so forth, as concurring to this progress. It may all so be. But if this progress has in it any of the elements of civil and religious liberty, that is, a earing for the individual man, it will be difficult to remove the strong conviction of the Christian that behind the sword, and the wealth, and the learning there is a higher power which gives these all their force. And that is the truth which lies imbedded in Christianity, and nowhere else, of the worth of the individual soul, which God loved, and Christ died to save, on which when saved the lesson of love was written by the Holy Spirit, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And there, too, he finds imbedded that other truth, that God takes care of his rescued, lost ones, who seek to do his will. "When they went from one nation to another, from one kingdom to another people, he suffered no man to do them wrong; yea, he reprov'd kings for their sakes, saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm."

And so, too, behind those things which the historian calls adventitious circumstances the Christian will discover an overruling Providence, which takes off the chariot wheels of the enemies, and makes them drive heavily when God's time of overwhelming comes round, and he is about to remove the onward degradation of his recovered lost ones.

You remember what Bishop Butler, in his "Analogy of Religion," says about the tendency of reason to prevail over brute force when time and place for counsel and concerted action have been afforded. Now, Christianity is the reason that is in this world, and its contest is with all else here which is just unreason in opposition to all

that seeks the highest good of man as a man. Now, Christ is here the wisdom of God for this end. The Holy Scriptures are the wisdom of God for the same end. And all who do the will of Christ are the children of wisdom, who justify it by their words and deeds, and help to make it prevalent over the folly which is in the world. And all else is folly, the selfishness of sin in the human heart, intensified by the Spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.

But the wisdom is to get the mastery, not by the extermination of the foolish, but by freeing them from their folly—by converting them from their opposition to the individual well-being of men into its friends and helpers. To effect this the agency of Christianity has been devised and set in operation by God. For this end help was laid upon him who is mighty to save, and therefore Christ becomes the Mediator. Hence he is the Prophet, the Light of the world, to reveal in his teachings and life all the truth needed to free the earth from all its ignorance, sins, and woe. So, too, as the Priest, he dies a sacrifice for the sins of the world; his atonement being finished, he lives to intercede, praying to the Father that, for his own merits, every prayer and deed of faith may be effectual for the saving of men. And lastly, he becomes the king, all power being intrusted to him that he may perfect all that concerneth his work.

But while the efficient agent in all this is God, the instrumental agents are Christians. And hence Christ makes his believing people mediators under himself, in order that they may do his work. Hence, as prophets, they too are the light of the world, who are to have Christ's truths so written on their hearts, and so living in their thoughts, experiences, and actions, that there shall be in them, in some faint degree, that wondrous speaking by authority which was in Christ, the Great Prophet. As priests, too, they first offer themselves, a living sacrifice of consecration to the service of God; and then, as intercessors, they plead through the merits of Christ, that all the benign ends of Christianity may be gained; and lastly, as kings, they have a real authority under Christ, so that they may bridle Satan under their feet, and have power to prevent many a bad man and many a bad woman, both kings and commoners, from doing their evil deeds. Thus Ambrose, bishop of Milan, fearing the Lord of all more than the sovereign of this world, excluded Theodosius, for his acts of cruelty, from the Church, and by appeals to his conscience had power over him to prevent another terrible effusion of blood. And so had John Knox power over Mary Queen of Scots and her advisers, stopping them from putting to death the confessors of Christ in Scotland, thus furthering in an eminent degree the Reformation in that kingdom.

Thus, you see, the whole power of God is brought to bear, through the Divine Word, the people of God, and the providence of Christ, to overcome evil. There is an agency here adequate for the fullest results of civil and religious liberty, namely, that there shall be nothing to hurt or destroy. And the declarations of the Scriptures are full and explicit that such a peaceful state shall be enjoyed not only, but it shall be the product of this divinely appointed agency.

But are we able to show that Christianity has had any such direct influence in causing civil and religious liberty? We premise that, since the instrumental agents of Christianity are men, we must expect to find the same marks of imperfection about this reformatory work which we see in all else man has had committed to him. And this being stated, we reply that from the beginning of history down to the birth of Christ we find no trace of civil liberty outside of the Jewish theocracy. Elsewhere there is no recognition of the rights of man as an individual, no caring for his individual interests. There are privileged classes, and a caring for them. But the machinery of society did not run to take care of the individual. He was the tool of the society, but his well-being was nowhere the end of its action. But in the Jewish theocracy (which was just a preparative Christianity) the fundamental truth, in so far as our subject is concerned, was the love of one's neighbor as one's self. The Government was formed for the well-being of the individual, and he was consequently helped and protected in all his civil rights. He had also, in one aspect of it, full religious liberty. He was protected and helped in the exercise of the true worship of God. But the theocracy knew nothing of religious liberty in that other and most important aspect of it, the toleration of those who did not receive and practice the Mosaic ritual. The theocracy seems to have had no toleration for religious dissent.

When then Christ appears, we find his teaching, on all points, such as we have described it. He inculcates all that in which the Mosaic dispensation had anticipated Him; but he inculcates more, for the final revelation of love will be fuller than its beginnings. His law of toleration of religious dissent, for example. When James and John, vexed because certain Samaritans did not receive Christ, begged the Master, saying, "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, as Elias did?" he turned and rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." Christ came not to destroy, but to save. And he rebuked his disciples for failing to appreciate his spirit and the purpose of his coming. All that he purposed to accomplish on earth in the bene-

fitting of men he will effect by love alone. His spirit is love, and he has no other way of winning over enemies but by gentleness and forbearance. And the life and power of Christianity, whenever it has exhibited vitality, has consisted in the possession of this spirit, which constitutes the very being of Christ.

And now, Christ having ascended to heaven, Christianity goes forth upon its mission, and it produced wondrous changes in many directions. But it was centuries before its influence had reached the State. In the first three centuries the State was heathenish, and Christians could have no official connection with it. But when the Roman empire had become a so-called Christian empire, then Christians ruled. But the innermost spirit of the Government was heathenish still, and Christian influence shows itself only here and there and now and then; but it is seen. The Christian spirit mitigates and abolishes slavery, gives women and children their natural rights, opposes the cruelty of the emperors, and betters the condition of the poor, the degraded, and the prisoners of war. In a word, all that we see here of a better and a less despotic state of things is due to Christianity.

Then came the horrible times of the migration of the nations. And it was Christianity which saved the world from falling into barbarism. By doing this, as was very natural, the Church became a kind of State in the State. The Church, in its dealings with men, stood so high above the ignorant, brutal barbarians that nearly every thing good, noble, and humane was found in the Church alone. This being kept in mind, no one will wonder that the Church at this time formed a very low conception of the State. It was regarded as nothing but the bad and worthless part of the social existence of humanity, selfish in its aims and selfish in its practices; and if in the Middle Ages the State is called *Sacra Imperialis Majestas*, it is not *sacra* in itself, but because the Pope had so named it.

But the Reformation changed all this, and much for the better. All the Reformers and their followers recognized the State, in accordance with the teaching of St. Paul, as an *ordinatio Dei*. The Protestant conception of the State, and its rights and duties, thus differs entirely from that of the Romanists. In this Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin agree, and, if their followers of a later period go in somewhat different directions, the reason is found not in a difference of principles, but of circumstances. Circumstances which can be easily explained caused the development of the political side of the Reformation to be soon stopped in the north of Europe, and circumstances caused the opposite in the west of Europe. In France, for example, the Huguenots held the Paul-

ine idea of the Reformers as to the State and its duties. Among them, also, there were scholars eminent in political science, whose writings even now are in high estimation. And the views of all were that the State must care for its citizens, that civil liberty is the right of the citizen. They, furthermore, acted on these principles, and held especially that the State must have no privileged classes. Thus, in 1587, just before the battle at Contras, De Mornay and his chaplain, Chaudieu, compelled the Prince of Navarre, afterward Henry IV. of France, to make before the whole army a public confession of sorrow for the gross immoralities he had committed at La Rochelle. The hostility, also, of these Protestants to the absolutism of French royalty was so strong that it turned the seeming friendship of Francis I. into bitter hostility. But even here amidst these advanced opinions and practices about civil liberty religious toleration was unknown.

In the Low Countries the contest against the civil and religious tyranny of Spain was just the upholding of these principles of the Reformation. It was a demand for a government—an *ordinatio Dei*—which respected the civil and religious liberties of the people. And here these principles triumphed—civil liberty triumphed, religious liberty triumphed. The Low Countries led the world in adopting in some measure Christ's law of toleration. Erasmus of Rotterdam had before written to Sir Thomas More that a better use could be made of a heretic than to burn him. With his weak character these truthful words were nothing but a sentiment; but with his countrymen who fought and bled for freedom they were a holy principle learned from Christ, and, by practicing them in even the measure they did, the Hollander has the honor of leading the van of the army of Christ.

And so, too, in England and Scotland the real progress in civil liberty and toleration has been the product of the Reformation. Froude says that the act of Henry VIII., in placing an open Bible in all the churches of England, and commanding the clergy to exhort and encourage the people to resort to it and read it, was laying "the foundation-stone of the whole later history of England, as well civil as ecclesiastical." In like manner Revolution has everywhere borrowed the force of its political ideas from the Protestants of the sixteenth century, though it has nearly always perverted them.

In conclusion, permit me to say that, as civil and religious liberty is the lesson of Christianity, so it can be fully gained and secured by Christianity alone. The noble boon gains that State alone whose citizens first become the freedmen of Christ, and then for Christ's sake love their neighbor as themselves. No form of government af-

fords an absolute guarantee for liberty, and no constitution will be a safeguard against corruption. That State alone has the assurance of permanence whose citizens, Christ's freedmen, are consecrated unto the mastery of self and the love of one's neighbor. We have not yet attained it. With more of Christ's spirit in the heart, we shall see a corresponding love of man, and a larger and more benign development of civil and relig-

ious liberty. Without that we shall have no advancement, but retrogression. I close with the words of Johaun von Müller: "The Gospel is the fulfillment of all hopes, the perfection of all philosophy, the interpreter of all revolutions, the key to all the seeming contradictions of the physical and moral world; it is life; it is immortality. Since I have known the Saviour, every thing is clear—with him there is nothing I can not solve."

THE EFFECTS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ON CHRISTIANITY.

BY THE REV. DANIEL R. GOODWIN, D.D.,

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By Christianity we understand, no ecclesiastical hierarchy or organization; but the religion instituted by Christ, promulgated by his apostles, set forth in the Holy Scriptures, propagated and preserved in the world by the preaching of the Gospel and the power of the Holy Ghost. By liberty we understand neither lawlessness nor license in Church or State. While the end of civil government is to secure that order which is necessary to the largest attainable measure of free activity for all, the end of civil liberty is self-government; and it implies that the civil government should give to every man as full an opportunity for attaining and enjoying that end as the rights of others and the good of all will admit. Civil liberty may exist under any form of civil government; but it seems plain that it is best secured where a popular constitution can be permanently and quietly maintained. Religious liberty is neither Cæsarism, nor secularism, nor individualism, nor indifferentism. It does not abate one jot of the claims, the absolute claims, of God and his truth; but it leaves those claims to be addressed to the mind and heart and conscience of every man, not to his bodily sensibilities or to his temporal interests. It relies upon moral and spiritual influence, not upon physical force. It is consistent with the profession and maintenance of the most minute and prolix creed, but is most fully enjoyed when the symbols of communion, retaining all that is essential and fundamental to true religion, are the most comprehensive and simple.

Christ's religion was embodied in himself, in his character and work and teaching. Who, then, was he, and what did he teach? The Son of God was born in a stable and died on the cross. He was known by his neighbors as the carpenter and the carpenter's son. His daily life was among the poor and the lowly. He gathered a company of fishermen as his bosom friends in his earthly ministry, and took a penitent thief as his companion to Paradise. He taught that the poor shall possess the kingdom of heaven, and the meek shall inherit the earth; that God watches over the humblest of his children with more than paternal care, that the

angels, who always beheld the face of the Father, minister to them, and that woe is to him that despises them. "The princes of the Gentiles," said he, "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, and whosoever of you will be the chiefest shall be servant of all." So much for his followers among themselves. To them he directs all his precepts—not to kings, or rulers, or magistrates, or any in authority; and should his followers be called to discharge such functions, he has left the spirit of these same precepts, and these only, to guide them. Yet he never utters a word to make the poor discontented or turbulent, to render them jealous or envious of the rich and great, or hostile to them, or ambitious to reach their places. He never says a syllable to stir up a spirit of sedition against the constituted government, even though it was the iron despotism of Rome. His command is, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," as well as "to God the things that are God's." But it must be remembered that Cæsar and his deputies and officials, and all the machinery of the Roman government, then lay, and were regarded as lying, beyond the bounds of his kingdom—that kingdom of the truth for which he was giving laws. To his kingdom that government, as a system, was a foreign element.

The apostles renew and re-echo the teaching of their Master. They declare that God is no respecter of persons, but that whatsoever any man doeth the same shall he receive from the Lord, whether he be bond or free. They teach that all Christians are brethren, as children of a common Father and redeemed by a common Saviour, and that by love they should serve one another. It is the man, and not his accidents, that fills their view; the soul for which Christ died, and not its external circumstances of worldly dignity or of worldly insignificance, that measures their interest and regard. "Let the poor," says St. James, "rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich, in that he is made low;" and he emphatically condemns the contemptuous treatment of

"the poor man in vile raiment." "Ye see your calling, brethren," says St. Paul, "how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called;" "We are all one in Christ Jesus; where there is neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."

Yet the apostles, after the example of their Master, taught distinctly that "every soul should be subject to the higher powers," to the lawful government; that Christians should "submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; as free, and not using their liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." They taught, too, that there should be orders and government in the Church itself; that we are members in one body, and that all members have not the same office. But it is to be observed that, though "God hath set in the Church *first* the apostles," yet St. Paul says, for himself and his colleagues in that office, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake;" "not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." And St. Peter exhorts presbyters, as being himself their fellow-presbyter, to conduct themselves "not as lords over God's heritage, but as ensamples to the flock." Indeed, the ministers of God were approved *as such* by special toils and privations, abuse, and contempt. "For I think," says St. Paul, "that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed unto death; for we are made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men. Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labor, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat: we are made as the filth of the world, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day." Such was the highest dignity to which men were called in the Apostolic Church.

Such was the religion which Christ and his apostles established. So far as the influence and spirit of such a religion should leaven human society, how is it possible that it should fail to promote liberty, brotherhood, and equality among men; to develop manhood, to relieve the oppressed, to elevate the degraded, to humble the proud; to restrain the selfishness of ambition, to temper the exercise of authority, to check the insolence of power and the domineering of despotism; and to make both the high and the low unspeakably happier, according to the noble sentiment of St. James, in their mutual approximation? Christianity lays the only secure foundation for permanent civil liberty. It is utterly unlike any mere doctrine of the "Rights of Man." It incul-

cates duties rather than rights. By its doctrine and spirit of meek humility and brotherly love, it is quite as inconsistent with the coarse, and violent, and insolent demands of a reckless mob, as it is with the cool, and cruel, and enning policy of an aristocracy, or the ruthless despotism of an autocrat. Christianity alone effectually represses that spirit of human pride and selfishness which tends alike to ensh and to undermine the rising fabric of civil freedom. Christianity is popular without being revolutionary; submissive to wrong, but not conservative of evil.

Doubtless, as there always have been, so there always will be, in every community, men of inferior mental capacities and moral character; but while these may need to be, in various degrees, guided and restrained, Christianity forbids that they should ever be trampled upon or used merely as means for the exaltation or aggrandizement of others. Christianity teaches us to support the weak, and not to make them support us; to love them as brethren, to be pitiful, to be courteous, honestly to desire that our inferiors should become our equals, to respect their humanity, and to seek by all possible means their speediest elevation and improvement. Christianity is hopeful. She does not despair of the elevation of the masses of mankind, or give them up to a hopeless and interminable degradation. "But they are mere children," it is said. Be it so; and she would have us treat them as children. But children are guided and governed, not that they may be kept always children; not that the parents may enjoy the honor and dignity of governing; not that their despotic spirit may be gratified; not that their wealth and consideration may be increased; not that they may live at their ease on the labors of their children; not that their parental sway may be perpetuated; but always with the express hope and aim that these children may soon learn to guide and govern themselves, and eventually to guide and govern others in their turn. Such, Christianity would teach us, should be the treatment of all inferior classes in society. The highest ideal of the Christian State is, "A government of the people, by the people, for the people."

When we pass from theory to fact, and inquire of history what has been the actual influence of Christianity upon civil liberty and civil life, it is necessary to remember that this divine religion exerts its influence through human agencies and organs, and that its proper effects are liable to be modified or obstructed, and even perverted or annulled, by the imperfection or reaction of the medium through which it is transmitted. This religion is pure only at its source; and it is only by constantly recurring to that source that its lost purity is to be restored.

Let us be thankful that in the Holy Scriptures we have the means of thus revisiting that source, and making fresh draughts from the pure waters of life and truth.

Now it is but an identical proposition to say that, wherever the tendencies of Christianity are most effectually reached, its proper results most thoroughly worked out, there Christianity will exist in its most complete and characteristic form. And every stage of progress toward such a consummation must be so much vantage-ground for further advancement. If Christianity tends to promote civil liberty, or naturally to coalesce with it, then the existence of civil liberty must react advantageously upon Christianity. Neither can be the friend of the other, or they must be mutual friends; and that though each may have many other friends besides. There may be many other influences favorable to civil liberty besides Christianity—and among them may even be some of an utterly irreligious and Antichristian character—as, on the other hand, there certainly are many influences favorable to Christianity besides civil liberty. The same is true of the relation of Christianity to general light and knowledge, to civilization and social culture. It is among its divine credentials that it falls in and harmonizes with whatever tends to the elevation and happiness of man, or to the unfolding and enlargement of his powers—to the perfecting of humanity in any of its aspects or relations. Christianity has its proper spiritual purpose, which is no other than to lead man on to the attainment and accomplishment of the highest end of his being, in his relation to what is above and beyond this present world. But notwithstanding this—or, rather, precisely because of this—it is in conscious harmony with all that is true and beautiful and good, with all that is pure and honest and virtuous, with all that is lovely and noble and manly. The more perfectly man is developed as man, in all his normal faculties and relations, the better vehicle he becomes for the manifestation of the full power and glory of the Christian religion. Such a development, from whatever causes proceeding, is, humanly speaking, a preparation for Christianity; for, if this religion comes to raise the fallen, to elevate the degraded, to guide the erring, to enlighten the dark, to ennoble the mean, to reform the vicious, she can not but welcome whatever will help her in her benign mission. But light and liberty and love can not but help her. Christ did, indeed, once say, "He that is not with me is against me," but it was of Satan he then spoke. Again he said, "He that is not against us is on our part;" and then it was of well-intentioned but partially enlightened men he spoke.

It is true, man's nature is radically perverted, and the best things may, by abuse,

become the worst. Without the aid of divine grace, without an influence from on high, without the leaven of Christ's religion, man can never reach his highest development in relation either to the future world or to this. Every right and good tendency in him is, in its normal evolution, ready to welcome and embrace Christianity. Scientific superciliousness and philosophic pride and prejudice are no part of man's true development. But though the evil of man's nature crops out everywhere, yet, on the whole, intellectual light and culture are more favorable to Christianity than brutish darkness and ignorance. Ignorance may be the mother of superstitious devotion, but knowledge is the foster-parent of true religion. Christianity does not fear knowledge or frown upon it; rather she both commends and commends it: "Be not children in understanding," is her injunction: "howbeit in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men"—*be men*—men is what Christianity wants; not ignorant children, but intelligent men. All souls may be, in the sight of God, equally precious, yet the conversion of one St. Paul was of more consequence to the advancement of the Christian religion—such are the law and movement of Divine Providence—than the gathering in of whole masses of ignorant heathen at Laodicea, at Sardis, or even at Rome. And, as civil liberty must naturally help to produce, in a given community, a greater number of *men*, of real, intelligent, *manly men*, it can not fail to exert a favorable reflex influence upon the promotion both of the truth and of the power of Christianity. Moreover, civil liberty must give Christianity a freer scope for exerting and diffusing its own benign influence.

We have but to glance at the history and geography of Christendom to find this view abundantly confirmed by facts. We shall find that, whenever and wherever civil liberty has become quietly and permanently established, then and there has Christianity had its purest and noblest realization—has exerted most widely its transforming spiritual influence—in Germany, in Holland, in Switzerland, in England and Scotland, in America, in France. The old French Revolution is often thrown back upon us as settling the whole question against us; but it is strangely or studiously forgotten that all the horrors of that revolution and all its atheistic orgies resulted not from civil liberty, but were the natural and necessary fruit of the preceding ages of civil and religious despotism, of grinding and intolerable oppression. The atheism and the spirit of license already existed; they *caused* the evils of the Revolution, and were not its effects. Voltaire was already on the scene, and had completed his career. Meantime, so far as civil liberty has resulted from that revolu-

tion, even though atheism may have had a hand in producing it, for God often brings good out of evil, it has been an inestimable blessing to France and to Europe. Our greatest temporal benefits commonly proceed from a variety of causes; and it is sometimes through the crisis of a violent and dangerous disease that the system is most thoroughly purified and invigorated. Had not men perversely insisted upon associating the idea of infidelity with the spirit of liberty, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, had not quite too much of the old religions and civil despotism been retained and restored in the conservative reaction, the blessing resulting from that revolution had been greater still. But after all, at this present moment, is there not vastly more of intelligent practical Christianity in Hungary than in Austria, in France than in Spain or Italy, or in any country of Europe where civil liberty has always, or until recently, been suppressed? Those professed friends of Christianity, who, in the fanatical zeal of blind conservatism, insist upon identifying civil liberty with infidelity and atheism, and Christianity with despotism and oligarchies, inflict upon the cause of true religion a sorer wound than could ever have been inflicted by infidelity and atheism themselves. They furnish infidelity and atheism with their most effective weapons; they put the greatest stumbling-block in the way of religion; they make zealous infidels and atheists of thousands, who would otherwise, by God's grace, be as zealous Christians. The lovers of freedom will be infidels, because Christians will be lovers of absolutism, defenders of slavery, and advocates of ease.

But after all, as, since the Christian era, civil liberty has flourished nowhere outside of Christendom—and this is a significant fact—so an enlightened and living Christianity has always flourished best, if not exclusively, under the ægis of civil liberty. As Christianity makes the best freemen, so free men make the best Christians.

That religious liberty reacts advantageously on Christianity needs no further argument but the simple appeal to history and facts. The religious despotism of Roman Catholic countries serves merely to keep out the light and truth which might lead to a reformation of old and festering corruptions, and to educate, or rather to leave uneducated, masses of men semi-atheistic, semi-heathen, superstitiously devout, but morally and intellectually weak and childish. And in Protestant countries religious intolerance has uniformly resulted in dwarfing and paralyzing the religion it was designed to protect. This is abundantly illustrated in the religious history of England and of America. Intolerance has always been followed by religious declension and doctrinal superficiality. To pass at

once to the present time, compare the energetic, intelligent, aggressive spirit of Protestantism in England, or Switzerland, or America, with the cold and torpid condition which the same religion has, at least until very recently, manifested under the prohibitive system of Denmark and Sweden. Error, corruption, conscious weakness, may be intolerant; but Truth needs no such protection; she rejoices in her own strength, and in her perfect adaptation to man's nature and wants. She does not treat man as a maniac who must be laaced in a strait-jacket in order to be kept in the true religion.

Had Christianity needed the protection of an intolerant religious despotism, what would have become of her in the earliest and purest periods of her history, when all the powers of the world, both civil and religions, were arrayed in deadly hostility against her? And how can she now hope to subdue the world which still lieth in wickedness—to prevail over the Brahmanism, and Buddhism, and Confucianism which hold possession of India and China and Japan, containing about half the population of the globe? When she asks of the Chinese and Japanese a free entrance among them, shall she plainly tell them that, so soon as she gets the upper hand there, she will strip of their goods and banish from their homes, or consign to prison, torture, and death, all who refuse to receive her teaching and conform to her rites? Surely, if she prefers her petition with such an *intention*, she ought, in honesty and fairness, to announce it beforehand. In no such spirit did Jesus and his apostles preach the Gospel of the kingdom of God; in no such spirit did he open his great commission in the synagogue at Nazareth; and in no such spirit is the world to be subdued to his obedience. When James and John would have called down fire from heaven to consume those who refused to receive him, he meekly rebuked them, saying, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Christianity is not to convert man as Charlemagne converted the Saxons, and Philip II. the Moriscoes; her festivals are no longer to be St. Bartholomew's Eves* and Sicilian Vespers; her Easters are not to be made more joyous and solemn by holocausts of hundreds of human beings in autos-de-fe; her heroes and champions are not to be Torquemadas, and Philips, and bloody Marys, and Dukes of Alva; her tender mercies are not to be

* It is little to the purpose to apologize for the Pope—the infallible Pope—who ordered a Te Deum to be sung upon hearing of this massacre, by saying that probably he had been misinformed in regard to the nature of the facts. Had his Infallibility expressly made the apology for himself when he was better informed, the case might be otherwise. Did he ever make it?

exhibited in Albigensian and Waldensian crusades, in Dutch massacres, in Huguenot expatriations, in inquisitorial tortures, and Smithfield fires. No; turning away from such scenes, let us listen to the words of Jesus: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls." And hear the Apostle saying, "By the gentleness and meekness of Christ I beseech you." Such is the spirit in which Christianity is to go forth to her future and final victories. Such is the spirit in which she is to grapple with the free thought and the free and vigorous activities of the present and the coming age. The weapons of her warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. Civil and religious freedom are the conditions of her real and complete success.

By religious freedom we mean that there should be, under the law of the land, freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press, for all kinds and modes of religion, including not only all denominations of Christians, but Judaism, Mohammedanism, Paganism, Pantheism, and Atheism. Of course, the State may have its own religion, while it tolerates all others; and malicious blasphemy, or immoral practices, or foul and reckless assaults upon Christianity, however they may seek to clothe themselves in the guise of religion, may be restrained by law as being offensive to the moral sense and the well-being of the community. Precisely at this point nice questions may be raised; and here, as in all complex practical matters, it may be difficult so to frame the rule as definitely to provide for all real or supposable cases. But the *principle* should be *universal religious freedom*.* Some may think so broad a toleration inconsistent with earnest loyalty to Christian truth. But suppose Christ to have told the Scribes and Pharisees, and Herod and Pilate, that he proposed, as soon as he and his followers should

be able so to do, to put them all down by force and crush them with the strong hand! (But then, what of the "more than twelve legions of angels?") And suppose Peter to have told Simon Magus that, if the law allowed it, he would send him forthwith to torture and the flames! Or Paul to have told the magistrates at Philippi that, if he had the power, *he* would scourge *them*, and, instead of thrusting their feet into the stocks, would bind them to the stake and burn them upon the spot! Or to have announced to the Athenians on Mars Hill that, as soon as the Christians should grow strong enough, they would drive them out of their temples, throw down their altars, and compel them to worship in Christian churches, or strip them of their goods, and banish or immolate them all!

No; Cortez and Pizarro are not the representatives of the apostles, nor the models of Christian missionaries. Such was not the spirit in which the Gospel was preached at the first, and such ought not to be the spirit in which it is to be professed and propagated now. Surely it has greater advantages for preserving itself and making progress now than it had then. If it succeeded then without the protection and aid of intolerance, still more may it succeed without such aid and protection now; for it will hardly be suggested that the fires of intolerance are intended by Divine Providence as the appropriate modern substitute for the primitive miracles; or that what the suffering of persecution did for the purity of the early Church the exercise of persecution is to accomplish for the later Church.

Christianity needs only a fair and open field, with really earnest and faithful adherents who believe in their Lord with all their hearts, who love his blessed name as St. Paul loved it, and who love the souls of men even as *He* loved them who died for their redemption. Going forth in such a spirit, there is no danger of defeat, no doubt of success. Our help is in the name of the Lord, and a strong tower is our God. Our hope and confidence are in the truth, in the presence of Christ, and in the power of the Holy Ghost. "And where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

* This should be the *spirit* of the laws both of Church and State.

THIRD SECTION.—MINISTERIAL SUPPORT.

NEED OF LIBERAL SUPPORT FOR THE GOSPEL MINISTRY.

BY THE REV. JOHN HALL, D.D., OF NEW YORK.

WHY should we, at the present time, talk of this subject of ministerial support? Not because of any decay of the ministry, or any present decline in the popular interest in that body; but because, on account of the growth of the army every year in numbers, it is continually made more incumbent upon us to look well to the commissariat, to see that the supplies be adequate to the necessities of this ever-increasing band of Christian laborers.

Much discussion has been had upon this matter in years that are passed, and from time to time efforts have been made, with more or less of system and organization, to supply the deficiencies that have been felt to exist. We propose, however, a somewhat different method of proceeding in our time. We propose to agitate this question among the people themselves, and to go to those who have responsibility in the matter, and who have the whole thing in their hands; and, instead of originating auxiliary agencies to supplement deficient supplies, we propose to increase the supplies themselves by instructing the people, and creating upon the subject a sound and healthy public opinion.

The difference between this policy and that which has been heretofore pursued, you can easily realize. Suppose the reservoir in the Park were sending insufficient supplies of water through the pipes in the city. Various good men, at various points, might set themselves, with some pains and labor, to open pumps in their yards, and so to eke out the deficient supplies in the reservoir. But the wiser policy would surely be to combine these various private and individual energies in such a way as to bring water enough into the reservoir to fill all the channels and supply all the wants of the city. And upon this principle we propose to carry the discussion of this thing to the people themselves. We have confidence in the conscience of the Christian people, that when they understand this matter they will supply that which is lacking in the premises.

Nor do we talk of this thing now and here because there is any special necessity for discussing the topic in America as distinct

from those countries where the State takes charge, in whole or in part, of the maintenance and support of the Church. There is no peculiar need to discuss this question in America any more than to discuss it in the countries where the Church and State are closely allied through the bond of maintenance from the State to the ministry of the Word. Having lived in such countries, and under this particular system, I am able to say that the proportion of under-supported ministers in those countries is, in my judgment, quite as great as it is in this country, and the arguments that we use here I have found it necessary to use in the Old World, and the ground I take here I found it necessary to take there, and the appeals that it is proper to make here are precisely the same kind of appeals that it is proper and necessary to make in the Old World.

Why is there need to discuss this matter? In the first place, because of the nature of the case itself. Our natural wants come under the laws of demand and supply—our food, our clothing, our comforts, and our homes. We naturally feel that we need, and we are naturally prompted to seek, the supply of them. But it is not so, as you know, with spiritual matters. Men have to be taught their need of spiritual things. They naturally know not, according to Bible statement, that they are poor and miserable, and blind, and naked, and in need of all things. Let there be a deficient supply of bread in a particular district, and very soon, by the ordinary laws of life, there will be a baker on the spot; but not so promptly and not upon the same principles will there be a supply of the bread of life and the water of life. It is necessary, therefore, from the nature of the case, to discuss this matter, to call men's attention to that which they need in the spiritual department.

There is necessity for this, in the second case, because of the deficient sense of responsibility on the part of great numbers of the Christian people. And yet they are not wholly to be blamed, as if they were doing wrong knowing it to be wrong. They have not thought much about the matter, and "evil

is wrought for want of thought as well as want of will." I beg you to witness that a very large proportion of the people in our congregations—even heads of families and excellent people—do not trouble themselves very much with the question, "What income has our pastor, and is it adequate for the supply of all his wants?" They are apt to say to themselves, "The trustees of our church are excellent men; they have this thing in hand; no doubt they look after it sufficiently, and I dare say there is abundant provision for our minister;" and so they let the matter go. They are not very much to be blamed, perhaps, for not looking at that to which their attention has not been called; and there is besides some considerable difficulty (although that difficulty is not so great as in other lands; nor is this deficient sense of responsibility, in my judgment, so great here as it is elsewhere; but there is some difficulty) on the part of many excellent Christian people in forming a just idea on that matter, more particularly in the country districts, with which we have also to deal.

A farmer who receives his money in comparatively small sums and deals it out in the same way will be strongly tempted to think that one thousand dollars a year is a considerable sum for a family to get through with in the course of a year. He is strongly tempted to forget how much of the supplies for his household he raises within himself, and he only begins to realize the exact parallel position of the minister if he has to use a sum of money put into his hands at the beginning of the year, and has to pay it out from day to day for absolutely every thing needed for the comfort of his family. In the nature of the case a large proportion of the Christian population have some difficulty in forming a just idea of this matter. We propose to help these brethren to a just estimate of the case, that they may know what is their duty in the premises.

I think, in the third place, that there is necessity of an agitation of this matter, because of a very natural but somewhat culpable procedure on the part of the ministers themselves. I repeat this statement, *because of a very natural but somewhat culpable procedure on the part of my brother ministers.* They do not like to plead their own cause, and tell the people what ought to be done for their own maintenance. I call that natural, but I call it somewhat culpable; for a salary grab is never a popular measure. But at the same time I do not think that we are quite free from blame in that particular. There are three chapters in the Epistle to the Corinthians that bear directly on this very subject, and we are just, as ministers, as much bound to explain to the people these three chapters as any other three chapters in the New Testament. We have no

right to ignore what the Spirit of God says on this subject, and, if we sin in that particular, a sin of omission, it can not but be that we shall pay the penalty and be punished for our sins.

There is a good "ox" sermon, as it has been called. "For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith he it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written: that he that ploweth should plow in hope; and that he that thresheth in hope should be partaker of his hope. If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?" (1 Cor. ix., 9-11). How many ministers are there in this audience that can lay their hands on their hearts and say, "I have faithfully and plainly told my people out and out their duty in this matter, as I have done upon the subject of belief in Christ and repentance toward God?" My brethren of the ministry, bear with me if I ask you that, if not for your own sakes, for the sake of your families, for the sake of your people, and for the sake of your successors, and for the sake of your respective churches, ye be as faithful here as in declaring upon other topics the counsel of our Father. And in that connection it seems to me that ministers—and I am thankful to be one of them who are well taken care of by their people, and who will not lie under the suspicion of pleading their own cause—and I do not hesitate to say, that ministers who are generously dealt with owe a special duty to their brethren who are less favored. They of all others, by the law of Christian magnanimity, chivalry, and brotherly love, are bound to do their utmost for their less happily situated brethren.

There is another reason, perhaps, why we should talk about this thing. I complain of the standard so frequently sought to be set up as to ministers' incomes. My dear brethren, when you apply to a conveyancer or any other professional man, when you come to pay his bill, do you find yourself raising this question, "How many children has he? How much will it take to support him?" And by what law of justice or common sense should men deal so with the laborers in the pulpit?

Why should there be a different standard of judging applied to us as professional laborers in one department from that which is applied to our brethren in other departments? We met these men in school, and were not deficient in brains as compared with them. We met the same men in college, and we stood as well as they did. They go to medicine, or they go to the merchant's desk, and by honorable effort they reach affluence. We go to the sacred desk, we go to deal with men's souls, we go to speak for

Christ and his truth; and the maintenance that is doled out to us as a class is too often placed among the charities of the givers; and we are reduced as a profession to a position to which we have no right voluntarily to descend. I complain of this, and hold it to be a just and laudable object of ministerial ambition to lift up the whole class in the judgment of the community, and place that class where it has a right to stand.

Now, you may say, What is wanted in this particular matter? It seems to me that the thing that is mainly wanted is information and instruction on the part of the people. I feel no doubt that they will do what is right in the case. When they begin to understand the necessity for a minister thoroughly educated, the necessity for his having a proper supply of books so that he can study the literature of his profession, of his having such a position among his people that his mind will be, as we are accustomed to call it in the invitations given to ministers by congregations, "free of care," I have no doubt about the issue. At the present moment there is a kind of irony, almost mockery, in the form of some of our calls. Ask the Rev. Mr. Smith, who has a wife and five children, to come and labor in the work of the ministry, give his whole time, strength, and energy to it, precluded by his work from any other occupation, "and that you may be free of care we promise you the sum of \$600 annually, in four quarterly payments!" I say, while expenses remain as they are at present in America, you can not make ordinary ministers free of care in that way, no matter how you try to fix it.

I am sensible there are some objections that may be raised to this whole plan; and, in conclusion, because I am unwilling to occupy too much time, I shall venture to mention one or two of those objections.

In the first place, it may be said, "Why should the people be called upon to lift up the ministers in things pecuniary to this particular standard? Ministers may fix the scale as high as they please: are we under obligation to come up to it?" There you, the people, make the fatal mistake. It is not the minister that fixes the standard at all. It is you. I want you to use your own judgment in the matter, and see how that is the case. It is you, the Christian people, that determine the standard of our expenditure. A minister settles in a particular neighborhood, town or country, city or village. Have not the people beforehand a certain very definite idea of the kind of house that he ought to take, of his establishment generally, even of the very clothes in which he ought to appear among them? And if his house be notably below their conception, if he turn out in the village or town in a "shocking bad hat," is not there a general

feeling among his people that somehow he is degrading or belittling them? You fix the standard up to which we must try to live, and below which if we notably sink we sacrifice that which the true minister holds dearer than life, his ministerial position, and his power to do good in his Master's service.

I hope the practice will become more and more popular of finding residences for the ministers' on the part of the people. It saves a world of embarrassment. When a pastor finds a house provided for him, he knows perfectly well, if it is a showy house, that he is not to blame. If it is a shabby house, he is equally blameless; and I should be very glad if, in the country towns and villages, this method of finding parsonages should become universal.

It may be objected, again, that the apostles, for example, did not find such comfortable arrangements made for them as the clergymen in this city do in the nineteenth century. That may be to a superficial person a very plausible objection; but you must remember the difference between the Christian communities of that day and of this. Then, I have no doubt, the Christian people did as they were able and as they had opportunity. That is all that is wanted at the present time. If the members of the congregations in New York to which we minister were to be seen wandering about in sheepskins and goat-skins; if the happy and comfortable inhabitants of those brown-stone houses on Fifth Avenue were compelled to resort to caves and dens of the earth, being afflicted and desolate, I hope I, for one, should have grace to stand by them and to wear the sheep-skin and the goat-skin, and to live in the caves and dens. But you know that is not your position just now. Therefore we say there is no parallel in the case, and any argument founded upon any supposed parallel is an insult to the human understanding.

I set up this positive plea on behalf of ministers. We are among the best popular educators: we are among the cheapest. There are thousands of families who owe more of their intellectual development (not to speak of moral and spiritual) to the minister than to any other agency whatever. I maintain that we are among the best moral reformers. We do ten times more than the best organized police. I allege, again, that we promote the happiest and best influences in the community; for, if the ministry is successful, and if the grace of God is instrumental in turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, directing them into the paths of purity, gentleness, honesty, honor, integrity, righteousness, such men and Christians in their turn become the benefactors of their race and blessings in their neighborhood.

We have rights, therefore, founded upon

the New Testament; upon the Master's appointment, upon the nature of things. We have claims upon you as patriots, as human beings, as Christians, and all we ask of you is that you will examine your New Testament, and in the light of its teachings consider what is due in this matter, and do good as you have opportunity, as being accountable to the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of your souls.

I will not sit down until I have said one word more of the deepest truth of which I am conscious. My brethren who have not yet come into living connection with the Church of Jesus Christ, that is to say, who

have not yet come into believing union with Jesus Christ, the Prophet, the Priest, the King, the Saviour, the Son of God, and the Son of Man, I implore you to come as he invites you into the loving and blessed connection, and then, as a child of God, ransomed, liberated, free, with the burden of guilt off your conscience and the burden of dread off your spirit, ask the Maker, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" and wait for His answer: and I do not doubt that then you will be earnest, humble, patient, and effective in the doing of this and of every other Christian duty to which your New Testament calls you.

MINISTERIAL SUPPORT IN THE IRISH EPISCOPAL AND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

BY THE REV. T. Y. KILLEN, OF BELFAST, IRELAND.

I HAVE been asked, not so much to speak on the general subject of "Ministerial Support," as to give you a brief description of the methods adopted by the Irish Episcopal and Presbyterian churches to promote it, especially since their disestablishment and disendowment. The Irish Church Act of 1869 severed the connection of these churches with the State, and withdrew the endowments they had enjoyed, preserving, however, the life interests of existing ministers. A provision was made by which ministers might commute their annuities for a capital sum, and throw the whole into a common fund, the interest of which should go to the permanent endowment of their churches. In the case of the Episcopal Church, power was also given to clergymen to compound, as it is called—that is, to receive at once a certain proportion of their commutation money, give the remainder to the Church, and then be relieved from all obligation to further service. Almost all the Episcopal clergy have commuted; and as the incomes of many of their dignitaries were very large, a great fund has thus been created. As the act did not, in their case, come into operation for a year and a half, they ordained some five hundred additional curates in the interval, who were declared by the commissioners to be entitled to annuities, and who have commuted their life interests. Many of them had not completed their education, or received almost any theological training, so that they are very likely, in the end, to be rather an incubus on the Church; but some of them have compounded, and retired from active duty, leaving a large sum for the endowment of the parishes to which they had been appointed, but where curates were really not required. To supplement the interest of the commutation money, a sustentation fund has been originated; but it seems to me unfortunate that, instead of having merely one general fund for all Ireland, every diocese has its own sustentation fund, so that the wealthier dioceses are likely to be much better off than their poorer neighbors; and in the latter it is greatly to be feared the number of ministers must be very much diminished. The Sustentation Fund of the Episcopal Church has not been so successful as might reasonably have been expected, considering that the great majority of our

nobility, land-owners, and wealthier classes are to be found in her communion. Her people, having had every thing in the way of church-building and the support of their ministers provided for them by the State, except in the case of a few proprietary churches, had not been well trained in the exercise of Christian liberality. The great majority of her laity, being soundly Protestant, desired to take advantage of their new-born freedom to purge their Prayer-book from every thing which seemed to countenance Romish error, and thus prevent the possibility of the spread of Ritualism. But the bishops were opposed to revision, and have thus far been able to prevent any important alterations of the formularies. Many make an excuse of this, and withhold their subscriptions on the plea that they must see what the doctrine of the Church is to be before they will give their money for its support. The consequence is that nothing like what would be sufficient to supplement the interest of the commutation fund, so as to provide an annual sum equal to the incomes of the clergy before disestablishment, has yet been raised; and, unless a strenuous and united effort is speedily made, it is feared that, as existing ministers are removed by death or translation, a large number of parishes must be left vacant or united to neighboring cures.

In the Presbyterian Church the case has been different. Before 1869 our ministers had two sources of income—the *Regium Donum*, which gave to each minister £69 4s. 8d., or about \$350 of your money, and the stipend which was derived from seat-rents or the voluntary contributions of the people. It ranged from £20 to £400 for each minister, *i. e.*, from \$100 to \$2000. The average income of our ministers from both sources was from £120 to £130, or above \$600; and you must remember that money goes much further with us than on this side the Atlantic. When our *Regium Donum* was withdrawn, many feared that our Church would suffer, and that, as our people are generally poor, it would be impossible to support the same number of ministers, and keep our mission schemes in active operation. These fears have proved utterly groundless. Our laity offered that, if we ministers would commute our life annuities and throw the sums

received into a common fund for the permanent endowment of our congregations, they would do their best not only to keep us from loss, but to give us £100 a year instead of the old £69 4s. 8d. All our ministers except about twenty have commuted. The money has been advantageously invested, and produces about £25,000 a year, instead of the £40,000 we used to receive from the State. Our people had been better trained to giving than their Episcopalian brethren. In the providence of God we had been led to establish one mission after another, till we had six in operation. The members of our congregations had always been required to pay a stipend to their ministers, as the *Regium Donum* was utterly insufficient for their support. About twenty years ago, the incomes of many of our ministers were so miserable that an agitation for the increase of stipends was commenced, and has been carried on ever since, with a considerable measure of success. We had thus been providentially led to consider and expound to our people the Scripture principles of systematic beneficence. We had been led to teach them that it is the duty of Christians to dedicate an adequate proportion of their incomes to the cause of God, and to give an offering to him every Lord's day when they come into his courts. Our leading laymen threw themselves heartily into the work of raising a sustentation fund, from which all our ministers whose congregations, rich or poor, contributed, should receive an equal dividend. The fund has now been three years in operation; and instead of our ministers receiving less than when we were in connection with the State, or any of our congregations having to be broken up, our trustees were able to pay each of us the first year £10, the second £16, and the third £20 more than we had received from Government. None of our missionary enterprises have been given up or have suffered. Last year they received more than ever before. Our congregational stipends have not been reduced. We have given £25,000, or \$125,000, to our Sustentation Fund over and above all our other contributions. And the greater part of this sum is brought to the church on the Lord's day in envelopes, once a month, and put into boxes which are provided for the purpose. Lest any congregation should try to shirk its duty, and throw the burden upon others, we require that each should contribute at least at the rate of a penny per week for each communicant; and if any fall short of this, their ministers do not receive the full benefit from the fund.

We have thus two sources of income for our ministers: the stipend, the amount of which varies with the congregation; and the Sustentation Fund, from which every commuting minister whose congregation pays the minimum qualification receives an

equal dividend. We think it well that we should have both. The stipend appeals to the principle of individuality. A congregation is more likely to give freely and liberally for the support of its own minister, who goes out and in among its members, and labors for their good, than for the maintenance of a general fund. And we try to induce our congregations to give the whole of their seat-rents as stipend to the minister, and thus have a distinct and separate source of income for his support. In order to do this, we ask them to provide for all their ordinary church expenses—rent, payment of parson and sexton, light, heating, etc.—by a collection, or weekly offering, in the church every Sabbath. We believe that, when Paul directed the Corinthians to lay by in store every first day of the week for the poor saints, he not only provided for a particular emergency, but, as is customary in Scripture, he took occasion to lay down a great principle which should regulate Christian finance in all churches and in all ages.

In our Sustentation Fund we act upon the Scriptural principle, that the strong should help the weak, and that we should bear one another's burdens. Our rich and wealthy congregations have thus an opportunity of contributing to the support of the feeble and struggling in distant and backward localities, where our people are poor and sparsely scattered; and yet the ministers are saved from that feeling of dependence which is sometimes produced by receiving from a mission fund expressly for weak congregations, because all receive equally out of the same fund; so that, while the minister of a congregation able to pay only £10 or £12 into the fund receives his £90, the minister of one which pays in £1000 receives just the same.

This is the plan we have adopted for the support of our ministry. We believe it to be Scriptural. We find it works well. But whatever plan may be adopted in different churches and countries, we are satisfied that we are only discharging an incumbent duty in pleading for the adequate support of the Christian ministry. We do so not because we have any idea that the Church has been organized for the purpose of enriching or decently supporting ministers. Ministers are appointed for the sake and service of the Church. But they are only men, and their work is great, and tremendously responsible; and we desire to see them placed above the fear of want, and set free from earking, worldly cares about provision for their families, that they may devote all their time and energies, freely, and vigorously, and cheerfully, to their great work. Has it ever occurred to you to inquire why God did not employ angels to preach his Gospel, but men who require a temporal support? Liberty is a Christian grace, and one of the most

God-like, Christ-like graces. God is ever giving, freely, bountifully, to us. And we attain the highest dignity of which our nature is capable only when we become God-like in this and in every thing. No grace will grow unless it is constantly exercised. God casts his people into the furnace of affliction, not because he has any pleasure in their sufferings, but because it is necessary for the production and cultivation in them of patience and resignation, and complete conformity to his will. And he requires them to give their money to his cause, not because he is enriched thereby, or could not carry on his work without them, but for their good—that the God-like grace of liberality may be cultivated and invigorated. Giving is a means of grace, just as much as public worship or the sacraments. And if you complain that the calls are so frequent as to become wearisome, I answer that I can imagine a time when we would have reason to complain; but it is only when God requires us to give to his cause more frequently than he gives to us, or asks us to give more largely than he has given, who gave his only-begotten and well-beloved Son, even to the death, for us.

SUPPORT OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

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It was jocosely said by a city paper last week that "the ministers of religion in America are not as well paid as are professional base-ball players." "But," it was added, "religion is not the national game."

Herein is the urgent call for the agitation of this subject, the lamentable fact that in our evangelical denominations the average salary of the minister is from four hundred to seven hundred dollars.

How shall this class of men be supported? The natural answer is: "Each man for himself, as in other professions. Let him enter the market and live by his profession. A man will commonly fetch what it is worth." "Brains will command a salary. Valuable services will find fair compensation." But what is the standard of value? A man in ill health will pay the physician his price for professional counsel, because he values his life and health. But here, the more the man is under the power of disease the less he cares for the cure. One will pay his lawyer well for counsel in saving his property. But, alas! this lawyer who will aid him to save his soul is undervalued and underpaid.

What then? Who are these men? What is their function and vocation? They are guardians of the public weal; conservators of the public morality; pillars of society; promoters of law and order; needful, indispensable to the State as well as to the Church. Silence the ministers of Christianity in the land, and what hope is left for the commonwealth? But how shall they be supported?

I. Shall we demand of the State to support them? No. For the grant would be cumbered with conditions which we could not accept.

II. Shall they be left to support themselves by outside and secular avocations? That would be a diversion from a work to which they should be wholly devoted. And when they are called to the work in any congregation it is commonly with the formula: "In order that you may be free from worldly cares and avocations, we promise to pay you the sum of — dollars."

But, alas! So large an object, and so small a provision! How ridiculous it seems, when the sum promised for such effectual relief from worldly cares and business is four, five, or six hundred dollars! No!

You ask them to be non-secular, and yet they are driven to secularities to eke out a subsistence. They are charged to provide for their own house, and often they have large households to provide for. And the Scripture warns them that "he who provides not for his own, especially for those of his own house, hath denied the faith" (horrible for a minister), "and is worse than an infidel;" and what can be worse than that for a minister of Jesus Christ? What then?

III. Shall they be left to the individual church which they serve to support them? But what if the church is feeble in resources and unable to pay a living support? Or what if the church is indifferent to the Gospel? Do you say they do not deserve to be ministered to? But they most need these very Gospel ministrations to instruct, and arouse, and save them. We send the Gospel to the heathen on this principle, and we pay a living salary to our foreign missionaries, in order that the people may be brought to value the Gospel enough to pay for it, and to aid others who are unable to pay for it. And only so can our blessed Christianity make progress against sin and mammon. To say to the feeble districts and the frontier communities, "If you want the Gospel, pay for it as you pay for any thing else." This is the bare commercial principle that hires the minister, and counts him a hireling—bargains with a servant of Christ as with a coachman, or a foreman in the factory, or a field-hand on the farm; and on no higher principle than to get the service at the least cost.

"You are the minister we hired last night," said one of the congregation to the new preacher. "No! I am not." "But you certainly are the same man that we hired at so much, for I was there, and voted on the salary." "You are mistaken, sir." "How—why?" "I am the man whom you called to be your pastor, and a salary belongs to the office, else I could not serve. Do you hire General Grant to be President, or General Hartrauft to be Governor. No; but you elect them to those responsible offices, and they receive the salary which belongs to the office."

IV. But if the minister's salary is wholly inadequate, what then? It only remains that the Church at large, in the respective

denominations, shall see to the support of its own ministry.

Jesus Christ has enunciated the great truth, "The laborer is worthy of his hire"—ought to have it. And with his heart of sympathy for all laborers—in the mines, and mills, and factories, and streets—he said, "Come unto me, all ye that labor." But he emphasized the doctrine in reference to his own laborers in the ministry when he said, "The workman is worthy of his meat," and then plainly, "The Lord hath ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." As they who of old ministered at the altar partook of the things of the altar, so in Christian times the minister in spiritual things shall be sharer in your temporal things. This is God's ordinance as much as the Church or the ministry is his ordinance.

And then it is that in the unity of the Church as one body there is found the fundamental principle, the key and clue to this whole matter. The stronger should help the weaker. "We, then, that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves;" not to plan merely for our own individual church interest and comfort. "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ," as you can not otherwise do. While "every man shall bear his own pack," bear ye the burdens of one another in which they require your help (Gal. vi., 2, 5).

And this is the interest of the Church which is served. The Roman Catholic Church sends out her ministers and says, "Go work, and we will sustain you." Beyond the right which the ministry has to the support of the Church whose ministers they are; beyond the simple justice which is claimed, as between man and man, that, in giving their whole selves to the work, they should be decently supported, it is plain that in order to be efficient in their work they must be maintained at it. They need the tools; books are costly. It needs money to buy them. You require the minister to be versed in learning, and you must furnish him the means.

They must not be distracted with secular cares and callings, else they can not work to advantage. You require them not to be secularized, and you drive them into secularities by the necessity of a livelihood. You prevent their efficient labor, and condemn them for inefficiency—withhold the means of purchasing books, and condemn them for ignorance. "Who goeth a warfare at his own charges?" What is an army without rations? What is all the equipment of war—ammunition, discipline, and men—without a commissary department? Starving battalions must give up the field. Cut off the enemy's supplies if you would cripple and capture him.

What now, it may be asked, are some of the hinderances in so fair a work as the support of the Christian ministry?

1. *The Apathy that prevails from Want of Consideration and Examination.*—The facts are not known, or not regarded. How sadly the ministerial force in the Church is reduced and paralyzed by such a state of things. Many leaving the ministry for lack of support; many only half serving the Church for the same reason. These, at best, have little of permanency in the ministerial relations. Shifting from place to place for a better settlement, and so losing, at every shift, so much of the solid benefits: candidating, to the disgrace of the ministry, when it is really the disgrace of the Church, whose ordained servants they are. The Church has educated the minister, and has commissioned him and sent him forth to shift for himself and to sustain himself, to seek a market for his education and his gifts, and for her wares. And see the men fall prematurely, breaking down under the discouragements, and becoming prematurely disabled for life, just because they were not properly enabled by church aid to do the work of the Church.

2. *False Views of the Subject*—as that "the matter will regulate itself." "Good men will not be left to starve." Ah! but they come very near to starvation, and never make it known, and die of cold neglect. Or it may be thought, if not said, "that somehow it was meant that ministers should be poor, and that poverty is to them a necessary means of grace." How would the people like this for themselves? Or "that the Levites had no inheritance." No real estate indeed. But a plenty of personal estate; that which they could eat, and live upon better than upon unproductive acres. In one of the leading denominations, the young ministers have even been advised by eminent authority not to marry, but "to wait for connubial felicities until they are properly established"—which is equivalent to counseling thousands of our young ministers to postpone marriage indefinitely on account of the meagreness of their support. Shall we, then, be driven to a system of Protestant monkery, rather than that the Church should do justice to her ministers for their mere support? A church is only half served which has not a shepherdess of the flock along with the shepherd. But you pay her no salary. Yet she deserves one, if she is a true-hearted wife of the minister; and these women are sufferers in our new and feeble districts quite beyond the women who go to the distant heathen.

But the faithful wife of the young minister might well command for her husband an additional salary for her support and for her service. I undertake to say that the women in our wealthy churches ought to

be moved with sympathy and pity toward these toiling wives of our missionaries and pastors in the feeble districts—women often of the highest culture and of delicate living hitherto, who have gone out from the most comfortable Eastern homes, and are drudging in the kitchen, and coming to premature graves by overwork, for the help they are zealous to give to their husbands as ministers of Christ Jesus. "Woman's work for woman" ought to include this great field—can not fairly omit it without a burning shame. The Rebeccas and the Rachels who go out to water the flocks, and who do so much of the hard work in the social appointments of the Church—visiting, begging, ministering at sick-beds, and keeping up the sociabilities of the congregation by toilsome attentions, often rigorously exacted of them—these are the women who labor with us in the Gospel, and who ought to be *helped* (Phil. iv., 3). And nothing will so directly and effectively reach the case as to secure to the pastor something like a decent support, that he may not be broken down by the care and distraction of poverty and debt. And if the Church at large in the several denominations is bound to look after the support of her own ministry, how is this to be done?

1. There is the *parish endowment system* of the Established Kirk of Scotland, instituted by the able efforts of Professor Robertson. It maintains the principle of *endowed territorial work* and erecting parishes in certain districts where otherwise the ordinances could not be maintained, or raising mission stations into settled parishes by providing an endowment of £3000—equal to \$15,000 of our money, yielding a minimum stipend of £120, or \$600.

This method has succeeded in endowing 181 new parishes in the course of twenty years. The excellent results have been that, besides thus planting the Church, with its ordinances, as a permanency, the liberality of the district thus aided has been cultivated. "The newly endowed parishes in the course of the last year contributed an average of £34 to the missionary schemes of the Church, besides the large sums they were forced to contribute to the other missionary operations in their own neighborhood—amounts largely in advance of their contributions in the old parishes." At the same time, and during these twenty years, upward of two hundred churches have been built by the voluntary contributions of the members of the Church, and in connection with this scheme.

This is the scheme to which James Baird, of Auckmedden, has recently donated the munificent sum of £500,000, or *two and a half millions of dollars*. And in the interest of this scheme an enthusiastic meeting was lately held at Helensburg, presided over and

addressed by the Duke of Argyll. (See Report in *Glasgow News*, Oct. 2, 1873.)

2. There is the *Sustentation Scheme of the Free Kirk of Scotland*, instituted by Dr. Chalmers. This proceeds upon the plan of a *common fund*, to be distributed equally among all the churches, excepting only a few, which are mission stations. It was the exigency of the disruption which led to this expedient for providing support for the ministers who had relinquished their living by throwing off their connection with the State. All the contributing churches, however little they may give, are entitled to the apportionment, *share and share alike*. But this contemplates only a minimum of salary, which is supplemented by the wealthier churches as they may be able and willing—each for its own pastor. The minimum reached has steadily advanced, until now it is worth about \$1000 of our money.

Dr. Chalmers, who was the leader in devising and carrying out the scheme, came soon to believe that some conditions of *self-help* should be insisted on, in order to avoid imposition on the part of such as would willingly receive, but would not willingly give. He proposed, therefore, and urged the plan of what was called the *one-half more* supplementing, according to the amount contributed. And it was a sore regret and disappointment to him to be defeated in this feature of his plan. (Life of Chalmers, by Dr. Hanna.)

Under the able administration of Dr. Buchanan, assisted also by Dr. Candlish, the Sustentation Fund has steadily increased beyond the most sanguine expectations.

3. The *Sustentation Fund in the Presbyterian Church of Ireland*, now three years in progress, proceeds upon the same general principle of *share and share alike*, but emphasizes the supplementing by the individual church. It is planned and urged to have the *percents* applied to this object of adding to the pastor's dividend, while the other church expenses shall be provided for by the (envelope) weekly offering. This has been found to work admirably, so that the pastors have received during these three years £10, £15, and £20 more than under the Government pay. But as a check upon the parsimony of churches that would receive freely, and care little to give, it is required that the contribution to the fund, as a condition of aid, shall be at least a *penny per week* for each member, as the average, equal to our two cents, or about *one dollar* per annum; and that the Church shall have so contributed during a term of three years before being admitted to the benefits. The ruling eldership and laity in general, led by such men as Thomas Sinclair, Esq., of Belfast, have greatly furthered this noble work.

4. *The Sustentation Scheme of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the*

United States.—This is the *supplementary method*, upon fixed conditions of aid. These conditions are as follows :

1. Actual installation of the pastor.
 2. Salary of at least \$500, and as much more as possible.
 3. Average of at least \$7.30 per member, exclusive of manse. In case of two or more churches, united under one pastorate, each church must pay the average per member.
 4. Indorsement of Presbyterial Committee, and of Presbytery also.
 5. No reduction of salary from preceding year.
 6. Church's salary to be first paid, and reported quarterly in full.
 7. Advance contribution to our Committee of at least one-twentieth of church salary.
 8. Systematic giving (by envelope or collectors) to all the Boards.
 9. No aid where aid-receiving churches are contiguous, and should consolidate under one pastor.
- Grant to date from actual fulfillment of above conditions. Pastor to bear no part of the \$7.30 or of the one-twentieth payment. Salary supplemented to \$1000. Payments are made at close of the quarter.

FOR SECOND YEAR.

1. New application re-indorsed and conditioned as above.
2. Evidence of advance toward self-sustentation.

It will be observed that this scheme is, in its details, quite different from either of the foreign systems, though proceeding upon the same great principles. The aid from the central fund is distributed, not share and share alike, but on conditions applicable to the several cases, and which graduate the amount of aid. The individual church must first do its utmost for the pastor, and the supplementing comes from the central fund, on the basis of the home salary.

The method in the *United Presbyterian Church of Scotland* is somewhat similar to this.

1. As regards the several "Conditions." In the Presbyterian Church, of over four thousand ministers, it was found that only about sixteen hundred were actual pastors, nearly one thousand being "without charge," another one thousand being "stated supplies"—that is, supplying vacant churches statedly, but not regularly inducted as pastors—and besides these, six hundred or more were enrolled as having divers occupations, as professor, editor, teacher, etc.

The pastoral relation having thus come so seriously into disuse, it was judged of the highest importance to insist upon the actual installment of the minister as a condition of aid, in order to a more permanent and more effective service. And, inasmuch as the loose, shifting, and unsettled method of *stated supply* had arisen very much out of the inadequate support, it was made a prime condition and object of the better support to promote the pastoral relation, especially in the older districts. The scheme distinguishes, therefore, between *full pastorates*

(fulfilling these conditions) and *mission stations*, or church extension charges, which come short of these conditions, more or less. Not that the committee make pastorates, only that they designate a class of churches in relation to this scheme as full pastorates or not.

2. A second condition is the actual payment by the Church of at least \$500 as salary to the pastors. Churches falling short of this are designated as *mission stations*. These are such as have been lately planted by the Home Mission Board, which may or may not live and thrive, or such as, after years of aid from that Board, are not yet able to pay so much of themselves. The *scheme* appeals here to the voluntary principle, and demands that this principle shall not be abused so as to allow the churches thus aided to do *as little as they please*, but that they shall be encouraged rather to do *as much as they will, and as much as they fairly can*. The mission stations doing less than this may or may not attain to this. But so much as this may soon be expected of them if they have the elements of vitality and thrift that look toward speedy self-support. And here also the church, by thus responding to the demand for self-help, escapes the humiliating sense of dependence—feels that the grant is not a pension, but is rather earned as a recognition of their own successful effort toward self-support. In many cases the home salary paid by the church is \$600, \$700, or \$800. And whatever it may be (not less than \$500), it is supplemented so as to reach \$1000 on the fulfillment of all the conditions. Here it is held that the sum of \$1000 is little enough for the support of a pastor devoting himself wholly to his work. As he is required to relinquish outside pursuits for supplementing his salary, so the \$1000 is regarded as a minimum of living support. At the same time, it is the maximum to which the supplementary aid extends. It is not disputed that many will require more than this amount for support in certain more expensive circumstances. But all the cases can not as yet be reached by the scheme; and, meanwhile, the Home Board can meet such exceptions with their more flexible aid.

Prior to the operation of this scheme it was estimated that nearly two-thirds of our ministers received less than \$1000, and one-third of them less than \$600, and that the average salary was less than \$700.

3. But it is also required, as a standard of individual responsibility, that the home salary shall amount to a minimum average of \$7.30 per member—that is, that the salary paid by the congregation shall equal an average of *two cents per diem*, or \$7.30 per year, for each member of the church. Not that each member shall pay this amount, but that the total shall equal this average. In some cases the average paid is two or three times

more than this minimum. This is a further appeal to *self-help*, which also individualizes the obligation, and in churches of large membership brings home in detail the pecuniary responsibility, so as often to reach the maximum without the aid of the fund. It is found to be a valuable and productive feature of the scheme. In the actual working it plainly appears that the voluntary principle may be gently and genially compelled to a beneficence not otherwise attainable, and that the requirement is *a means of grace* quite necessary to realize the *grace of means* as against the *disgrace of meanness*.

4. The fullest indorsement of the particular case by the church court near at hand, and having ecclesiastical supervision, is requisite.

5. And, to prevent all abuse, no church applying for aid can fall back from the salary of the preceding year, so as to take advantage of the scheme to ease their own burdens.

6. And in order to promote promptness in dealing with the pastor, the church must first pay their quarter's salary actually and in full, as a condition of the quarter's installment from the Committee. The working of this feature has been most salutary. And further,

7. To induce a proper reciprocity, and to cultivate the grace of giving, the aid-receiving church is required to give somewhat to the fund, in order to receive more. A church contribution is to be made to the Committee's funds, which shall be paid in advance—not in whole or in part by the pastor—and shall not be less in amount than the one-twentieth of the home salary. This is not as a bargain, but as an expedient to institute the systematic giving which is required, and to put this requirement prominently forward as a stimulant to their beneficence.

8. And this is further to be carried out by a systematic giving to each of the schemes of the Church. The aid-receiving church is to be trained thus to systematic beneficence. The method of envelopes, or of collectors, is insisted upon so far as is practicable, in order that weekly offerings may be encouraged, according to 1 Cor. xvi., 1, and in order that the giving may extend to each member and stated worshiper.

RESULTS.

Last year (1872-73) was the first full year of operation under this scheme. Over three hundred ministers were taken in charge by the Committee, and, with various home salaries from five hundred to nine hundred dollars, were put upon the income of *one thousand dollars*, as pastors of their several flocks. Some of these have two, three, or four churches. Two hundred out of this three hundred—those who had been the longest time under the scheme—sent in reports of the comparative results. And it was found

that, as compared with the corresponding term under any former system, *there had been a clear gain in the gifts of these churches*—in advanced salaries, and in increased contributions to the Board—*of an amount equal nearly to the whole sum expended on them*. The substantial aid, upon honorable conditions fixing the pastor's support, served to stimulate the liberality of the churches receiving the aid, bringing the people to do much more for the pastor and for the Church at large than they had supposed to be possible, and more than could ever else have been reached.

Herein a discovery seems to have been made—that the way to develop the beneficence of the weak churches is to give them timely and assuring aid, instead of leaving them to struggle under discouragement, and thus sacrifice the toil and treasure expended on them; and that for any denomination this is the method for making the weak churches a power in the community, and for bringing them soon to become self-sustaining and aid-giving in their turn. Thus it becomes most blessed to give. This is where "there is that scattereth and yet increaseth," a sowing for a crop. Already the other denominations are moving toward something of the same sort.

The Congregational Convention of Vermont has adopted the scheme in almost every particular. The State Congregational Convention of New York has also adopted it, but requiring \$600 instead of \$500 as the minimum home salary, and \$10 instead of \$7.30 as the minimum average per member.

The documents have been asked for by leading members of almost all the other denominations—Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, Reformed (German), and Lutheran. It may be said, indeed, that the movement for a better support of the ministry is general in all the leading evangelical churches at home and abroad. And it is found that the column of *ministers' salaries* in the "Minutes of the Presbyterian Church" for the last year, 1873, shows an increase of more than *half a million of dollars*, with an addition of one hundred and sixty-four installations during the two years from the start.

The Congregational Churches of Vermont report this year as follows. Only about one-third of the churches pay their ministers promptly; sixty-five pay from \$400 to \$650; thirty-eight pay \$1000 or more; thirteen pay not more than \$500; twenty-five pay \$600 or less; forty-three pay less than \$800.

The Marquis of Lorne and his wife, the Princess Louise, have written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, proposing that the laity of the Church be asked to raise a sum large enough to provide for each curate in the Church of England a living of at least \$1000 per annum.

Of the curates in England and Wales,

2363 receive not over \$1500; and 1782 receive not over \$1000; 1854 receive not over \$750; and 1885 receive not over \$500. Is it not a sarcasm to call the positions held by these men "livings?"

The ministers of Christ as a class are the workmen who, of all men, could most reasonably *strike for wages*. Yet they are the men above all who are the most laborious and uncompaining under the gross injustice of inadequate support. They say to their people, "We seek not yours, but *yon*." And, alas! too many of the people are willing enough to receive and rest in this doctrine, as itself a Gospel. The laity ought to perceive the delicacy of this claim and its load demand, in all righteousness, as between man and man, as between ministers of Christ and the Church to which they belong as her servants in all the land; and for the honor of Christ, and for the advancement of his Church, and for the safety of the nation, they ought to strengthen the position of these men by securing to them a fair support. And thus the wealthier churches ought to see to it that the toiling pastors on the frontier or in the country districts, where the means are small, shall be sustained, along with their own pastors, in their most important work. The Christianity whose agents and promoters they are comprises in itself all good, all social order, and moral progress, and salutary reform; all civil, political, and social blessings; all conservation of law and justice. It is the only salvation of the land, as it is the only salvation of the individual. And it can be sustained only by a body of faithful men well sustained to promulgate it. The alternative is plain. Support the ministers of Christ, or vice will flourish, law will be set at naught, property will lose its value, life and liberty will be insecure.

And beyond all this, Jesus himself hath said, "He that receiveth you, receiveth *me*; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." And, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto *me*."

What wonder if, under the prevalent disregard of this claim for a living support, the average ministerial talent should deteriorate, and if the young men who have all the ability, but no money, should be persuaded by friends to seek some better means of livelihood as their Christian duty? Shall we demand of them to take the vows of poverty, as a mendicant order? What is still worse, the small salary is itself a reflection, and becomes the ground of suspicion that the man is rated according to his worth; while the \$600 salary, in the same column with the \$6000, suggests the very unequal burdens and rewards of the work. The conditions of the problem are simple and clear.

Some think of the Scriptural times—of the Seventy and of Paul. If these men were exceptionally called, as Paul was, commissioned by a poor, infant, persecuted Church, then they could "work with labor and travail, night and day, that they might not be chargeable" to any people. But is this their case? Does the Church in our day call for an unpaid ministry, living by their secular trade? And was not Paul aided by the churches? Could we ask Paul in our land of great church organizations and church resources to spend his best hours at tent-making, so as to preach without pay in the fragments of his time? If Simon Peter might go a-fishing after the Resurrection, it was for sheer discouragement; and yet he should learn how he was called rather to be a fisher of men, and how at the command of Jesus he should cast the net on the right side of the Gospel ship and gather a multitude to land, and yet the net should not be broken. And so these men are willing and forward to labor on the scantiest pay, among poor flocks and on new fields. But the great and wealthy Church which ordains them to service owes them a living support. And the sympathy of the stronger churches and of the better-supported ministers is their righteous claim. Yet it can not be denied that many of our people, both officers and members, have very confused and unfair views of the whole subject. They will talk of a minister going into the market, as any other man to seek his living by his calling—as though there were any such market for the Gospel as there is for any thing else. They will even speak of the Master—that "he had not where to lay his head." And is this, then, to be the standard of obligation for the Church—the rejection which Jesus suffered when he came to his own, and his own received him not? They will quote his direction to the Seventy: "Into whatsoever city or town ye enter, and they receive you not, shake off the dust of your feet, for a testimony against them."

And this very thing, of going from town to town, in discouragement and with loss in the work, is what so many are doing. But shaking off the dust does not shake off the poverty nor buy the needed bread. It is solid loss to minister and people, for lack of adequate support by the Church at large. And this age of the Church is not an age of miracles. And God will never work a miracle to confirm the Church in parsimony, nor to encourage the Church in denying to the laborer his hire. He that walks among the seven golden candlesticks, while he holds the stars in his right hand—all of them—demands, as a condition of keeping the candlestick in its place, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches."

VII.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS:
FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

Friday, October 10th, 1873.

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FIRST SECTION.—PRINCIPLES OF MISSION WORK.

DUTY OF THE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO MISSIONS.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH ANGUS, D.D.,

Principal of Regent's Park College, London.

IN these closing days of a most memorable gathering, we come very fittingly to the subject of Christian work, and pre-eminently of Christian missions. The last command of our Lord—the command he gave *after* providing by the Spirit to guide the disciples into all the truth, and after praying that they might be one, and after settling the relation of his kingdom to this world—the command he connected with the promise of his perpetual presence, the command he embalmed in the tenderest feelings of his followers, bade them to preach the Gospel to all creation. Truth and unity and a spiritual kingdom are blessings in themselves; but it is no small part of their glory that through them the *world is to believe*.

On this command our Lord himself acted. In the three years of his public life, he traveled three times over Galilee, announcing the glad tidings of his kingdom. Three times he visited Jerusalem. For weeks together he preached at Capernaum, a border town where many were coming and going. Six months he labored beyond Jordan; and twice he sent out disciples to extend his work. It was thus our Lord sought to spread his Gospel. He came not mainly to *teach*, and yet in those years he labored as an itinerant home-missionary—among, perhaps, three millions of people.

His followers caught his spirit. Andrew found Peter (as Philip found Nathanael), and, though not yet an apostle, he preached Christ to him, and brought him to Jesus. In the same spirit the woman of Sychar went and told in the fullness of her heart of him who seemed "the Christ," and on her talk multitudes believed. It was in obedience to this spirit that the members of the Church at Jerusalem, when scattered by persecution, all except the apostles, "went everywhere preaching the Word." In five-and-twenty years Paul traveled three times over a great part of Asia and Europe. Twice he spent two years as a prisoner, preaching to all who came to him, as well as to successive soldiers to whom he was chained. At one

place he wintered; at another he spent a year and a half; at a third two whole years—so preaching "that all they that dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus." All fellow-helpers, men and women, he welcomed, and, when he heard of a church that sounded out the Word of the Lord through the regions beyond them, he honored that church as an "ensample," a model to be copied by all that believed.

Christianity is a universal philanthropist. It trains the young; it feeds the hungry; it heals the sick. It rejoices in the increase of all the elements of material civilization. But it maintains that all these agencies are subordinate. The divine method of human improvement begins in human hearts through evangelic truth, and it spreads from within outwardly till all is renewed. There are, we may feel assured, profound reasons, as there is a divine command, to justify the announcement that the preaching of the Gospel is the *first business* of the Christian Church.

THE WORK DEFINED.

The *Gospel!* What is it? and can we agree in defining it? In one sense, it is as old as the first promise. For, from the beginning, man's sinfulness, atonement through vicarious suffering, God's free and righteous mercy, the efficacy of prayer, the necessity of holiness—all were revealed. But now these truths are set forth with new proofs, are enforced by new motives, amidst stronger light and for a wider audience. The Gospel! We agree in saying that it is a *three-fold* message—of *forgiveness* through our Lord, of personal *holiness* through the renewing and ever-gracious help of the Spirit, of *blessedness*, amidst all earthly changes, for those who love and serve God. Forgiveness, holiness, blessedness! What more can we need? The Gospel! We agree in calling it a *two-fold* message—Christ's work *for* us, in living, and dying, and pleading, and reigning; and Christ's work *in* us, beginning in grace and ending in glory. The

Gospel! A SINGLE message—of Christ as crucified—the concentrated revelation of the Divine holiness and love, the Redeemer and Comforter, the pattern and the sanctifier of us all. This Gospel—threefold, twofold, single—Christ came to found, even more than to teach. Yet it is the Gospel he taught, as it is the Gospel his apostles taught. And so mighty did it prove that the most successful preacher of the apostolic age resolved, from experience as well as from direct inspiration, to know nothing among men save Jesus Christ and Jesus Christ as crucified. The Jews deemed it no “sign,” no embodiment of power, and the Greeks deemed it foolishness; but he found it to be power and wisdom; nay, more, the power of God and the wisdom of God.

And this Gospel we are to *preach*. What is this *preaching*? Are we agreed in defining it? Let us mark the words that describe it. *One* of the commonest means that we are to proclaim it as heralds, with boldness and authority. Sixty times in the New Testament is this word found. Everywhere it describes the bearing of men who feel that they are speaking in God’s name. A *second* word, translated in the same way, means “to talk.” It is applied to the easy conversational method adopted by our Lord, and to the somewhat exaggerated sayings of the woman of Samaria. It describes a gift of priceless value—the power of readily introducing and speaking of religious themes. A *third* word means “to reason,” “to discuss.” It is the word used to describe Paul’s discourses; and it was preaching of this kind that he continued at Troas till midnight, as it was under such preaching Felix trembled. The *fourth*, and one of the commonest words of all, translated “preach,” means to announce “glad tidings.” More than fifty times this word is used. It forms the glory of the new dispensation, that “the poor have the Gospel preached to them.” This is the thought that justifies the outburst of the Prophet, “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace.” “Blessed (happy) are the poor in spirit,” is the first word of our Saviour’s longest discourse, and it is the word that is found oftenest there.

We are to be “heralds,” and “talkers,” and “reasoners,” and “publishers of good things.”

Constantly connected with these terms which are all translated “preach” are other three. One means to “testify, or bear witness”—from Scripture, and especially from our own experience; another means “to teach;” and a third, “to exhort, or entreat.” Thus, at Pentecost, Peter testified and exhorted, saying, “Save yourselves from this untoward generation;” thus Christ sent his disciples to teach all nations; thus the

apostles ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ: the word suggesting that the truths which we announce we are also to explain and apply. Thus, also, wherever Paul went, he exhorted and entreated: his own summary of his ministry is, “As we go, we beseech men in Christ’s stead, Be ye reconciled unto God.”

Another fact deserves to be named. From the promise given in Matthew in connection with this command, it may be gathered that the work of preaching the Gospel to all creation belongs to *each age*. It is not a thing done once for all. It has to be done again and again and again. The Christian men and women and children of each generation, redeemed by the same blood, renewed and enriched by the same Spirit, have the same honors and responsibilities. It is their glory that they have to make known to the world of each generation the love and the wisdom of God!

One fact more, and this part of my statement will be complete. The first teachers of the Gospel took pains, under the direction of their Lord, to put the substance of their teaching into a permanent form, and to supply further instruction in writing as it was needed. Hence the evangelists wrote their gospels, the records of “all that Jesus began to do and to teach.” Hence the apostles wrote their letters to put the churches in remembrance of what they had taught, to preserve the uncorrupted truth for after-generations, and to settle questions which sprang up in the progress of Christian and ecclesiastical life. The written Word supplements the living voice, and is essential to the completeness of our work: a holy, devoted ministry carried on by all saints, and an open Bible.

These statements, which embody the inspired description of our duty, are familiar to us all. They contain nothing new, and yet they rebuke theories and practices which are found on all sides. They tell us it is *the Gospel* we are to preach, not science or education or ethical duty; not what we think on public questions or even on lesser points of theology, but what we know of essential truth. We are to send evangelists, not pastors. We are to *preach* the Gospel with the authority of ambassadors and in God’s name; we are to announce it in quiet talk; we are to enforce it by argument, by explanations, by appeals to what we ourselves have felt, by earnest entreaty. There is a preaching that doubts of every thing, and never speaks with authority; there is a preaching that will not reason, but is always dogmatic or emotional; there is a preaching that never condescends to “talk,” but is ever formal and stilted; and there is a preaching that is cold discussion or bald announcement, never earing to entreat. *Apostolic* preaching was authority

and argument, talk and testimony; a combination of them all, saturated with prayers and tears.

There is a ministry that only preaches, giving no Bible, as in the Jesuit Missions of China and Japan; and there the Gospel dies out in a generation, or becomes thoroughly corrupt. And there is a ministry that gives only the Bible, leaving it without the witness of a loving heart and a holy life. God's method combines the two, and bids men "freely give" the Gospel, spoken and written, to every creature.

THE GOSPEL FOR EVERY CREATURE.

To every creature. Is this possible? and is it therefore our duty? The Christians of each age are to give the Gospel to the people of that age. Every Christian is to tell the good news to as many as he can reach: Christians are collectively to tell it, if they can, to the world. What is the limit of our ability and duty? In ten or twenty years can repentance and remission of sins be preached through Christ to all nations. I believe they can. The Christians of the nineteenth century are more able to preach the Gospel to the whole world than the Christians of the first century were to preach it to the world of their day. If so, the duty is binding, and the last command of our Lord is a summons claiming a literal obedience from us all.

OUR RESOURCES.

We can do it. Remember how largely our material facilities are increased. When Franklin, printer and statesman, wished to marry, his wife's mother objected to the marriage because there were then two presses in America, and she thought there was not room for a third. It is not a hundred years since, and there are now some eight thousand printing-offices in this country alone; a title of them could print New Testaments for the world. Only ten years ago to cross from the Atlantic to the Pacific was a six months' journey, perilous and toilsome in the extreme; now it is pleasantly done between Monday morning and Saturday night. Any man who has to travel much will save eight weeks in every ten; and, if he spend his life in traveling, the facilities of travel would practically multiply his years five-fold. In half a century of travel a missionary can now effect as much as he could have done in two centuries and a half a hundred years ago! The yearly income of England is five or six times larger than at the beginning of the century, and has doubled within thirty years. The income of the United States doubles, it is said, every five-and-twenty years. In printing power, in facilities of travel, in material wealth, the Church is incomparably stronger than it has ever been.

FIFTY THOUSAND MISSIONARIES.

But what is it we need to fulfil this duty? With 50,000 missionaries at work for ten years, and with £15,000,000 a year for ten years to support them, it is demonstrable that the Gospel might be preached, and preached repeatedly, to every man and woman and child on earth.

It seems a great company—50,000 preachers; and yet the number is not one per cent. of the members of evangelical churches in Christendom. There are three or four denominations in America, any one of which could supply all the preachers we need. England sent as many men to the Crimea to take a single fortress, and to keep up for a few years a Mohammedan despotism. Ten times the number of men fell on each side in the great American war. Five hundred years ago the Crusades had cost more lives, and they sought to win from men well-nigh as chivalrous as the invaders an earthly Jerusalem and a temporal sovereignty. And can not 50,000 redeemed men be found to win back the world to Jesus Christ? Have our hymns no meaning?

"Oh send ten thousand heralds forth,
From east to west, from south to north,
To blow the trump of Jubilee,
And peace proclaim from sea to sea!"

FIFTEEN MILLIONS A YEAR.

It seems a great sum—£150,000,000 sterling in ten years; yet it is less than £3 a year—\$15—from each member of evangelical churches in Europe and America. England alone spends as much as the whole £150,000,000 every two years on intoxicating drinks. The Crimean war cost £100,000,000; the American war, ten times as much. An annual tax of sevenpence in the pound on the income of Great Britain would yield the £15,000,000 we need. Nay, more. It would not be difficult to name ten thousand professing Christians who could give it all!

Looking only at men and money, is it not self-evident that it can be done?

I have not forgotten the difficulties of all kinds that surround this enterprise—travel, sickness, new tongues, unknown regions, barbarous tribes, the great wrath of one who would soon perceive that his time is short. I know, or can imagine them all. But I venture to say that, whatever these difficulties, they would be overcome if English national honor, or American progress, or the German Fatherland, or Swiss liberties were at stake; if diamond-beds or gold-fields had been discovered; nay, if even a Nile were to be traced and mapped. Is there a part of the earth that English or German speaking people could not penetrate for a *consideration*? And shall Christ's commands and the world's needs fail to move? I repeat it, *It can be done!*

SUCCESS OF MISSIONS.

But ours is a practical age. Charity begins at home. We work for present results. We want them told upon the palm. The field of missions is distant; the process costly; the success small. Is it not truer economy and wiser philanthropy to work in our respective countries till they are evangelized and saved? My reply is, I plead for home also. Wherever men are found who have not heard the Gospel often and earnestly proclaimed, there we are to preach it, as at first "in Jerusalem, and in Judea, in Samaria, and to the very ends of the earth." Such is the Divine order. Already, however, we have more devout men laboring for the evangelization of London than all Christians send for the evangelization of the world. In New York there is a larger evangelical agency sustained by Christian people than all the missionaries of all the foreign evangelical societies of America. Begin at home, by all means, but do not end there. If the world is to wait for the Gospel till London and New York are *converted*, till nothing more is needed here, the world will never get the Gospel at all.

And as to the smallness of the success of missions, I entirely deny the accuracy of the assertion. It is demonstrable that the success of the Gospel in the last one hundred years is greater than the success it achieved in any preceding hundred years; I may even say, in any preceding two hundred and fifty years. We look back fondly on the first ages, and sigh for the gift of tongues and for Pentecostal blessing; and yet, in the last century, more has been done to give the Bible to the world than was done in the first ten centuries of our era. Twenty versions at most were made in the first one thousand years; in the last one hundred years, a hundred and twenty have been made, in languages spoken by more than half the globe! There are more conversions to Christianity from heathenism, in proportion to the number of our preachers, than there are at home. It costs more per man to make a Christian in London or in New York than it costs in heathendom.

Even when Constantine proclaimed Christianity as the religion of the Roman empire, the *nominal* Christians of the empire were fewer than one-fifteenth of the population; and, when the Christians were most numerous in those ages, they never exceeded one-hundredth part of the population of the entire globe. Nominal Christians are now one-fifth. Each generation of the modern world consists of 30,000,000 of children, and they have to be christianized individually, one by one. Of these 30,000,000, one-fifth, or 6,000,000, become nominally Christians; and a considerable proportion of them really Christians. In the old Roman empire, there were

not 3,000,000 of nominal Christians out of every 30,000,000; while for the whole world the nominal Christians were only about half a million out of every 30,000,000. If any one wish for these facts in detail, he may find them in a sermon preached years ago by the Rev. Henry Venn, and in a recent address delivered by Canon Lightfoot. Had the results been different, there still stands the Master's command, the marching orders of the Church! But in fact our obedience to that command is enforced by prophecy—the promise of final victory, as it is also by victories already achieved! We *can do it*; and God has encouraged us to proceed.

ADVANTAGE OF SUCH WORK.

The recommendations of some such effort, so simple and so comprehensive—the preaching of the Gospel and *nothing more*, to every creature and *nothing less*—are clear and decisive.

First of all, it is God's own ordinance: the Divine method of man's amelioration. The contempt of the foolishness of preaching has not yet died out. Signs, miracles, sensationalism, are still deemed by some to be essential wisdom. Culture—educational, æsthetic, political—is still sought for as the precursor of the Gospel, or as its substitute. But God's power and wisdom is still the story of the Cross, delivered, as it ought to be, with prayer and tears. Some will not believe, but multitudes will; and we shall have discharged our conscience, and have obeyed our Lord!

And how our work would simplify and extend if we confined it to this business of preaching the Gospel! Many men would be found, of every class and of various social positions, competent to do this work, but not competent to become pastors, and not caring to take upon them the business labors of many modern missionaries—good plain men, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. Nay, might not our best men—our laymen and pastors—whether young or old, be prepared to give five years or ten, or parts of every year, to this specific work, who are not prepared to become missionaries for life, in the common meaning of the term.

What enormous anxieties would be spared us in connection with mission-buildings, and churches, and schools—the dead-weight of many existing agencies! All these things would come in time, but they would come independently of those who make it their business to preach the Gospel. Churches would be formed by thousands; but they would be left to their New Testament, and to native pastors, being commended, not selfishly, but from enlightened conviction, "to God and to the word of his grace." A freer Christian life might be the result of such an arrangement; but the life would be

more true, more natural, and, I believe, more abiding.

Is not some such comprehensive plan needed, moreover, to strengthen the faith of the Church, and to prove to the world that we believe what we profess? We say, indeed, that the Gospel is God's remedy for man's sinfulness and misery; we say, besides, that it is the honor and the business of the Church to make it known. Every one sees, however, that our present agencies, with only their million and a half a year for the evangelization of 800,000,000 of people, do not *mean business*; and there is, in consequence, wide-spread infidelity in relation to the Gospel, and in relation to the sincerity of the Christian Church. If Evangelical Christendom were to resolve, in God's strength, to do as Christ bids her—give the Gospel right away to every creature—it would be a confirmation of our faith and the completest answer that could be given to Papal Infallibility and to rationalistic unbelief.

THE DUTY OF THE ALLIANCE.

Fathers and brethren! We shall hear to-day how God is gathering from among the heathen a people to his praise. You yourselves know how large and self-denying are the offerings placed on the altar of evangelic work. We give twenty times as much as

was given one hundred years ago. I thank God that all these assertions can be truthfully made. Only I maintain that as yet we are playing with our duty, not earnestly discharging it. In a generation we could preach the Gospel, and give the New Testament to every creature. Our plans are less than our abilities, as they are less than the needs of the world and the claims of our Lord. This Alliance has some important practical work. It shows how essential truth may be separated from what is subordinate, and is therefore a proof to the world of a common Christianity. It avows our unity, and aims to deepen our mutual love. These two are important ends. But a third is wanting; and if the Alliance will take up the cry, "The Gospel for the world, and the world for Jesus Christ," if it will urge this cry till all existing agencies are doing their duty, and, if necessary, till other agencies are added—simple and evangelic—for carrying the Gospel, oral and written, to every creature, we shall then have a threefold cord—the maintenance of essential truths, the deepening of brotherly love, the universal diffusion of the Gospel—a threefold cord that can not be broken! Lest we die of mere sentiment, precious as it is, let us accept as our work—the world must have the Gospel, that it may be won for our Lord.

DIVISIONS OF MISSIONARY FIELDS OF LABOR— MISSIONARY COURTESY:

BY THE REV. RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D., LL.D., BOSTON, MASS.,

Lately Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

THIS subject is of great and growing importance. The two parts are intimately related, the "missionary courtesy" having respect to the "territorial divisions."

There are over fifty Protestant Missionary Societies now at work in the unevangelized world, spending annually more than five millions of dollars, and employing not less than two thousand ordained missionaries, and more than four times that number of native helpers. The missionaries are from all the evangelical denominations in Christendom—Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, Moravian, Lutheran, and Reformed—and have selected their fields, mastered the languages in use, and made good progress in establishing self-supporting Christian communities.

They will all encounter formidable opposition from a quarter which does not come necessarily within the range of our present discussion;—I mean the Papal power, which, though it had marvelously failed in its previous missions, has been roused by the efforts of Protestant Churches, and is again aiming to make its influence felt throughout the world. Yet the influence of Papal missionaries among the heathen is not to be very greatly feared, since the native Protestants soon learn to think of them as of a different religion, and their hostile encampments serve as incentives both to vigilance and activity.

The invasions from without, that are most to be dreaded in Protestant missions among the heathen, are not those of the Papal Church. They are such as advance under sectarian Protestant colors. The missions instituted early in the present century properly chose what then seemed the most eligible fields; and their successes were an inducement to others to enter upon the same ground. Experience of the unhappy consequences of so doing has considerably modified this tendency, and most of the non-prelatic denominations have come to a fraternal understanding on the subject. And it has greatly promoted the work that the noble Church Missionary Society of Great Britain has, from the first, refused to go into territories occupied by other societies.

The recent conference in India, of the va-

rious Missionary Societies engaged in the evangelization of that country, was perhaps the finest illustration of Christian unity the world had ever witnessed prior to this meeting of the Evangelical Alliance.

Perhaps it is yet too soon to expect entire harmony in the missionary movements of the churches. Though eighteen hundred years have passed since our blessed Lord issued his great command, the difficulties in the way have been such, till near the present century, as to prevent the Evangelical Church from clearly discerning its obligation. India was not open until the year 1813; nor indeed can it be said to have been fully opened until the recent completion of its five thousand miles of railway had made every part of its territory accessible to the missionary. And it is only a few years since the hundreds of millions of China and Japan became even partially accessible.

We should not deem it strange, therefore, nor discouraging, that so large a portion of the Christian Church is yet singularly unimpressed with its duty to these millions; and that there are yet errors with regard to the nature of the work, and clashings of apparent interests in its prosecution.

A new mission can not be established on ground already occupied by another society, without creating more or less rivalry and antagonism. The well-known invasion of the mission at the Sandwich Islands, a few years since, by another body, is a case in point. Had that rival mission proved a success, it would have prevented the organization of an independent Christian community, and the exhibition to the Christian world of a nation raised from the lowest heathenism, with as large a proportion of its people giving credible evidence of piety as can be found even in New England, and that, too, within the space of fifty years.

Another mission which is now somewhat endangered by a similar invasion is in Western India, with the city of Ahmednuggur for its centre. In the forty years of its existence, it has expended hundreds of thousands of dollars, organized churches in the central villages of its territory, with native pastors and teachers, and made a hopeful advance in the difficult process of transferring the

management of the work to the native Christian community.

In this crisis, the Bishop of Bombay sends a missionary of another denomination, and a native teacher, to Ahmednuggur—already sufficiently manned, and surrounded by a vast extent of unoccupied ground. He pledges double the salaries for native teachers and helpers which the resident missionaries have paid or deem it wise to pay. Add to this the very easy conditions required for admission to the Church, and no wonder that a Congregational and Presbyterian mission is apprehensive of being seriously embarrassed in its work.

But the most remarkable instance of failure to observe a true missionary courtesy has recently occurred in the mission of the London Society, established fifty years ago, on the island of Madagascar.

That mission has a wonderful history. As soon as the seeds of the Gospel began to bear fruit, a pagan queen banished the missionaries; and for twenty-five years, until her death, the Christians were subjected to a persecution as fierce and bloody as any suffered by the early Church. The son of the persecuting queen, on succeeding to the throne, invited the missionaries to return. And now, after the lapse of a few years, as stated by the Secretary of the Society, there are four hundred thousand nominal Christians connected with the mission, and thirty-eight thousand church-members—of whom the present queen is one—and thirty thousand children in the schools.

One can not fail to see how difficult must be the practical solution of the vast social problems thus suddenly devolved, by the Head of the Church, directly upon the thirty missionaries of the London Society; and how desirable it is that nothing be allowed to complicate their agency, and add to burdens already so great. Nor can we easily conceive any thing more likely to do this—Congregationalists as they all are—than placing an Episcopal bishop and missionary in the very centre of the mission. Such a missionary as we learn from the official correspondence has been sent to the capital of Madagascar; and persistent efforts were made to send also a bishop in full connection with the Established Church of England. Well did the London Missionary Society urge, in its correspondence with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the National Church, and with the Propagation Society, that such a measure would produce alienation among the natives, increase the difficulty of maintaining church discipline, and hinder the native Christian community from becoming self-supporting, and thus independent of foreign aid.

The bishop first selected, on learning the nature and probable effect of his duties, declined to serve; and before a second had

been secured, the London Society earnestly requested Her Majesty's Government, as an act of justice to a large portion of her subjects, to withhold from the proposed bishopric the sanction of the Crown; which was accordingly done. We do not yet know whether the attempt will be prosecuted further, but we are permitted to hope and to pray that it may not be.

Dr. Mullens, the Foreign Secretary of the London Society, was to have attended this meeting of our Alliance, but has gone to Madagascar for a year to assist his brethren in their distress.

I turn, now, to the Oriental churches. A leading object of the missions to these churches is to educate the native evangelical Christians in the practice of supporting their own religious institutions, that they may thus become independent, at the earliest day, of all foreign aid and control. Until this is done, they will continue to need the presence and aid of missionaries. Situated as they have been for ages past, this is a hard lesson for them to learn, especially considering their poverty and the oppression of their governments. Hence the native pastors and their people are peculiarly open to temptation where there is the prospect of pecuniary aid, and hence their resort for assistance to England, Scotland, and even to the United States, seldom if ever with the approval of their missionary fathers and brethren.

These illustrations, though stated concisely and in their mildest form, will suffice to call forth the prayers of the Evangelical Alliance, that God will be pleased graciously to arrest an evil that threatens the peace and prosperity of some of the great missionary enterprises of our times.

We would gladly call attention to the action of the General Missionary Conference at Allahabad, in India, which finished its sittings with the opening of the present year. It enrolled over a hundred members, representing twenty missionary societies, attached to the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist churches. The following resolution was adopted by the Conference, as setting forth the views of that body on the subject now under consideration, viz.:

“The Conference desire to put on record their sense of the grave importance of the principle of the mutual non-interference of missionary societies. They are of opinion that, with certain well-recognized exceptions, such as the large centres of population, it is expedient that the agents of different missionary societies should occupy different fields of labor. Without calling in question the right of every missionary to exercise his ministry wherever God may give him opportunity, it is their solemn conviction that the progress of the Gospel in a heathen

land can only be retarded by the missionaries of one communion receiving the converts of another church, who are as yet imperfectly acquainted with divine truth, and unable to enter intelligently into questions which separate the minor sections of Christendom—especially those who are under discipline.”

The principle to which we have called the attention of the Alliance appears to be none other than our Saviour's golden rule, of doing to others as we might reasonably desire them to do to ourselves. This is true missionary courtesy. No sacrifice is required of denominational peculiarities;

only that every Church have fields of its own, and restrict its labors accordingly. This being done, experience shows that Baptists may construct their churches among the heathen, and Episcopalians theirs, and Presbyterians and Congregationalists theirs, and so on to the end of the list of those who are united in Christ the Head. At the same time, it assumes the oneness of Christ's spiritual body on earth, and that the grand object of missions, as prescribed by the Lord Jesus in his last command, is not the extension of particular denominations, but of his glorious kingdom over all the earth.

PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC, AND GREEK MISSIONS,

COMPARED AS TO PRINCIPLE, METHOD, AND RESULTS.

BY THE REV. R. GRUNDEMANN, PH.D., OF MOERZ, NEAR POTSDAM, PRUSSIA.

I. *The Principle.*—The principle of Christian missions is the spread of the Gospel among the nations of the earth, in order that members may be won for the kingdom of God.

We may not say that any one of the branches of Christian missions is devoid of this principle. It is modified, however, by the particular view which this or that branch may have of the idea of the Gospel and of the kingdom of God.

The Greek Catholic (Russian) missions confine the Gospel to the simplest principles of Christian doctrine in inseparable connection with the Greek ritual, through which the Gospel is in some degree exposed to dangerous disfigurement. Still I do not venture to deny that also by these missions the nations receive germs of the salvation in Christ.

The Roman Catholic missions look upon the Gospel as consisting of the whole Romish doctrine, with all the disfiguring additions which it has received in that church down to the blasphemous dogma of Infallibility. However, it can not be denied that the Gospel truth, still mingled with these errors, but destined at last to triumph over all human error, is brought to the heathen nations by the Roman Catholic missions also.

The Evangelical missions seek to bear to the nations the Gospel in its purity. At least, it should be so, theoretically speaking. By many of our missions this ideal is striven after with success. Still I dare not conceal the fact that here also, to a great degree, a sharply dogmatical and often strongly denominational instruction has taken the place of the simple Gospel, and that peculiarities of ritual and government are often brought into unjustifiable connection with the latter. The transfer which is thus made of denominational differences, with their disruptive tendency, over into nations who are yet to be won for the kingdom of God, is highly disadvantageous to the mission work. The Evangelical Alliance should direct its influence to a clearer recognition of the above-mentioned ideal, and to a determination to make the simple Gospel, apart from doctrinal developments gradually reached and from denominational peculiarities which divide the Evangelical Church, the object of mission preaching.

The mission principle is, however, further modified by different views of the kingdom of Christ, which is the ultimate object of missions.

The Greek Catholic (Russian) missions do not merely regard the kingdom of Christ as synonymous with the so-called Orthodox Church; but, wherever it is practicable, they view it as identical with the Russian Empire. We may state the case somewhat strongly, thus: "These missions aim at Russianizing the nations among whom they labor." The thought that if they become good Russian subjects they become, *eo ipso*, good Christians, is one which will find little sympathy among us. Still I venture even here to draw attention to a spark of truth among the ashes of error, *i. e.*, that savage nations by amalgamation with Christian peoples are really started toward the kingdom of Christ.

The Roman Catholic missions regard the kingdom of Christ as absolutely identical with the Romish Church. However repulsive this arrogance may be, especially under the present sway of Jesuitism, I can not here, either, condemn their view absolutely; but am constrained by the force of history to recognize the fact that for heathen nations there is a way to the kingdom of heaven by the circuitous path which leads through Rome.

Nor are evangelical missions entirely to be acquitted of the error of confounding the true, invisible Church with some one of the visible churches, developed under temporal and earthly circumstances. According to our principle, the Baptist missionary should not make out of the heathen Baptists, nor the Lutheran Lutherans; but every evangelical missionary should only seek to make Christians. The necessary self-denial where-in the narrow circle of one's own denomination is lost in the kingdom of Christ is, alas! not infrequently wanting among the representatives of evangelical missions. Thence arise the encroachments of the one upon the territory of others, and the rivalry which often endangers the holy work; against which evils the Evangelical Alliance should make its influence felt with growing power.

The objection that the demand just made is impracticable, since the kingdom of God can not but take some visible form if it is

to appear amidst earthly relations, is not relevant. The visible form of the churches gathered from among the heathen does not need to agree with that of churches already existing. The Gospel, where it becomes active in the life of a people, has the capacity of creating forms which correspond to the existing circumstances; while forms already extant are sometimes hardly reconcilable with the latter.

II. *The Method.*—The methods which are applied in the Christian missions are so various that only the principal outlines can here be designated. They depend on the view which is taken of the object of the mission. If this is to win entire nations, then the missionary activity is a slow sowing of seed in hope of the future. The conversion of individuals is only a step in the preparation and development of a Christian national life.

According to the other view, individual souls, withdrawn more or less from their connection with the national life, are the object of mission work. In them it is to reach its end, without regard to the further purpose of christianizing the whole people.

The former view exercises most influence, on the Romish missions. These desire, above all else, to bring great masses into the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church. The conversion of individuals is here only a means to the end. This is often produced in a very superficial manner, to which the notion of the mechanical effects of the sacraments contributes not a little. Union with the Roman Catholic Church and attachment to it are regarded as conversion, and are often brought about through application of external motives.* Moreover, those gained from among the heathen are introduced by external exercises into the church life, so that one might not without some justice speak of a "drilling" method. The converts then continue in lasting dependence, without attaining to evangelical liberty.

Over against this view stands the method which endeavors, by awakening inner life, to lead to the free and independent development and formation of Christian character. This method we find in most of the evangelical missions; but, again, with the most manifold modifications. It appears, alas! here and there, in a very one-sided way, and even carried to such an extreme that, without regard to the stage of culture and the whole previous development of a heathen people, the effort is made to convert the individual in the same manner in which this must be done by the *halientic* activity among the nominal Christians of Christian lands.

Out of efforts of this sort very brilliant

results have at first been obtained, which have, however, afterward been found total failures.

The method which best corresponds to the idea of evangelical missions keeps the golden mean between the extremes just designated. It is no slavish "drilling" system, on the one hand, nor, on the other, does it, under the false supposition of an immediate independence, venture at the very outset to reach the highest aims of the Christian life. It deals, on the contrary, in a pedagogic manner. It treats those who have been won from among the heathen not merely as little children, who can only attain a very gradual spiritual growth; but, paying also due regard to the condition of the whole people, it recognizes the first generations brought under Christian influences as the necessary lower grades of development, which can only very gradually be led toward those ends which, even after a development of many centuries, have not as yet been nearly reached among the Christian nations of Europe.

Although, according to this view, the nations appear as the final object of mission labor, the internal influence upon individuals is not underestimated, in whose conversion the renewal of the national life has its beginning and its progress.

III. *The Results.*—In the first place, as regards numerical results, it is as yet an entire impossibility to give even a comparatively correct statement of them. Apart from the difficulties connected with the reception of the respective figures even of the evangelical missions, we have the further difficulty that these figures, to a great extent, represent unknown quantities. The different missions have such widely differing ideas of the proper headings in tabular statements that an addition of the figures standing at the foot of these columns would give an entirely erroneous sum total. For example, our evangelical missions sometimes count among their converts even those Europeans who in heathen lands unite with the respective denominations. Safe estimates with regard to the Roman Catholic missions are still more impossible, as the value of their figures, on account of the multitude of secretly baptized children, for instance, becomes highly problematical.

We can, however, disregard the figures, as these have, on the whole, a different significance in the kingdom of God from that which they possess in worldly affairs.

As far as the qualitative results are concerned, there are also many difficulties in the way of a more exact valuation. They arise from the fact that the deepest basis and the best part of these results are more or less withdrawn from observation. It must, at all events, be admitted that the accusation of ill success in mission work is fully disposed of by the difference between

* Here I must pass the Greek Church by, as in this respect we have too little documentary evidence.

the converts in their several Christian congregations and their heathen countrymen.

This difference is most apparent in the evangelical missions. Among their converts are to be found those who, by their spiritually perfected personality, stand in the sharpest contrast with the heathen life around them. Also among these congregations we meet with many in which the labor of the Word of God has in a few decenniums produced the same state of things which in old Christian lands has only been attained in the course of centuries.

The condition of Christianity among the converts and congregations of Roman Catholic missions is, without doubt, a far lower one. Indeed, examples are not wanting in which the transition from idolatry to Romish worship of pictures appears to be the only result attained. Still we must grant that through the average Catholic mission also a sharp difference is developed between the adherents whom they have gained and their heathen surroundings, and that in these congregations evident traces of Christian life, though on a somewhat lower stage of development, are brought to light.

It can not be denied that the missions have labored here and there without any result apparent to human eyes. This has been most prominently the case with the Roman Catholic missions. A number of their large mission fields, once reported to have been flourishing, have gradually re-

lapsed into complete heathenism, retaining only a few Christian ceremonies.

There are, however, not wanting a number of fields occupied by evangelical missions with regard to which the mission journals were once filled with accounts of successful results, but whose very names are now no longer mentioned. When, after a vain search for news in the mission journals, inquiry is made as to the progress of these missions, the only answer received is that they were "a failure."

If I have already pointed to the crowning results, especially among evangelical missions, I dare not omit the remark that the total result can not be measured by these. Among evangelical converts, also, are found many in whom, perhaps, single Christian characteristics are very plainly developed, while other phases of their life are still permeated by the old heathen leaven.

This can be generally stated with more or less truth of those gathered by our missions even in territories where the mission work seems to have solved its problem by a completed christianization, as in Hawaii and Sierra Leone. In fact, the christianization of these lands is not yet complete. The results of evangelical missions thus far attained are not yet *final* results, but presuppose a continuous development, even as all the results of Roman Catholic missions in a far higher degree presuppose a future reformation.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND COMMERCE TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

BY THE REV. THOMAS M. EDDY, D.D., NEW YORK,

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IN discussing the comparatively secular topic assigned me, I ask you to consider

MISSIONS AS FACTORS OF CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.

There is, alas! no really Christian nation; but there is a well-defined Christian civilization, so different from other types that you can easily mark its metes and boundaries on the atlas, and trace its lines through the nations.

Christianity is the least Materialistic of all Religions. It persistently asserts a high spirituality; nay, makes the *Spiritual* the *Real*, subordinates the *Seen* to the *Unseen*, Sense to Faith, Body to Soul, Reason to Spirit. But no other religion is so swiftly followed by material results. It comes crying only, "Repent, and believe the Gospel," but the "signs following" are, many of them, physical. It begins with the ground, and the barbaric plow disappears; for Christian civilization means a shining plowshare, and long furrows, gracefully turned from a shining mould-board. It means implemental agriculture. The Bible and Sacraments come, and in their train wheels revolve, anvils ring, black funnels pour out blacker smoke, the white sails of commerce are bent, spindles hum, and around separate homesteads vines are trained and roses bloom.

Christianity holds that man was originally lord of material forces, but that in his fall his mastery was broken, only to be fully restored through the second Adam, the Lord from heaven. Where it comes not, manhood is incapable of handling puissance; the beneficent forces of nature, which, defying his feeble craft, maintain successful rebellion. Man bears heavy burdens, not knowing of his appointed servitors. He grinds in weary mills, unconscious that God has stationed motors wherein the waters are brewed, the veins of carbon stored, the caldron hisses, the winds blow, or the electric currents tremble.

At the coming of Christian civilization, with its new life, rebellious forces return to allegiance; recalcitrant forces haste to obey their primal master; the dignity of Work is asserted in the ears of drowsy indolence, but the slavery of Toil is broken. Soul

enfranchised demands emancipated muscle, and Reason and Faith allied compel nature to pristine servitude. The work of missions is the propagation of this emancipating, potential civilization.

THEIR WORKERS.

Christian missions place the most intense and progressive life in contact with the decayed and effete; they throw the rugged, iconoclastic activity of the Occident into the dreamy quiet and among the dumb shrines of the Orient. Their agents are originally young, daring, adventurous men and women, fresh from school, familiar with the phases of modern doubt and the assumptions of modern science. Their vigorous vitality is placed in the mausoleum of Oriental death, in the stagnant pool of pagan wretchedness, and their defiant, self-asserting freedom in antagonism with the serfdom of custom, caste, and superstition.

Thousands of such have missions placed under almost unmaped skies, and among unknown people. Where the silence of ignorance was unbroken, they went to see, to question, and to record. And is it not true that, avoiding the known, they have gone to the centres toward which myriad eyes have been turned most curiously?

THEIR APPEAL TO SCIENCE AND REASON.

They are, at the outset of their work, under the necessity of asserting the regnancy of reason and the certainty of science. They *must* appeal to reason, for only thus can they assert private judgment. Arouse individual conscience, and lead those whom they teach to disown error and forsake vice. Against hoary tradition and priestly assumption they appeal to science. Among Polytheists they assert Divine unity, and invoke scientific testimony to establish oneness of plan and workmanship throughout the universe. They find extravagance and absurdity in tradition or sacred books, and denounce them by authority of telescope, ercible, microscope, and spectrum analysis. They confront the seowling priest who assumes superior sanctity because he holds *life* so sacred as to refuse to destroy its minutest form. Their answer is the microscopic rev-

clation of myriads in the water he drinks, and from his slain hecatombs he flies in baffled rage. In very truth, Protestant missions are the true exalters of reason, and they summon each art, each science as witness and co-laborer, and by so much enthrone it in regal state.

INDIRECT SERVICE.

Remember that much of the service missions render literature is *incidental*. Missionaries are neither scientists, *littérateurs*, nor commercial agents, but preachers and teachers of Christian faith and ethics. But they *observe* and *record*. In letters to friends or the Press, they describe mountains and seas, metals and grains, flora and fauna. These fragments are not books, but they are the seed which home writers plant with leisurely authorcraft, and from which stately books are grown. They make an itinerary, and the journal records not only song and sermon, but also word-painting, of bird and beast, rock and reptile, hut and temple, rites and customs, men and things. They bring their faithful observations as contributions to the sum of human knowledge, and thus, though they mean it not, they are among the educators of secular thought.

DIRECT RESULTS.

They add *directly* to the stores of literature and science.

1. They have increased, very greatly, the sum of geographical knowledge. They were seekers of *men*: the men were somewhere, and must be found. They were men, created in the Divine image, redeemed by the Divine blood, the objects of Divine care. They must be found. But hunting them, the searchers went with open eyes; they mapped the leagues over which they walked; they the unknown rivers they crossed or down which they floated, and took the altitude of unmeasured mountains, calculating their latitude and longitude, that they might be guide-posts and mile-stones for their followers.

Would Interior Africa be to-day even partially known but for the missionary explorations of Kropf, Vanderkemp, Kramer, Shaw, Threlfal, Freeman, Moffat, and his renowned son-in-law, Livingstone, whose early fame was won in mission service, whose zeal as an explorer was kindled at the altar of evangelism? These men went in search of lost souls, and told the world of the wilderness into which they had wandered, and so unsealed a quarter of the globe.

2. *In Language*.—They did not go as philologists, but became such by an evangelical necessity. Having found the lost men, they must *teach* them. A *man* and a *book* are essential to missions. The book demands a written language. Out of the jargon of disconnected syllabic sounds the mis-

sionary must organize it. An alphabet must be invented, and he becomes Cadmus. Out of the alphabet an orthography, and so a grammar, and a lexicon. This was done to give the lost people THE BOOK, but out of this work, done for Christ's sake, literature gathers weird traditions, ancient legends, quaint stories, wonderful mythologies, and rare fragments of rude poetry. It gathers, vaunts its wares, and too often makes no note of its obligations.

3. *Ethnic Knowledge*.—Their great study has been manhood. They have observed it in all phases. They were compelled to do so. They went to save the people; they must measure the difficulties; what customs helped or hindered? what faiths were held sacred? what errors must be exploded? what superstitions dislodged? what tribal or congenial influences were barriers to success? For their own safety and success they could not afford to be deceived. Error written and sent home would somehow return to plague them. They must observe accurately, and record correctly. So, carefully noting, they have written, and so have added hundreds of volumes to literature—volumes on the character, customs, social usages, religious perils and possibilities of the races. They have invoked the pencil to aid the pen. They have, within the past fifty years, placed in Christian cabinets richer and more varied illustrations of national and race peculiarities than were previously in all the museums of the world.

4. *Human Unity*.—If demonstration had been wanting to the oneness of humanity, they have given it. They have studied it under all skies, beside all waters, in all latitudes. They have noted the influence of climate and surroundings, and have critically observed the modifications of zone, ancestry, color, habits.

We take the synthesis of their observations, and so our creed includes the brotherhood of man. We affirm anew the Pauline dogma, that "God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell on the face of the earth." That all are related at once to the first and the Second Adam.

Missions prove manhood everywhere under the same essential conditions. Nowhere "evolved," nowhere "developed," everywhere *born*. It is subject to the same laws of growth, maturity, and decay. It is corrupted by the same agencies, cursed by the same vices, smitten by the same griefs, broken by the same or by similar sorrows, and tending to the same inevitable end.

Missions have found, under all superimposed errors and traditions, the primitive formation of revealed Truth cropping out with variable distinctness: matter created by conscious and intelligent power; out of primal elements the world emerging; a commenced humanity; the lapse from good

and the temporary triumph of evil; a coming or accomplished redemption, and at the last some mode of retribution.

And, under all phases, they find this many-tongued manhood answering to the great facts of Christianity. At the first, the creation groaning and travailing together in pain—sad unity of sin and sorrow. Then that creation—through malign conquest made subject unto vanity, yet through grace capable of accepting the Saviour, and, through him, salvation. They trace the weary furlongs of sin and curse, but they prove that, by one way of faith, men of all nations and latitudes come to one redemption through incarnation and atonement, and, rejoicing in one experience, gather around the Elder Brother, one holy, undivided, indivisible Catholic Church, the eucumenical new creation!

Protestant missions are the world's fraternizers. They are based on the ideas of the brotherhood of blood; the brotherhood of the fall; the brotherhood of atonement, and the priesthood of believers. They hold that a man—any man—is more precious than fine gold; yea, a man—any man—than the golden wedge of Ophir.

COMMERCE.

Its obligations to Christian missions are simply past computation.

Missions demand the Transportation of a Multitude of Laborers to remote Countries, often across, sometimes around the World.—In Protestant missions it is held that Christian families are the good seed of the kingdom, and that some of them must be taken abroad for the redemption of the world. These—and they have been a great number—has commerce carried to, and sometimes from, far-off ports, and with them some of the needed comforts of civilization. Has all this been nothing? Has it not crowded many a keel and thronged many a deck? Has it meant nothing to dealers in exchange and credits? Extinguish missions and you jar the circumference of trade.

The Gospel creates new Wants.—Preached among barbarians, they hear its voice, and are ashamed. It is the Evangel at once of salvation and decency. Conversion is followed by a demand for clothing—clean at that. Clothing means wool, and flax, and cotton; means spindles and looms, and needles and shears; means leather and lasts, and they mean the iron and steel of England and Pennsylvania, of Russia and Ohio, the anthracite, the block, and bituminous coals of the Alleghanies and the prairies; mean the carrying barks of Christian nations. The smallest mission station among the Himalayas, beside the Zambesi, or in "Far Cathay," means a new belt slipped on the great drum of Christian civilization.

Conversion calls for a Home.—The Church

of the congregation must grow out of the churches of the household. A HOME: it means a house, doors, windows, floor, and ceiling. It means washing and cooking—means a nursery and family altar. Compute the material agencies entering into its production. What saw-mills rasp their coarse music? What nails drop in fiery haste; what burdens of sand carted into glass-works; what kilns set ablaze; what quarries opened? The humblest home in Europe or America levies contributions on cosmopolitan invention and industry, and is as marvelous an exposition of universal industry as that one at Vienna under the patronage of the imperial Francis Joseph.

Missions demand Schools.—Their founders may only intend to cry, "Behold the Lamb of God," but the logic of events reminds them that pastors and teachers are joined together by God, and can not be put asunder. Commerce must carry the machinery, the appliances of instruction, and each mission-planted school abroad means a freighted argosy from home.

"Missions cause Discontent."—Certainly they do; they are meant to. Their teaching excites revolt against ignorance and squalor as well as against sin; stirs men in the dark to cry out for light; stirs discontent until soul, body, and spirit are wholly sanctified. It means to sound the tocsin of revolution until the day of universal disenthralment.

And, if we read aright, our FATHER means that each man shall somehow aid in the uplifting of every other man, and that travel, trade, industry, and commerce shall be factors in the equation of our infinite content.

Missions are *avant-couriers* of commerce. They have brought Hindoostan to us to-day; and our mission bills of exchange are largely the medium of its foreign remittances. They have opened the hidden treasures of China and Japan.

They are the inspiration of travel. They are the hostelries of tourists, the signal stations of observers, the sanitariums of sick and outworn sojourners, and within their compounds are the cemeteries within which, with solemn rites and reverential words, the sacred dust of such as fall by the wayside is tenderly laid to rest.

Are missions promotive of travel? Why, the missions of one American denomination are, this very year, the travel-posts by which a bishop and seven traveling companions make the circuit of the world. From this city they journeyed westward, halting for a brief space among the Mongolians, whom mission industry is training on the Pacific coast; thence to Japan, lingering for rest and labor with the missions in Yokohama and Jeddo; westward thence to China, visiting Foo Chow, Kukiang, and Peking, and giving cheer to the brethren; westward still

to India, thence to Turkey, thence homeward, still facing the setting sun, journeying by the signal-fires of mission stations and to the minstrelsy of mission songs.

They give tourists a sense of security. They have already manifolded travel in China, and are causing Japan to be considered a pleasant neighborhood for the summer vacation of such American clergymen as have no leisure for an extended trip. They have made islands, once repugnant and perilous from their cannibalism, to be delightful halting places. They have ended national isolation, and made solitude impossible. They have multiplied arguments for peace. The great Protestant powers can nowhere go to war without putting in peril their own citizens. They have given emphasis to human unity, and helped the race onward toward the glad jubilee of universal brotherhood.

Then let literature return its graceful acknowledgments for their multifold *matériel* and grand inspirations.

Let science—the true science, not the arrogant or frivolous; the science which is honest enough to be candid; the science which sincerely waits on facts—let this genuine science confess how much it owes them for opened fields, for antecedent explorations, for recovered observations, for important confirmations, for stores unlocked, cabinets filled, for countless facts, classified and unclassified.

Let commerce gracefully dip her flaunting colors before her adventurous path-finders, her faithful station-keepers, her brave coast-guards and generous purveyors.

And let these three, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, and COMMERCE, reverently worship Him who said, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations."

LAY PREACHING.

BY THE HON. GEORGE H. STUART, OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

Member of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners.

THE subject which has been assigned to me this afternoon, namely, "Lay Preaching," is, in my humble opinion, second in practical importance to no other subject which has been before this distinguished body, and my only regret is that the condition of my own health and other circumstances prevent me from presenting that subject, or opening up its discussion in a way which its importance demands.

In the *first* place, I would ask this Conference to glance at the *field*. "The field is the world." It has in it 1,300,000,000 of immortal souls, destined to meet us at the judgment bar of God. Of these 1,300,000,000, some 800,000,000 are bowing down to stocks and to stones, the workmanship of their own hands. Besides these 800,000,000 heathen, there are 160,000,000 Mohammedans, 240,000,000 adherents to other false systems of religion, leaving only 100,000,000 of nominal Protestants. It is not for us to say how many of these 100,000,000 are true disciples of our risen and exalted Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We know from well-authenticated statistics that with every stroke of the pendulum one immortal soul passes from time into eternity; with every revolution of the sun 86,400 immortal souls go to appear before the judgment bar of Christ. I would have you pause just here, and consider the value of a single soul, for whom Christ died upon the cross on Calvary. It was but a few weeks ago that I was visiting the Tower in London. We were shown through its various rooms, and called to examine all those historic mementoes of by-gone ages that are there preserved, and as we were passing out the guide asked us if we would not like to visit the jewel-room. We told him yes, and were conducted thither. There we saw the crown with which Queen Victoria—God bless her! was crowned. We saw all the royal plate, and, with Yankee inquisitiveness, we asked the person in attendance its value. He said that the present value of those jewels and that plate was £4,000,000 sterling, \$20,000,000 gold. The next day, in company with two beloved ministers, I visited the Field Lane Ragged Sabbath-school, where were gathered 1000 children from the worst dens of vice in London; and as I stood by the desk of the superintendent, there sat before me a little girl—she may have been thirteen

years of age—barefooted, bare-headed, with uncombed hair and unwashed face, and I looked down in her bright eyes and thought of the jewels in Queen Victoria's crown, and said to myself, "That little girl is the possessor of that which is of more value than all the crown jewels in the world;" because she possessed an immortal soul, that will live either in bliss or in misery throughout the unceasing ages of eternity.

Looking out over this vast field of human souls, in which Christ's Church is called to labor, I would ask you to pause and consider one of the most highly favored portions of the field, as an evidence of the need of *Lay Preaching* to aid in accomplishing the great work of the world's evangelization. The field to which I refer is the United States of America, in which, according to the last census taken in 1870, the population is 38,555,753; and the number of evangelical churches 54,773, with sittings for 19,066,000. From a careful estimate which I have made, the average attendance on the Sabbath will not exceed thirteen and a half millions, and after making allowance of five and a half millions, for children under five years of age, for the sick, and those that are called upon to wait on them, there remain some nineteen millions, in this land of Bibles, churches, and Sabbaths, unreached and unbled by the saving influence of the Gospel of Christ.

If further evidence is wanted to confirm this appalling statement, that so many of our sons and daughters absent themselves from the stated means of grace, I point you, then, to the carefully prepared statistics of a city having a population of about 250,000, and with sittings in evangelical churches for only 23,339 of its inhabitants. On a Sabbath morning in October, these same churches by actual count contained 12,052 worshipers, and on the afternoon of the same day this number was reduced to 8,376.

Such, my brethren, is the field and its destitution. How, then, can the regular ordained ministry ever possibly occupy it to the full? Should they not, then, encourage and seek to develop all the lay talent at the church's disposal?

Having spoken of the field, let us, in the *second* place, glance briefly at the *seed* to be sown in this field. "The seed is the Word of God," "the incorruptible seed of the king-

dom," which God has given; this seed is free, abundant, living, freely received by us, and should be freely given, until the whole earth be full of the glory of God. The Divine promise is that that seed shall multiply, sometimes thirty, sometimes sixty, sometimes a hundred fold, spreading on from heart to heart through all the various generations that in faith receive and cherish it. It is the very nature of that seed thus to spread in whatever soil it be sown, whether in the hearts of Christ's faithful ministers or in those of his believing people.

Let us, then, consider, in the *third* place, *Who shall sow this seed?* We believe and hold fast to the doctrine of a holy ministry, called by the Holy Ghost, and set apart to this sacred office. We believe also that all who have been born of the Spirit should help in some way to sow the seed of the kingdom. Bad men, in thousands of ways, sow bad seed, scattering firebrands, arrows, and death with free hand. Good men should sow good seed wherever they go, seed that shall produce grand results here, and results yet more glorious in the world to come.

No congregation of Christ's disciples should rest satisfied until they have developed and brought into the Master's service all the *lay talent* which they possess: and especially should they seek to find a band of earnest, intelligent, soul-loving men to act as *lay preachers*, not to dispense the ordinances, but to "go out into the highways and hedges, and to compel the people to come in," by telling in plain and loving words "the old, old story of Jesus and his love." Some there may be whose gifts may qualify them to devote their whole time to the service of the Master as *lay evangelists*, like Brownlow North, Varley, and others in England; Moody, Burnell, and others in America. You have only to read the lives of such lay preachers as Bunyan, the Haldanes, Matheson, Annan, and men of like spirit, to learn what the spirit of God has accomplished through such workers.

Let us now, in the *fourth* place, speak of some of those *places* where the seed of the kingdom may be sown by laymen.

All can and should speak of Christ in their own families and in the daily avocations of life. How many that stand idle in the market-place might find an open door of usefulness in the Sabbath-school, either in teaching or, at least, in gathering in the neglected, untaught children of our crowded cities and towns, or in distributing tracts to those who never enter the house of God! The social prayer-meeting will also afford ample opportunity of employment for lay talent. I would speak, however, more particularly of the great field of labor for *laymen* which is to be found in the open-air preaching, whether in the public street, the crowded thoroughfare, the vacant lot, the

public park, the road-side, or the way-side field in the quiet country. These places, no less than the consecrated sanctuary, have been all more or less witnesses of the faithful presentation of the message of Gospel truth, and often the birthplace of many precious souls. I have myself been privileged to speak a word for the Master on the streets of my own and other cities, and have seen the tear of penitence as it has flowed down the faces of the hardy sons of toil as they listened to the words of Jesus.

During the past summer, while traveling in Europe, I have had the same blessed opportunity of speaking for Christ in the crowded thoroughfares of Belfast, Edinburgh, and London, where large congregations were quickly gathered, while a few verses of a familiar hymn were sung. These congregations, which I have seen convened on the public thoroughfares of both the Old and the New World, were largely made up of those whose general appearance indicated that they seldom or never darkened the doors of the regular places of public worship.

If ever these masses are to be brought under the influence of the Gospel, every layman must unite with the ministry, and "go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind." He who laid that injunction upon all his servants was an open-air preacher: as were all the prophets whom He had sent to the house of Israel. It was by the way-side, on the sea-shore, from the mountain, and among the corn-fields that He spake as never man spake, and the common people heard Him gladly.

Let us, in the *fifth* and last place, view the extent of the obligation; and here, what more is required than, "Let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst, Come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely."

Every one who loves Jesus should be an earnest worker in the kingdom. Were every Christian privileged to bring only one sinner to Christ each year, then in three years all in this land would be brought into the Ark of Safety, and in six years the world would be evangelized. The sainted missionary, Knill, once said that, if there remained but one soul on the globe unconverted, and if that soul lived in the wilds of Siberia, and if, in order to its conversion, it were necessary for every Christian to make a pilgrimage there, it were labor well spent.

A poor Hindoo was dying on the plains of India, and sent for a Brahmin, who told him, in answer to his dying inquiry, that when he died he would pass into another body. "And where next?" anxiously inquired the dying man. "Into still another body," exclaimed the Brahmin. In imagi-

nation the poor dying Hiudoo passed through scores and hundreds of animals, and in the agony of the dying moment exclaimed, "But, oh! sir, can you tell me, where shall I go last of all?" He passed away with the question of all questions on his dying lips still unanswered by his priest. Multitudes within the sound of our sanctuaries are passing daily to the Judgment-seat, with the same question upon their lips, unanswered.

Years ago, when a passenger on board of one of our largest ocean steamers then afloat, the cry came from the deck that startled the captain and passengers, who were seated at their dinner-table; the two startling words, "*Stop her! Stop her!*" were quickly repeated, and in a moment our gallant captain was on the quarter-deck to ascertain the cause of the alarming order of the first officers; the wind was blowing a hurricane at the time, and the sudden announcement, not "slow-er," or "half speed," but "*stop her!*" quickly repeated caused no little consternation. As the captain stepped upon the deck, the officer who had given the order pointed over

the larboard quarter to six men overboard, and, without waiting to inquire how they got there, or to what country they belonged, he instantly gave the order, "*Lower away the life-boat! lower away the life-boat!*" which was quickly done; and while it was being done, he called for volunteers to man the boat. Over thirty men promptly obeyed the summons, each one anxious to be among the chosen ten who should be privileged to aid in saving those who were struggling with the surging waves of the ocean; they went on their perilous voyage, and succeeded in saving four, two having found a watery grave.

Brethren of the Convention, multitudes in all lands are "*overboard,*" exposed to the dangers of a more tempestuous sea; and while their cry comes up to us for help, let the response of the Church be, "*Lower away the life-boat*" of saving knowledge, until every soul shall be brought into the ark of safety, and the shout go up from every land that "*the kingdoms of this world had become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.*"

LAY PREACHING.

By COUNT ANDREAS BERNSTORFF, OF BERLIN, PRUSSIA.

ALL Christians at the present time agree that there is a vast field of labor before us, one for which the existing laborers have long ago been found insufficient. The command of the Master, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth laborers into his harvest," not only obliges us to pray for faithful ministers, for missionaries, who carry the glad tidings of the Gospel to the remotest countries; it also urges us to consider how the masses of nominally Christian countries can be permeated with a Christian spirit. In some places an increase of ministers would be useful; but, aside from the fact that it is difficult at present to find sufficient men for the existing number of parishes, experience in Roman Catholic countries shows us that too great an increase of the clergy does not of itself promote spiritual life. The desire is more and more felt to have other helpers besides those in the clerical office—men in all classes of society and of all professions, who in their respective circles may strive to win souls for Christ. We are convinced that it would be a great blessing for the Church if many of her members, while remaining in their secular callings, were to take an active share in her works. It is, therefore, just that we should carefully examine into our authority for such working.

Let us first consult the Scriptures. The Bible gives us no distinct precepts for the constitution and organization of the Church. It only teaches us the great facts on which our faith rests, and the doctrines derived from them. When the foundation of the Church had to be laid, the Lord sent out his twelve apostles, men endowed with particular gifts and an especial calling, so that they might as chosen vessels preach to Jews and Gentiles the great facts of Redemption. But when the apostles abandoned the office of serving tables so as to give themselves continually to the ministry of the Word, seven men were appointed to attend to the daily ministrations; and these men also began to preach Christ, and with how great success! The same thing happened with Apollos, who spake and taught diligently, and mightily convinced the Jews; and with Aquila and Priscilla.

The most important example for us is the foundation of the Church at Antioch, the first flourishing Church among the heathen, and the one in which the disciples were first

called Christians. Not apostles, not evangelists, but simple Christians, whom the persecution had scattered abroad, founded this Church. While Peter very reluctantly made up his mind to go to the Gentiles, these men of Cyprus and Cyrene "spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus." When the tidings of these things came to the ears of the apostles, they sent Barnabas, who, "when he had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all with purpose of heart that they would cleave unto the Lord," for, as we read further, he was a good man. He knew, therefore, how to recognize the fruits of the Spirit, even where he had done none of the work himself.

Very instructive for our subject is the otherwise difficult 14th chapter of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. I take for granted that prophesying means preaching the Word of God, while speaking with tongues means speaking in unknown languages—a gift which, like the apostles at Pentecost—the first Christians often received, and to which, as a miraculous gift, they attached great value. We are told in the first verse that we may all desire this gift of prophesying, and in the fifth verse the apostle distinctly says: "I would that ye all spake with tongues, but rather that ye prophesied." The rest of this chapter teaches us that this gift does not necessarily belong to every Christian, but that all may desire it, and that those who obtain it should make use of it. In the old form of Divine Service described to us in that wonderful chapter several persons could speak during the service, and the revelation of God, the impulse from the Spirit to preach the Word of God, was not bound to any office. Only women were not allowed to preach in the Church; and even from this precept it follows that all men without distinction had the permission to do so. St. Paul expects a great blessing from it, because he says that, if an unbeliever came in, he would be "convinced of all."

Let me here quote three very remarkable passages of Scripture, which, though they do not exclusively refer to our subject, yet teach us that every testimony for Christ ought to be welcome to us. There have always been men who, with false zeal, would hinder and suppress the preaching of the Word of God, if it did not take place quite in the way approved by them. What says

to this the lawgiver of the Old Testament? When it was announced that Eldad and Medad had remained in the camp and prophesied, Joshua addressed Moses, asking him, "My lord Moses, forbid them;" but Moses answered, "Enviest thou for my sake? would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them" (Numb. xi., 27-30). And what says the great apostle of the Gentiles? St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Philippians (i., 15-18), writes: "Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife; and some also of good-will: the one preach Christ of contention, not sincerely, supposing to add affliction to my bonds; but the other of love, knowing that I am set for the defense of the Gospel. What then? notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretense, or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice." And what, finally, says our Lord and Master to such proceedings? His apostles told him that they had seen somebody casting out devils in his name, who followed them not, and that they had forbidden him for that reason. But Jesus said: "Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me" (Mark ix., 38, 39).

We now pass to the history of the ancient Church. Unfortunately the accounts of that period are very scarce. Yet we can take for granted that the primitive form of divine service maintained itself till about the middle of the second century. Only at that time a sharper distinction began to be made between the office of a bishop and that of an elder, and between clergy and laity. This and the expansion of the churches by the addition of weak and impure elements gradually lessened the participation of the congregation. But this change only took place very gradually. Tertullian, who ministered toward the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, still very decidedly maintained that all Christians are priests. Yea, even later, some of the most eminent fathers of the Church insisted upon this. Chrysostom, who worked under divine blessing as Bishop of Constantinople since 397, says how blessed a thing it is to bring others to Christ: "I wish and pray," said he, "that ye might all be among the number of teachers, and not only listen to our sermons, but also teach others the things we present unto you, and convince the erring; then God will increase the number of believers, and the more you care for your brethren the richer grace you will receive yourselves." At another place he says, "Let one take his Bible, and call his friends and neighbors."

Clearer and more distinctly these principles came forward in the Reformation. Unfortunately our Evangelical Church has also

had times of dead orthodoxy, when the members of the congregation gladly left to him "who had the office for it" what they had no desire to do themselves. Still the principle of the priesthood of all believers was maintained in the Swiss as well as in the German Reformation. As the Reformed (Calvinist) churches generally leave more room for lay influence, I shall only quote here some very interesting passages from Luther's writings. "Faith must do every thing. Faith alone is the true priestly office. Therefore all Christians are parsons. There is no difference, except the faith be unequal." "This threefold office God has given to us all. All Christians have the power to preach, to pray for each other, to sacrifice themselves unto the Lord." "The first and highest duty of the Christian is to teach the Word of God. That this is common to all is taught by the verse: 'Ye are a royal priesthood, that ye should show forth the praises of him, who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light.' Peter not only gives them the right, but even the commandment, that they shall show forth the praises of God, which, indeed, is nothing else than to preach the Gospel. Paul also confirms it when he speaks to the whole congregation, and to every member individually: 'Every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation;' and then: 'for ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn and all may be comforted.' What does he mean when he says *every one*? What means the word *all*? With these verses it was most strongly and clearly asserted that the highest ministry of the Word of God is common to all who are Christians, and not only as a right, but as a commandment." "We have Apollos, of whom we read that he went to Ephesus without any other calling, and preached there only out of burning love, and mightily convinced the Jews. So every Christian is bound to do when he sees that there is want of the Word of God, and when he is able to do so. We have another example in Stephen and Philip, who were only called to the office of serving tables." "If it be so, that every Christian has the Word of God, he is also bound to confess, teach, and propagate it; as the prophet says, Psalm cxvi., 10, 'I believed, therefore have I spoken;' and in Psalm li., he says of all believers: 'I will teach transgressors thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto thee.' When a Christian is at a place where there are no other Christians, he wants no other calling but that he is a Christian, called and anointed by God, and he is bound to preach to the erring heathen and unbelievers. In such a case, a Christian in brotherly love contemplates the sad state of a lost soul, and does not wait till he has received orders or letters from princes or bishops."

"St. Paul makes the ministry common to all Christians when he says, 'teaching and admonishing one another.' The question is asked whether a layman may also preach, since St. Stephen was appointed for the daily ministrations and not for preaching; although, when he came to the market, he immediately created a sensation by signs and miracles. But St. Stephen stands firm, and by his example gives power to every one to preach, wherever he may be, in the house or in the market, and does not suffer God's Word to be limited to shaven heads and long coats." We see from these quotations that Luther is very explicit on the subject.

I might add a number of similar expressions from divines in the time of the Reformation and later; but that would lead us too far. Let it suffice to mention that men like Martin Chemnitz, John Arnd, John Gerhard, and with them a great number of witnesses, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century stood up for these views. Toward the end of the seventeenth century it was particularly Spener, who brought to light again the doctrine of the priesthood of believers after it had been forgotten for some time.

An active participation of the laity in the work of the Church has always been on the one side the cause, on the other the consequence, of new religious life. As soon as Christianity began to be a real power in some men, they felt the desire to bring to others the precious truths they had received themselves. On the other side, when a great number of Christians attended to the spiritual welfare of their brethren, the number of Christians quickly increased. Spener tried to awake this desire through his sermons, and the small meetings for edification ("conventikel") inaugurated by him very much contributed to bring new life into the Church.

The same thing happened everywhere. Who in England does not think of John Wesley, Whitefield, Rowland Hill, and others, who wanted to bring life into the cold forms of the Church? Only when the Church of England proved too narrow to suffer such workmen in her pale, they were driven into dissent. Their intention was only to assist the work of the Church by testimonies of burning love from living members of the congregations. And what then took place in England still takes place now. Lay evangelists without number pass through the country, men of high rank preach to men of their own class, and flourishing churches and rich development of religious life are the results.

And in the United States? Is it not the same here? Does not a Christian here begin to work as Sunday-school teacher, advancing afterward to the charge of a class of adults, and then to all manner of Christian work? We can not leave unmentioned in

this connection the work done by the Young Men's Christian Associations.

We have similar testimony from some countries of Continental Europe. When the old republic of Geneva had still the forms of Calvin's legislation, but possessed no longer his spirit, it was through the agency of a few men, some of them laymen, that life was again restored. When the revival spread, numerous evangelists were sent out. The Free Church of Geneva even tried to return to the apostolic form of divine service by arranging after the sermon a second part of the service in which the congregation could take part. Rich blessing attended these services. And in Württemberg? It is that part of Germany which has given birth to the greatest number of missionaries. Why is Christian life most flourishing there, although just there the cold blast of rationalism has blown so strongly that, at the beginning of this century, it was the intention to expel the "Pietists" entirely out of the country, had not a refuge been offered to them at Kornthal? Through small gatherings, chiefly conducted by laymen, Christianity has deeply rooted itself into the people. The conductors of these meetings, often peasants, are sometimes very venerable characters. Until this day there is a service in the Church of Kornthal every Sunday evening, where the members of the congregation take an active part.

We can affirm with confidence that, by the blessing God has laid upon lay agency in this century, he has impressed upon it the seal of his sanction. Therefore we have also the right to assert that the general recognition of this principle would contribute much to increase Christian life. We can easily see why it is so.

In the first instance, the clergyman must often hear the reply: "You are obliged to speak so!" Of course, this objection does not destroy the power of the Word of God, yet many a person is more easily accessible when addressed by a layman. The voluntary testimony of laymen is in itself a practical proof of the change wrought in them, a proof that Christianity is a real power in them. So their very word bears the power of an example. Then, as the promise that God's Word shall not return void refers to the Word of God that is preached, and not to him who preaches it, the mere numerical increase of sincere preachers must be beneficial to the propagation of the truth. Besides, the Church also gains inward power by it. The blessing of the work, to a great extent, returns to him who does it, and so the spiritual life in the Church is increased. A Christian who sets himself to preach the great truths of redemption must enter more deeply into the Holy Scriptures, being obliged to study them carefully. It also obliges him to pray. His work increases the number of

petition he has to bring before the throne of God, and he will be convinced by his work that he can not get on without the daily help of God. He is finally obliged to watch closer over his own life, because a contradiction between his preaching and his life would injure the efficiency of the former.

The dangers of lay preaching are generally very much exaggerated. It is possible that this privilege may also be claimed for preaching infidelity. But does not the same thing happen in our pulpits? And yet, because some clergymen preach errors and unbelief, we do not abolish the clergy. Practically, only those who really love the Lord will offer themselves for a work which, like this, involves sacrifice. Neither infidelity nor a dead faith creates such a desire. Perhaps there is greater danger that the teaching will be unsound; but this danger can surely be diminished very much, if the pastors and the appointed office-bearers of the Church give their attention to the matter.

It will hardly be necessary to say that we do not want to interfere with the work of the minister. Whether religious services, with participation of the congregation, may be arranged here and there, as in the time of the apostles, must be decided in each individual case. At all events, the pastor remains the spiritual leader. His special work is not abolished or lessened by the priesthood of all believers. But there is, besides, an immense work to do, which the clergy can not do alone.

Sunday-schools are, perhaps, the best place to accustom and train young people to labor with the Word of God. Then we have the numerous works of home mission. The preaching, properly speaking, of laymen ought especially to have two objects in view. 1. The evangelization of unbelievers. A Christian who, perhaps, does not yet feel himself able to exhort and strengthen by his word a congregation of living Christians, and to lead them deeper into the knowledge of the ways of God, can at least bear testimony to the unconverted of the faith that is in him. The Church must go out to seek those who do not come to her. For those who hesitate to enter into a church occasion must be given to hear the Word of God at other places of all descriptions. This is particularly a work for laymen. 2. Meetings of believers, besides the public services. These are of particular blessing. They strengthen believers, and bring them into closer communion with each other. Such meetings for prayer and exhortation are best put into the hands of laymen.

For a salutary development of this work, it is of the utmost value to have the greatest possible harmony between the pastor of the congregation and its active members. The more this is the case, the smaller the dangers will be. The minister himself has

a great work to do in this matter. Better than any body else he can encourage it and give practical assistance. He ought to speak of the blessing of such work in his sermons. He ought to invite the catechumens to take part in Sunday-school work, he ought to give his special attention to the Sunday-school teachers, and form lay preachers out of them. The more he does this, the more he will be able to lead the movement. The more he favors it, the less difficulties the lay preachers will put in his way. It is a noteworthy fact that, whenever a minister gladly concedes also to others the right of preaching the Word of God, the workers are always delighted to be led by him; while a minister, who in priestly arrogance wishes to keep the people of his parish from such work, involuntarily rouses opposition against himself. A judicious minister will not lay unnecessary fetters on the lay evangelists, and not try to limit their freedom of movement. Even if one thing or the other does not quite agree with his own views, he will nevertheless rejoice at the blessing that accompanies the work.

On the other side, the lay preachers should consider it their duty to work, as far as possible, in accordance with the pastor of the church; they should especially work with perfect openness and loyalty, and listen as far as possible to the advice of the minister. If in this way, self-abnegation is practiced on both sides, the Lord's kingdom will be built up; and that is the desire of us all!

I condense what I have said into the following

THESES:

1. The preaching of the Word of God by laymen, who have the necessary ability, is in accordance with the doctrines of Holy Scripture.
2. It accords with the practice of the first Christian churches.
3. It is a consequence of the principle of the Reformation concerning the priesthood of believers.
4. It has received its divine sanction by the blessing which the Lord has laid upon it in the present century.
5. Its general introduction would strongly contribute to the increase of religious life.
6. It must not interfere with the public ministry, but seek its object chiefly in small gatherings of believers and in the evangelization of the unbelieving masses.
7. It is desirable that the ministers should favor and encourage it, and not uselessly fetter the evangelists in their work. On the other hand, lay preachers should work in harmony with the pastor and gladly listen to his advice.*

* [In the absence of Count Bernstorff, who could not leave the Foreign Office in Berlin, an abridgment of his essay was read before the Conference by the editor.]

SECOND SECTION—PARTICULAR MISSIONARY FIELDS.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE HINDOOS.

BY THE REV. NARĀYAN SHESHĀDRI, OF BOMBAY, INDIA.

[The Rev. N. Sheshādri, a converted Brahmin, is the first native ordained minister from India that has ever visited our country. He was so much in demand during his brief sojourn in the United States, that he had no time to elaborate an essay, but could only furnish us with corrected newspaper reports of several addresses delivered by him. From these, and especially from the report of his speech on "Christianity in India," delivered before the Conference on the 10th of October, the following paper has been prepared.]

The presence of this brother at the Conference, clothed in his native dress, and telling with unaffected simplicity, but in the purest English, and with great intelligence and eloquence, the good old story of our own spiritual experience in repentance, faith, love, and hope, was one of the most interesting facts connected with this remarkable assembly. He stood before us a living proof of the adaptation of Christianity to all races and conditions of men, and a practical refutation of the objections to foreign missions. His influence in promoting missionary zeal will long be felt. In him, too, we witnessed the beneficial effects of the higher education given in India by the Scotch Missionaries, and also to some extent by our own. America is placed under great obligation to Dr. Duff, for kindly consenting to allow Mr. Sheshādri to leave an important engagement in Scotland, in order to come to this side of the Atlantic; to Dr. Hugh Miller, who so kindly and at considerable sacrifice accompanied him, and to our own Mr. George H. Stuart, through whose indomitable enterprise the whole matter was successfully arranged. We congratulate our Scotch brethren on the possession of such a Missionary, and trust he may long be spared to labor among his countrymen. He has now been a Christian for thirty years, and for over twenty years a preacher of that faith which in the days of his youth he had been taught as a Brahmin to despise. The perusal of his views on missions, as now presented, will show what may be expected from men of his class and country.—*Ed.*]

If Mann, the old Lawgiver of the Hindoos, could be supposed as rising from his ashes and listening to the expression "Christianity among the Hindoos," he would be horrified, for the idea of his law was that from North to South and from East to West there should be nothing but Hindooism, Hindooism, Hindooism, to the absolute exclusion of every other system. But here we have a new theology, a new code of morals, and a new civilization of which Mann never heard.

The mention of Hindooism leads me to speak of the Brahmins, for they are the very soul of Hindooism. They form the highest class in Hindoo society. They are the only authorized interpreters of the Shasters and other holy books. Each Brahmin is a much more infallible dignitary than the Pope of Rome. In his right hand he holds fire, with which he can burn up the entire universe. In his right ear is the river Ganges, one drop of whose waters is sufficient to wash away the sins of ten generations of transgressors. In his big toe he carries the entire ocean. He is the Lord of the lower world, and as such might appropriate to his own use whatever he pleases. His law is infallible; his interpretation of the sacred books must be implicitly believed; and he has taken special care to conserve his system by prohibiting its votaries from ever crossing the seas, the river Indus, or visiting foreign lands.

I must now give a brief view of the sys-

tem taught in the sacred books composed by these Brahmins.

THE SACRED BOOKS.

These are known as the *Veds* [or *Vedas*], the *Shasters*, and the *Purans*. Of the first there are four, of the second six, and of the third eighteen books. The *Veds* are the most ancient. They were written about 1400 years before the Christian era. The religion inculcated in these earlier books differs entirely from that taught in the later works. The deities mentioned in them are different. Indra, Agni, and Surya, with numerous goddesses, are everywhere invoked. These are merely personifications of the elements, fire, the sun, the air, etc. The Hindoo Triad—Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesh, or Shiv—is a revelation of the later Shasters, and the names of Durga, Kālī, Ram, Krishna, Gauesh, and other popular deities of the present day were then entirely unknown.

The worship prevalent at the time the *Veds* were composed seems to have been that of the sun, moon, stars, fire, air, water, etc. These all had their representative deities, to whom offerings were made, whose praises were sung, and whose anger was deprecated. The blessings prayed for were, for the most part, of a temporal character—wealth, food, life, posterity, cattle, horses, domestic felicity, protection against enemies, victory over them, particularly where these are of a religion differing from their own, pro-

tection against evil spirits, and the attainment of happiness of a purely sensual character—while very little reference was made to moral and spiritual benefits. The offerings prescribed were chiefly libations and oblations—clarified butter poured on fire, and the fermented juice of the Soma plant thrown into the fire, sprinkled on the floors of their dwellings, or on the ground outside, and largely drunk by the officiating priests! Worship was confined chiefly to the houses of the worshippers. There is little reference to a future state, and even the immortality of the gods themselves is but faintly indicated.

VEDANTISM.

The form of religion which succeeded this was of a more philosophical and speculative character, and seems to have been an outgrowth of that contained in the *Veds*. Its underlying sentiment was, "God is every thing, and every thing is God." It embodied the substantial principles of modern Pantheism. The legitimate consequence of such doctrine was the complete destruction of all free-will, and the denial of even personal identity. Moral responsibility under such a system was impossible, and the multiplication of the objects of worship paved the way for the introduction of the great idolatrous system which was subsequently fully developed in the *Shasters* and *Purans*.

The original centre of Modern Hindooism was *Bramh*. This may be defined to have been the primary and pervading principle of all being, which from all eternity remained in a state of absolute unconsciousness, or complete deprivation of all attributes. It had existence without any of the attributes of such a condition. To the Hindoo mind there is no difficulty in this conception.

The *Nirgun* of the Hindoo mythology was something in which reposed the elements of all being, all life, all power, all extension, all truth, all holiness, all that we can possibly conceive of God, and yet devoid of any manifestations of these qualities. It was neither masculine nor feminine, but a purely neutral thing.

THE NIRGUN BECOMES SARGUN.

In process of time this inanimate neutrality manifests signs of life and activity. From its state of profound repose it suddenly begins to put forth developments of character that show it to be possessed of every conceivable attribute necessary to the Supreme Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things. The term "*Sar-gun*" means possessed of "all attributes," or, in other words, this Being now appears as the universal centre of all forces, physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual. It has become endowed with the power of creating, preserving, and destroying, and in each of these capacities it soon proceeds to manifest itself in a tangible form. This sud-

den transition presents no difficulty to the mind of the orthodox Hindoo. To his mind this huge colossus presents an image having the sun and moon for its eyes, the trees and rocks for its nails, and the remaining portions of the universe for its body. This mighty power, once set free from the lethargy that from eternity had bound its energies, soon expands into the full-blown pantheon of the Brahminical imagination, and peoples the universe with gods and demi-gods, fiends and demons, to the number of 330,000,000. Many of these are the sons and grandsons of the three principal divinities, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv. These deities are divided into classes; they are of all colors, shapes, and figures, sometimes human, sometimes semi-human, many-headed, many-eyed, many-handed, many-footed monsters. They ride on elephants, buffaloes, lions, tigers, deer, sheep, goats, peacocks, vultures, geese, swans, serpents, and rats! They are engaged in all sorts of pursuits, perform actions of all shades of morality, and are mixed up with all affairs whether in heaven, earth, or hell. They delight in good and evil alike; they enjoy both war and peace; they love to preserve life, while they delight in the blood of their enemies or of victims sacrificed in their honor; they lie, they steal, they commit adultery; they are covetous, blasphemous, and quarrelsome, while they represent every thing that is conceivable as good!

The people who worship them have become like them. Having such examples before them in the character of their gods, what can we expect the people themselves to be?

LITERATURE OF THE SACRED BOOKS.

These sacred books not only treat of the character of their gods, but also professedly contain vast stores of Hindoo literature. They treat of chronology, astronomy, geography, and science, and various other branches of knowledge. Their chronology reaches back 4,000,000 of years; their astronomy divides the universe into fourteen great worlds or systems of worlds, seven below our own, and seven, including ours, above. Our own earth is declared to be flat. It consists of seven circular islands, each surrounded by a separate ocean. The central portion is called Jambu-Dwip, outside of which is the great salt water sea; outside of that comes the second portion of land, and around this flows an ocean of sugar-cane juice; then the third, around which we have the sea of spirituous liquors; then the fourth, and its sea of clarified butter; the fifth, with its sea of curds; next, the sixth, and its ocean of milk; and, lastly, the seventh, with its sea of fresh water. Beyond this last ocean we have a country of pure gold and of prodigious magnitude, whose virgin soil has

never yet been trodden by the foot of man. The diameter of this world is 500,000,000 of joans in extent (the joan being eight miles). In the very centre of Jambu-Dwip rises Mount Sumeru, to the height of 600,000 miles, in the form of an inverted pyramid. At its base it is 128,000 miles in circumference, at its top it is 356,000 miles, and around its base rise little hills, the trees on which reach the modest altitude of 8800 miles in height. Time will not allow me to speak of the other worlds, the distances of which from ours and from each other are all distinctly specified. These are all destined to be the abodes of spirits, terrestrial and celestial. In the highest of these is the chief residence of Brahma, the glory of which we are told could not be described by the most eloquent tongue or scribe in 200 years! Of the same extravagant character is most of the teaching of the Sasters, and when we come to examine the Puraus in the light of Christian morality they are found to be simply revolting.

MY CONVERSION.

There was a time when I believed in these things. I was born and brought up as a Brahmin, and as a Brahmin I was taught to believe that I myself was a god upon earth—that God became incarnate in me when I was born—and with this belief I grew up. I thought it my right to claim divine honors, and these were freely accorded to me. It was a life of the highest pretensions and the meanest realities.

It may interest you to know how I came to abandon this system, and to embrace the religion of the Christian. At first I despised the Bible. I did not wish to know any thing about it, for I had an idea that its teachings were subversive of my belief and position as a Brahmin. But the Lord, who is most wonderful in his ways of working, used this very system of religion in which I was brought up to empty me of myself, free me from the trammels of idolatry, and bring me to himself. One day, standing on the beach at Bombay, and looking out upon the mighty waves of the ocean, lashed into fury by the storms of the monsoon, I began to think of a legend that is recorded in the Hindoo Scriptures, regarding a man who is esteemed by them a mighty sage, and who, on account of his good deeds, the austerities he had undergone, and his remarkable holiness, has obtained a seat in a constellation in one of those heavens I have referred to. This wonderful man, known as Agastya Rishi, is said to have drunk up the entire ocean—the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Indian, and the Northern and Southern Oceans—all with only three sips. Credulous as I was at that time, this was too much for my credulity, and I began to doubt the correctness of the story thus recorded. This

was the starting-point. It set me to thinking about religion. Then a great many other stories passed in review through my mind. One of these was the story related of Hanuman, or the Monkey-god. He is represented as carrying in one hand a monstrous club with which he can destroy all his foes, and in another hand a mountain which he can take up and hurl, as a man would a pebble, into the midst of his enemies. Not only can he carry a mountain on one hand, but it is said that he, on one occasion, carried a mountain on each hair of his body. Then it is said that this same Monkey-god had a very long tail, and he used this tail for the destruction of the island of Ceylon. He wrapped a cloth around the end of his tail, dipped it into oil, set this on fire, and with this torch ignited the entire island, which, we are told, still continues to blaze to the present time. When he found his tail becoming too hot, he plunged into the Indian Ocean, and there extinguished the flame. This punishment was inflicted on Ceylon because its king, Ráwan, had stolen the beautiful Sita, the wife of Ram Chandar, King of Oude, in Northern India, who would never have been able to recover her but for the assistance of this Monkey-god.

I began to think that surely these things could not be revelations from God. Then I was told that there were two kinds of religion, one for the wise and learned, and another for the ignorant and foolish; that as yet I had only learned the latter, and that I must now become acquainted with the former. I was told that in the new faith there was enough to satisfy the wisest and greatest philosophers. We have had, and still have, a great deal of this so-called philosophy in India, more, perhaps, than you have in this Western World, or exists among the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland. I thought perhaps there might be something in that philosophical system which had been recommended to me. I began to study it, and just about this time the scholarship of the West came to my assistance. The sacred books of the Hindoos had begun to be translated into English, and I was enabled to read them in that language, and hear the commentaries upon their contents by those learned men under whom I was pursuing my studies. I found innumerable prayers addressed to the god of the sea, the gods of the firmament, and the god of the winds; but there was nothing very remarkable that struck me in those prayers, nothing to satisfy the longings of an earnest soul, nothing to take away my sense of sin and guilt; for about that time I began to be very much afraid of death, and I longed for something that could give me peace. Bombay was very badly drained in those days, and we had cholera almost every year, and I used to fear that I would be taken away in one of these visitations. I

found that the prayers of the Veds could not satisfy my soul at such a time. Such a prayer, for instance, as the following: "Oh thou who ridest in a car drawn by two milk-white horses, come to our sacrificial feast, and drink of the moon-plant juice, and be drunk, and eat of the viands we have prepared for thee." There were whisky-drinking gods in those days. There was nothing in such prayers that could satisfy me.

Then there was still a third system of faith, which professed to be even more philosophical, viz., Vedantism, which I have already shown to be pure pantheism, a system which annihilates man's identity and destroys all idea of moral responsibility; which teaches that man may commit the greatest sins imaginable, and escape from the consequences under the plea that it is not he that commits them, but God himself. Reflection showed me that such a system was blasphemous. None of the systems set forth among the Hindoos could satisfy me.

In this state of mind my thoughts turned to Christianity, and I remembered the teachings of those eminent men under whom I was then prosecuting my studies. Dr. Wilson, who, by-the-way, was regarded as a great sorcerer by the ignorant Hindoos, on account of the number of people that, through his instrumentality, had embraced the Gospel, had told me to read the Twenty-second Psalm and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, and then turn to the writings of the Evangelists, and compare the former with the latter, stating that, if I did so, he was sure I could not remain a Hindoo. I had ceased to consider Dr. Wilson a sorcerer, as he had never practiced any such arts upon me. I concluded to read the passages he had pointed out. I did so, and, as I considered them, the whole field of prophecy opened up before me. I became convinced that the Bible was no cunningly devised fable, but that the holy men who wrote it did so as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Ever since that time the Bible became my constant companion. I took great delight in attending the classes of our blessed missionaries. There was one missionary* to whom I am under special obligation, as it was he who made me thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of justification by faith in Christ, and sanctification through the Spirit. The doctrine of the Cross presented a sublimity to my mind that nothing else could equal, and I asked, Was it possible that Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, these illiterate fishermen of Galilee, could have of themselves invented these facts and doctrines, which to me seemed far more sublime than any thing ever conceived of by Socrates and Plato? I concluded that these writers must have been led by God himself; and now that thirty years have

elapsed since first this thought took possession of my heart, it is still as fresh as ever. The facts of the Gospel there presented remain the same to-day as they were 1800 years ago, and must remain unchangeably the same to the latest age; and I resolved to embrace the religion that teaches them.

Having made up my mind to become a Christian, I was baptized on the 13th of September, 1843, and then commenced to study for the ministry. I was licensed to preach in 1851, and in 1854 was ordained to the work of an evangelist, or missionary to my own countrymen.

MISSIONARY LABOR.

I labored for a long time in Bombay, and afterward I went into the interior of the country, and for the last ten years have been laboring there.

We have now a net-work of railroads throughout many parts of the country of some 5000 miles in extent, and more in process of construction. We can get on one of our railroads and perform the circuit of the country in a very few days; and as every class of people is very anxious to take advantage of this mode of communication, I thought we missionaries ought not to be behind others, and that we ought to avail ourselves of this means of carrying the Gospel to remote regions. With this idea in view I founded several stations along the North-eastern line of the Great Indian Peninsular railroad, and the South-western line of the same company. I have one station on this line that requires special notice. In 1864 I went there to pay a visit to two native Christians who were baptized by my friend, Dr. Murray Mitchell, and whose work I found to be taking effect on a certain class of people. I stopped there a few weeks, and instructed them in the Word of God, and baptized thirteen or fourteen individuals. In that station, in the year 1864, there were only two Christians, but in 1873 there are upward of 500, young and old. In Jalna we have no fewer than 6 full catechists, 10 assistant catechists, 3 colporteurs, and 6 Bible women. In 1864 we had not a single reader of God's Word, but now we have 125 readers of God's Word in our Christian Church, and it is a delightful and gratifying fact to hear the voice of praise and thanksgiving proceeding from the lips which never before uttered anything consistent with God's praise. Then we have from among the heathen 1400 children and youth under Christian instruction in our schools. These scholars are taught after the most approved systems of your own land. Our schools are carried on on Biblical principles, and the Bible rules all our studies, and the effect is there, as it has been here, most gratifying.

* The Rev. Robert Nesbit.

I may mention here that I recently re-

ceived a grant of land of 800 acres from the government of his highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, on which I am planting a Christian colony. The town is called Beth-el. It is to be constructed on good sanitary principles, with wide streets, trees planted on either side, good drains, and comfortable houses. I have appropriated 300 acres to the town, and hold the rest for the purpose of cultivation. I have already constructed a large well, and hope, when I return, to carry on this enterprise with vigor to a successful result. I deem it of the utmost importance to my work, and ask for it the sympathy and support of my Christian friends here and in the British Isles.

One of our greatest obstacles is the system of caste, which is much more formidable than were the feudal castles of the Middle Ages. There are four principal castes among the Hindoos—the Brahmins, the Warriors, the Mercantile and the Servile castes. These have again been subdivided into an almost innumerable multitude of subordinate castes, the rules in regard to all which are most imperious. The slightest deviation from these brings down upon the offender the combined vengeance of the entire tribe. To become a Christian is the most malignant of all offenses against caste. Hence the zeal with which all converts are so eagerly persecuted. Before the light of the Gospel, however, this caste is giving way. And this reminds me that I must here turn again to the subject with which I set out.

PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

At first sight it would appear simply impossible that this new religion should ever make any headway in such a country, and the missionaries, if they had not faith in the truths and verities of the Bible, might have given up the task and returned to Great Britain, or America, or Germany; but these men came to our land possessed of a firm confidence in the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the power of their risen and glorified Redeemer. His great commission to his Church was, "Disciple all nations." The manner in which this was to be done was very much left to the discretion of the missionary, according to the light he possessed.

Accordingly we have in India had various agencies at work, some teaching in schools, some preaching in bazars, at melas, and other places of assemblage. Many people did not like this latter method. They would not condescend to stand in a crowd to hear the Word preached. They despised such preaching as this. They were satisfied with their own systems. Some of the missionaries, to reach this class, established schools, colleges, and other seminaries of learning.

Dr. Duff, for instance, when he went to Calcutta in 1830, found that the people

there were not accessible to street preachers. He determined to set up a school in which all the knowledge of Western Europe should be imparted. He was prepared to teach science, literature, and religion in a manner equal to that of the best schools of modern times, and nobly has he succeeded. The institution he founded, and for many years ably conducted, became a mighty power in India. It has not only itself exerted a powerful influence through its own teachings, but it has become the model after which all good missionary schools have since been formed. From the day he first opened this school to the present time the Bible has ruled all the other studies. He found a large number of very intelligent men, many of whom had been educated in government schools and colleges, who had imbibed skeptical notions that were neither good for Hindooism nor for Christianity. To counteract this he instituted lectures; and week after week he and his brethren lectured in Calcutta on Christianity, natural and revealed religion, ethics, etc., etc.; and the consequence was that a number of very intelligent young men, who attended these lectures, admitted the claims of Christianity, and finally declared their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. There was one particular young man, Mr. K. M. Banerjee, editor of a paper called *The Inquirer*, who wrote a series of articles in his paper that were very influential at that time. He himself embraced Christianity, studied for the ministry, was ordained to that work, and is now exercising a very great influence upon the people of Calcutta. Others followed his example, and that great institution, founded in 1830, has since that time been eminently blessed in preparing agents for missionary work in all parts of India. I speak its praises, not because I am one of the missionaries of that church to which it belongs. I but re-echo the opinions of all classes of the people, from the viceroy down through all grades of government servants, civilians, military men, merchants, missionaries, and others who have no connection with missions, who have visited it and examined its students, and have all acknowledged its worth as a powerful regenerating agency in that great city. At the present time there are no fewer than 1300 pupils receiving an education there.

This will give you some faint idea of the progress made by education in Calcutta. The London Missionary Society has a similar institution there, and the English Church Missionary Society has a very good college, with a staff of professors, though with no preparatory department. There are other Christian schools in addition to these.

All these agencies have been the means of bringing about a great revolution among a large number of the people of Calcutta.

But what has been accomplished in Calcutta has also been done in Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lucknow, Nagpoor, Agra, Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore, and in many other large stations where missions have been established. But besides those who have embraced Christianity there is another influential class, who, though still Hindoos and Mohammedans, have been drawn toward Christians by the collateral influences that have been brought to bear upon them. These men have received their education mostly in missionary schools and colleges, and when they go out into the world they still find the missionaries to be among their best friends, ever ready to lend them a helping hand, and to hold friendly social intercourse with them. There is no class in the English community in whose society our educated people find so much pleasure as in that of the missionaries. Their houses are always open, they are prepared to treat the people on terms of social equality. During this familiar intercourse their difficulties are laid open and views are freely exchanged on all the leading topics of the day. Then they readily attend missionary lectures, and in various other ways enjoy that familiar intercourse with the missionaries which can only be had with men of Christian hearts, and whose hearts yearn for the salvation of immortal souls. By all these influences they are drawn to Christianity, and now begin to look upon it as the greatest civilizing power in the whole world. Not only so, but many of this class would prefer that their children should grow up Christians, rather than that they should imbibe that species of infidelity which so frequently results from government education in schools from which the Bible is excluded.

The old schools of Hindoo philosophy are fast losing their influence on the people. Caste prejudices are fast disappearing before these schools in which Christian instruction is imparted, and I am happy to be able to declare in this place, that caste, at the present day, has no more power over hundreds of thousands of my educated countrymen than it has over you. Caste is a purely ceremonial thing. It teaches that religion consists in eating and drinking certain things in certain ways. But Christianity teaches that it is not that which entereth the mouth which defileth the man, but that which cometh out of the mouth. Christianity grounds its disciples thoroughly in the doctrine of human depravity and human guilt; and shows that this depravity and this guilt can only be got rid of by the blood of Jesus Christ. "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin," and when they are brought to this belief, then these glorious truths that have been so beautifully illustrated and unfolded in this alliance—the fellowship with the Father,

the Son, and the Holy Spirit—and true Christian fellowship with one another—become evident and are found to be reducible to practice in all simplicity, sincerity, and truth.

And now for a word or two, before I conclude, about this Alliance. When I was in my own country, America was always associated in my mind with Theodore Parker, Emerson, and other writers of the same school of thought, and I had a kind of impression that Evangelical Christianity had but a very feeble hold of the minds and hearts of your people. But since I came here, what have I seen? Day after day, throughout the sessions of this Alliance, I have found not only this one building filled to overflowing, but three or four others generally called into requisition, and as yet there seems no diminution of the interest taken in these meetings by all classes of the community. The presence of these vast assemblies in the great commercial capital of this country convinces me that as a people you are not tired of Christianity, and have no desire to banish it from your midst. It seems to me that though Emerson, Theodore Parker, and others may talk otherwise, there is not the slightest doubt that the great mass of the people here have the love of God in their hearts, and delight to make known the truth that God has revealed in his Word.

Now, one of the effects of this great Alliance will be to convince my countrymen that there are hearts, thousands of hearts, millions of hearts, that yearn for the salvation of the 240,000,000 of my own countrymen. Let every American who may hereafter visit the shores of India—and there are many who do visit them—not as missionaries, but as merchants, as sailors, as engineers, as travelers, and I know not in how many other capacities—but let every one of them, yea, let all who come, whether Americans, Germans, French, English, Scotch, or Irish, come there as living members of the Lord Jesus Christ, and they will then be preachers of sermons more eloquent, and calculated to produce far greater results, than even the sermons of your own Henry Ward Beecher.

Judging from the progress that Christianity has made in India during the last half-century, I am full of hope and encouragement. It may be before this generation has passed away, we may have the happiness to receive hundreds of thousands of my countrymen into the Church of the living God. And, oh, what a consummation that would be! You are accustomed to look upon your own country as a grand one—and, indeed, it is a grand land—and your continent as a grand continent, and so it is; but I come from a country that is nearly as grand as your own country. You talk of

your high mountains! Why, we have the highest mountains in the world! You talk of your rivers! We, too, have gigantic rivers—the Ganges, the Indus, the Nerbudda, and the Krishna. We are governed, too, by one of the most enlightened, most beneficent, and most progressive governments in the whole world. Christian England is nobly represented in that land by some of the ablest statesmen of modern times, and our rulers are performing wonders in opening up the country, and in developing its hitherto unexplored resources. All these movements tend to spread intelligence, wealth, and civilization. Ah! there is indeed a great national awakening of the whole land; and, although my forefathers tried to keep my people secluded from the rest of the world, we have at last broken the shackles of caste, and thrown away the *bull* of infallibility, and we can now travel not only to Europe, but come even to your country, or go to China, or to any other part of the world. So that we can receive enlightenment and civilization from all lands. Nay, beyond all these benefits, the Sun of righteousness has himself risen there with healing in his wings, and at present many thousands rejoice in his light.

One of the delegates said the other day there would be no successor to this meeting of the Alliance; that Europe could not entertain you as we have been entertained here, in such a style of princely magnificence. But, if Europe can not or will not invite you, I trust India will soon be in a position to do so; and if you will come over there and hold a meeting, in Bombay, Allahabad, or Lahore, I shall guarantee that you will not be disappointed.

We have already had an Evangelical Al-

liance in that country, on a small scale, but which gives a foretaste of what may one day be expected there. In December last, missionaries from all parts of India met at Allahabad, the capital of the North-west Provinces, to read papers and discuss matters connected with the prosecution of missionary work in all parts of the country. The conference consisted of 136 members, connected with all the different missionary societies now laboring in India. During that never-to-be-forgotten week the utmost harmony and good feeling prevailed, though diversity of sentiment was expressed on all occasions with a freedom that has seldom been witnessed in any assembly of divines; and at the close of these discussions, on the Lord's day, the entire assembly met and communed together at the table of their common Lord and Master. There we had Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, United Presbyterians (Scotch and American), Reformed Presbyterians, Lutherans, and many other denominations, all engaged in sealing their common faith in the common symbols of the broken body and shed blood of our adorable Redeemer. Such a scene as was there presented is one of the greatest triumphs of Christianity. That triumph has been repeated in this Alliance in America; and can we not see in these glorious manifestations of the union of Christians the dawn of that glory which shall ere long fill the whole earth?

I shall return to my own country feeling that the day of her deliverance has come, and that these noble-minded Christians who have extended to me so warm a welcome to their midst will never cease in their efforts for India till all her sons and daughters shall have been brought to Jesus.

WOMAN'S WORK IN INDIA.

BY THE REV. J. S. WOODSIDE, OF DEHRA DOON, INDIA.

WOMAN, originally formed from man, "bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh," incorporated into his very being and identified with him in God's holy covenant, endowed with the same intellectual faculties, and possessing the same high attributes of moral character; intended to be the loving, confiding, loyal, life-long companion, friend, counselor, and support of man—in short, a helpmeet for him in every condition of life, has, by the brutalizing effects of the fall, been degraded from her legitimate position, and subjected to a state of bondage, varying in its character in different countries, but calculated, in every case, to deprive her of her legitimate rights, and prevent the realization of God's purposes in her creation.

The earliest legislation of ancient nations, outside of India, everywhere shows that the true position of woman was misunderstood.

EGYPT, professing to derive its laws directly from the gods, subjected woman to the caprice of the stronger sex, and while professing a species of veneration for her in the one character in which of all others she seems most lovely—that of Mother—in reality reduced her to a state of miserable and servile dependence.

CHINA, claiming for her legal code an equal antiquity, consigns her females, of the highest rank, to a seclusion from society amounting to the most rigorous imprisonment, prohibiting them from all intercourse, even with their own fathers, after their removal to the home of their husbands. This, with the physical torture inflicted on their persons, in the hope of securing those conditions of body deemed by them essential to feminine beauty, shows too clearly the sad condition of woman in that country.

JAPAN, considered as the connecting link between the civilization of Eastern Asia and that of Europe, deprives woman of all separate legal rights, declares her incapable of giving evidence in the courts of law, and forbids any thing like genuine confidence between husband and wife.

The histories of GREECE and ROME show a higher appreciation of female character, but even in those nations, in the brightest times of their highest civilization, we nowhere find woman occupying her true position as the "companion and friend of man." The same principle of subjection to man's

caprice, and isolation from his society, marks her condition in both.

But it is not alone among the ancients and in the dark obscurity of heathen nations that we find woman's true position denied her. *In the most enlightened portions of EUROPE and AMERICA*, where science and revelation have so long striven to define, establish, and perpetuate liberty, both civil and religious, do we not find many of her undoubted rights unjustly withheld?

Notwithstanding thousands of examples in both ancient and modern history of a devotion, constancy, fidelity, and truthfulness more heroic than that of Porcia, the spirit of many laws and regulations, both social and national, affecting her interests, still practically declares that woman is morally inferior to man and can not be trusted by him.

It is scarcely credible that the law of divorce enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland as late as the year 1857, and now administered throughout an empire upon which the sun never sets, and that, too, under the sovereignty of a lady whose virtues lend a glorious lustre to the crown she wears, and unparalleled dignity, splendor, and majesty to the throne she so nobly adorns, should still, with unblushing effrontery, proclaim to the world the moral disparity of the sexes. While it severs the conjugal tie for a single offense on the part of woman, it declares that a similar offense on man's part shall be condoned, unless to it be superadded other offenses, such as gross brutality, personal violence, or desertion. No wonder that Lord Brougham, contemplating the condition of woman under such enactments, should have exclaimed, "There must be a total reconstruction of the law before woman can have justice."

The late Lord Macanlay, after an exhaustive survey of this whole subject, wrote as follows: "If," says he, "there be a word of truth in history, women have been always, and still are, over the greater part of the globe, humble companions, playthings, captives, menials, beasts of burden. Except in a few happy and civilized communities, they are strictly in a state of personal slavery. Even in those countries where they are best treated the laws are generally unfavorable to them, with respect to almost all the points in which they are most deeply interested."

But I must not allow these remarks to di-

verge into a general disquisition on "woman's rights." I merely wish to indicate how difficult it has been to secure for woman, even in the most highly favored nations, the position for which God originally designed her, and to which Christianity will yet restore her.

WOMAN'S CONDITION IN INDIA.

I turn now to that far-off land I have the honor to represent in this assembly, and would respectfully claim your attention to a brief statement regarding the condition of woman in India. Hindoo chronology claims an antiquity reaching away back through four distinct ages, aggregating a period of duration of nearly four millions of years, and Hindoo history tells us that during the first or golden age of this period, which lasted 1,728,000 years, men, and women too, were all virtuous. Truth, righteousness, and absolute perfection of character everywhere prevailed, and their holy lives were prolonged to the average length of 100,000 years! What a glorious commencement to the career of a nation; and if the modern theory of progressive development by an unerring principle of natural selection had been realized in subsequent ages down to the present time, what a spectacle might not the India of to-day have presented! How sad that, in contemplating the present condition of her benighted millions, we must leave the regions of astronomical numbers as to time, and the flights of poetic fancy as to the facts of history, and come down to the sober realities of life as we now find it among her people! It would indeed be difficult to find language adequate to depict the condition of woman as she was found in India at the commencement of the present century. Through the merciful interposition of the British Government, many of the evils which then existed have been greatly ameliorated, and some entirely removed; but there still exist, among this class, a deep moral degradation and a confirmed spiritual bondage that no civil power, however philanthropic, can ever eradicate. Nothing but the almighty power of infinite love, exerted through the benign agency of Christian women, can ever work out her full and final redemption.

Birth and Infanticide.—From the moment of her birth the condition of woman in India is one of sorrow, misery, and servile degradation. The birth of a daughter in a Hindoo family is considered a grave calamity. As soon as the event is known, disappointment, sorrow, and not infrequently dejected indignation, become apparent in the entire household. A Hindoo father has been known to cause the death of his wife by violence, because she has committed the crime of presenting him with a daughter!

No congratulations must ever be present-

ed to the relatives, nor will any friend or acquaintance ever presume to refer, in the most distant manner, to an event which is considered so disastrous to all. The infant life is still, alas! too frequently sacrificed to such feelings, notwithstanding all the efforts of a beneficent government to put an end to this inhuman custom. The demands of caste in regard to marriage, especially among the Rajpoot tribes, are so inexorable that in cases where, through poverty, these can not be complied with, infanticide is considered the only possible solution of the difficulty. At the commencement of the present century the annual slaughter of these female innocents might have been reckoned by hundreds of thousands. In the year 1802 the Marquis of Wellesley, then Governor-general of India, published an order of Government declaring Infanticide to be murder, punishable with death, and from that time down to the present each successive administration has labored to eradicate this fearful evil; yet so late as the year 1836 it was estimated by a Rajpoot chief that as many as 20,000 female infants were destroyed annually in the provinces of Malwa and Rajpootana alone. What adds to the horror with which we contemplate this savage custom is the thought that the perpetrator of the crime is usually the mother of the little victim herself.

The present Government of India is most energetic in its efforts to crush out this fearful evil in every part of the land, and efforts have very recently been made to induce the people so to modify their marriage ceremonies as to diminish expense, and thus make it possible for a poor man to have his daughters married, and avoid the other fearful alternative of their destruction. An intelligent Rajpoot once complained to me of the hardships of his position in these words: "I am a Rajpoot. I have a family of nine children, six of whom are daughters. I am poor, I can not get my daughters married, and the English Government *won't allow me to kill them*. For them to remain unmarried is to me everlasting disgrace and utter ruin. What am I to do?" I advised him to trust in God, and the same kind hand that had sent him these daughters would no doubt, in due time, send husbands for them. Years afterward I met him, and learned, to my great joy, that he had found husbands for every one of his girls; and, when I reminded him of his former state of mind, he expressed his gratitude to the authors of those benign laws that had prevented him from imbruing his hands in their blood.

Marriage and Widowhood.—If permitted to live, the next great matter to be attended to, in the life of the Hindoo girl, is her marriage. A Kulin Brahmin is compelled, by the requirements of his caste, to betroth his daughter as soon as she is born. Other

castes deem it most unfortunate and degrading if a daughter should remain unbetrothed to the age of four or five years; and for her to remain unmarried to the age of eleven years would be to bring utter social ruin upon the entire family. From these child marriages, again, arise the worst features of Hindoo widowhood; for many a child in India becomes a widow before she has reached the age of seven years! It matters not whether her age be two, four, six, ten, twenty, or thirty years, from the hour of her husband's decease her condition becomes one of intolerable misery, and thousands of these unfortunate are driven to the last resource of the wretched—suicide—to escape from the shame, sorrow, and bodily sufferings to which they have been subjected. Their hair, that grandest ornament of woman, is shorn close to the skin; they are stripped of all their ornaments, jewels, and even decent apparel; their persons are covered with ashes; they are clothed with coarse refuse garments, obliged to eat the coarsest food, excluded from all familiar intercourse with their relatives, and compelled to wait upon the more favored inmates of the house in the capacity of slaves. Their persons are no longer inviolate; they are liable, at any time, to be treated with the most outrageous cruelty, and can expect no expression of sympathy even from their own mothers and sisters, but are compelled to endure, as best they can, the united maledictions of all.

Numerous cases have come under my own notice where these poor victims of social oppression have sought refuge from their sufferings in death, produced by means of opium and arsenic, or by precipitating themselves into wells. And yet these horrid customs have the full sanction not only of universal usage, but claim prescriptive recognition and approval in their *divine* laws. Thanks be to God, there is at last the dawn of a better day for the Hindoo widow, for of late years the more enlightened members of that community have begun not only to advocate and defend, but to permit and practice the remarriage of widows.

But supposing the Hindoo wife to escape the misfortune of early widowhood, and to live to become the inmate of her husband's house, her position is still what, to our Western ideas, would be considered wretched in the extreme. Her husband is her lord and master. She can not even meet him face to face, unveiled, in the presence of a third party, though that may be one of her own children. She can never sit down to eat till her husband has first finished his meal. She dare not presume to eat from the same dish with him, but is content to wait upon him in the character of an humble attendant. She is closely guarded, and jealously watched by a vigilant and perhaps overbearing and despotic mother-in-law, and other fe-

male relations, or even dependents. Should she be so unfortunate as to have no children, she will soon have to endure the presence of a rival in the person of another wife, and may at last be content to lavish her pent-up affections on the children of this intruder.

I have spoken here only of the Hindoo, because that class is by far the largest, and have only now to add that in many cases the sorrows of the Hindoo woman are borne with a fortitude that does honor to her species, and she exhibits traits of character that place her high in the list of the noblest women of any nation.

Testimony of the Sacred Books.—But it may be asked, Are these things the result of social degeneration alone, or does this condition of things find any sanction in the laws of this ancient people? These laws are to be found in the Vedas, the Institutes of Manu, the Shasters, and the Puranas. Truth compels the declaration that, so far as modern research has yet reached in the investigation of these, there is nothing found which will prevent the conclusion that the evils of woman's condition, as above described, find their fullest sanction in them all.

According to the Vedas, "Woman is so bad that she is declared to be simply an incarnation of sin. She can not be trusted; her evidence in law can not be taken. She must not read the Vedas, and is to have no concern whatever with religious rites."

In the Institutes of Manu it is declared, "That woman can have no separate holy rites, nor perform for herself any acts of devotion. All she has to do is to worship her husband, and thus she will become famous in heaven." He ordains "that woman must do whatever her husband commands her," even to the violation of any and every precept of morality. The Shaster says, "To lie, to be impudent, to deceive, to speak bitter words, to be unclean and cruel, are all vices inherent in a woman's disposition." And the Purans say, "Let the wife who wishes to perform sacred ablutions wash the feet of her husband and drink the water; for the husband is to his wife greater than Shankar or Vishnu. The husband is her God, and Gurn, and religion and its services; wherefore, abandoning every thing else, she ought chiefly to worship her husband, looking upon him as Vishnu."

Among the Mohammedans.—But it is not only among the Hindoos that we find the condition of woman so degraded. If we turn to the Mohammedan population, numbering some 35,000,000 in India, we find the state of her affairs perhaps even worse than among those already described. Here polygamy, with all its frightful evils, is to be found in all its intensity, and, as a natural consequence, the system of seclusion, as found in the harem and *zenana*.

This system seems inseparable from the former, and is absolutely essential to its existence. Sir William Muir, the present Lieutenant-governor of the North-west Provinces, and the ablest as well as the most philanthropic Christian statesman now in India, in his "Life of Mohammed," speaking of the seclusion of females, says: "The truth is that the extreme license of polygamy and divorce permitted to his followers by Mohammed rendered these safeguards necessary. Such license could not, without gross and flagrant immorality, be compatible with the free and open intercourse of European society. It would not in any nation be tolerable without restrictions which fetter and degrade the female sex. The licentiousness of the system without the present checks, cruel and unnatural as they are, would certainly create in Mussulman countries an utter dissolution of morality, already at a sufficiently low ebb. If any man might look upon any married woman (near relatives excepted) as within his reach by marriage, the present husband consenting; if every married woman felt that she might become the lawful wife of any man whom she might captivate, and who could persuade her husband to pronounce a divorce, the foundations of society would be broken up!" These remarks of this distinguished statesman and scholar are worthy of serious thought by those who think that Brigham Young has been a benefactor of mankind by introducing this system into the Salt Lake Valley.

This State of Things not Universal.—But I can not here attempt to follow the woman of India through all the intricacies of her inner life, nor to speak of this life as it is presented in the several different communities of the country. Nor is it to be inferred from what is stated above that *all* females in India are equally subjected to the vile treatment prescribed in the sacred books of the Hindoos, and enforced by custom, more particularly in the regions to the north of the Vindhya range, where the political power and social influence of Mohammedanism have been chiefly felt.

In all parts of India the lowest classes of women are permitted to go abroad, and in the South and West there is less restriction on the liberty of the higher classes than elsewhere; but whatever the personal and social relations of woman in India may be, the great central fact in regard to her moral and spiritual condition still stands out in all its naked enormity before us. Nearly 120,000,000 of women in that great country are still held in a state of moral bondage, and appeal through us, this day, to the only real source whence deliverance can be hoped for.

THE REMEDY.

There is but one power in the world that can rescue them, and that is the Gospel, car-

ried to them, too, in the tender hands, and spoken to them in the fond, loving, heartfelt, and affectionate tones of sisterhood by Christian women. The peculiar constitution of Indian society presents an insuperable barrier to the direct evangelization of the women of India by the agency of man; but the Divine Author of our holy religion has provided for not only this, but for every other form of antagonism to the truth, and apostolic example shows us how the all-powerful aid of woman may be brought to supplement our original missionary agency in that country. The spirit of missions is not confined to one sex. It is poured out upon all flesh, and the daughters of the Church, as well as her sons, have a divine commission to "prophesy," or make known the glad tidings of eternal life in such circumstances, and under such conditions, as may appear to require their special qualifications.

THE WORK ALREADY DONE.

But I must now proceed to notice briefly the work that has already been done. From the very commencement of missionary effort in India, the wives of missionaries, and many other Christian ladies, have steadily endeavored to ameliorate the condition of their heathen sisters, and introduce as many as could be brought within the reach of their influence to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus; but still the great work of the evangelization of India's daughters is, as yet, in its very infancy. From what has already been said, it will appear clear to a demonstration that this work must, for the present, be almost purely educational.

1. Accordingly, among our earliest missionary institutions, *female orphanages* find a place. Into these schools little orphans and destitute girls, deprived of all parental or other friendly care, were received, fed, clothed, and educated, as Christian children, with all the tender solicitude of parents; and these efforts have been greatly blessed; for, from these institutions have gone forth most of the Christian wives of our earlier converts, who have thus become the mothers of the future Indian Church. This agency is still continued, and is doing a great work for Christ, in connection with almost every missionary society now laboring in India.

2. Then we have *day-schools* for the education, chiefly, of the lower classes, as only such can at present be induced to attend them. It is very difficult to convince the people of the utility of these schools, and it was necessary, in many instances, to allure the girls into attendance by the payment of a small pecuniary consideration. This, in many places, is no longer necessary. A wide door is being rapidly opened for the prosecution of this department of Christian effort, and this must go on extending, until

the entire population is brought under its influence.

3. *Zenana Missions.*—About twenty years ago a new enterprise was first attempted, which has since risen into a position of no secondary magnitude, and which is, I believe, destined to exert a mighty influence for good among the women of India. I refer to what is known as “*Zenana Teaching.*” Among the educated classes we now find a considerable desire springing up to have their wives and daughters also educated, if this can be done in accordance with the peculiar customs of the country. Lady missionaries are allowed unrestricted access to the women’s apartments in the houses of this class, and thus a field for evangelistic effort, of unlimited extent, is opened up, and now invites the women of Christian lands to enter in and cultivate it. This work is carried on at almost every mission station in India in a more or less systematic way; but there are two or three prominent societies organized with special reference to it which demand a brief notice in this place.

“The American *Zenana Mission*,” organized under the able superintendence of Miss Brittan, a lady well known in this city, and supported by the “*Woman’s Union Foreign Missionary Society*,” is one of the most important of these. It employs nineteen agents, besides a considerable number of native Christian assistants. These labor at three great centres, and were at the close of last year educating about 900 pupils in their schools. The education given is as yet necessarily of an elementary character. “They are taught, in the vernacular, Barth’s ‘*Bible Stories*,’ ‘*Line upon Line*,’ ‘*Peep of Day*,’ the Gospels, the ‘*History of India*,’ the ‘*Pilgrim’s Progress*,’ ‘*Rudiments of Knowledge*,’ ‘*Geography*,’ books of ‘*Natural History*, etc., and, in English, the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Readers, ‘*Geography*, ‘*Arithmetic*, and ‘*Peter Parley’s History*.’”

Next in importance is the English “*Indian Female Normal School Society*.” “At the end of 1872, four hundred and twenty-five *zenanas* were open to the agents of this society in nine different stations; and in these *zenanas* upward of 700 ladies were under instruction. In addition to these, there were twenty-seven schools with 727 scholars.” The whole number of foreign agents and assistant teachers connected with this society is seventeen.

“The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East” is one of older standing than either of the above; but its operations are carried on through the association of its agents with the missionaries of other societies. Separate details of their work are not at present within my reach. This society has also certain stations of its own, and nobly co-operates with other societies in car-

rying on the great and good work which its name embodies.

“The *Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society*” of the Presbyterian Church in America is also largely engaged in this work. At all the principal stations occupied by the Board throughout the North-west Provinces and the Punjab, their agents are at work in the *zenanas* as well as other departments of female education, both vernacular and English.

4. *Christian Girls’ Boarding-schools.*—Last, but not least, I must notice those institutions that are the direct outgrowth of Christian missions, and now press their claims on the Church in Christian lands, not merely as a means of conserving the products of toil already gathered, but as great and important agencies for developing an indigenous evangelistic spirit among the people of the land. Foremost among these rank our Christian Girls’ Boarding-schools. These institutions are intended exclusively for the education of the daughters of native converts and others intrusted to the missionary’s care to be trained up as Christians. Special reference is had to the position the pupils are to occupy in after-life as the Pioneers of the new Christian civilization. They are educated with a special view to their becoming centres of Christian influence in their future homes, and every thing, whether domestic, scientific, or ethical, that is calculated to make a Christian home in India the exact counterpart of such homes in Europe and America is carefully inculcated. One of the principal of these, and that with which I am best acquainted, is the school established at Dehra Doon, in the North-west Provinces, in the year 1859. This school was commenced under the superintendence of a noble-minded daughter of Massachusetts—the late Mrs. Herron, herself a pupil of the celebrated Mount Holyoke Seminary at South Hadley—and has thus far been conducted, as nearly as possible, after the plan of that world-renowned establishment. Mrs. Herron gave her brief but brilliant life to its service, and her remains now repose near the scene of her self-denying labors.

She was succeeded in that arduous work by another of America’s high-minded, highly educated, and self-sacrificing daughters—Miss Beatty, a lady whose brief Indian career sheds a lustre upon the Christianity of America not surpassed in the entire annals of missionary enterprise. She was a native of the adjoining State of New Jersey, to which place she returned in the year 1869, and died “in the midst of loving friends,” after an absence of seven years. As a missionary teacher, she excelled in all those qualifications most essential to such a position. Her knowledge, her experience, her patience, her quiet but resistless will, and her indomitable perseverance enabled her to accomplish more

in the few years of her connection with the school than could have been accomplished in much longer time by one less gifted than herself. So highly were her labors appreciated by even the Government of India, that the late lamented Lord Mayo did not consider it beneath his position as the Viceroy of India, and representative of her majesty the Queen, to pay a visit of condolence to her sick-chamber, and to speak words of comfort and encouragement to one who had given her life to the work of Christian education. It was my privilege to labor, for four years, side by side with this noble woman, and to witness day after day the inextinguishable zeal with which, amidst difficulties of no ordinary character, she continued to labor for the welfare of the children committed to her care. How often has my heart burned and my soul kindled with admiration as I looked upon her pale face and exhausted frame, still toiling on to the very end with a holy enthusiasm that seemed supernatural, and compelling the recognition of a power in woman as a missionary, I had never before fully realized. Her character, and that of others I might here depict, demonstrate to the Church that there is no barrier of caste that may not be torn down, no chains of ignorance that may not be broken, no dungeon in the *zenana* that may not be opened, no depth of superstition that may not be fathomed, and no moral darkness that may not be illumined by the sanctified energies of Christian women.

The school founded and moulded by these devoted women now contains about 120 Christian girls, under the superintendence of a missionary and his wife. The children are instructed by a staff of five American ladies, aided by an equal number of native assistants. Instruction is given both in the vernacular and English languages, and the aim of all is to make the teaching as thorough as it possibly can be made in every department. It is, to all intents and purposes, a model or normal school of the first rank. But it is not alone as a great educational agency that the value of such an institution is to be estimated. It is more than this—it is a Christian home, where order, intelligence, industry, and religion are used to form the basis of that domestic character so essential to the future mothers of the Church in India. The buildings in which it is conducted have just been completed at a cost of about \$30,000. They consist of two principal wings, two stories in height, each 156 feet in length by 47 in depth, with intervening class and lecture rooms, 50 by 58 feet. In addition to these, there are a spacious cook-room, store-rooms, lavatory, latrine, and other buildings, and in the adjacent compound a separate building, at present rented as a hospital.

These details are given just to show the

requirements of a branch of labor which missionary success has already imposed on the Church, and which must be sustained if the future Christianity of India is to be like our own.

This school is under the special care of the "Woman's Foreign Missionary Society," and it should have been mentioned that this same society has recently purchased the Woodstock School at Landour, with the view of maintaining there a school of a high order for the children of missionaries of all denominations, and those members of the Anglo-Indian community that may wish to avail themselves of its advantages.

Other schools of this class have been commenced, and are to be conducted on the same plan. Such, for instance, is that recently established by our Methodist Episcopal brethren at Lucknow, and one in the Punjab under the English Church Mission. Other missions, in particular our Scotch brethren, are not behindhand in their schools for girls. Did time permit, I might refer in detail to many of them, all doing a noble work, but I must hasten to notice another important agency.

Government Female Schools.—I am delighted to be enabled to state in this place that female education is not only prosecuted of late years with greatly increased vigor by missionaries, but it has also arrested the attention of Government, and noble efforts are now being put forth in this direction in all parts of the land. Not only the Government of India, but the local Governments, are everywhere actively engaged in this work, and do all in their power not only to encourage it in the public schools, but endeavor, by all legitimate means, to stimulate private individuals to imitate their example. Foremost among these stands the Lieutenant-governor of the North-west provinces. He is nobly sustained in these efforts by his excellent Christian wife, Lady Muir, who spends much time in visiting these schools wherever she goes, and by her presence and generosity does much to encourage those more immediately engaged in the work. There are many other prominent English ladies, whose names might here be mentioned, who not only aid these Government efforts, but who, like Lady Muir, also manifest a special interest in those schools in which Christianity is taught.

In the last administration report of the North-western Provinces we find that the Government maintained in these provinces alone 427 female schools, containing 7917 pupils, and gave liberal aid to 108 private establishments, containing 3571 pupils.

The Government of the Punjab reports 125 schools, with 2573 pupils, and 166 aided schools, giving instruction to 6646 pupils; and so with regard to all the other local governments, exact statistics of which are

not here available. The good work is going forward, and though we have still to lament the fact that the Bible has not been introduced into the regular curriculum of education, it can not be denied that these schools are doing much for the overthrow of idolatry; for it is absolutely impossible to give any kind of accurate instruction in modern science, history, or even geography, without undermining the fabric of heathenism.

It is due to the Government of India here to add that, though the Bible is not taught in their schools, it is invariably placed in the school library, and any pupil who may wish to refer to it has every facility for doing so placed at his disposal. Tens of thousands of the daughters of India are to-day receiving, in these Government schools, and in private native institutions, much sound secular instruction, which must prove highly beneficial to society at large, and prepare the people for that higher knowledge so essential to their spiritual regeneration.

Let us here remember, too, that there are some 30,000 girls in the mission schools of India, representing the combined efforts of twenty-five different missionary societies and the entire Church of Christendom. But supposing all these to receive a Christian education of the very highest order, what are they among the vast multitudes still unreached? The results here disclosed but discover the extreme impotence of the agencies as yet in operation. Let no one be deceived. The evangelization of India is scarcely as yet fairly commenced. It is a work in which generations of missionaries, yet unborn, may toil and die; but still it is certain of success; and we have now enlisted in this cause a power, the potency of which the world has never yet fully understood.

Woman is to share, as God intended she should share, in every thing that tends to the glory of humanity in this holy struggle. India affords a wide and inviting field for the exercise of her peculiar gifts, and were all the churches represented in this Alliance engaged in this work, as I believe they one day shall be, great and glorious results would soon be manifest.

The crying want of India is Christianity; and in the words of a brother-missionary, "Well-ordered Christian homes are one of the greatest wants of the Indian Church. We rejoice that there are such homes, but they are very few compared with the number of Christian families and the wants of the Church. Englishmen, Americans, and Germans need no arguments to convince them of the matchless worth and priceless blessings of their Christian homes. They are nurseries of piety, and virtue, and greatness, and goodness. Like the air and the

dew and the sunshine in the natural world, they are the silent but powerful agents that are everywhere at work, refreshing and sustaining the spiritual life of the Church, filling it with beauty and goodness, and sustaining and directing its energies. It is only pious, intelligent, and cultivated wives and mothers that can make such homes. The homes of England and America—the brightest and happiest and most beautiful places on this side heaven—are the *creations of Christian womanhood*—and the Christian woman herself the richest product and glory of the religion of Christ on earth." Christian women of America, the daughters of India appeal to you by every tie that binds you to them as sisters, and by the bonds of that love which reaches far beyond all human relationships, and unites all in Christ, to come to their aid. They still continue to be born, live, suffer, and die in heathen darkness, with scarce a ray of light to illumine, in the smallest degree, the impenetrable gloom of their dark habitations. Shall they call in vain? Surely not!

WOMAN IN INDIA TO WOMEN IN CHRIST.

India's daughters, long degraded,
Long by heathen power enslaved,
Call aloud to Christian women
In these lands by Jesus saved.

Infants slain by wicked mothers,
Children sunk 'neath Saugor's wave,
Speak to you from death's dark chamber;
Call to you their race to save.

Widows shorn, despoiled, maltreated,
Widows though but children still,
Cry aloud, ye Christian mothers,
You can help us if you will!

Wives shut up in lone zenans,
Slaves and tools of man's caprice,
Ask your aid, ye Christian sisters,
Them from bondage to release.

Matrons old, in sin grown hardened,
Yet with souls of priceless worth,
Hail you as their saviours, saying:
For our rescue, oh, come forth!

Shall not women thus appealed to,
Women loyal, kind, and true,
Quickly, in love's sweetest accents,
Answer yes! we come to you?

And we bring with us the Saviour,
Jesus Christ the Son of God,
Who to ransom wretched sinners,
Freely shed his priceless blood.

He has long with pity viewed you;
Now his power he will display
In your full and free salvation,
Be the Life, the Truth, the Way.

Yes, daughters of India, lift up your heads; the day of your redemption draweth nigh. Christian women in every Christian land have espoused your cause, and have resolved that you shall be free; and heralds of their love are gathering around you, and will never give you up till you shall all become one with them in Christ.

MISSIONS AMONG THE LOWEST OF THE HEATHEN.

BY THE RT. REV. E. DE SCHWEINITZ, S.T.D.,

Bishop of the Moravian Church, and President of the Theological Seminary at Bethlehem, Pa.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND BRETHERN,—Before reading the paper which I have prepared, permit me to communicate a fact which ought to be made known on this "Missionary Day" of our Conference.

In the city from which the gentleman comes who has just taken his seat (Rev. E. E. Jenkins, of London), there exists a Society called "The London Association in Aid of the Missions of the United Brethren." This association is composed exclusively of members of the Church of England, of Independents, of Baptists, and of other Protestant Christians, who contribute, with the utmost liberality and in fraternal fellowship, about \$25,000 a year toward the support of the Foreign Missions of the Church which I represent. Such a Foreign Missionary Evangelical Alliance is, as far as I know, without a parallel in the history of Protestantism, and does the highest honor to the catholic spirit of the Christians of Great Britain, who are so worthily and ably represented at this Convention. The Association was organized in 1817, and has, therefore, been doing its noble work for fifty-six years.

With these remarks I proceed to take up the topic which I am to discuss. From the four gentlemen who have preceded me, we have heard very interesting accounts of Christianity as it is influencing that ancient, and, in many respects, enlightened people, the Hindoos. I will direct your attention to pagans of an entirely different order. My subject is, MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE MOST INSIGNIFICANT AND DEGRADED TRIBES OF THE HEATHEN WORLD.

It will be necessary, in the first place, to define what I mean by their insignificance and degradation.

From a missionary point of view, the heathen may be divided into three classes. The first consists of populous nations, whose homes are permanently established, and whose countries embrace important resources for the material development of the world. Such nations are found in possession of nearly two-thirds of Asia, from the North Pacific to the river Indus, and spreading over more than one-half of Africa, from the Cape Colony to the Great Desert. Their conversion to Christianity would make them a great and far-reaching power in the Church of Christ.

The second class comprises aborigines that

either inhabit islands of the sea conjointly with growing colonies of the white race, or that occupy the interior of continents and are encircled by civilized and nominally Christian states. In the Malay Archipelago, in Polynesia, in Australasia, excepting the continent of Australia, and in the Indian territories of North and South America, we meet with the representatives of this class. Their future is still an open question. Whether they will be permanent agents in the coming time, we of to-day can not tell. They may, at least in part, disappear. In any case, they will contribute, both on account of their geographical position and inferior resources, a secondary power in subduing the earth to the sway of Christ.

The third class is made up of small tribes, or broken remnants of nations, isolated, controlling no resources of any moment, exercising no influence, and, in some cases, fast dying out. Indeed, their total extinction would not effect the world; its material development would go on unhindered, and even its spiritual progress, in so far as any evangelizing force is concerned which they could put forth, would barely feel their loss. They mostly occupy, moreover, the lowest grade of humanity. Their religions sense is almost a blank, relieved only by vague superstitions, which they do not themselves understand. To this class belong the Esquimaux of the far North; petty and detached clans of Indians in the forests of Central and South America; the Bush negroes of Surinam; the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego; and the aborigines of the continent of Australia. I do not pretend to give a complete list. That will not be possible until the Protestant Church will have fully searched out every pagan land.

The tribes of this third class, therefore, I denominate the most insignificant and degraded of the heathen world; and to the missionary work going on among them I now beg leave to direct your attention.

It can not be denied that other missions are comparatively more important. The conversion of Japan, of China, or of India, concerning which country we have heard so much this morning, would bring millions of new members into the Church. The riches of the East would be poured out

at Christ's feet. His banner would be borne by armies of missionaries to all the ends of Asia. Or suppose the Korannas, the Bechnanas, the Dahomans, with their terrible history of slave-hunts and blood, and other cognate peoples of Africa, reclaimed from barbarism, and made partakers of that grace of God which brings salvation and which has appeared to all men. The result would be wonderful. Influences would be set at work that must eventually cause the wild multitude of negro tribes to flow together into one great and powerful Christian nation, making their continent a stronghold of the Gospel, and its southern extremity, in a new and glorious sense, the Cape of Good Hope.

An outlook such as this suggests the question: Would it not be advisable for the Church to withdraw from work among the inferior tribes, scattered over the heathen world, and to concentrate all its energies in the midst of populous nations that constitute a power and that have a future? This question assumes considerable importance when we glance at the history of missions.

In Greenland the Lutheran Mission was begun in 1721, the Moravian in 1733. Both enterprises are still continued. Throughout a century and a half, therefore, they have been calling for money and men. At least two hundred laborers, in all, have been sent out, and about forty are in the field at present. Shunt up amidst arctic snows and separated from the rest of the world, they draw a steady support from the churches at home and expend their own strength—for the sake of an insignificant people that will never exercise any direct influence upon the conversion of the human race. The same support and strength applied elsewhere would accomplish far greater results, and help more immediately to evangelize the world.

Still more to the point is the ease of the mission among the Bush negroes of Surinam. Its history is a record of sickness and death, of disappointments and failures. The air of the forests through which the Bush negroes wander is poison to the white man, and the water-courses along which they build their huts reek with miasmata. And yet, ever since 1765, with occasional interruptions, missionary work has been carried on in that pestilential and obscure corner of the earth. Indeed it has been the scene of Christian heroism such as is rarely surpassed. And who are the Bush negroes? A handful of savages, descended from the fugitive slaves of the Colony, living wholly to themselves, carrying on no trade, without the slightest importance in the world. The same determined missionary labor, done in other countries and among other tribes, would have produced a far more plentiful harvest.

Over against such facts, however, and in reply to the question which has suggested them, three considerations may be urged.

First, we have a Divine behest: "Go ye into all the world," said Christ to his disciples, "and preach the Gospel to every creature." The tribes under discussion are included in this command. They belong to the heathen who shall be given to our Saviour for an inheritance, and their secluded domains to those uttermost parts of the earth which he shall have for a possession. The Church would be disobedient to its Head, if any pagans were neglected on account of their insignificance. Indeed, as has been well said, it would cease to be Christ's Church if it abandoned missionary work before the last heathen had heard the Gospel.

But, second, we joyfully recognize the power of Christian love. Love to God and man is the life of the Church. This love begets missionaries. Deeming no heathens too degenerate, and no heathen tribe too paltry, to be saved, it has sought out the lowest first. If its activity in this direction were to come to an end, there would be something wanting in the Christianity of our day. A jewel would drop out of its crown.

Finally, we acknowledge the importance of a prudent missionary policy. It would be unwise to abandon fields that are of little consequence and concentrate the entire strength of the Church among powerful nations. For its present work is merely a preparation for that which is to come, when Joel's prophecy will be fulfilled still more completely than on the day of Pentecost, when God will pour out his Spirit on all flesh, and when the heathen will fly as the clouds and as the doves to their windows. The world can not be converted without such a visitation from on high. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." Hence prudence directs that at least a watch-tower, with a chamber for prayer on its roof, should be built in the midst of every pagan tribe. And then, when the heathen world will have been surrounded with the cordons of the Christian host, that host will advance and conquer, in the Lord's time and at the Spirit's signal.

These reasons seem to me to show that missionary work among the most insignificant and degraded tribes of paganism is neither a waste of money nor a loss of men. It is a proper, a necessary, and a great work.

But there is another point of view from which such enterprises may be contemplated. They prove, without the possibility of a doubt, what the Bible predicates concerning the world-wide sufficiency of the Gospel as a converting and civilizing power.

I will illustrate and establish this position

by facts drawn from the history of the mission among the natives of the Australian Continent. This is one of the newest and most remarkable of those undertakings that come within the scope of my topic, although it is but little known in our country. My authority is a faithful and distinguished missionary, who labored in Australia for nine years, and who visited me last spring, on his way to Canada, where he has taken charge of an Indian Mission.

It has been computed that but 30,000, or perhaps 40,000 Papuans remain within the vast territory which forms their home. They are fearfully debased. No other heathens are more so. This might be forcibly shown by their manner of life, if the time to which I am restricted did not forbid. A few points, setting forth their moral and spiritual state, must therefore suffice.

Among the natives of Australia marriage exists merely in name. Wives are exchanged at the pleasure of the men, and a newly married woman belongs, for a time, to the whole tribe. Many of the offspring of such unnatural unions fall a prey to infanticide in its most horrible form. Weak and puny children are strangled, and pieces of their flesh given to their brothers to eat, that these may grow stronger. In the aboriginal language no equivalent words are found for love, faith, forgiveness, truth, or honesty. The natives have no conception of such virtues. No religion whatever, not even the lowest species of idolatry, exists among them. It is true, they entertain a vague notion of a good and of an evil spirit. But they do absolutely nothing to propitiate the one, or to appease the other. They have no worship, no sacrifices, no sacred rites of any kind. The only power which they fear is that of witchcraft. The only dictates which they follow are those of superstition, jealousy, revenge, and lust. Since the arrival of the white race, the natives have sunk still lower. Their licentiousness has increased, and new vices have been introduced. My informant pronounces a drunken spree, in a native camp, to be one of the most hideous things ever witnessed in this sinful world.

In view of these facts, it is not astonishing that the Australian aborigines were commonly deemed to be beyond the reach of civilization and Christianity. This opinion was but strengthened by thirty-six years of fruitless efforts, on the part of several missionary societies, to reclaim them. Even enlightened Christians began to fear that such work was hopeless. But the day of salvation came at last. In 1860, Nathaniel Pepper, a native of the Colony of Victoria, was converted and baptized. So great was the sensation which this event produced, that a public meeting, with the colonial governor for a chairman, was called at Melbourne, to

express the joy of Christians of every name at this marvelous victory of the Gospel.

It has not been a fleeting triumph. Missions are now permanently established among the Papuans, and supported by a number of the Protestant churches of Australia in fellowship.

These missions reveal surprising results. The converts have been won from the forests through which they roamed, and are settled in villages. At such villages the extinction of the race has actually been arrested. Among the wild tribes, the number of deaths far exceeds the number of births; at the mission the reverse is the case. The converts devote themselves to gardening and mechanical pursuits, or serve the white settlers as herdsmen. Many of them have learned to read, write, and cipher. Their children are taken through a regular course of education. Among twelve hundred colonial schools in Gippsland, the mission school for natives, at Ramahyuk, recently gained the highest prize offered by the Government. Young and old have adopted all the habits and usages of civilization. In a majority of cases, the evidences of a genuine change of heart are clear and marked. Not a few instances of triumphant death have occurred. Old Norah, when she first came to the mission, was a mere wreck in body and mind. Her life had been steeped in iniquity. She appeared to be almost idiotic. And yet no believer, reared amidst all the advantages of the Church and of a Christian home, ever delivered a brighter testimony in the last hour than she did. The very faces of these converts show that they have passed from darkness into marvelous light. When I looked at the photograph of Philip Pepper, a brother of the first convert, and an assistant at the Ebenezer Mission, and heard his teacher's account of the impressive warmth with which he publicly proclaims the Gospel and prays to God, I could scarcely believe that this man had been a naked savage, squatting in the sand and roasting lizards for his food, joining his countrymen in the vilest abominations, and living for years in a state as near to that of the irrational creation as it is possible for human beings to reach.

Now this transformation among the Papuans has been brought about through the Gospel. No other agency would have been sufficient. A letter from one of the missionaries to a colonial newspaper says: "We testify that no real change for the better took place among the natives gathered at the Ebenezer station until they received the Gospel. Then the change began."—This is the same Gospel which has evangelized other pagans of the lowest class, which has gained such glorious victories in the Islands of the Sea, and which is slowly making its way into the midst of the powerful nations

of heathendom. One history of the atonement, one array of promises, one body of fundamental doctrines set forth in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, work out one end in every case. The pagans are enlightened, radically changed in all the tendencies of their nature, christianized through faith in a common Saviour, and, finally, civilized. And there is no tribe too low for the influence of the Gospel. There is no tongue too barbarous for a version of the New Testament. There is no individual heathen too debased, stolid, and brutish to be made a new creature in Christ Jesus, a useful member of the Church, a believer both able and ready to give a reason of the hope that is in him with meekness and fear. There is no form of barbarism which can not eventually be civilized and even refined in ways that are wonderful, to the glory of God.

In the further proof of this last position, let me say, in passing, that at the dedication of a new mission chapel in the Bushland, a choir of Bush negroes, assisted by some converted slaves from the Colony, sang, with genuine appreciation and great effect, "The heavens are telling," etc., from Haydu's "Oratorio of the Creation." The same grand chorus, which enraptures the cultured Christian of Europe and America, formed the expression of praise that burst from the hearts of these reclaimed savages.

From all that has been said, we therefore infer that the Gospel is a sufficient, and the only sufficient, power for the conversion of the whole world.

This inference should encourage the Church to push forward its foreign missionary work, in these present days, with all its strength. The success which has, at last, been won even among the natives of Australia should give new energy to every laborer in the field, and new zeal to every society at home. Is the everlasting Gospel thus going forth conquering and to conquer, then let there be more of a union among Protestant Christians in supporting it, and more of a system in spreading it, so that our common Lord may hasten the day of its final victory.

And here, my brethren, permit me to throw out a single suggestion. I know very well that this Conference ought not to legislate, and that formal resolutions are not to be entertained. But do you not believe that the time has arrived, or, at least, is very near, when all Protestant Churches engaged in

the foreign missionary work ought to come to a full understanding with regard to a general and united movement forward into the very heart of heathendom, and especially with regard to their denominational relations to each other in the field? A Missionary Congress of the entire Protestant world, on a basis something like that occupied by the Missionary Convention, to which Mr. Sheshadri referred this morning, held in India last January, is possible. And would it not be within the province of the present meeting of the Evangelical Alliance to take the preliminary steps for the convocation of such a Congress? It seems to me, brethren, that the discussions of this "missionary day" should lead to some practical result.

But to return to my argument. The inference which has been reached, with regard to the sufficiency of the Gospel only in converting and civilizing the heathen world, claims the notice of scientific philosophy also, in its modern Antichristian forms. Such philosophy is struggling to annihilate the Gospel. We therefore ask the former to explain the wonders which the latter is bringing about among the very lowest representatives of heathenism. Take the case of the Papuans. If they do not owe their existence to God, if their depraved state is not a consequence of sin as it came into the world through Adam, if there was no atonement made for them by Christ, but if their origin must be ascribed to natural forces, and their degradation to a want of action among these forces, why has the Gospel proved to be the only power that can rouse them from their death-like stupor, and elevate them from their brutishness?

In order to facilitate discussion, should time permit, I will sum up what has been said in the form of two theses.

I. It is the duty of the Church to continue and finish the missionary work begun among the most insignificant and degraded tribes of the heathen world.

II. Such work has a peculiar significance in our day, because it proves to the Church and to Antichristian philosophy the world-wide sufficiency of the Gospel as a converting and civilizing power.

And now, in conclusion, looking once more at those obscure and dark corners of the earth, concerning which I have been speaking, I say, from the bottom of my heart, with the apostle, "The glorious Gospel of the blessed God!"

THE MISSION FIELD OF THE SOUTH.

BY THE REV. MOSES D. HOGE, D.D., RICHMOND, VA.

PHOTOGRAPHY has illustrated the possibility of printing a volume as large as Homer's *Iliad* on a slip of paper no larger than the palm of a man's hand; but science has discovered no method of enabling a speaker to condense into the limits of a few minutes the discussion of a theme requiring as many hours for its proper elucidation. In attempting to portray "The Mission Field of the South," I can only do as the painter who is compelled to make a hurried sketch of a wide landscape: he can only present it in outline, with a few touches which rather suggest its salient points than depict them. There is no time for filling in, or for minute delineation. If he can not produce a completed picture, he must content himself with a cartoon.

Speakers and writers vary in their enumeration of the States which constitute what we familiarly call "The South." I shall adopt Commodore Maury's classification, which includes Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Tennessee, with the Indian Territory and New Mexico, which are classed with the Southern States because they lie east of the Rocky Mountains, south of 36° 30' N. Latitude, and are drained by the rivers which empty into the Gulf of Mexico. Some of the States just enumerated are the largest in the Union—one of them, Texas, being equal in extent to all the New England States together, and all the Middle States besides, and perhaps a portion of one of the Western States in addition.

Physical Advantages.—The eleven Southern States together occupy an area nearly equal to that of Austria, Prussia, France, and Italy, with their combined population of more than 120,000,000. Such is the extent of the missionary field of which I am to speak. But there is no moral interest attached to mere territorial magnitude. The physical character of this great domain, however, has a most important connection with what *does* give it peculiar interest in the regards of the philanthropist and Christian, for its natural advantages are such as must ultimately give it a population commensurate with its vast extent. One of the wonderful features of the Atlantic side of the North American Continent is that the great basin of the St. Lawrence is the only

one which runs from west to east, while at right angles to it is the greater basin of the Mississippi, which flows from north to south—as do, more or less directly, all the principal rivers of the Union—widening and deepening as they run; thus affording increased facilities for navigation as they approach the ocean or the Gulf of Mexico, through whose waters, leaving our southern coast, in a few years more, so much of the commerce of the world will pass. But the commercial interests of the country demand artificial lines of canal and railway transverse to the natural lines of valleys and rivers. One of these great avenues of trade from the interior to the coast was traced by the foresight of Washington more than a century ago, when, observing how the confluence of the Missouri and Ohio rivers with the Mississippi was midway between the northern lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, and that the capes of the Chesapeake Bay were midway between Florida and Maine, he projected the grand scheme of connecting the James River with the Kanawha, thus establishing communication by water between the Mississippi, with its vast tributaries in the West, and the Atlantic Ocean on the East. The construction of this great national work is now one of the most interesting of all the enterprises which occupies public attention, and its completion will mark a new era in the commercial prosperity of the whole country.

Such a connection between the West and East by water communication will be followed, or perhaps preceded, by another and a greater by rail. For the natural laws of climate, distance, and production will compel the construction of an Atlantic and Pacific Railroad south of the 36th parallel of latitude—one which will not require a snow-plow driven by locomotives to open a track through formidable drifts—the shortest, the cheapest, and least obstructed by frost and storms, constituting another of those great continental highways of commerce not only for North America, but for Europe and Asia—such as Macanlay tells us is always like a belt of gold across any country over which it passes.

The Southern States, stretching down from the Potomac and Ohio rivers, early chilled by autumnal frosts, to the Florida Islands, within one degree of the torrid zone, from

the days of their colonial history have been the producers of the great staples whose importance to the commerce of the world rendered them especially invaluable to this country, because the time came, and was not long ago, when they furnished three-fourths of its entire domestic exports. It is true the system of labor which produced these results has been changed; but climate and soil can not be changed by revolution, and therefore their capacity for production is undiminished.

But, in addition to the cotton, sugar, and other great staples, no States surpass the Southern in the certainty and abundance of their cereal products. Not only is this true of the vast grain fields of Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, but the little sandy State of South Carolina, as long ago as the year 1850, produced six million bushels of corn more than all the New England States together; while Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee produced 300,000 bushels of corn in excess of all that was grown in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut—to say nothing of Rhode Island.

The development of the mineral resources of the South has just commenced; but so rich and inexhaustible are they, that they are now attracting the attention of capitalists from every country represented in this Alliance.

I do not speak vauntingly of these physical characteristics of the Southern States, for there is no merit and nothing to be proud of in the possession of these natural advantages—especially as we have not improved them as we ought—and I only enumerate some of them to show how vast a population may be supported by a section of country so favored by nature, and how important it is (now that the overthrow of slavery has removed the greatest obstacle to immigration) to make every possible preparation for the spiritual good of the millions who are so soon to crowd our South-land and render it the most populous part of the Union.

Sparse Population and Ignorance.—Coming now to a more important division of my subject, I remark that there are some *hindrances* to progress of the Gospel among our people, some of which can not be immediately removed. The sparseness of the population compared with the territorial extent of most of the Southern States is a serious obstacle to the establishment either of schools or churches. Living upon large plantations, as so many of their inhabitants do, necessarily remote from each other, not yet recovered from the impoverishment of unsuccessful war, it is often impossible to unite in sufficient numbers for the maintenance of the ordinances of religion.

There is a partial remedy for this hinderance in the efforts of the Mission Boards of different denominations to supply people so situated with evangelistic labor and with healthful religious reading. But another impediment to spiritual improvement from that source is found in the ignorance of a large class of the population, debarring them from the benefit of any teaching that is not oral.

Education and the University of Virginia.—Intending to present as faithfully as I can a true picture of my field, I do not suppress the fact, though it pains me to admit it, that the United States census reveals a larger percentage of illiteracy, even among the native white population of the South, than is to be found in any other portion of the Union. But this obstacle to spiritual improvement, like that occasioned by sparse population, time and effort will speedily remove. Indeed, the educational interests of the South have recently received a mighty impulse. Certain circumstances have aroused the people in reference to the education of all classes, and they are addressing themselves earnestly to the great undertaking. Thousands of our planters and farmers at the close of a desolating war, even before they began to retrieve their material losses, made provision for the education of their sons for the purpose of securing to them a capital which none of the vicissitudes of life could deprive them of, and by which they might always attain the means of honorable maintenance. They did not agree with Montaigne's father that "your scholar costs too much," but they believed there was no investment of money which brought returns so splendid, not only to the individual mind illumined and invigorated by noble learning, but to the State, whose shattered fortunes could be best reconstructed by filling it with young men qualified, by thorough classical and scientific training, to develop its material resources as well as advance its intellectual and moral power. They knew that, if the prestige so long attached to gentle blood and hereditary wealth could not be maintained, the aristocracy of talent and acquirement would never lose its influence. The young men, too, comprehended the situation, and the consequence was, all the colleges and higher schools of the South began to revive, even before trade and commerce revived, and were filled with eager, ambitious young men, determined to achieve whatever victories may be won on the peaceful fields of studious letters. In Virginia we have the advantage of an institution which is, in effect, a normal school to all other educational institutions. The University of Virginia was the first in the land organized on a system which made it the true culmination of the primary school, the academy, and the col-

lege; above them all in its standards, yet drawing them all upward, by degrees, to an approximation with itself, by furnishing them with a proper ideal, and by supplying them with teachers and professors competent to apply the true principles of instruction. Lest I should seem to speak too warmly of our University, with its elective system and independent schools—some of them of applied science—and its professors, better known, perhaps, in Europe than nearer home, I may say that a distinguished scholar of Great Britain, who recently visited this country to study its educational systems, in his published estimate of our University, gives it a rank higher than I have done, and says some of its methods of instruction long familiar there are just beginning to be introduced into the best institutions abroad.*

And now that Virginia, too long content with fostering her higher schools, has taken up in earnest the education of the masses, it is easy to see what an impulse will be given to the cause by such teachers as the University is sending out, and by the elevated standard which it presents to all institutions of inferior grade.

But more important than the removal of ignorance is the removal of spiritual blindness; and it is true in Christian as in heathen countries, that, though the teacher and the preacher may go together, it is the Gospel, after all, which is the power of God to the salvation of men.

Having spoken of obstacles, I may now enumerate some *facilities* to the progress of the Gospel in the Southern field.

Characteristics of Southern People.—One is that the people of the South are the most homogeneous on the continent. As yet, the foreign element is comparatively small, and the Continental forms of unbelief do not prevail among them. Speaking the same language, with common traditions and sympathies binding them together, of course the religious teacher obtains readier access to them than where different races, tongues, and creeds are elements of disintegration in society.

Again, our native population is not restless. It clings to the old ancestral home; it also cleaves to ancestral religious faith. It not only abides by the soil in which the dust of noble forefathers is mingled; it is loyal to the creeds associated with the memories of pious parents. The novel and specious forms of error which elsewhere have obliterated the old landmarks find no welcome among them. The irreligion of the South is rather the irreligion of recklessness, of ignorance, of passion, than of infidelity or of crystallized forms of unbelief. There are many communities in this land where the truth can scarcely penetrate, so crusted

over are they, and incased by formulated systems of impiety. But no neighborhood in the South is inaccessible because of entrenched infidelity. Skeptical *isms*, which spread like epidemics in some quarters, were never popular there. And least of all are our people infected by the scientific philosophy of the day, which asserts such an unvarying uniformity in the operation of physical law as to leave no place in the universe of God for the supernatural, and therefore denies miracles, discredits prophecy, and silences prayer. It follows, therefore, that, when the Christian teacher comes among us, he does not have the double task of first storming some outwork of infidelity before he attacks the central citadel of natural aversion to evangelical truth; and this greatly facilitates his labors among our people.

Christian Civilization of the South.—I am tempted to enter into these details about Southern characteristics, because there is perhaps no part of the world so little understood, no people about whom so many erroneous impressions prevail. We have few opportunities for correcting them. Our large cities are few and far apart. Our newspapers are for the most part provincial. Distinguished foreigners, visiting the United States, find more to interest them north of the Potomac, and seldom derive their information of the South from personal observation. If we sought for vindication, however, we would find it in an impartial and official source, bearing a testimony to our Christian civilization so emphatic as to be worth reproducing.

One of the tables of the United States Census Report gives the statistics of pauperism and crime in all the States of the Union. Freedom from both of these evils unquestionably indicates a healthful and elevated civilization. The Southern States stand highest in the list in these respects. I contrast the statements made in the Census Report with regard to pauperism and crime in the New England States and in the Southern States, not for the purpose of making an invidious comparison, which I have no desire to do, but because the New England States are generally spoken of as distinguished for thrifty industry and high moral character.

1.—1. Pauperism prevails in the New England States in the proportion of 44 to every 10,000 of the *entire population*. In the Southern States the proportion is 13 to every 10,000 of the entire population. 2. In the *native* New England population, the ratio is 47 to every 10,000. In the entire white population of the South, native and foreign, the ratio is only 14 to 10,000. 3. In the *foreign* population of New England States, the ratio of pauperism is 35 to every 10,000. Among the *colored* people of the Southern States, the ratio is 13 in every 10,000.

* Dr. Porter, author of "Giant Cities of Bashan," etc.

II.—1. In the United States census tables of criminal statistics, we are told that in the *entire* New England population the proportion is 11 in 10,000. In the *entire* Southern population it is 8 in 10,000. 2. In the *native* New England population the proportion is 8 in every 10,000. In the entire white population of the South, native and foreign, the proportion of criminals is a little over 4½ in every 10,000. 3. In the *foreign* New England population the proportion of criminals is 26 in every 10,000. In the *colored* population of the Southern States it is about 13 in 10,000.

III. Another surprising revelation which these census tables makes is in reference to church accommodations. 1. In the New England States there are 5421 churches, with 2,203,607 sittings. [Total population, 3,487,924.] In the Southern States there are 18,000 churches, with sittings for 4,706,937 persons. [Total population 9,487,386.] 2. Or, to state it in another form, in New England there is one church for 643 inhabitants. In the South there is one church for 518 inhabitants.

Thus we see that if the ability of a people to provide for their own support without being dependent on charity, if reverence for law, if generous provision for the ordinances of the Gospel are constituent elements of a true Christian civilization, then, when there is a call for a judgment by these criteria, the Southern States step to the front.

The Negroes.—And yet there is a vast work to be done for the evangelization of the native population of the South, and a still greater for the spiritual welfare of two other very dissimilar but most interesting races, the one in the Providence of God intermingled with us, and the other dwelling upon our border. In the eleven Southern States there are about five millions and a half of whites, and a little less than four millions of negroes. In three of the Southern States they outnumber the whites. In South Carolina they have a majority of more than 125,000.

It will be interesting to those whose sympathies have long been enlisted in behalf of the freedmen, and who have had little opportunity of learning what Christian philanthropy is attempting for their improvement, to hear something definite with regard to the efforts which are made, first, for their secular education, and, second, for their religious training.

The Freedman's Bureau, out of thirteen millions of dollars, expended only three and a half millions for educational purposes.* But what is needed is some regular and permanent provision, such as is contemplated in the Free School System of the Southern

States, which provides for the education of the children of both races. Oppressed as were the property holders by the burdens of taxation, they nevertheless addressed themselves to the work of establishing free schools for white and colored children without discrimination between them.

Virginia has taken the lead in this great work, and there the Free School System inaugurated in 1870 has been most faithfully and efficiently managed, as it might have been all over the South but for the fact that in some of the States where aliens have monopolized office, and ignorance has expelled intelligence from the halls of legislation, the public school fund has been squandered and the interests of the colored people betrayed.

The question of levying a local tax for providing school accommodations was carried in Virginia in every case where it was presented to the suffrages of the people, except in one district in which the colored people voted solidly against it. In another large district where the colored people were in the majority, they left the question of the school tax to be decided exclusively by the whites, who were the property holders. Not a vote was cast by a freedman, but the white people voted unanimously for the tax.

The establishment of normal schools for the negroes, like the excellent and well-endowed Agricultural and Polytechnic Institute at Hampton, near Fortress Monroe, will do more than any thing else to confirm their possibly wavering interest in educational schemes for their benefit. Enlightened and well-trained colored teachers, thoroughly understanding the idiosyncrasies of their own race, and sincerely desirous to promote their good, without partisan or selfish aims, will become the best agency for keeping alive their present zeal for self-improvement, and for instructing them how to guard the great political estate so recently and suddenly conferred on them, against the raids of pillaging and unprincipled demagogues.

Next, as to the efforts made for the *direct religious instruction* of the freedmen, I may say that every evangelical Church in the South has their spiritual welfare at heart, and gladly embraces every opportunity for doing them good.

African independent Churches.—The colored people among us prefer separate independent ecclesiastical organizations; and those of the white race, who have given the subject the most conscientious thought, are disposed to encourage them in forming churches of their own, with ministers and officers of their own choosing, all to be gathered, when they become sufficiently numerous, under the care of Presbyteries, Synods, Conferences, Associations, or Conventions, according to the denominations to which they belong; their white brethren, in the mean time, giving

* Letter from Virginia, in *Old and New*. Boston, Nov., 1872.

them all the encouragement, pecuniary aid, and moral support in their power. This is the preference of the freedmen, and the policy of the Methodist and Baptist Churches, to which denominations the colored people in the South for the most part belong.

Few of them now remain in connection with the Methodist Church, South. But with its approval, and under its auspices, an African Methodist Church has been organized, distinct and independent, yet still looking to their old spiritual guardians for sympathy, counsel, and help. This they receive. All the houses of worship belonging to the Methodist Church, South, which were built for their colored members, are transferred to them when they organize churches of their own, and in every way they are encouraged and assisted in carrying out their wish to maintain a distinctive ecclesiastical life, with congregations composed exclusively of their own people, under the control of pastors and officers of their own race.

This instinctive and intense regard for race, which first segregates and then consolidates them, is a stronger bond than that of nationality; and it is, perhaps, a prophecy, and a preparation for the time when they will be colonized into some state or territory of their own. This will probably be the happy and harmonious solution of the problem of their destiny in this country, for all history shows how difficult it is for two races so dissimilar in character and capacity to live together in the peaceful exercise of co-ordinate authority in Church and State.

It is now admitted to be one of the great discoveries of modern missions that Christianity is most rapidly and permanently advanced by the establishment of self-reliant churches composed wholly of native converts, each church complete in itself, with pastors of the same race with the people. The illustration of this principle is already beginning to be seen in the South.

The colored Bishop of the Methodist Church, the Right Rev. W. H. Miles, a man of eminent prudence and piety, at a recent General Conference held at Augusta, Georgia, reported 14 annual conferences, with more than 600 traveling preachers, and nearly 600 local preachers, and a membership of about 70,000. He opposes mixed schools, mixed membership, and favors an organization confined to his own people—not in any spirit of antagonism or unkindness, for he exhorts them to cultivate the most amicable relations with the whites, and to identify themselves with the interests of the communities in which they reside.

Nor are our Baptist Churches less active and efficient in their labors for the colored people. They have missionary societies whose business it is to set the blacks to doing something for themselves, and the whites

to helping them. They find the Sunday-school to be an instrumentality admirably adapted for giving them just the training they most need, because of the opportunity it affords of imparting such instruction as informs the understanding and enlightens the conscience. These are springing up all over the South, and those which are maintained during the winter as well as the summer months are called by the significant name of *evergreens*.

What the Freedmen need.—But, after all, the paramount necessity of the Southern African Churches is a thoroughly educated ministry of their own. Nothing can be substituted for this, nor can the complete development of their ecclesiastical life ever be attained without it. The negroes are constitutionally imaginative and mercurial, with a strong inclination to superstition and fanaticism. And what they most require to counteract these tendencies is systematic instruction in divine truth—not the technical systems of the schools, not metaphysical subtleties or sectarian polemics, but a grounding in fundamental principles—such a grounding as comes from illustrating these principles so simply and reiterating them so patiently as to insure a true and clear comprehension of them. If ignorant enthusiasts and fiery fanatics are their spiritual guides, their religion will be the intoxication of excited animal sensibilities, full of the chimeras of distempered fancy, instead of the calm sobriety of rational faith and the salutary convictions of conscience enlightened by the Spirit of Truth. The Church, therefore, which secures this kind of instruction for them is their greatest benefactor. The American Baptist Home Missionary Society is doing a noble work in this direction. It has established seven schools, one in Washington City, and the others in the Southern States at well-selected points, viz., Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Augusta, New Orleans, and Nashville, for the education of young men of color for the Gospel ministry.

Type of Civilization and Christianity among the Negroes.—Let us hope that these various instrumentalities will be blessed by the Great Head of the Church to the highest good of the African people in this country. Nothing but the conservative power of Christianity can secure them against the evil influences which threaten them. Nothing else can bring them a happy future. There is much to hinder their attainment of a high degree of civilization. They are mentally and physically unfitted to cope with the superior energy of the white races. It is no disparagement to the African, and no reflection on the wisdom and goodness of the Creator, that these inequalities exist. The truest friend of the African is not the man who inspects him through the rose-colored lenses of a sentimental philanthropy,

but one who looks at him in the light of truth, recognizing his weaknesses that he may guard him against their influence, and appreciating his good qualities that he may encourage him in their development.

Nor is this picture a cheerless and discouraging one. There is before him the hope of a moral and spiritual progression of greater worth than any that is merely mental; and, though his type of civilization and of Christianity may be different from that of the Caucasian, it need not be necessarily an inferior one; though he may never be distinguished in the walks of philosophic or scientific research, or of broad statesmanship, or of original discovery, yet he may attain to a spiritual development of the gentlest and most attractive character. The very traits so prominent in his nature—his freedom from ambition and avarice, his humble, docile, forgiving, contented, patient, loving, submissive spirit—may, under the cherishing and sanctifying influence of divine grace, prepare him for a type of Christian civilization, softer, kindlier, fuller of the virtues of the Sermon on the Mount, more self-sacrificing, and richer in the sweet charities of the Gospel than any yet exhibited by the more aggressive and dominant white races.

The Red Man.—A glance at another race thrown upon our Christian charity, in the providence of God, will complete my sketch of the "Mission Field of the South."

On the 100th meridian, between Kansas and Texas, lies what is called the Indian Territory, a land of water-brooks, and fountains, and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills; a land spread out in wide and undulating plains, many of them of inexhaustible fertility, through which flow broad and navigable rivers, bordered by forests; a land of temperate and healthful climate, and larger in extent than either of the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, or Virginia. This Territory is now the home of the Indian tribes once dwelling in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, but removed by the Government of the United States to the reservations now allotted to them and marked by treaty boundaries. The Indian tribes inhabiting this Territory are the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, with a few remnants of other tribes.

These Indians form a part of the aborigines to whom this whole continent once belonged, driven from year to year by aggressive white emigration into narrower limits, and now nearly all removed to the west of the Mississippi River.

To those who are fond of observing the characteristic distinctions of race, the Indian of our frontier will furnish an interesting study. Many of his characteristics are in marked contrast with those of the African, which we have just been considering.

The North American Indian is haughty in demeanor, taciturn, stoical, watchful, often revengeful, implacable, and cruel; yet hospitable, grateful for kindness, of a temperament imaginative and poetic, dignified in manner, ceremonious, regardful of the ties of consanguinity, full of veneration for ancestral traditions and usages, with powers of expression which often rise to impressive and effective oratory.

Though the Indian has not attracted the attention or called forth the Christian activities of our people as the negro has done—for philanthropy in this country has been for the most part *monochromatic*, and not much tinged by the red ray—yet no efforts have been more richly rewarded than those which have been made for the spiritual good of the poor Indian. Recently, indeed, a noble advance has been made in that direction. Within a year or two the Government has accepted the aid of religious bodies in its effort to pacify and civilize the savages on our Western plains. In Washington City, in January last, the Board of Indian Commissioners held a conference with some of the Missionary Boards which have been co-operating with the official agents of the Government, and the reports made and the addresses delivered indicate a new era in popular interest in behalf of the civil and spiritual condition of the Indian.

Those were impressive words of Bishop Whipple when he said, "Very much of the hostility of the Indian is the hostility of despair; it is the terrible blow which a man who has nothing to hope for strikes toward his enemies." And those were brave words addressed to the Board of Indian Commissioners, in 1872, by the President of the United States, in reference to the rumor of a change in the humane policy which had been pursued toward the Indian: "Such a thing has not been thought of. I do not believe our Creator has placed the different races of men on the earth with the view of having the stronger exert his energies in exterminating the weaker. If any change takes place in the Indian policy of the Government while I hold my present office, it will be on the humanitarian side of the question."

The improved condition of the Indians of the South-west Territory illustrates the happy results of Christian effort in their behalf. They are civilized communities. They wear the dress, and live in houses built and furnished as among the humbler classes in the States. They till their fields and have herds of domestic animals. They have printing-presses, newspapers, and books in the English language and in their own tongues. They have more schools, more churches, in proportion to population, and larger attendance on religious services, and contribute more money for benevolent objects, than the people of any Territory of the

United States. Life and property are more safe among them, and there are fewer violations of law among them, than in the territories occupied by the whites.*

The Southern Methodists and Baptists are doing faithful work among them. So, too, is the Northern Presbyterian Board, especially among the Creeks and Seminoles.

But the most extensive missionary operations in the Territory are conducted by

* "Fourth Annual Report of Board of Indian Commissioners."

the Southern Presbyterian Church. It has seven missionaries, three female missionary assistants, and a number of native helpers, together with an important institution, Spence Academy, under the care of three able instructors, and with judicious management destined to become a power for good in advancing the educational and religious interests of the Indian people.

Such are some of the gleanings of information which I have the honor to lay before you from "The Missionary Field of the South."

THE INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY THE HON. FELIX R. BRUNOT, PITTSBURG, PA.,

Chairman of the U. S. Board of Indian Commissioners.

IF we speak of the Turks, the Mexicans, or the Chinese, the mind at once localizes them, and recalls some definite conception of the habits and condition of the people mentioned, and that which we know to be characteristic of a part is generally correct if applied to the nation.

We are apt to speak and think of the North American Indians in like manner. Those we have read of, or know of, or have seen, make up our conceit of the whole race. And yet, as they now exist in the States and Territories, there are as great diversities of condition and circumstances among the various tribes of Indians, as there are between the nations I have mentioned.

They are distributed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and occupy reservations or claim their hunting-grounds in eight States and eleven Territories of the United States.

There are ninety reservations, one-third of the number being west of the Rocky Mountains, and about one hundred and thirty tribes, or remnants of tribes, speaking probably as many as fifty different languages.

Many of the tribes have no more knowledge of, or intercourse with, each other than the Turks have with the Mexicans; and others maintain only the intercourse of war with their hereditary enemies. The Comanches fight the Apaches and the Osages; the Sioux fight the Crows and the Utes; the Utes fight the Cheyennes.

In 1869, when the Cheyennes and Arapahoes made a "strong peace," as they expressed it, with the whites, the chiefs thought it necessary to explain that, "in all their talks with the Great Father's commissioners, they never agreed to make peace with the Utes or the Sioux," and asked me for a "paper" which would allow them to go after their enemies, and not be molested by the "Great Father's soldiers." Their raids against each other have been less frequent of late, and will soon cease.

The "Plains Indians" here spoken of are savages, and are just beginning to improve under the peace policy.

The Oneida Indians in Cattaraugus County, in this State, hold Agricultural Fairs and Teachers' Institutes. The Santee Sioux in Dakota maintain Episcopal and Presbyterian churches. The Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, and Creeks, in the Indian Terri-

tory, have Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches, a legislature, and a system of public schools. At several reservations in Washington Territory the Indians are good Catholics, and at one the chief conducts daily matins and vespers in the church. Many of the laborers in the great lumber-mills at Puget Sound, and nearly all in the Bellingham Bay Coal Company's mines, are Indians, earning the same wages as white men.

Upon another reservation quite remote from white settlement the Indians have erected two Methodist churches, which are supplied by native preachers and have five hundred members. The Pueblo tribes in New Mexico, from time immemorial, have lived in houses, raised corn, peaches, and melons, and weave on looms of their own invention water-proof ponchos, or blankets, which have not yet been successfully imitated by the whites.

In view of these diversities of character and condition, and the facts stated, it is charitable to suppose that the man who declares that "the Indians are only fit to be exterminated" knows very little about them as a race of people. So also of him who declares that "the Indians are incapable of being civilized." If the one only means that such of the Indians as commit murders and savage atrocities in time of peace should be exterminated, I agree with him. Even white people of that class ought to be exterminated, but not the race. If the other means only that a barbarous people can not in a few years all be transformed into inventors, scientists, lawyers, *littérateurs*, and adepts in the mechanic arts, I agree with him also. But these are not the inseparable concomitants of civilization, any more than are marble palaces and French furniture. There are white communities in this country and in Europe, and in both great masses of humble people who could not be elevated to this degree of civilization in a century, yet they are civilized.

When it is claimed that the Indians are susceptible of civilization, I mean that, under proper treatment and teaching, they can become an inoffensive, industrious, Christian people, with all the civilization necessary to their own happiness and the peace of their neighbors, and all the Christianity needful to their salvation.

Since the day of Roger Williams to the present time, the Proprietary, Colonial, Continental, and United States Governments have generally legislated in recognition of the Indians' rights. The legislative wrongs have been the result of deception, or forced by the aggressive character of the people. The benevolent measures attempted for their benefit and improvement in times past were almost uniformly thwarted by the agencies employed to execute them. Said the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1869: "The soldiers sent for their protection carried demoralization and disease into their midst. The agent appointed to be their friend and counselor, business manager, and the almoner of the Government bounties, frequently went among them only to enrich himself in the shortest possible time, at the cost of the Indians, and spend the largest available sum of the government money with the least ostensible beneficial results. The general interest of the trader was opposed to their enlightenment as tending to lessen his profits. Any increase of intelligence would render them less liable to his impositions; and, if occupied in agricultural pursuits, their product of furs would be proportionally decreased. The contractors' and transporters' interests were opposed to it, for the reason that the production of agricultural products on the spot would measurably cut off their profits in furnishing army supplies. The interpreter knew that if they were taught his occupation was gone. The more submissive and patient the tribe, the greater the number of outlaws infesting its vicinity; and all these were the missionaries teaching them the most degrading vices of which humanity is capable. If, in spite of these obstacles, a tribe made some progress in agriculture, or their lands became valuable from any cause, the process of civilization was summarily ended by driving them away from their homes with fire and sword to undergo similar experiences in some new locality."

Under the pernicious political maxim that "to the victors belong the spoils," Indian agencies had been for many years among the perquisites of successful politicians. They were bestowed too often as the choicest rewards upon their most active and most scrupulous partisans. As a natural consequence, pecculation and robbery, and a disregard for the rights of the Red Men, had become the rule among them, and honest administration the exception.

The outrages perpetrated upon the Indians by the lawless classes of the frontiers were frequently made the pretext of war against them.

For a hundred years the minds of the American people have been filled with tales of Indian atrocities done upon "the hardy pioneers of the frontier," nearly always hor-

rible enough to stop the heart beat, and chill the blood in the veins of the hearer, and always seemingly unprovoked.

The white man's story alone was told, the Indian's never. The celebrated Kit Carson, before a Congressional committee, testified but mildly when he said, "As a general thing, the difficulties arise from aggressions on the part of the whites." I would have used far stronger words justified by facts. The Indian wars of the forty years before the election of President Grant have cost five hundred millions of dollars. The accompanying horrors of slain soldiers, murdered families, and devastated homes, who can count?

The military "Peace Commission" of 1867, comprising among its members the commander-in-chief and leading generals of the army, relate some striking facts in their report. I quote you one of their conclusions: "But it is said our Indian wars have been almost constant. Have we been uniformly unjust? We answer unhesitatingly, Yes!" No one can traverse the field of their investigations without coming to the same inference.

The remembrance that my topic belongs to "Missionary Day" in the programme warns me away from this prolific phase of the subject.

That, under auspices so adverse, the Indians have not made greater progress in civilization can not excite surprise. That so much progress has been made by many of them is wonderful.

President Grant in his initial message indicated his determination to do justice to the remnant of the aboriginals, and reform the abuses of the Indian service. The "Peace Policy" will stand to his honor as long as our country has a place in history. Taking out from politics the nomination of Indian agents, he placed it in the hands of Christian denominations willing to accept the trust with its responsibilities. They are expected to nominate honest men, and supplement the civilizing instrumentalities of the Government with Christian missions.

Passing over the wise adoption of the policy to assure peace and safety to the frontier settler, its economy in lives and money, and other details of its purpose and operations, I confine my remarks to the features which especially concern this Christian assembly.

It affirms the duty of the nation to extend the blessings of civilization to the Indians, and recognizes the religion of Christ as the foundation principle of civilization. Do the Christians of the United States believe this? Never before was there such an opportunity to prove our faith by our works. Never was there an opportunity for Christian missions under so favorable circumstances—never a plainer duty presented.

There are about 350,000 Indians in the

United States and Territories. Every degree of progress from barbarism to civilization is illustrated in the tribes. About 250,000 are civilized or partly civilized, and the remainder are yet savages in every respect. Not less than 15,000 Indians are members of Christian churches, and those tribes are most advanced in civilization where the foundation was laid by Christian missions. The Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws have a history perhaps never paralleled in their rapid advancement from barbarism to civilization. They now number about 50,000, have each a legislative assembly—their own written language and laws, judges and courts. The Cherokee alphabet was the invention of a Cherokee Indian. They have churches, schools, academies, and newspapers; and a confederated government and national assembly, the deliberations of which compare favorably with similar assemblages elsewhere. To this I need hardly add that many of their citizens are highly intelligent and educated.

I have two volumes of Cherokee and Choctaw laws, printed in English, on their own printing-presses, in the year 1852. In these days of temperance agitation, it is worth mentioning that one of the statutes is identically the "Maine liquor law," but antedates that law ten years.

Before the war of the Rebellion, many of the Indians were rich in farm improvements, cattle, horses, and slaves. At the close of the war, in 1865, its ravages had left their country devastated, and themselves in poverty. Yet the statistics of 1871 showed that, in number of acres cultivated, products, valuation, wealth, and school statistics, they compared favorably with the Territories of the United States.

The Cherokees have a population of 14,682; live in houses built by themselves, in number about 4000. Five hundred of these are framed and boarded houses, the remainder built of logs.

They have two boarding-schools, one college, and sixty day-schools, with an average attendance of about 2133 pupils, sustained at a cost of \$25,000 last year from their national fund. Three of these schools are for the children of freedmen. They have also a national orphan asylum.

The Creeks number about 15,000. They have one boarding-school and thirty day-schools, which cost them \$14,258 in 1872. They have their missions, and 2050 church-members.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws have a population of about 20,000. They had last year two boarding-schools and forty-eight day-schools, and expended upon them \$69,500 during the year. They have three missions besides churches, and a church-membership of 2500.

To enter into similar details in regard to

all the Indian tribes, however interesting to me, would be tedious to you. I will mention but one or two others.

Fifteen years ago the Yakama Indians, a wild tribe in Washington Territory, were subdued after a bloody war. They were put upon a reservation, and a costly military post established to keep them in order there. The efforts of a Methodist missionary soon rendered the military useless. When I visited them in 1871, I found three hundred farm-houses upon as many little farms, and two neat wooden churches erected by themselves, and about four hundred church-members. The churches were partly under the control of native preachers. The church-membership has largely increased during the two years past.

Twelve hundred miles east of the Yakamas, as the crow flies, and the same distance north of the Cherokees, we find the successful Episcopal missions among the Dakotahs. Ten years ago these Indians were engaged in the horrible Minnesota massacres, in which hundreds of white settlers paid the forfeit of their lives for wrongs done upon the Indians by others. Now, under the encouragement of the new policy, the Episcopalians have six missions and two sub-stations among the Dakotahs, with churches and schools, and more than 600 communicants. A large number of the Indians live in houses, wear civilized clothing, and labor industriously to eke out a subsistence by farming. The Presbyterians have also an interesting mission among the same people. Passing by equally successful missions of the Presbyterian, Baptist, Catholic, and Moravian denominations with regret, I ask your attention to a few words in regard to the wild tribes of the plains and mountains.

There are probably 75,000 Indians who are totally barbarous, and who still subsist in whole or in part by the chase. They are all now at peace with the Government, and most of them have become satisfied of the power and superiority of the whites. The leading chiefs of the Sioux, Crows, Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Blackfeet, and other tribes admit the necessity of "going the white man's road."

None of the North American Indians are idolaters. They worship the "Great Spirit," who, they say, made all things. I have found but one Indian in all my visits to the tribes who pretended to be an atheist. Even he, in their ceremonious pipe lighting, made the customary reverence of the tribe toward the "Great Spirit."

On several occasions when I opened a council with prayer, the chief followed the example by offering prayer to the "Great Spirit."

At my first council with the wild Sioux, Red Cloud, the head-chief, stepped out into the space surrounded by his warriors, and,

raising his right arm in majestic and reverent attitude, made a prayer which is worthy of preservation.

MOK-PE-A-LU-TA'S PRAYER.

"O Great Spirit, I pray you to look at us. We are your children, and you first put us on this land. We pray you to look down on us, so nothing but the truth will be spoken in this council. We don't ask for any thing but what is right and just. When you made your red children, O Great Spirit, you made them to have pity on them. Now we are before you to-day, praying you to look down on us, and take pity on your poor red children.

"We pray you to have nothing but the truth spoken here. We hope these things will be settled up right. You are the Protector of the people born with bows and arrows, as well as the people born with clothes, and I hope we do not pray to you in vain. We are poor and ignorant. Our forefathers told us we would not be in misery if we asked for your help. O Great Spirit, look down on your children and help them."

Last summer I passed a week in council with the Crow tribe, on the Upper Yellowstone River, in Montana, and on Sunday afternoon I told them of the white man's great Book of Knowledge, and the simple story of the Saviour. Next day the chief made an eloquent speech, in the course of which he said, "You told us about your religion. We

have our religion, which is much the same, only you call the Great Spirit Jesus, and we call him by another name. We call him in Crow language *E-so-we-wat-se*. He will punish us if we are bad. We give him a part of all we have. We pray to him."

We had noticed a beacon light for two nights, far up above the timber line, upon the summit of the highest mountain near. Some of the young men were there engaged in their religious rites, during which they remain for days without eating or drinking. The Crows are a generous, kindly, friendly people to the whites, but they are heathen.

Woe be to us if we preach not the Gospel to the heathen! What matter if some of them are idle or dirty, degraded or treacherous, even as their worst enemies charge? Christ died not alone for the industrious, clean, and gentle-bred. And let us remember that not many centuries ago our boastful Anglo-Saxon race was but little less degraded than the North American Indians. A Sioux Indian, whose heart was touched by the story of the Saviour, asked, "How long has the white man known about this?" and on being told, said, "Why did you not tell us before? I think the Great Spirit will not punish us who did not know, but will punish the white man who did not tell us."

It will be seen that I have but flitted over my subject, "The Indians in the United States," touching here and there by the way. The time allowed would admit of nothing more.

MISSIONS TO THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

BY THE REV. HENRY HARRIS JESSUP, D.D., BEIRUT, SYRIA.

[This paper of Dr. Jessup, who could not be personally present, was read to the Conference by his co-laborer in Syria, the Rev. DAVID STUART DODGE.—Ed.]

It is one of the marvels of Christian history that, after the lapse of nearly two thousand years, the birthplace of Christianity is missionary ground. The lands of the Bible ask for the Word of God. The birthplace of religion needs a religion. The Christian Churches of the East need to be taught the nature of Christianity. The moral and religious conflicts of the past are to be repeated by the armies of the truth in the very seat of their ancient victories. The encampments of the Prince of Darkness, like the black tents of the Bedouins, cover the lands where prophets and apostles preached; and where *He* appeared—who is himself the Truth and the Life—there still exists enough of error to make the last decisive struggle protracted and severe.

Western Asia, the cradle of the race, the battle-field of opinions, is now preparing to play her part in that coming conflict in which the issues of human history are to be finally settled.

The chief religious systems of Western Asia to-day are *Mohammedan*, *semi-Pagan*, and *nominal Christian*, with a trace of Judaism.

1. Mohammedanism, extending from the Republic of Liberia, through North Africa, Arabia, Syria, Persia, and Northern India, to Peking in China, with its one hundred and twenty millions of followers, presents one of the widest and noblest missionary fields in the world. Some of the finest races, intellectually and physically, are believers in the Koran.* They believe in one God, and in the divine origin of the Old and New Testaments; but regard the Scriptures as corrupted, deny the divinity of Christ, ignore the spirituality of religion, and look upon Christians as their hereditary enemies. Having seen only the Oriental type of Christianity, they despise its immorality, idolatry, and want of charity, and refuse to exchange a system of monotheistic worship for what they regard as polytheistic idolatry.

2. The *semi-Pagan* sects, as the Druze, Nunsairy, and Yezidee, numbering in all little more than half a million souls, constitute a most difficult, yet none the less important part of the Western Asia missionary field.

* Want of space forbids mention of the various sects of Islamism.

3. But that portion to which the attention of Christian Europe and America has been chiefly called consists of what are styled the *Oriental Churches*. The massacre of Seio in 1822, the Greek Revolution, the Crimean War, and the massacres of 1860 in Lebanon and Damascus, have awakened interest most extended, and schemes most varied, for the protection and elevation, or the reformation and evangelization of the Christians of the East. Few have any correct idea as to who these Christians are, what they are, how numerous, and how widely dispersed.

It is not enough to say that the Oriental Christians hold to the divinity of Christ and the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, and deserve all honor for holding steadfastly to even a degenerate Christianity in the midst of Pagan darkness and Mohammedan fanaticism; for it is also true that they have all gone astray from the simplicity of the Gospel, not only exalting tradition above Scripture, and holding usages which are idolatrous and anti-Christian, but living in open disregard of the morality of the Gospel. Religion and morality are divorced. The Greek brigand or pirate who keeps the fasts is esteemed a religious man, while such missionaries as an Eli Smith or a Jonas King, who do not keep the fasts, are branded as having no religion.

The Oriental Churches may be divided into *six great classes*, comprising *fourteen* different sects.*

I. The *Monophysite*, Eutychian, or anti-Chalcedonian sects, who reject the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, held in 451. These are *four*: the *Armenians*, *Jacobites* (or Syrians), *Copts*, and *Abyssinians*. They all have their own distinct ritual and calendar; are hostile to each other, and to all other Christian sects; have a married parish clergy; and reject the primacy of the Pope.

II. The *anti-Ephesian*, who reject the Council of Ephesus in 431. These are the *Nestorians*, or Chaldeans. They have a married clergy, a high reverence for the Scriptures, and but little of picture worship.

III. The *Orthodox Greek*, who accept the seven General Councils. The Greek Church is Rome decapitated—a priestly system with-

* See "London Quarterly Review," July, 1869.

out a pontifex; an exclusive traditional Church, which yet allows the Bible to the people. In the Turkish Empire its patriarchs and the most of its bishops are foreigners, speaking only Greek, and ignorant of the customs and wants of the people. The parish clergy are married, and generally most illiterate.

IV. The *Maronite*, a Papal sect, with an ignorant people, and an educated priesthood, sworn to allegiance to Rome, and yet, like all the above, with a married parish clergy. The Maronite Patriarch is regarded by his people as hardly inferior to the Pope. He refused to attend the Vatican Council, fearing, it is supposed, Papal interference with his personal prerogatives.

V. The *six Oriental Papal* sects, who are converts from six of the above sects to the Church of Rome. They are the *Papal Greek, Papal Armenian, Papal Syrian, Papal Nestorian, Papal Coptic, and Papal Abyssinian*. They maintain their own calendar and saint days, the marriage of the clergy, and various ancient prerogatives, which the Papal legates are now striving most assiduously to abolish. In the Papal Greek Church of Syria, and the Papal Armenian Church of Constantinople, this interference of the Pope has resulted in schism, and large numerical loss to the Romish communion.

VI. The *Latins*, a small community, composed chiefly of attachés of the French and Italian monasteries, who have conformed in all respects to the Church of Rome.

These sects all agree sufficiently, both in the common truth and the common error which they hold, to be classed as *one*—one in their need of reformation, one in being an obstacle to the evangelization of the Mohammedan world.

1. They all hold the doctrine of *transubstantiation*. The books of the *Greek Church* are explicit on this point.* “The bread and wine are not the symbols of the body and blood of Christ (God forbid), but the very deified body of the Lord.” This expression is found in the reply of the Patriarch of Constantinople to the German Protestant divines, who opened a correspondence with him about thirty years after the death of Luther (Greek edition, p. 184).

The other Eastern Churches hold this doctrine with equal tenacity.

2. They all agree in the doctrine of *baptismal regeneration*. In this respect the Greek Church is pre-eminently exclusive. It declares *trine immersion*, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be absolutely essential to salvation, and denies lay baptism. The Pope unchurched all non-Papal Christendom, and the Greek Church casts out the Pope as an unbaptized heretic.

3. They all agree in the doctrine of *priestly absolution*, and a priestly mediation between God and man.

4. They all worship the *Virgin Mary and the Saints*.

5. They all regard *relics and pictures or images* with more or less of superstitious reverence.

6. They all use the *confessional and prayers for the dead*.

7. With the trifling exception of the Latins, their parish clergy are all allowed to marry, although the bishops and patriarchs are celibate.

In nothing is the inconsistency of Rome more evident than in allowing the priests in *seven* of the Oriental sects the liberty of marrying, while denying it to all its priests in Europe and America.

A native Syrian, in a recent tract against the Jesuits, asks them this question: “If marriage be a sacrament of the Church, why deny it to the clergy?”

8. In none of these Churches is instruction given in the Scriptures. Their liturgies are in dead languages, and preaching is almost unknown. The only preacher of note in the Greek Church in Syria is denounced by many of his people as a Protestant.

The *numbers* of these various sects in Western Asia and North Africa are nearly as follows, not including the Greeks of Russia or Greece:

Greeks	1,000,000
Nestorians	140,000
“ in India	116,000
Maronites	230,000
Copts	200,000
Nestorian Catholics	20,000
Armenians	3,000,000
Greek Catholics	50,000
Jacobite Syrians	30,000
Abyssinians	4,500,000
Other Papal sects	300,000
Total	9,586,000

This brings the grand total to about *ten millions*, which will probably include all the nominal Christians in Western Asia and North Africa.

If now we consider the *geographical distribution* of these various sects, a remarkable fact is presented. As in the Apostolic age, the Jews were dispersed among the Gentiles, possessing the Hebrew Scriptures, yet dead and superstitious, formal and inert, so now we find the Oriental Churches, retaining at least parts of the Scriptures, scattered through the semi-Pagan and Mohammedan world.

In *Turkey*, the Armenians and Greeks are mingled with the Ottoman Turks. In *Persia*, the Armenians and Nestorians, with the Persian Mohammedans, Kûrds, and Tartars; in *Mesopotamia* and *Northern Syria*, the Greeks, Jacobites, and Armenians, with Yezidees, Moslems, Nusairiyeh, and Arabs of the Desert. In *Syria Proper*, the Greeks, Maron-

* Article on the Greek Church, by Rev. S. H. Calhoun, missionary to Syria.—“New York Evangelist,” March 1, 1866

ites, Jacobites, and Roman Catholics of various names, among Moslems, Nusairtyeh, Druzes, *Metawileh*, and Arabs of the Desert. In *Egypt*, the Greeks, Copts, and Armenians, among Egyptian Moslems, and tribes of North Africa and Arabia. In *Abyssinia*, the Abyssinians among the surrounding Pagan and Mohammedan tribes. And in *Western India*, at Travancore, the Nestorian or Thomas Christians, on the borders of Hindoo Paganism and Islamism.

These nominal Christian sects thus occupy the great centres of Moslem power: *Cairo*, *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, *Constantinople*, *Mosul*, and *Teheran*. Their very position is providential and full of suggestion, and will aid us in determining the *object of missionary work among the Oriental Churches*.

The primary object of all missionary work is the salvation of men through the preaching of the Gospel. This must be the *immediate* object here. The Oriental Churches, in their present lapsed state, need the Gospel as much, in many respects, as their Moslem neighbors. Gross darkness covers the people. The work to be done is one which will bring men to Christ—a living Christ. The great commission is a commission to preach the Gospel.

But *in what way* is the Gospel to be brought home to these Oriental Churches? In what mode is the work to be done?

There has been an honest difference of opinion on this subject even among Evangelical Christians, and a much greater difference between them and the high ecclesiastical party in the Protestant Church.

I. One view has been to effect an outward ecclesiastical union between these sects and Protestant Christianity, on the basis of admitting the truth they hold, without agitating the question of their errors. One objection to this is its *absolute impracticability*. Union of Protestants with the Greek Church, on the basis of intercommunion, can never be effected—the Greek Church remaining as it is—until all Protestants have submitted to trine immersion by a regularly ordained Greek priest. The concession must be all on one side. Let this be borne in mind, and the advocates of union with the Greek Church may be saved much needless mortification. Since the contemptuous treatment of the German Protestant divines, in the sixteenth century, by the Patriarch of Constantinople, there has been witnessed no more humiliating spectacle than that of Protestant ministers courting the ecclesiastical favor of Greek priests, who, while not wanting in outward courtesy, regard them as heretics, publicly anathematize them at least once a year (on Ash-Wednesday) in their churches, and consign them, with all other heretics and unbaptized persons, to perdition.*

* See the Jerusalem edition of the "Triodion" service for Ash-Wednesday.

Any attempt to fraternize with the Greek Church can only increase the contempt of their clergy for ourselves, and their attachment to the traditions and superstitions of their fathers.

II. Another plan has been to *reform the higher ecclesiastics*, and through them the people. The twelve labors of Hercules were slight compared with such a task. The patriarchs and bishops of the East are, as a class, wealthy, avaricious, masters of political intrigue, unscrupulous, and trained to hierarchical tyranny over the consciences of men, and will probably be the last class in the East to accept the Gospel in its simplicity. There are, indeed, noble exceptions—men who would gladly hail a reformation, but find their hands tied and their labors hindered by the iron fetters of ecclesiastical despotism.

III. A third scheme has been suggested, and faithfully tried. It proposes to preach the Gospel and give the Bible to the people, leaving them in their own ecclesiastical relations, thus reforming the Church from within. This plan has been patiently tried in Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor, without success. It is still on trial among the Nestorians. It has been found in the countries first named that, no sooner do men read the Bible and know Christ experimentally—no sooner do they compare the New Testament Church with the rites, ceremonies, and priestly systems of the Oriental Churches, than they make haste to "come out and be separate." Enlightened men, with the Gospel in their hands, will not confess to a priest and worship a picture. Nor, if they wished it, would their priests *allow* them to remain in a Church whose laws they disobey.

There are not wanting signs of the growth of a Reform party in the Greek and Armenian Churches leaning toward evangelical truth, but it remains to be seen whether it will be allowed to *continue* in the bosom of the "Mother Church."

The missionaries in Syria tried the experiment of preaching to the people, and leaving them in their old Churches, until the converts *demand*ed the organization of a distinct Evangelical Church.

And this brings us to the *fourth* scheme, viz.:

IV. Preaching the Gospel, and founding a *new Oriental Evangelical Church*, outside of the old Churches, unstained with idolatry, and composed of living spiritual members gathered from all the sects of the East.

This is believed by many to be the only true basis of procedure to secure a genuine reformation in the East. Christianity in the East is a name, a dogma, a lifeless form. It is a skeleton in the panoply of Christianity. Its religious life is that of the Middle Ages. Every where you find monasticism, feast days, worship of saints, pictures, and images.

Mariolatry is supreme. The Eastern Church is a valley of dry bones. The Life, the Christ, is departed. His humanity, while theoretically admitted, is practically ignored, and he is banished beyond the reach of human prayer or human sympathy, while other mediators crowd the scene, to supply the want of the soul, and bring man near to God. What is needed is a preached Gospel, an open Bible, a pure spiritual Church, a devoted ministry, baptized with the Spirit, and an exalting of the God-man, Jesus of Nazareth, as the only Saviour, the only Mediator, the only Head of the Church. The apostolic spirit must be restored, for apostolic work is to be done, and this can only be hoped for through the free spirit of the Bible, working in the free system of Protestant order. If Mariolatry is false, you must give the people a Church without Mariolatry. If transubstantiation is idolatrous, give them a Church without transubstantiation. If priestly absolution and human mediation are anti-Christian, they *must* have and *will* have a Church whose only Priest is Christ, and whose only Mediator is he who sitteth at the right hand of God.

But the *crowning reason* for the founding of a living Church, in which is to be preached the Gospel of a living Christ, lies in the *future mission* of Christianity in the East. The present, *immediate object* of missionary labor in the East is the conversion of the Oriental Christians; but the *ultimate* object of Christian work among these sects may be regarded as the conversion, through these sects, of the non-Christian populations of Western Asia and Northern Africa. These ten millions of Eastern Christians are the key to hundreds of millions of Mohammedans, Pagans, and other non-Christian sects. Their wide geographical dispersion among these sects, and their similarity in language and customs, render them the fit base of operations for working upon these unevangelical hosts. There are few places in the world where *direct* missionary labors can as yet be carried on for the Moslems, and this indirect method, it is believed, will have peculiar advantages in the future. The work of planting and training a new Oriental Evangelical Church thus rises in dignity and importance to the first rank among modern missionary enterprises. It is no longer the Maronites of Lebanon, the Copts of Egypt, the Nestorians of Kurdistan, or even the great Armenian nation, but we aim to reach hundreds of millions of Mohammedans and Pagans, extending over 120 degrees of longitude, from Liberia to Pekin.

If it be asked, Why are not these Oriental Churches, as at present constituted, already fitted for this work? The answer is, "In their present state they are among the greatest obstacles to the conversion of their Pagan and Mussulman neighbors." Islamism

was, and still is, in one sense, a protest against the creature worship of both the Eastern and Western Churches. Images, pictures, and saints are the abomination of the Mohammedan world. Syria is strewn with the headless trunks of ancient statues, and the unrestored ruins of ancient churches, once filled with pictures and images, which have been destroyed by the iconoclastic zeal of Islam. The Moslem enters a so-called Christian church, and shrinks back with revulsion from the sight of men made in the image of God bowing down to gods made in the image of men. Christianity thus stands self-condemned and silenced in the presence of its Moslem foes. A recent convert from Mohammedanism in Syria, after having visited the Greek, Maronite, and Papal Greek Churches of Damascus in quest of a faith to satisfy the cravings of his soul, turned away sick at heart at the sight of so much abject worship of the creature instead of the Creator; and, having learned from books of the doctrines of Protestant Christianity, set out for Beirut, a voluntary exile, offering as he went this prayer: "Lord, if I do not live to reach Beirut, and die before meeting a guide to lead me to a true knowledge of thee, let me die in the Protestant faith!"

The Church of Rome, with all its zealous propagandism, the Oriental Churches, with all their boasted creeds and patristic lore, can never meet the wants of the Mohammedan world. The Pagans of the second century objected to Christianity that it had neither altars nor images; the Moslem of the nineteenth century objects to Christianity that it has only images and altars.

Here, then, are two great objects to be kept steadily in view, viz., the *immediate* benefit of the Oriental Christians, and the *ultimate* benefit of the Pagans and Mohammedans. To secure these two points, there is requisite a *peculiar preparation*. This preparation must include:

1. The *preaching of the Gospel* in the vernacular language. This is the first and most important agency. It is that ordained by the great Head of the Church, and without which all others will come to naught. To this end the foreign missionary should master the language of the people. But, inasmuch as the preaching of foreigners is necessarily more or less associated in the minds of the people with foreign habits, tastes, and prejudices, native preachers must be intrusted with the work as soon as possible.

2. The *Bible* must be given to all these sects in their own vernacular. Christianity is the religion of the Bible. The fact that the ancient Christian Churches lapsed so soon into superstitions and idolatrous usages was, no doubt, owing largely to the fact that the people had not the Bible in their own language. Copies of the Scriptures were few and costly, and the uninstructed people soon

became satisfied to receive "for doctrines the commandments of men." To secure the future Church of the East from such a collapse, the Bible must be translated and printed in every Eastern tongue.

3. An *Evangelical Oriental Church* must be formed on a broad Scriptural basis, ecclesiastically independent of control from Europe and America, with as little of the sectarian peculiarities of these countries as possible, and having its own synods, associations, or convocations for ecclesiastical deliberation composed of Oriental members. No ecclesiastical body in any land can understand the circumstances and decide the difficulties of churches ten thousand miles away, of different languages and customs, and under a different form of civil government. If such control be attempted, the result will be only confusion and alienation, whatever be the form of Church polity.

In the founding of the native Church in the first instance, as in the installation of the native pastor, the foreign Church, through its missionary, *must* have the control, as in apostolic days. But when these churches have been established, and assume the support of their own pastors, the ecclesiastical responsibility should rest with the native churches. Foreign ecclesiastical control is a virtue only when a necessity, and it is a necessity only until a native pastorate is developed.

4. And this implies, fourthly, that these churches have a *native pastorate*. The apostles were not pastors; the foreign missionary should not be, any longer than is necessary for the training of a native pastorate. Where the growth of the work is slow, and the pastoral duties are long performed by the foreign missionary, the result is unfavorable to the self-development of the native Church, if not disastrous to its independence.

The training, then, of a native ministry is vital to the work of restoring Christianity to the East. In this age of the world, this native ministry must be thoroughly trained. Not only are men of undoubted piety, zeal, and consecration needed; but, in the great centres, men of liberal education and good talents, prepared for the conflict with ritualism, rationalism, Romanism, Islamism, and infidelity. In the rural districts, while the native ministry should be thoroughly furnished, the aim should be to pursue no system of education which will alienate them from the simplicity of their people. The instruction should be *thorough*, so as to leave no cause for dissatisfaction—no occasion, on the part of the young men, for the perilous undertaking of seeking education in foreign lands. There may be instances where Oriental youth, going at their own expense, have been benefited by a course of training in foreign countries; but, as a

rule, it has been found to be fatal to their disposition to enter the pastoral office. It may fit them for becoming professors, or artisans, or for professional life; but it is too apt to alienate them from sympathy with their own countrymen, or to destroy their feeling of personal responsibility for the spiritual growth of their own churches.

The instruction given to these young men should be eminently *Biblical*, and there is no place where Biblical studies should be more enthusiastically and effectively pursued than in the lands of the Bible. It should include a good acquaintance with Church history; and where can this be better studied than in its ancient seats? Until commentaries and other evangelical helps are translated into these languages, the students must be taught English or some other European language. The course of study should be connected with *Christian work*. The young men should be trained to evangelistic work, expecting to endure hardness for the sake of the Gospel, and to be satisfied with such support as the feeble churches of their native land can provide. The support of this ministry should come *from the people*. A Gospel supported by foreigners is regarded as a foreign Gospel. Pecuniary aid to those who do not *absolutely* need it is an un-mixed evil. Until the people support their own ministry, the question of their evangelization may be regarded as still unsettled. Their whole spiritual life and energies will be dwarfed by long habits of dependence on the charities of others.

The theological seminaries should be located in important centres, where the highest educational advantages are combined with abundant opportunities for evangelistic work.

5. These new evangelical churches should be trained from the first to an *aggressive missionary spirit*; to feel that they are called to give the Gospel to their Mohammedan, Pagan, and semi-Pagan neighbors. Without this, the work will stop before it is fairly begun, and the result will be one more weak, inert Oriental sect—*organized, orthodox, and dead*. The *ultimate* object must be kept constantly in view, by missionaries, native pastors, and native churches. Each church should be a missionary society, every member giving systematically and liberally of his income to the Lord; children's missionary societies be formed every where, and young men and young women be sought out, trained, and encouraged to dedicate themselves to the service of the Lord. In the cities, city mission work should be done; and in the villages, the church members be encouraged to go around two and two to the adjacent villages, preaching the Word.

The Native Evangelical Missionary Society of Eastern Turkey has set an example, in founding and supporting a mission to the

Kürds, which may well be studied and imitated by native churches in all lands.

Yet nothing but the Spirit of God can bring those once members of the various Oriental Churches to feel themselves called to labor for the salvation of Mohammedans, Kürds, Druzes, and Bedouin Arabs.

The ecclesiastical training of centuries has taught the people not only to anathematize other *Christian* sects, but to hate all Moslems, Kürds, and Druzes with the most sanguinary animosity.

The people often manifest unfeigned surprise on hearing the prayers offered in evangelical churches on behalf of Pagans and Mohammedans.

Oriental society has crystallized into spheres, hard and hollow as the geodes of Lebanon quartz. Each sect is exclusive, self-satisfied, and indifferent to the welfare of all others.

The missionary spirit, which had its birth on these shores, returns after its long absence of centuries, an unrecognized and unwelcome stranger. If the new Evangelical Oriental Church receive it not, and be not baptized with its power, its own candlestick must ere long be removed from its place. The work of evangelization among the non-*Christian* sects must be done by the native churches, or not at all.

6. Another step in the general preparation is the establishment of a system of *common schools*, to teach the people to read. Protestant Christianity is a religion of light. It must train its children to read the Bible. A translated and printed Bible, without readers, is a sealed book. With the exception of the Mohammedan boys' schools attached to the mosques, the whole of Western Asia was, until after the advent of foreign missionaries, almost entirely destitute of schools. The Levant, in this respect, is utterly unlike the Chinese Empire, where the majority of the people read.

In the first instance, it will often be necessary to support these schools entirely by foreign aid; but this branch of the work, too, should be thrown upon the people as soon as possible.

The common school is to be regarded as an entering wedge, as a means to an end, but not the end itself. The Bible should be taught in these schools—*thoroughly* taught—so that the pupils may learn to see Christ in every book in both the Old and New Testaments. The teachers should therefore be trained in normal training schools, in which the Bible should have the first place. Education without the Bible, in *any* land, is dangerous and incomplete. In unevangelized lands it will only forge and polish weapons against the truth.

7. A *Christian literature* must also be prepared in the languages of the people. From the necessity of the case, this work must be

done chiefly by foreign missionaries, and, in the first instance, at the expense of foreign societies.

8. Again, in order to secure and retain the control of the popular mind for Christianity, and prevent the spread of infidelity among cultivated minds, *Christian colleges* and *female seminaries* of a high order should be established in the various controlling centres, to give a sound *Christian education* to the best youth of the land. These higher institutions should be endowed and furnished with permanent buildings and complete apparatus, and native instructors be raised up as soon as practicable.

The matter of higher education can not be left to the Imperial universities of Egypt, Turkey, and Persia, whose controlling influence will be either in the narrow spirit of Mohammedan exclusivism, or, if Europeanized at all, in the lax morality of European infidelity. The course of study should be thorough and the discipline severe. Nowhere is a little learning more dangerous than among a semi-civilized people.

The Bible must be the *very foundation* of these institutions. A course of instruction, not in a controversial spirit, in the chronology, history, ethnology, physical geography, poetry, prophecies, and Christology of the Bible, if properly conducted, will fix the attention and enkindle the enthusiasm of the youth of all sects and religions in every Oriental land. And Orientals will hold such a school in far higher esteem than they will a purely secular institution without religion of any character.

Again, if such colleges and seminaries be not founded, the entire higher education of the East will fall into the hands of the Jesuits and other narrow sectaries.

The Lazarists, Jesuits, and Dominican monks, with numerous orders of nuns, are founding educational institutions throughout the whole of Western Asia. Abundantly supplied with men and means, and under the ablest strategic leadership, they are carrying on a campaign whose object is the absorption of all the Churches of the East.

Special Preparation.—We have now mentioned *eight* points in the *general* preparation, and it remains to consider briefly the *special* preparations with reference to the Mohammedan world.

I. The first step is the translation and printing of the Bible in the Arabic language—the sacred language of the Koran. The Koran can not be lawfully translated; and all Moslems must read it in Arabic.

The Sultan of Turkey speaks the Turkish as his vernacular, but reads his Koran in Arabic. The Shah of Persia speaks Persian, but must read his Koran in Arabic. The Viceroy of Egypt speaks Arabic, and reads his Koran in the same sacred language. And

so the princes of Northern India, the tribes of Northern Africa, and the millions of Mohammedans in Northwestern China, speak different languages, but must read the Koran in the one common sacred Arabic language.

The Arabic language is thus the bond which, through the Koran, binds together one hundred and twenty millions of our race. Now, if these millions can read the Koran, they can also read the Arabic Bible; and a classical translation of the Scriptures into the sacred language, printed, like the Koran, with the full vowel points, will be a potent means for commending the Word of God to the Mohammedan world.

II. A religious literature must be created in the same language, with special reference to the Mohammedan mind. The Arabic language is full of erotic poetry, fragmentary history, and countless works on grammar, rhetoric, and logic; but it lacks the life and soul of sound religious truth. Arabic literature is as radically permeated with the religion and philosophy of the Koran as is English literature with that of the English Bible. Up to the present time, controversial works against Islamism are prohibited by law; but substantial books of this character should be prepared, in view of the time when the door shall be opened among the Moslems themselves.

III. The native pastors should be encouraged to familiarize themselves with Mohammedan literature and doctrine, so as to be ready to meet the Moslem *Ulema* in both oral and written controversy.

IV. Every thing in ritual, worship, and Church architecture associated in the Mohammedan mind with idolatry and creature worship should be studiously avoided. As already stated, the idolatrous practices of the Oriental Churches form one of the chief obstacles to the conversion of the Moslems, who, on the other hand, are attracted by the unadorned simplicity of Protestant places of worship, so similar to what they are accustomed to in their own mosques.

Such is the *theory* of missions to the Oriental Churches. Such are the immediate and ultimate objects of labor among them, and such was the *work to be done* when missionaries entered the Turkish Empire more than forty years ago. *What has been the RESULT?* Does the theory stand the test of actual experience?

A complete view of the results already attained would be impossible in the limits assigned us. We must, therefore, content ourselves with a mere outline.

I. The oral preaching of the Gospel has been carried on for many years, and is still being carried on by not less than *eighty* American and European missionaries, and *three hundred and fifty* native preachers and helpers, in Turkey, Persia, and Egypt.

II. In the department of Bible translation, the work already done is as follows:

1. The *Arabic* version: Begun in 1849, by Dr. Eli Smith; continued, after his death in 1857, by Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, and completed in 1865; made and electrotyped by the American Bible Society, and duplicate plates presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society. Six different editions of the whole Bible have been made, and eight editions of the New Testament. A *voweled Bible* has been finished for Mohammedan readers, the electrotyping of the Old Testament portion being done by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the New Testament by the American Bible Society.

2. The *Turkish*, in *Arabic* character: Retranslated by Dr. Schaufler. The New Testament and Psalms are printed, and the Old Testament is now being translated. Done at the joint expence of the American and British and Foreign Bible Societies.

3. The *Turkish*, in *Armenian* character: Translated by Dr. W. Goodell and Bishop Carabet. The New Testament was revised and printed by Dr. Pratt, who had completed the revision of the Old Testament to the end of 2 Samuel, with the Psalms and a part of Job, when he was called to a higher service.

The British and American Bible Societies have recently appointed an Editorial Committee on this version, consisting of the Rev. Drs. Schaufler and Riggs, and Rev. Messrs. Herriek and Weakeley, as working members, and Dr. Schneider and Dr. Keolle, and Rev. Mr. Green, as consulting members, assisted by three native Turkish scholars. Done at the joint expence of the two Bible Societies, the text belongiug to the American Bible Society.

4. The *Bulgarian* version: Translated by Drs. Riggs and Long. The New Testament electrotyped.

5. The *Armenian*: The New Testament revised by Dr. Riggs, and the Old Testament translated by him. The whole electrotyped by the American Bible Society.

6. The *Syriac*: The whole Bible translated by Dr. Perkius, and the New Testament electrotyped.

7. The *Modern Greek*: Translated by Leevs and Bambas. Printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the New Testament introduced into the schools of Greece.

8. The *Persian*: The New Testament was translated into Persian by Henry Martyn, and both the Old and New Testaments translated by Rev. Mr. Glen, and printed in 1846 and 1847 by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

9. The *Kurdish*: The New Testament has been translated into Kurdish by an American Protestant pastor (Stepan Shimavouion), and printed in Constantinople at the expence of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

10. *The Hebrew Spanish*: By Dr. Schauffler, at the expense of the American Bible Society.

11. *The Græco-Turkish*: By Leeves, at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

We have thus *eleven* different versions of the Scriptures ready for the peoples of the East. They have already been sent to nine different empires in Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe. They have found their way into palaces and hovels, into barracks and khans, into monasteries and schools, among Moslems, Druzes, Nusairtyeh, Arabs, and nominal Christians.

III. An *Oriental Evangelical Church has been formed*. With the exception of the churches connected with the English missions in Palestine proper, the great part of all the churches in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Persia follow the polity of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of the United States and Great Britain, on the doctrinal basis of the Westminster Confession of Faith.

It is the policy of the missionaries to insist upon the assumption by the native pastors of all ecclesiastical responsibility at as early a date as possible. The native pastors in the three sections of the empire occupied by the Eastern, Western, and Central Turkey Missions have formed Evangelical Unions or Synods, for the transaction of ecclesiastical and evangelistic business; and the Synod of Central Turkey has demonstrated its ability to manage its own ecclesiastical affairs, by its recent independent action in declining, after protracted examination, to ordain a theological candidate holding what it regarded as unsound theological views.

The Churches so organized are *ninety-five* in number, of which twenty are self-supporting, and nearly *fifty* have native pastors. The number of Church members is about four thousand eight hundred, while the number of enrolled Protestants is nearly *twenty thousand*; and to these should be added thousands of men still connected with the old sects, who are Protestant in sentiment. The communion table of the Evangelical Church is the only place in the East where Moslem and Christian, Druze and Jew forget their old feuds, and exhibit the unity of a common faith in Christ.

IV. For the training of a native pastorate there are *six theological seminaries*; viz., at Osiout, in Egypt; at Beirut, in Syria; at Marsovan, Marash, and Harpoot, in Turkey; and at Urdmtyah, in Persia. The number of theological students is about seventy-five.

V. The *contributions* of these churches and congregations amount to thousands of dollars annually, and there is a growing spirit of liberality. Missionary societies have been organized in many of the evangelical communities.

VI. The number of *common schools* connected with the missions is not far from four hun-

dred, with about fifteen thousand pupils; and such an impulse has been given to common-school education that many of the various native sects are establishing schools at their own expense, using the text-books printed at the mission presses. In Beirut alone there are six thousand five hundred children in schools of all sects, of whom two thousand five hundred are girls.

VII. In Syria there are six *evangelical female seminaries* of a high order, with three hundred and fifty pupils; in Asia Minor and Eastern Turkey four, with one hundred and twenty pupils; and in Egypt one—making *eleven* in all, with about five hundred pupils.

The *colleges* are two in number. The "Robert College," in Constantinople, has about two hundred and thirty students, old and young, of nearly a dozen nationalities and languages, so that the English language is used as the medium of instruction.

The "Syrian Protestant College," in Beirut, is a purely Arabic institution, teaching the English, French, Latin, and Turkish languages as classics. Its course of study is similar to that in the colleges of New England. The number of students in the academic department is fifty-eight, and in the medical department twenty-eight, making eighty-six in all. There is also connected with it a dispensary and a hospital.

These colleges, theological schools, and female seminaries should be sustained by the contributions of the Churches at home. They are to prepare an educational and scientific literature, and will do much to control the intellectual future of the East. Their buildings, apparatus, and corps of instructors should be complete. Their success hitherto has already led the Mohammedans, Druzes, Armenians, Greeks, and Romanists to found academies and seminaries, until the Sultan himself has directed the opening of a female seminary in Constantinople.

VIII. In *religious literature*, hundreds of books have been translated, and not less than *four hundred millions of pages* printed, and many of the standard English religious classics are already household treasures in Eastern homes. And year by year the colleges, theological seminaries, individual missionaries, and educated natives are adding to the number.

What, then, remains to be done?

I. The Evangelical Alliance, as the only common organ of the United Protestant Christianity of the world, should, in a firm and judicious manner, make its voice heard, and its influence felt, in securing complete liberty of conscience in all Pagan and Mohammedan empires. This work has been begun.

The public utterances of the Sultan of Turkey on this point are liberal and widely known, as are the recent assurances of the

Shah of Persia; and this growing spirit of liberality should be recognized and encouraged, until even a Turkish Pasha may openly embrace Christianity without loss of life, property, or office.

The right must also be secured to publish temperate replies to Mohammedan, Pagan, and infidel attacks upon Christianity. At present, Christian presses are not allowed even to mention the Mohammedan religion in disapprobation, upon pain of suppression.

II. The different Churches and Societies of Europe and America would do well to aid and strengthen the agencies already in operation on the ground, instead of establishing new ones.

The existing missions can readily do the work in the entire field, if properly maintained, though it should be remembered that it is not desirable nor possible that every interior town should be occupied by expensive *foreign* agencies. These missions will need reinforcing from year to year, in order to maintain the press, the theological and higher education, and a certain proportion of the preaching work.

Never was the call so loud for *Christian women* to labor as teachers and Bible women in schools, families, and harems.

The colleges and *female* seminaries will need endowments, buildings, and apparatus, for *their* work must be continued long after the pastoral work has passed entirely into native hands. The press will need pecuniary aid to print the growing Christian literature.

Let the Churches, then, of all branches of the great Protestant family, operate through the existing societies and agencies. Let us not repeat, on the territory of the Oriental Churches, the needless sectarian diversities of the Churches at home, or embarrass the work dear to us all by the unintentional complications of seemingly rival societies. On the contrary, let the new Oriental Evangelical Church be left free to work out the problems of its own future, unembarrassed by the minor differences of Evangelical Christendom.

III. And with equal force we may ask that these Churches be allowed to control their own ecclesiastical affairs without foreign in-

terference. The Churches at home should not be over-anxious to have this or that party name, however honorable or beloved, emblazoned on the standard of the Church of Christ in the East. Let us aid our native Christian brethren by wise counsel and affectionate co-operation, but hasten as soon as possible *their own national ecclesiastical autonomy*.

IV. Let us, as Protestants, learn to *work together* in the cause of our common Master and Lord. Let us not imitate the unseemly strifes by which Jesuit and Lazarist, Dominican and Capuchin, Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Nazareth are characterized throughout the East.

May this age of union and co-operation at home be also the age of a more liberal, broad, and hearty co-operation in the work of evangelization throughout the world.

V. And, lastly, let us offer earnest and *united prayer*. The foundations are already laid. The Bible is ready. Institutions of learning are established. Living, spiritual Churches are springing up like fountains in the desert. It is a time for prayer—for strong faith. Let us cry unto God for a baptism of the Spirit—that these Churches be living missionary Churches—that these institutions be nurseries of piety and true wisdom—and that Kurd and Armenian, Druze and Maronite, Arab and Greek, Moslem and Christian accept of Jesus as their only Prophet, Priest, and King.

These ninety-five Oriental Evangelical Churches, standing like sentinels on the distant watch-towers of Zion, are this day entitled to the recognition and fellowship of all true believers. By their allegiance to Christ they have already become our brethren. Unfolded within them is the germ of the future living Christianity of the East. Before them lie momentous conflicts and victories—purchased, it may be, with their blood.

By all that is sacred and precious in the religious legacy bequeathed us by the East, let us this day pledge to our brethren of the Oriental Evangelical Church the worthiest laborers, the heartiest sympathies, and the most fervent prayers of the Evangelical Christendom of the West.

THE EVANGELICAL HOME MISSION OF FRANCE.

BY THE REV. MATTHIEU LELIÈVRE, FROM NÎMES, FRANCE,

Editor of *L'Évangéliste*.

FOR the first time the French Evangelical Home Mission, which I have the privilege of representing among you, has its place in one of the ecumenical meetings of the Evangelical Alliance. Issuing, as it were, from our recent national calamities, our society takes the first opportunity of affirming its relationship with the Alliance, whose principles it adheres to, and which it proposes to realize practically. Its extreme youth, its small beginnings, ought perhaps to keep us from bringing it forth; but we have two good reasons for pleading its cause: the want it has of the sympathy, counsels, and prayers of God's people; and our conviction that the principles which it represents may become the source of great spiritual riches to the Church in France and elsewhere. Although we wish, for many good reasons, to be very modest as concerns us personally, we have not the right to be timid when speaking of our principles.

I shall address you successively on the origin of our society, the principles upon which it is grounded, and the way in which we have tried to realize these principles.

I. The Protestant Church in France—so great by the heroism of the past, but so small in number and in faith—seems to have understood better than the remainder of the nation the solemn teachings of God in the calamities of the last years. The evangelical Protestants have been conscious that the first cause of the sudden shaking of military and political power in France was its intellectual inferiority, and, above all, its moral declension. Their preachers and the editors of their religious papers have all echoed the general feeling, and have cried out incessantly—France must be born again!

This was the conviction so eloquently expressed by Pastor Recolin in a report on the evangelization of France read at the Evangelical Conference held at Nîmes, in October, 1871, at which one hundred and thirty ministers and laymen took part. After showing the manifest weakness of Romanism and philosophy, he laid it on the conscience of evangelical Protestants to bring the Gospel to our population. He wished existing societies to be supported, but, acknowledging that to meet unlimited wants new means were necessary, he proposed the creation of

a "new Home Mission, a vast association, whose aim should be the evangelization of France; whose members should be Christians from every denomination, laymen and clergymen, adopting its statutes; and whose means should be the various ways thought fit by that association to attain that end."

This proposition was voted with enthusiasm, and a committee, named on the spot, was intrusted with the beginning of the work. Verily that was a solemn time; the Holy Spirit breathed upon us, and we all resolved to devote ourselves more entirely to the service of our God and Saviour, and to the raising up again of our beloved country.

All were unanimous in voting the statutes of the association, in which the general features of its organization, and the principles upon which it was grounded, were concisely indicated. We shall now state briefly what those principles are.

II. The primary purpose of this "Mission intérieure" is to bring into full play all the lively forces of the Church. We are an insignificant minority scattered in the midst of a great nation—partly papist, partly infidel—and we have not taken hitherto a firm hold on our people, inasmuch as we have labored to evangelize the country by proxy only, i. e., through the instrumentality of pastors and evangelists. What are eight hundred or a thousand ministers, which our various churches employ, in a work of such magnitude, in presence of thirty-seven millions of souls? Often have we exclaimed, "But what are they among so many?" The only way of compensating for this numerical inferiority will be in a realization of the wish of Moses, "That all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them." Besides the committees which send laborers and provide for their maintenance, besides the ministers who preach the Gospel, there ought to be a general *levée en masse* of Christians to wage war against infidelity and superstition. The idea is itself as old as Christianity, but our Home Mission has succeeded in giving it a precise and practical form, and in bringing it out at the time that it was most wanted. The special aim of the undertaking, and which has been so far successful, has been to endeavor to organize what it is most difficult to organize—individual *initiative*.

The method which it has adopted to realize this most excellent principle is the same which has presented itself whenever there have been revivals, and which Spenser and Wesley have so admirably worked out—the gathering together in every place of the living members of the Church, and the forming of those *collegia pietatis*—those *ecclesiola*—which have been the nursery of all the great religious movements in the world. Such a local meeting, or *groupe local*, is not a committee in the usual acceptation of the word. It is not, indeed, a board deliberating or directing certain operations in the name of the Church, of which it would only be a representation; but verily the Church itself, taking up earnestly, through its most active and living members, the interests of the kingdom of God. No one is allowed to join one of those *groups*, according to the statutes, who does not pledge himself “to work personally for the advancement of the Redeemer’s kingdom.”

The work by the groups can be indicated in two words—praying and acting. We feel that they can not become the centres of activity unless they be first schools of deep piety, and unless their outward manifestation be always exactly derived from their inner life. As one of our friends has said, it is necessary that the Holy Ghost should first accomplish in us an inner mission, in order that we, in our turn, should be able to carry on around us the real inner mission. Therefore, also, do we feel the need of giving the first place in the meetings of our groups to prayer in common. It is prayer alone that will always inspire and regulate any effective Christian activity.

With respect to this activity, our groups of the Home Mission aim at two essential results—union in the work, and division of the work. One of the weak points of evangelical Protestantism, in a Catholic country, is that its forces are too much scattered in various directions, and from thence arises its powerlessness. What can be more necessary than to unite these activities, often hesitating and discouraged, and to raise again and excite that sentiment of brotherly solidarity with which the loins of the Church were girt about in the prosperous days of its history? On the other hand, we are persuaded that no one has, as yet, understood how to sufficiently utilize in the Church that powerful element of action which is called the *division of labor*. If there are some branches of Christian activity around which the good will and eagerness of every one gather, how many others are deplorably neglected! In our position as a minority lost in the midst of a large mass, either indifferent or hostile, it is indispensable that we should make the most of our forces, by economizing them with the greatest care, and by using them all. We are a small army, and have to re-

deem, by our discipline, our numerical inferiority. One of the most important parts of the work of our groups is to choose, therefore, for each individual member the work for which he has the greatest aptitude, while respecting the liberty of every one. In fact, in the army of Jesus Christ, liberty and discipline are two terms which do not exclude each other.

A special article among the statutes of the Home Mission formally invites “the Christian women to organize themselves in the same manner and for the same end.” It adds: “The committees composed of women will consult with those composed of men, in view of the interest of the common work.” On this point, no doubt, as on many others, we do not seek to introduce innovations; for a long time, thanks to God, our sisters have proved by their acts that they have a natural place among all works which relate to charity and devotion. But it was necessary to acknowledge what already existed in reality, and to invite all Christian women who had been kept back by an exaggerated timidity to become open fellow-laborers.

But perhaps the most novel trait of our association is the union of the different Christian communions in a common activity. It is by this that we closely connect ourselves with the Evangelical Alliance, and that we are trying, in our feebleness, to apply its admirable principle. The Alliance, in proclaiming the spiritual and living unity of the Lord’s people, in opposition to the false unity of popery, has answered a *desideratum* of the eoutemporary religious revival. But is this manifestation the *ne plus ultra* of brotherly love? Is it not lawful to desire a better and more thorough method of bringing nearer to each other the several denominations of Christians than that which creates large œcumenical conferences such as this is, or even more frequent meetings, such as those which every year are devoted to united prayer in the first week of January? We have recognized that what unites us is infinitely more important than what divides us; we love each other, and we feel the need of declaring it to the world and to ourselves; we believe in the communion of saints, and we must strengthen it by uniting our prayers. Why should we not take another step? Why, after having prayed together, should we not work together? We have no pretension of saying what can be done in relation to this in other countries, but we have thought that the moment has come for the French Christians to try something in this way. We belong to a race which is eager after unity in all things; it may be its feebleness, in it resides also its power; false religious unity has undone it, but true unity might save it. The Evangelical Protestants of France ought not, according to my opinion, to seek after an administrative and ex-

terior unification; since Christianity as it exists in the United States has demonstrated that we can do without this. But it is of the utmost necessity that they should show to Latin and Catholic France that Protestantism is a principle of cohesion, and not of dissolution. By bringing together, on the ground of Christian activity, disciples of Jesus Christ, among whom exist a few differences on secondary questions of doctrine and organization, the Home Mission prepares the way to a confederation of French Protestant churches. By doing what is now possible in that respect, she prepares a better future.

These are our principles. There remains to be said, in a few words, how we have tried to realize them.

III. An initiatory committee was formed in November, 1871, at Nîmes, in order to organize and propagate this Home Mission, such as the Evangelical Conference of the South has conceived it. This committee in its composition was, as it were, the prototype of what should be the local groups which had to be created; its seven members belonged to the three principal denominations of French Protestantism—the Reformed Church, the Free Church, the Methodist Church. We can say, to the glory of God, the members of this central committee, during the two years which they have worked together, have never troubled themselves with the ecclesiastical differences existing between them; they have scarcely felt that there were any. An appeal was addressed by them to all evangelical Protestants in France, and from every quarter came the most cordial adhesions. Among the most important, I shall instance that given by the Nestor of French literature, who is also the patriarch of French Protestantism, our illustrious and great Guizot: "Put down my name among the members of the Evangelical Home Mission," he wrote to one of our friends; "I will devote to his work what amount God still vouchsafes to me of vigor and life. I will feel it an honor to serve yet, in the midst of your Association, the evangelical cause which is the cause of all Christians, whatever may be the differences of opinion which God has in all times suffered to arise and allowed among his most sincere and zealous servants."

What gratified us still more than such adhesions, so full of sympathy, was the immediate creation, in several localities, of a number of Home Mission groups. We issued at once a monthly *Bulletin*, as their organ and connecting bond, and of that periodical, which is edited by our excellent president, Pastor Babut, twelve hundred copies are printed. There are now about one hundred of these local groups; a small number, if the size of France be considered, but not if the difficulties always encountered by a new enterprise be taken into account. These asso-

ciations of Christians have become in many places very precious as a means of awakening individual zeal. In the small localities, they have gathered together the pious people whom isolation had discouraged; in the large towns, they have besides organized schemes of a general character. Lectures have been given with great success on the questions of the day considered from the Christian stand-point; ministers and laymen have gone frequently two by two preaching and evangelizing from place to place; visits to the sick have been multiplied, and made with more care and method; lessons for adults have been established to answer the intellectual wants of our ignorant population, which are generally eager after instruction; tracts and portions of the Scriptures have been distributed even in fairs, markets, and barracks. In short, the Christians in France begin to awake, and they understand better their duty to work personally for Christ by all the means which are in their power.

I must not forget the *Mission populaire* in Paris, twin sister of ours. Among the works it has undertaken, I will only mention the *Ouvroirs*, opened after the events of the Commune, to snatch from abject misery poor women whose husbands were dead or in prison. A lady, as gifted as she is noble-hearted, Mme. de Pressensé, has devoted herself to that work, which has taken a great extension, and met with important success. It is not a small result to have brought together through love classes of society which our civil discords had separated; but, what is better still, schools have been created, in which a great many children have been placed under an evangelical influence; new places of worship have been opened in the working classes' districts, and true conversions have proved the work to be of God.

The Central Committee of the Home Mission has seen its task increase with the work itself. The committee was at first a mere bond between the different groups, but under the direction of Providence it has been compelled to extend its field of labor. With the contributions which have been sent in from many quarters, including the United States, the committee has organized preaching tours and lectures in different places, which are, in the present state of France, an excellent means of action. It has commissioned district agents—*agents régionaux*—to propagate the work by regular visits to the churches and by an active correspondence. It has addressed an appeal to men of faith and talent, who know how to make themselves heard by the people, and has, of course, promised to bear the expenses they might incur. We intend multiplying such agencies. We desire to create a body of lecturers and itinerant missionaries who will go from place to place, preaching the Gospel of Jesus

Christ in its simplicity and sublimity to those who have hitherto refused to receive it, for this reason only, that they knew it not.

Dear and honored brethren, our Home Mission is, as yet, as you have seen, in the day of small things. But we believe in its future, because it is a work of faith and

Christian charity. It appears, surely, quite insignificant by the side of the great works wrought by Christian genius in America and in England. But, in its feebleness, it gives another proof that there is in France a little flock which does not despair of the religious future of a nation from which have arisen such men as Coligny, Calvin, and Pascal.

CITY MISSIONS.

BY THE REV. ROBERT KNOX, D.D., BELFAST, IRELAND.

I ASK the attention of the Conference to the moral and spiritual condition of our great cities. The masses of the people in the growing centres of population are being lost to the Church. The Earl of Shaftesbury stated, at a public meeting, not long since, that not more than *two* per cent. of the working men of London attend any house of worship! In the city of Glasgow, the non-church-going amount to 130,000—that is, one-fourth of the whole population. In Edinburgh the same class amount to 60,000—that is, one-third of the population; while in London, the Capitol of Christendom, this class amounts to the enormous number of 1,500,000—that is, about half the population! It may be assumed that the condition of New York and other great cities of the continent of America is not more satisfactory. Whatever explanation may be given of this state of things, we have the melancholy fact staring us in the face, that in the great cities of Europe and America the masses have fallen away from the Church, and have assumed, with more or less intensity, an attitude of hostility to the Gospel. In accounting for this condition of things, some trace it to the pressure of poverty. They tell us that many families who went every Sabbath from the rural home to the house of God, when they pitch their tent in the great city and get disheartened in the terrible struggle for existence, sink into indifference, and are buried in the seething, godless mass. Some trace the evil to the liquor traffic, and those habits of intemperance it generates and fosters. They tell us how *the drink* beggars and degrades, blunts the edge of conscience, quenches the spirit of piety, and demoralizes the whole man. Others trace the evil to the wretched habitations of the people. They tell us that, in the squalid regions of great cities, many of the poor herd together like beasts and not as human beings; that the young grow up in surroundings which poison the springs of life and render all delicacy of feeling impossible. Many do not hesitate to trace the infidelity of the masses to the spirit and bearing of the Church—to her want of life, and holiness, and love. Men fail to see in the Church that pure, compassionate, unselfish thing, which they might expect to come from God. They charge the Church with worldliness and pride, and insensibility to the condition of the poor and the per-

ishing, and are thus led to give up all faith in the reality and power of religion.

Whatever be the true explanation, we have the stern fact to deal with—Christianity has lost hold of the masses in our great cities. In dealing with this fact, we must remember that cities are the centres of influence and moral power. The world is ruled by its great cities. The thoughts, and feelings, and principles of action that impregnate these centres spread rapidly, and poison or purify life in the remotest hamlet. This invests the subject before us with immense interest. Leaving heathen nations out of view, we are forced to the conclusion that the cities of so-called Christian lands are strongholds of drunkenness, debauchery, infidelity, and ungodliness in its most hideous aspects. Such places as London, Paris, Hamburg, and New York are citadels of vice. From these issues the literature that carries death in its wings to the homes of the people.

It is a singular fact that, in the revival of missionary zeal which marked the dawn of the present century, the condition of the city population was entirely overlooked. Men burned with holy fervor for the conversion of the heathen, and societies were formed to send the Gospel to almost every country under the sun, at the very time when home heathenism was spreading like a malaria among the squalid masses at their own doors. A time came when these masses began to show signs of ability and eagerness to avenge upon society centuries of criminal neglect. The Church was at last roused to begin the work of saving the heathen at home. It was almost too late, as the history of the Paris Commune tells with trumpet tongue. It is now felt by all Christian men that to preserve the very framework of society, if from no higher motive, we must reclaim the lapsed masses in our great cities. This is, in some respects, the most difficult work ever undertaken by the Church. The heathen may be ignorant, besotted, and low in the intellectual scale, but the heathen are usually without prejudice and without hatred. The lower and the lowest strata of our city population are largely brutalized by drink and hostile to religion. Many of them speak as if they had an old quarrel to settle with Christianity.

The great practical question we now raise is this, What can be done to save these mass-

es; where is the power mighty enough to lift them out of their misery and vice? In answer to this question I have three observations to make.

1. In our judgment, the only power equal to the task is the "Gospel of the Grace of God." This is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." It is the greatest moral power in the universe—the living, personal, divine Redeemer can lift up and purify the people. No other agency is equal to the task. No mere surroundings can save a moral being, degraded and lost. Better food, better houses, even higher culture, can not do it. He must come under an influence that reaches to the very fountain of his being; he must be touched by one who can quicken into newness of life. Jesus says, "Bring him unto me." This is our work; we must bring the lost ones to Him who can cast out the unclean spirit and fill the soul with a new and spiritual life. It is little short of mockery to offer a salvation of outside appliances. These may be good and precious as handmaids to the higher benediction, but they can not save. They may alleviate suffering; they can not ward off death.

2. My second observation is that this work can not be achieved by proxy. We may labor among the far-off heathen by proxy, as there is no other way of reaching them. We select men and send them forth as our representatives, and by the lips of these men we speak. But in dealing with the home heathen we need more than deputies. I would not undervalue the labor of the city missionary, but why not bring to bear on this work the whole spiritual power of the Church? Every living, earnest member of a city congregation should become a missionary, and deal directly, personally, with sinners. A congregation should not dream of having fully discharged its obligations by paying a missionary to penetrate the lanes and alleys. The work is too great and arduous to be achieved in this way. *Every saved soul should become a missionary.* It is the chief business of the minister to lift up Christ in the pulpit; it is the chief business of the elders to rule; it is the chief business of the deacons to manage the finances of the Church; but there is a great work common to all and binding on all. Surrounded by a vast population, virtually heathen, worse than heathen, more guilty than the heathen, it is laid on ministers, elders, and deacons to assail this dense, compact heathenism personally, with persistent effort, with intense, all-conquering love. Every minister, elder, and deacon in a city church should be an evangelist, going into streets and lanes in search of the lost; not by deputy, but *personally*, doing the work in the spirit of the Master—self-forgetting, self-sacrificing, dealing with the

lost, closely, earnestly—in love, faith, and patience.

And what of the great body of the saints in our city churches? Are they to stand all the day idle? Here is work for them also—a people perishing at their door: the command of the Master to every one of them is, "Go work to-day in my vineyard." Never shall the world be converted till the Church gets out of the wretched old rut of assigning the work of preaching exclusively to the minister. The true theory of the Kingdom is to make *every Christian man and woman a herald of the glad tidings*: "The Spirit and the Bride say, Come!"—the Bride, that is, the Church—the saved people, men and women—not the clergy merely. I would neither undervalue nor supersede the office of the ministry. While the Church is militant, there should be a class of men who should "give themselves wholly to these things," lifting up Jesus, and "feeding the flock of God;" but in our dispensation no order of men can claim an exclusive right to preach the Gospel.

A man saved by grace feels in his own conscience both the obligation and the authority to tell of Jesus and his work: "I believed, therefore have I spoken;" "We also believe, and therefore speak." Thus faith is made by prophets and apostles the ground of utterance. The man who believes in his heart has Divine authority for making confession with his lips. Such a man will speak for Jesus from the moral force of love and gratitude, independent of all human authority. Even the apostles, when arraigned before the Jewish parliament, did not fall back on their Divine commission, but pleaded, in justification of their work, the irresistible plea of their own experience: "We can not but speak the things we have both seen and heard." They stood on their own knowledge, their consciousness, their own experience of Christ. This experience was so constraining, it laid on them a moral necessity they could not resist. They would die rather than be silent. They stood to their purpose resolutely; not so much in the spirit of obedience to an official commission as out of love for Jesus, their knowledge of the riches of his grace, their own experience of his saving power. What preaching comes of such experience! No men speak with such power as men fresh from the divine baptism. What a preacher was that man of Gadara! Jesus sent him back to his home and kindred to tell of the blessings he received. With what startling power and fervor would he tell his story! How he would point to himself, and remind them of all they knew of him when among the tombs, and cutting himself with stones—so changed now, so gentle, so happy, so full of love! No apostle visiting the hills and city of Gadara would command the same attention. What a preacher

was that woman of Samaria! When the spark of holy fire was kindled in her heart, she had no more time for parley; leaving her water-pot, she ran into the city; the power of her glowing, vehement appeals may be gathered from their effects. Some believed on the spot, others poured out of the city, and, meeting Jesus at the well, yielded up their hearts to him there.

The best preachers for the masses are brands from among themselves plucked out of the fire—men and women known to them, exhibiting in their own persons the transforming power of grace, speaking of Jesus in the workshops, at the corners of the streets, and at the fireside; the most hardened and hostile are thus made to feel the reality and power of religion.

For the special object of reclaiming the masses there should be in every church an organization of *Christian workers*, including minister, elders, deacons, and all living members—men and women. To this earnest band there should be assigned a portion of the city, so that every soul among the lapsed in that district would come into personal contact with Christian love. Till this, or something like this, be done, the conversion of the world will advance slowly, and the masses, already fallen, sink deeper and deeper in misery and crime. Wealthy Christians must be taught that we need more than their money to evangelize the world—we need their personal service, the living voice and the loving heart. We ask them to be like the Master, "Who, though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich." They should do as he did—stand in the midst of publicans and sinners. It may be hard and trying work, but he did it, and he did more than all this, he laid down his life for us. We must teach the poor who are rich in faith that, though they have little of the gold and silver to lay at the Saviour's feet, they can bring an offering of priceless value—grateful, loving hearts—hearts valiant and ready to work for him. We must show them how grace lifts the poor out of the dunghill and sets him among princes, making him an ambassador of the King of kings.

This plan of engaging the whole Christian people in personal service for Christ has much to recommend it. It is God's plan. It would at once augment the working power of the Church a hundred-fold. It would bring untold blessings to the Church herself by its reflex power, and, be-

sides all this, it would furnish to the world what the cynical, unbelieving world so loudly demands—proof of self-sacrificing love. The world asks with a sneer, "Where is this love which you tell us is the spirit and genius of Christianity? The poor are oppressed, and you don't pity them; they are ready to perish, and you don't lay it to heart; you are selfish, supercilious, living apart." We must wipe out this reproach by the Christian people going down among the wretched and the poor, at any sacrifice of time and feeling, under the promptings of a love that casts out fear, and counts it a real joy to suffer for Christ. Till this is done, you can not penetrate worldly men with the conviction that there is any value and power in the faith of the Crucified One.

3. My third observation is that, in arriving at the evangelization of the world, we should follow the Divine order. We must not only take God's agency, but God's order—*lay hold first of the great cities*. Preach the Gospel to every creature, beginning at Jerusalem. The apostles filled Jerusalem with their doctrine, and then passed rapidly to all the great centres of influence throughout the Roman empire—Corinth, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome. From these centres the Word passed swiftly as on the wings of the wind, so that, within the first generation, it could be said, "Their sound has gone into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." We have not followed this plan. We have neglected the masses in our great cities, till a gigantic evil has grown up in our midst; and it remains to be seen whether there is life enough in the Christianity of our day to grapple with the evil and redeem the waste places, so that the tremendous moral and social power lodged in the heart of the city population may be consecrated to Christ.

The first requisite is a living Church—a Church filled with faith and with the Holy Ghost. A dead church can not achieve anything. It is the most useless institution on the face of the earth, and, like salt without savor, is fit only to be cast out and "trodden under feet of men." The working power of the Church is just the measure of life in the pulpit and in the pew. What we want before organization—above and better than all organization—is *life*—to be filled with life. Without life, the Church is a mere skeleton; full of life, she rises up, an exceeding great army, invincible, and unconquerable.

MISSIONS OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF PRUSSIA AMONG GERMAN PROTESTANT CONGREGATIONS ABROAD.*

BY THE REV. W. NOËL,

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THE subject for which I want to claim your attention leads you into the narrowness of a quiet, silent work of love. You have taken, in these memorable days, a survey of all the different departments of Christian, Protestant faith and struggle, love and suffering, hope and victory. I have to speak to you of the work of love which the *Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath* in Berlin, the first authority of the Established Church in Prussia, besides its great tasks at home, does for German Protestant congregations scattered in foreign lands. Its care is extended over all those congregations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America that seek its connection.

You know that every year thousands and thousands in Germany suppose themselves to be called with the words once spoken to Abraham, "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee."

The tide of German emigration flows westward into the United States of America, which I dare say, without boasting, may thank the German emigrants for a good part of their wonderful development. The emigrants who come here do not want the ecclesiastical care of their fatherland, or at least not so much as anywhere else, for the country they have selected for their new home rejoices in the religious freedom of its citizens, and allows them to live according to their own faith, and to constitute their own churches. There is here no preference of any denomination, nor are the professors of any faith disregarded before the common law. Our German brethren find here numerous, more or less well-organized, German Churches, which they can join, and where they may continue in the faith of their fathers and the customs of their home. Synodal regulations and a standing ministerial state, whose members are partly gone forth from the academies of this country, partly from Germany, give them the security of

the regular preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the means of grace.

Quite different is the situation of emigrants in countries where the population is not predominantly Protestant. It may be that they go to South America, where the Romish Church does not suffer any religious liberty, or that they settle in the Danubian principalities, where the Greek Church, though not so intolerant as Popery, still is averse to the Gospel and its confessors. Or they settle under the Government of the Crescent in the East and in Egypt, or they seek a home in the great European cities, where language and manners are foreign to them.

There our German brethren form small numbers, frequently not over one hundred souls, who, even if they constitute themselves into congregations, will soon pine away, because they are scattered over large districts, have no close connection with one another, and do not possess the means of paying ministers and teachers worthy of that name. There are in the more numerous congregations of South Brazil, almost everywhere, so-called ministers of the Gospel; but what sort of people have many of these been, and what are they still, here and there? Reduced adventurers, teachers driven away on account of immoral actions, artisans given to drinking, disbanded soldiers, who make the Protestant Church the laughing-stock of the Romish population. Our German brethren feel deeply this disgrace and mourn over it; but they have only to choose between the Roman Church, ready to devour them, or such pastors as these. Even large congregations, which have the means and are ready also to make sacrifices, are depending on chance, owing to their separation and disconnection from a larger church organization, whether they will find a true minister, or will fall into the hands of unfit, immoral men.

In consideration of these improprieties many congregations, first a few, afterward more and more, have asked the permission of the *Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath* in Berlin to join the Protestant Established Church of Prussia. Others who could not do this on account of their unsettled condition have asked at least its advice, its co-op-

* [This address was delivered by the author in German at the large meeting in Cooper Institute, Oct. 12, but it belongs properly to the addresses on Missionary Work.—Ed.]

eration for getting proper ministers, so that now Prussian ministers, sent to those congregations, remain in connection with their church at home, and, after having worked for some years in the "διασπορά," are called back and provided for.

The providing at home for the ministers sent out into the *διασπορά* is of great consequence for the acquisition of qualified persons. Able ministers are seldom ready to leave their country forever. They make it a condition of their being sent forth that they may not only return to the exercise of their office at home, but even that they be assured of a like provision, after having officiated for five or six years abroad, as if they had worked in the home service of their church.

The smaller Protestant Established Churches of Germany are not able to give that assurance, because they have too few livings at their disposal. Besides, the number of candidates is so small in most of the German Protestant Churches that they have scarcely enough for themselves. Therefore our German brethren abroad, though far from coming all from North Germany, but in great numbers also from South Germany, and even from German Switzerland, do not look for help to Saxony, or Hessa, or Württemberg, but ask in Berlin for assistance in their spiritual trouble.

Besides, there is still another point to be considered. The congregations of which I am speaking consist, with a few exceptions, of members belonging to different denominations. In the same colony there are Lutherans from Pomerania and Mecklenburg, with reformed Hessians and Swiss. Emigrants from Brandenburg and Baden, belonging to the United Church, live quietly together with those from Württemberg, who do not know a union. Greater still is the mixture of denominations in the towns, not only in the great commercial cities, where the transatlantic commerce brings together members of the most different Protestant denominations, but also in the inland towns, where, as in the Danubian principalities, German, Hungarian, Slavonian, Swiss, French, and English Protestants belong to the German congregation, because all of them speak German. In the East, Germans and French Swiss form one congregation, and the pastor is obliged to officiate alternately in French and German. In Italy, North German Protestants and Romance Grisons form a congregation, and the minister officiates in the German as well as in the Romance language. In congregations thus composed it is impossible to take care of a particular creed. The particular confession of the individual Church is overpoised, under the oppression of the Roman and Greek Church, by the common Protestant confession of the fundamental truths of the Reformation — justification by faith,

and the Bible as the sole rule of that faith. Thus the true evangelical union is effectuated in these congregations, which does not seek to absorb the Lutheran confession by the Reformed one, nor to have the latter oppressed by the Lutheran confession, nor to put in the place of both a new confession, but which leaves to every confession its own right, and does not forget in the differences of the creeds all they have in common, and takes care of the communion of faith in word and sacrament. Those congregations can only have pastors who themselves belong with all their heart to that Union, and who are willing to preach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments to church-members of all denominations. And our brethren scattered abroad think that they can ask such ministers only from a church government, whose task it is to take care of that Union. This is an additional reason why our German brethren come to Berlin, asking assistance. The Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath in Prussia has always lent a willing ear to these calls for help. Remembering the words of the apostle, "Let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith," it has lent its helping hand to procure pastors and teachers for the congregations in the *διασπορά*, to assist them with its advice in the arrangement of their parish concerns, even to supply them with the necessary means, either by donations out of funds collected in the Established Church of Prussia, for its own most urgent need, or by gifts and running subsidies principally granted by his majesty the emperor and king. The "Gustav-Adolf-Stiftung," too, has given its assistance.

From all that has been said, you see that, in the connection of congregations abroad with the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, the latter seeks no expansion of its church government in the sense of Rome, but simply fulfills a work of love, a service for the Lord's sake, that is often rather troublesome and not seldom paid with ingratitude. The Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath longs for the moment when all those congregations shall no longer need its assistance and protection; when they shall have grown strong and numerous enough to organize self-dependent churches, as it is here in the United States. Because the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath does not seek its own advantage in all these proceedings, it is entirely left to the congregations themselves, whether they will formally join the Established Church of Prussia, or will only be in connection with it on account of its providing them with ministers. They may put the choice of their pastor entirely into the hand of the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, or they may co-operate in his selection, or reserve to themselves the last decision. The hope of receiving a material assistance can be no motive for these con-

gregations to apply to Berlin, as the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath has no money for propagauda at its disposal, like the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, and the small donations which it makes are intended only to encourage the congregations to try their own strength, and are continued no longer than there is an urgent need. We have not in Prussia the benevolent institution of England, where it is appointed by an act of Parliament that half of what is necessary for the proper maintenance of a minister, a hospital, and a church is to be accorded out of the public revenues, wherever abroad an English congregation is formed, and proves itself able and willing to give the other half.

On account of this state of things, it must be gratefully acknowledged that, in the last conference of delegates of the highest Protestant Church authorities of Germany, held in Eisenach in the year 1872, several resolutions were adopted, the execution of which will prove very beneficial to the German Protestants abroad. The conference thought right, on the motion of the Prussian reporter, to assist the forming and development of congregations for emigrants. Therefore it resolved to propose to every government to put a yearly allowance at the disposal of their church authorities for that purpose, besides to raise a regular collection in the churches, and, if possible, in the households too, at least every two years.

After these general remarks about the character of the connection between those German congregations scattered abroad and the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, I will speak of the congregations themselves in particular. Their number amounts to 41 parish churches, with more than 40 under-parochial churches. They form five groups:

I. The churches of the Danubian Principalities.

a. In Servia: Belgrade, 400 souls.

b. In Roumania:

1. Jassy, 550 souls, with the under-parochial churches Bacau,* Botoschou, Naamz, Peatra, Roman.

2. Galacz, 350 souls, with the under-parochial churches Tecutsch, Berlad, Bortsehak, Teracia.

3. Braila, 250 souls, with Jacobsenthal, 80 souls.

4. Pitesti, 130 souls, with Rimnien Valea; Campulnugu.

5. Crajova, 350 souls, with Tirgujuilni, Caracall, Selteroia, Slatina.

6. Turnul-Severin, 150 souls.†

* The congregation in Bacau intends to constitute itself into a self-dependent church under the patronage of Prince Wittgenstein, and to join the Established Church of Prussia.

† The congregation in Bucharest has dissolved its former connection with the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath since the last election of a minister. The congregation in Plojest is dissolved.

c. In the Turkish Dobrudseha: Atmadseha, 250 souls, with the under-parochial churches Tschukurova, Catalui, Tuldseha, Ismail, Sarata, Novitroizki, Sulina.

II. The churches of the East:

1. Constantinople, 700 souls.

2. Smyrna, 165 souls, with Syra, Mitilene, Pergamum, Ismid, Alaschehr, Delhüm-Orassi.

3. Beirut, 150 souls, with Damasens, Aïn-Louis, Aïu-Hamadé, and Kurayah, in Lebanon.

4. Jerusalem, 100 souls, with the Arabian Protestant under-parochial churches in Bethlechem and Bethshehaleh.

5. Alexandria, 400 souls.

6. Cairo, 200 souls.

III. The churches in South America:

a. In the Argentine Republic:

1. Buenos Ayres, 2500 souls.

2. Dolores, 300 souls, with Nueva Heivetia.

3. San Carlos and San Esperanza.

4. Montevideo, 350 souls.

b. In South Brazil:

1. Porto Alegre, 1200 souls, with Teutonia, Estrella, Conventos, Estancia Tamanea, Taquary, Triumpho, San Jeronimo, which latter seven congregations will soon form a separate parish, San Josephine, San Luiz, Colony Bismarek, and New Berlin.

2. San Loreneo, 900 to 1000 souls, with Rio Grande and Pelotas, 152 families.

3. Sao Leopoldo, with Lomba Grande, 74 families.

4. Hamburger Berg, 280 families, with 3 under-parochial churches.

5. Neu-Petropolis, 1100 souls, with the pjeadas (clearings) of Neu-Schneids and Portugieser Schneids.

6. Bann-Schneids, with 1 under-parochial church.

7. Santa Cruz, with 2 under-parochial churches, 500 families.

8. Ferraz, with 3 under-parochial churches, 192 families.

9. Mundo Novo, 1500 souls, with 3 under-parochial churches.

10. San Angelo, 126 families, with 2 under-parochial churches.

11. Ferro Meeeo, with 3 under-parochial churches, 590 souls.

12. Acht-und-Vierzig, with 2 under-parochial churches.

1 to 12 are situated in the province of Rio Grande do Sul.

13. Petropolis, 1500 souls, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, with the under-parochial churches in the province of Minas Geraes, colony of Don Pedro II., near Juiz de Fora and Mar de Hespanha.*

* The congregation in Rio de Janeiro dissolved, in 1864, the former connection. The present minister is desirous to enter into it again. The congregation in San Isabel, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, asked, at its last vacancy, a missionary of the mission-house in Basle.

14. Desterro, in the province of San Catharina.

15. Curitiba, in the province of Parana, 1500 souls.

c. In Chili:

1. Puerto Mont, 800 souls, with the colonies of Llanquihné, Coihuin, and Ilque.

2. Osorno, 500 souls, with Rio Bueno and La Union.

IV. The churches in South Europe:

1. Rome, 250 souls.

2. Florence, 600 souls, with Figline, Montevarchi, Porto, Empoli, Pistoja, Siena.

3. Genoa, with Pegli, Neroi, Pra.*

4. Lisbon, 230 souls, with Oporto.

5. Athens, 150 souls.

V. The churches in the Netherlands and England:

1. Hagne, 300 souls, with Scheveningen and Leyden.

2. Rotterdam, 320 souls.

3. Hull, 1000 souls.

Between these congregations there are manifold differences in regard to their constitution and administration. The only thing common to all is a statistical report sent every year to the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath about the "casualia" and a report concerning the religious and moral condition of the congregations, by which the latter is able to advise and warn the congregations and their ministers, and even to settle differences between them.

Let me now show you in different examples out of the five groups the manner of their connections with the Established Church of Prussia.

I begin with the Danubian Principalities. One of the oldest German congregations in Roumania is Jassy, besides which, in the vast dominions of European Turkey, there was, till 1853, only in Bucharest a German Protestant Church, with one minister, while we have now eight churches there with numerous under-parochial churches. The congregation in Jassy, consisting for the greater part of artisans and merchants, has already, in the year 1844 and 1845, joined the Established Church of Prussia, and put itself under the patronage of our king, who grants an addition of 300 thalers to the minister's salary. The church regulation of 1870 says (§ 1) that the congregation, which is under the protection of the North German Union, now of the German empire, is submitted, in all its ecclesiastical concerns, to the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath in Berlin. (§ 2) This latter appoints the minister (§ 3) in consideration of the wishes of the congregation, expressed by the church-wardens. The congregation has the right (§ 4) to manage its own affairs, within the legal

limits, by the church-wardens and the convention of its members. The German consul is the chairman of the church-wardens (§ 9), and the pastor is superintendent of the schools (§ 27). These are the arrangements as well as the engagements into which a congregation has to enter that joins the Established Church of Prussia. You see how little the autonomy of the congregation is restricted.

Less fixed is the relation with those congregations which are only in connection with the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, as Atmadscha in the Turkish Dobrudscha, or Pitesti in Wallachia. Here, as well as in Crajova and Turnul-Severin, the pastor is at the same time the teacher of the parish school, and the only one by whom the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath may have an influence on the congregation, which selects its church-wardens and manages its affairs quite independently. These congregations, who could not exist without the assistance of the "Gustav-Adolf-Verein," having such a little number of members and most of them poor, would never find pastors without the mediation of the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath. Only the expectation of getting a better living at home, after five or six years of faithful labor in the trying task of pastor and teacher, gives the courage to assiduous candidates to follow the call of their authorities to that thorny field of labor.

Of quite a peculiar manner is the connection of the congregation in Belgrade with the Prussian Church. The Servian Government gives an allowance of 400 thalers for the pastor, and acknowledges the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath as the first church authority of the congregation. But the pastor must enter the Servian association of subjects, and the confirmation of his appointment lies with the Servian Government. As the allowance is not sufficient for the maintenance of the pastor, the "Gustav-Adolf-Verein" lends a helping hand.

To hinder as much as possible the despondency that is to be feared for the ministers of the Danubian Principalities in their isolation, pastoral conventions are held, once in two years, alternately in the different congregations. The transactions of these conventions are partly public, partly private. In the public sessions, a picture of the condition of the other congregations is given to the one in whose midst the convention is held, and it is stimulated loyally to adhere to the faith of the fatherland, not to get weary in well-doing. In the private sessions, questions partly theological, partly concerning the practical business, are discussed, to create as much as possible a harmony of action on the part of the different ministers, and to guard them against a narrow view of things. The conventions begin and cease with church services, that reach their culmination in the

* German congregations in Italy are, besides, in Venice, Milan, Leghorn, Naples, and Messina, whose pastors are about to join the pastors of the above-mentioned congregations in a free convention.

common celebration of the Lord's Supper, where the ministers are joined by many of the congregation. The means for these conventions, which lately have been much facilitated by railroads, are granted by the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath.

Similar conventions take place among the ministers of the East, only with the difference that they are always held at Jerusalem, after the example of the apostles (Acts xv.). Among these congregations, too, there is a great difference concerning their connection with the Established Church of Prussia. While in Constantinople there is a chaplain to the embassy, who is appointed by his majesty the emperor, and whose allowance is paid out of the public revenues, there is in Jerusalem, besides the English-German bishopric, a German office for the little German congregation of about one hundred souls, whose pastor is appointed by his majesty the emperor, and paid out of the collection of the year 1841, for the bishopric of Jerusalem. In Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut, and Smyrna, the pastors are paid by the congregations themselves, with the assistance of the "Jerusalem-Verein" in Berlin, the "Gustav-Adolf-Verein," and the help of his majesty the emperor. These congregations are all in organic connection with the Established Church of Prussia. For their flourishing condition, they have to thank especially the boarding-schools held by deaconesses and the hospitals of the order of the Knights of St. John that have been established among them. Particular statutes define for every one of these congregations their connection with the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, either as self-dependent congregations, or under its patronage, and regulate their self-government within these limits.

Of more general interest may be a remark concerning the church edifices of these congregations. The congregation in Constantinople owns a splendid house, whose first floor contains the church, while the school is on the ground-floor. This house has been built by means of a collection raised in Prussia in the year 1855, to the amount of 65,000 thalers. In Smyrna there have been collected funds to the amount of 10,000 thalers for the building of a church; meanwhile the congregation uses the Dutch chapel. In Beirut the congregation is a guest on the Lord's day in the meeting-house of the deaconesses, and for the Bible lessons on weekdays in the one of St. John's Hospital. The congregation in Jerusalem uses, since 1871, a chapel belonging to the German emperor, which was built on the "Muristan," or St. John's Place, given to him by the Sultan. The erection, on this same place, of a build-

ing to be especially owned by the congregation, has been considered, and about 64,000 thalers, collected in Prussia in 1870, are ready. The congregations in Alexandria and Cairo have their own churches, for which they have to thank the liberality of the Khedive of Egypt and the assistance of the German emperor. The crown-prince of Prussia laid, in 1869, the foundation-stone of the church in Cairo.

Of the congregations in South Europe, the Netherlands, and England, two, those in Rome and Lisbon, are dependent on the services of the chaplains of the embassy, of whom the latter is the appointed pastor of the congregation, and receives an allowance out of the parish revenues besides his salary as a chaplain. For these two congregations the emperor appoints the ministers proposed by the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, while the other congregations select their pastors, and the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath has only to sanction it. In Athens the pastor of the little German congregation is the court chaplain of the King of Greece, and the connection of the congregation with the Established Church of Prussia is limited to the voluntary subordination of the minister (nearly always selected from the number of Prussian candidates), under his church authorities at home, who allow him the right of returning to the office at home.

I come at last to the German Protestant congregations in South America. Here the congregations of the Argentine Republic are first, on account of their age and their well organized condition. The German Protestant congregation of Buenos Ayres is a member of the Established Church of Prussia. With its splendid church, its two pastors sent forth by the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, of whom the second is at the same time head-master of the school, with its flourishing parish school, even much visited by Spanish children, it takes the first place among the South American congregations, and is quite self-dependent. Its under-parochial churches, Dolores and Santa Fé, have constituted themselves into separate congregations, which, like their mother church, seek and find the support and advice of the Prussian Church.

In Montevideo the pastor is also the head-master of the parish school, with about sixty children. The congregation is a guest in the English Church, but is trying to get one of its own; it has joined the Established Church of Prussia, and receives a yearly assistance of 250 thalers from his majesty the emperor and king.

The ministers of the Argentine Republic meet once a year for a pastoral convention in Buenos Ayres.

In Chili the congregations of Puerto Mont, Llanquihné, and Osorno had united, and with the assistance of the "Gustav-Adolf-Verein"

* The end of the "Jerusalem-Verein" is to assist the German Protestant congregations in the East in the diocese of Jerusalem.

they had appointed a minister of whose services they partook alternately for half a year. Now they are strong enough to form separate congregations, notwithstanding their struggles with the Jesuits, who are alarmed by the growth of the Protestant creed, and try to subdue it with all their might.* Each congregation has now its own pastor and teacher, who are sent forth by the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath. All the congregations mentioned hitherto are only like islands in the ocean. They struggle for their existence in the midst of populations of foreign nationality, and have not a little number of members who belong to them only temporarily, and who long for the moment when their affairs allow them to return home. But the congregations in South Brazil, especially in the province of Rio Grande do Sul, hold firmly together. They are a New Germany, of which an Englishman, Michael Muhll, says, in his lately published book, "Rio Grande do Sul and its German Colonies:" "The wonder of the province are the German colonies, summing up 60,000 people, who have converted virgin forests into waving corn-fields, interspersed with neat farm-houses, and all the appliances of agricultural life. The German settlers, as a rule, speak their own language exclusively, their children preserving this bond of nationality the same as if born in the father-land. The settlers and their children have a warm regard for the country; they are forgetful of returning to the father-land, making themselves heart and soul identified with their adopted country. There are three newspapers published in German; even the negroes often talk German. The advancement of the country is mainly due to these industrious settlers, who have earned for it the name of 'Granary of the Brazilian empire.' Imagine to yourself a country nearly as large as Belgium or Holland, cut out of these Brazilian forests, where the inhabitants are exclusively German, and speak no other language; where chapels and schools meet you at every opening of the wood; where the mountain sides have been in many cases cleared to make room for corn-fields; where women travel alone with perfect security; where agricultural and manufacturing industry flourish undisturbed; where crime is unknown, and public instruction almost on a level with that of Prussia. The harmony between Catholics and Protestants is so great that intermarriages are frequent. Most of the Germans who come hither are from Pomerania or the Rhineland."

Till here we agree with the English reporter. But when he proceeds that, though

in Brazil the Roman Catholic is the Established Church, and the Bishop of Alegre is diocesan of the province, there seems to be no religious disagreement and perfect tolerance in behalf of the Protestants—if he states, besides, that the public instruction is on a level with that in Prussia, I am obliged to contradict him.

I reminded you in the beginning how poorly it was ten and fifteen years ago with the so-called pastors. It was the same with the teachers and schools. But the Rev. Dr. Borchard, sent forth to San Leopoldo and Lomba Grande in 1864, by the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, in answer to the request of these congregations, expelled the pseudo-pastors with zeal and skill, and brought into their places men who had completed their studies and passed their theological examination at a German university, or who received their education at one of the mission seminaries—at Barmen or Basle. He succeeded, too, in uniting all the congregations to a synod, and in giving them an excellent Presbyterian synodal rule. At the second meeting of the synod,* the 13th to the 15th of June, 1870, at San Leopoldo, where twenty-six congregations were represented, he could state that all the congregations had converted ministers, whose work in their parishes was blessed, and that it was now their task to work with one accord, and to stand firmly to one another, according to the exhortation of the apostle, "Endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. iv., 3).

Lately, however, the circumstances have unfavorably changed. The flourishing condition of the Protestant congregations has aroused the jealousy of the Roman Church, especially of the Jesuitical Ultramontane party; and they have succeeded in prejudicing the Brazilian Government against the Protestant movements, and in pushing it to harassing measures against them.

The Government had formerly protected the Protestants, notwithstanding the laws of the country were unfavorable for them, and recognized no parity of denominations in regard to marriages and schools.

Brazilians of clerical disposition have been put in the places of German directors of colonies. They favor the Jesuits, who with their rich means have started colleges, with which the Protestant private schools of that kind can not compete. The Brazilian appointed in the place of the dismissed German president of the school authorities has hastened to give new school laws, unfavorable for the development of Protestant schools. The superintendents of the public schools are no longer qualified men, well recommended by the ministers, but persons who stand well with the Romish priests, and lend a hand

* The Protestant Church in Puerto Mont has been burned down by incendiarism, and public opinion accuses the Jesuits.

* It meets every two years, according to its statutes.

to the wished-for Brazilianization of the German youth, for which end ignorance seems to be one of the first means. Everywhere there is the endeavor to advance the Jesuitical proselytism, and to awaken the always present though sleeping distrust of the native population against the German, especially the Protestant colonies.

These circumstances have prevented the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath from consenting to a formal joining of those congregations to the Prussian Church, because it was feared that their subordination under a foreign church government might be misused for agitations, and bring dangers for the development of their ecclesiastical affairs which would not be outweighed by the advantages of their joining the Church. The Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath has, nevertheless, declared that it is willing to assist those congregations even without such a connection, and to help them wherever it can; for, as I have already remarked, it does not look on its connection with the churches abroad in the light of an enlargement of its influence and authority, but as a work of love, which it feels obliged to do for them that are of the household of faith in the *διασπορά*.

The Rev. Dr. Borchard, who is the first object of the hate of the adversaries, has asked his recall home, after eight years of active labor, which has been granted him in the most honorable manner. The future will show whether his successor in the office at San Leopoldo and in the presidency of the synod will succeed in carrying on the commenced work of the union of the congregations, grown now to the number of forty, and in holding down the independent inclinations of several ministers, that must lead to a dispersion of the Protestant community, the more to be deplored, as contrasted with the Roman Catholic Church, which holds so firmly together.

If we are thus not without misgivings as to the further development of the congregations in Rio Grande do Sul, the congregation of Petropolis, in the province of Rio de Janeiro, which lately joined the Prussian Church, is the source of great joy and thanksgiving. Established in the year 1846, the colony has had long to strive for its existence, as Petropolis is not suited for agriculture, and it owes its development only to the circumstance that it has become the summer residence of the emperor, and has adopted more and more the character of a watering-place. Inner disputes had brought the congregation near to its dissolution, when the Rev. Dr. Borchard, invited by the German ambassador in Rio, undertook its reorganization and happily brought it about. Made wiser by experience, the congregation has engaged itself by statutes to ask its minister from the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath, and raises his salary in connection with

the colony Don Pedro II., near Juiz de Fora, and the German emperor joins an allowance of 250 thalers, having regard to the embassy, which generally resides at Petropolis. The pastor sent there last year has already induced the congregation to begin the building of a parsonage and a school-house, and seems to be the right man for that office, interesting but difficult, and, on account of the travels to Juiz de Fora, most troublesome.

Here I will finish the survey of the congregations scattered about which are in connection with the Established Church in Prussia. I thank you for the indulgent attention you have paid to this subject, and I should be very glad if I might hope to have roused your interest in the work of love of our native Church for its children in the *διασπορά*. I dare scarcely ask the co-operation of the German Protestant churches of this country, because I know how much they still want assistance, and partly receive it, from the Church at home. Not only voluntary societies, as the "Rhenish Society" in Langenberg and the "Berlin Society for providing the German colonists in the United States with pastors and teachers," aid in supplying the spiritual necessity of our brethren living here, but the Prussian Church, too, shows them its warm interest by two collection funds, with the administration of which the Evangelische Ober-Kirchenrath is charged. One of these collections was raised on the suggestion of Pastor Wall in St. Louis, in 1854, for the sake of the theological seminary in Marthasville, (Missouri), to the amount of about 6000 thalers, and is administered to the academies of the German Protestant Synod of the West. The other was raised on the suggestion of the senior of the Synod of Wisconsin, Johannes Mühlhäuser, in 1865, to the amount of 7500 thalers, for the establishment of a seminary for pastors and teachers, and should have founded a pro-seminary in Germany, where they might be educated for that seminary of the Synod of Wisconsin. Unhappily it could not be employed for that purpose, as, in 1868, the Synod of Wisconsin rejected, in a fatal dogmatical blindness, every communion of sacrament and pulpit with the United Protestant Church, which, as they say, "contradicts the doctrine and practice of the Lutheran Church." The revenues of this fund are, therefore, used for the education and sending forth of aspirants for the church and school office of those German Protestant congregations in North America which adhere to the Union, especially for the above-mentioned Synod of the West, as long as the Synod of Wisconsin perseveres in its hostility against the Union. These aspirants are educated in the "Sternenhaus" of the "Johannes-Stift," founded near Berlin by Dr. Wichern, out of which four pupils have already been sent forth, of whom two have

entered the service of German congregations in Minnesota, one in Iowa, one in Indiana, and five are waiting to be sent forth.

I have felt bound to mention this assistance of the Prussian Church, and I add the hope that, as a collection is raised every two years in Prussia and in the congregations abroad who are in connection with it, (the amount of the last being about 100,000 thalers), the German Protestant congrega-

tions, not only of Germany, but of this country too, may join in this work of love. Thus a bond of love would unite all the German Protestant congregations all over the earth, such as St. Paul wished for among the congregations of the apostolic time, when he writes to the Corinthians, "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye" (1 Cor. xvi., 1). Amen.

VIII.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

Saturday, October 11th, 1873.

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CHRISTIANITY AS A REFORMING POWER.

BY JOHN HARRIS JONES, PH.D.,

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[*Born at Mangeler, Caermarthenshire, August 28, 1827.*]

THERE is a close connection between religion and morality; the higher the religion, the purer the morality it produces. We can judge of the one from the other, as we know the tree from the fruit, and the fruit also from the tree. There are many in the present time who deny not only the existence of this connection, but also its possibility, and not only its possibility, but its desirableness. They must be kept apart, inasmuch as they are totally unlike, having no point in common with each other, the one referring to the world, the other to another state of existence. The harmony of morality is disturbed by connecting it with the foreign element of religion. This is an ancient error, a heresy which prevailed to a considerable extent in the ancient world. The Greeks did not hesitate to attribute to their gods the most heinous crimes and the most disgraceful sins; still they represented them as the defenders of the public morals, the morality of the state being under their protection. Morality accordingly has religion not for its source, root, or principle, but is somewhat externally connected with it. Such morality can not be of long continuance, no more than a tree having no root, but tied externally to the soil, can help falling at the first gust of wind blowing upon it. It was impossible for the Greek to form a correct idea concerning this connection, inasmuch as his conception of God, as well as of man, was wrong and incorrect. Man was not regarded as of importance in himself individually, but only as a member of society, a subject of civil government; in fact, his relation to God was not taken into account, only his relation to the universe, to the state, and society. Again, the Greek god was a pantheistic and not a personal god. It is no wonder that, under such circumstances and in such a connection, neither religion nor morality flourished; and at the time Christianity appeared, the moral and religious world was going to wreck and ruin.

The ancient world, having done its utmost to found morality on its own basis, failed in the attempt, and, having possessed no power of moral elevation, sank by its own weight, and was the means of its own destruction. Christianity breathed a new spirit, a new

moral power, into a world actually ruining itself. We may regard, as the fundamental thought of Christianity, that morality should have for its foundation a religious element; and while it proved the absolute necessity that the former should draw its nourishment, yea, the very power of life, from the latter, it began a new epoch in the world's history. Already, in the moral law of the Old Testament, in the Ten Commandments, which contain the shortest and most comprehensive compendium of ethics, this connection of morality with religion is acknowledged, the first table referring to our duty to God, and the second to our duty to man. What the Old Testament has in germs, in the New we find in full growth and development. In Jesus' morality has reached its culminating point. In being so thoroughly incorporated in his character and history, it is invested with a personal and living interest. The moral law found in him a tabernacle to dwell in. But his life in the service of man was a life in God; a holy source of his life in the world was his life in God.

The superiority of the Old Testament religion over all heathen religions and moral systems lies in the truth that it regards the revealed will of the Holy God as the absolute positive principle of morality, by which man is to regulate his moral conduct; but, inasmuch as this principle was incorporated in the law of the letter, and standing over against man in a purely outward manner, its character was necessarily defective, its form unavoidably temporary, and its development historically conditioned. In the New Testament, Christianity is represented as the completion, and, at the same time, as the abolition of Judaism; it is the fulfillment of the Old Testament religion in as far as the latter contained true essential and unconditional elements of God's revealed will; but, in fulfilling these, Christianity abolished, at the same time, the false and temporary form which was assumed by them. What was life to the one was death to the other. At the completion of the building, the scaffolds are removed. Thus it is said, on the one hand, that "Christ is the end of the law" (Rom. x., 4); and, on the other, it is said by himself, "Think not that I am come

to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." The body of truth revealed in the Old Testament is incorporated and beautifully preserved in Christianity, whereas the dress in which it was clothed is rent in twain. The matter is not lost; the form only is removed. The one is permanent as eternity, immortal as God; the other is transitory as time, and evanescent as one human race after another. In Christianity, the one is shown to greater advantage, and brought into full efficacy, the other is thrust into the background and forced to disappear wholly. The subject on which I have the privilege to speak, "Christianity as a Reforming Power," is full of meaning and importance. Christianity supplies life with new motives. We have the highest motive to liberality in our Lord's conduct toward us, giving himself for us. Christianity has not only directed our attention for the first time to humility as a virtue, but has also given us a new inducement to be humble. "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant," etc. (Phil. ii., 5-7). Christianity has also exercised a reforming influence on science, art, and politics. But, instead of entering on these details, we shall call your attention to those principles which seem to us to constitute the quintessence of the reforming power of Christianity.

1. In the idea of being perfect as God, Christianity has set up an absolute standard of morality. This is a positive ideal, which is to be the end as well as the form or rule of all human effort.

2. In the consciousness of being the sons of God, we have real power given us to come up finally to this high standard of morality set up in the Gospel, and of accomplishing those things which God in the New Testament commands us to do. The first is the ideal of Christianity, the second is the religious principle, the real power enabling us to carry out the principles of the highest form of religion into our life and conversation.

I. The moral principle, which is to be the end as well as the rule of the Christian character and conduct, is to be perfect, even as our Father is. This, then, requires the entire, unconditional conversion of the soul to God and his service; the undivided consecration of the whole man to God as the highest good; the concentration of all faculties in one continuous effort, with the view of attaining that end; in short, undivided and unceasing love to God. This, again, as involving the entire devotedness of the heart to him, excludes, on the one hand, all love to men or created beings, as far as these are loved for their own sakes, or as far as they

disturb the purity and abolish the absoluteness of our love to God. In proportion as the human heart clings too fondly and unduly to other objects of affection than God, it converts them into idols, and is actually guilty of idolatry. God requires us to love him as intensely as if there were no other objects of affection in the whole world. But, on the other hand, love to God includes love to man, in so far as God is in man, as the Creator has revealed himself in the creature, and as the finite in right and proper subordination to the infinite forms only his medium of revelation and acts as a willing instrument to serve his purpose. By bearing in mind this double point of view we shall be in a position to avoid extremes, and understand rightly those remarkable and rugged forms of expression in which a superficial mode of thinking has discovered an impractical rigorism and asceticism, avoiding all contact with the world: "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he can not be my disciple" (Luke xiv., 26); "Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor" (Matt. xix., 21); "No man can serve two masters" (Matt. vi., 24); "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out" (Matt. xviii., 9). In all this we have simply the varied modes of expressing the principle which may be regarded as the characteristic of the ethics of the Gospel, viz., that God absolutely requires the whole heart. Love to our fellow-men ought to be subservient to the great end of serving and loving God more thoroughly and perfectly. Whenever any earthly possession would take away and captivate the heart, interfering with its entire devotedness to God's service, rendering it incapable to renounce all for the sake of the Lord, then we should not hesitate for a moment as to our choice, but take at once the alternative of sacrificing the earthly for the sake of the heavenly, and give up the interest of the world on the altar of God's kingdom. But we are by no means to draw the wrong inference, that earth's possessions, in themselves and under all circumstances and conditions of life, unfit us for the service of God, preventing us from yielding our hearts entirely to him. This would presuppose an irreconcilable duality between God and the world, the Creator and creation; this, again, would be quite inconsistent with the Saviour's expressed confidence in the all-ruling providence of God in the natural world as well as in the spiritual universe. Who ever expressed such sympathy with the works of creation, and such appreciation of the beauties of the material world, as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? He was a great student of nature, and from this he borrowed his exquisitely beautiful and eminently instructive parables. He was also

particularly sociable, enjoying the company of friends, even of publicans and sinners; and in this respect Jesus differed widely from John the Baptist, the preacher of repentance, with whose one-sided asceticism he had little or no sympathy.

There is no deep, impassable gulf fixed between the religious and the worldly spheres of human life, between life in God and life in the world. Christianity, far from ignoring moral life in worldly spheres, in the State, family culture, civilization, sanctifies them to its own use, making them all serve as organs or instruments for the advancement of the kingdom of God. Religion has its own sphere; but still it is like a mighty stream, which does not always care to confine its waters within its own bed or channel, but lets them overflow the banks, inundating, enriching, and nourishing the surrounding fields and meadows. Even the worldly elements of existence are to be well bedewed with waters flowing from the fountain of life. It is true Christianity has its specially sacred day, sacred places, and sacred meal; still such is its transforming power that it converts all the days of the week into a Sunday or Sabbath, and every place under the canopy of heaven into a place of worship, and every meal into a sacrament. The whole earth is duly consecrated by the Lord and Bishop of souls. Religion is not to resemble the priest's gown or surplice, which is worn only on Sunday, and is left behind in church until a similar occasion would call for its use. History and experience bear ample testimony to the fact that genuine disciples of Jesus have been found in all conditions and offices, in every kind of human occupation, and that the Spirit of God does not confine his operations to the halls and departments of the church, but is also working with silent influence in the busy market, in the curious studio of the artist, in the silent chamber of the poet and philosopher; that he accompanies the sailor on his long and perilous voyages, and the soldier in the very heat of battle. Piety or Christian spirit does not adhere so much to a particular occupation, does not dwell so much in a particular place, but takes its seat in man's heart, in his inner life; and there, from its high throne, faith, the great ruling principle and power of his existence, issues commands and exercises a silent and mighty influence over all he does and suffers.

The relation of Christianity to the world, our Lord has set forth in two parables. These serve to illustrate the points of view we have just been considering. The kingdom of heaven is like unto a pearl of great price, which a merchantman, seeking costly pearls, bought, selling all that he had (Matt. xiii., 45, 46); again, "the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the

whole was leavened" (Matt. xiii., 33). The first of these parables exhibits the kingdom of God in a purely religious sphere, and for which every thing else must be given up and sacrificed. The exclusiveness of religion seems to be the great point in this parable. The second, on the other hand, mirrors the kingdom of God in an earthly or worldly sphere, showing itself as a transforming principle, penetrating with its mighty influence every thing it comes in contact with. The important spheres and powers of life which Christianity affects with its pervading influence are the State, family, art, science, and morals. Into this manifold life it enters, and, as a leaven dissolves in every particle of the meal in which it is hid, so does the divine and Christian element dissolve in the worldly spheres of life, leavening the whole lump, and affecting the very centre of society in a secret and mysterious manner. In its internal essence it is not perceptible to the eye of sense, but lets itself be known by its operations and effects. If we take into consideration the contents of one of these parables, disregarding altogether the principle involved in the other, we can not but form a false and one-sided view of Christianity. If you view Christianity exclusively as a pearl of great price, for which you must sacrifice every thing else, you will find yourselves under the necessity of renouncing the world, shunning all intercourse with society, retiring into a cloister or a desert place, adopting the views on life and religion of the anchorite friars and hermits, who dissociate religion from secular life, regarding as strictly religious only what belongs properly and immediately to the sphere of religion in contradistinction to what is commonly called the worldly sphere. But this view is antagonistic to the letter and spirit of the words in our Lord's intercessory prayer: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them from the evil" (John xvii., 15). The monk takes himself out of the world. But the great art which Christianity teaches us to practice is to lead an unblemished life in this corrupt world; to associate even with publicans and sinners without allowing ourselves to be contaminated by the contact.

If, on the other hand, we regard Christianity exclusively as a leaven, we shall be liable to the danger of denying the importance of religion in and for itself, and of adopting a view of Christianity according to which the Church, in course of time, becomes superfluous or redundant, and reduces itself into the State morality and culture; these, being thoroughly leavened by its spirit, the latter is deemed no longer necessary as a separate institution. But this is, again, a one-sided view of the kingdom of heaven; being regarded only in its likeness to the

heaven, the central power of Christianity is not here fully recognized, its supreme importance is not properly acknowledged.

According to the high standard of morality set up in the Gospel, we are to love the Lord our God with all our heart, soul, mind, and strength—a love undivided, absolute; but, on that account, not abstract and empty, inducing a man to lead a monkish life, withdrawing from the world, and breaking up all intercourse with human society. This is so far from being the meaning of Jesus, that he regards love to God as the fruitful root, productive of active love to man. Indeed, in its chiming in and subordination to the absolute love to God, love to man also becomes unconditional—that is, our love to man is not to be limited by the natural differences of race, nation, climate, and country which prevail among men. A neighbor is no longer, as it was according to the interpretation of Moses, a companion of the same people or nation, but any man standing in need of help, whoever he may be, to whatsoever tribe, or nation, or race he may belong—a man in need is our neighbor. This meaning, which Jesus brought out of the law of Moses, the lawgiver had never conceived of. This is plainly taught in the instructive parable of the good Samaritan: while Jesus himself associated with publicans, heathen companions, and Samaritans, heretics; while he helped the Canaanitish woman; while he held up the faith of the Gentile centurion at Capernaum as a model even for the people of Israel; and while he reminded his hearers of the gifts of God being bestowed without distinction, who lets his sun shine on the good and bad, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust; he has by all this overcome and removed the Mosaic one-sidedness, and, instead of a particular love to a particular man of a certain nation, he has placed a universal love to man. Nationality is, in this question, to be subordinate to humanity.

The internal boundlessness of love to man is insisted upon in the grand ideal we are required to realize in our love toward enemies. Simon Peter seems to me to have proposed a compromise with regard to our love to man when he asked the question, "How oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times?" The Jewish rabbis were divided as to the number of times, whether three or four times. Peter did not feel inclined to join the Jewish rabbis in their warm and long discussion on the point, but proposed, not to split the difference, but to add the factors together, to make up the sum total of seven—"till seven times." Well done, Simon Peter, thou hast proceeded a step or two in advance in the law of love and forgiveness. I know of no other Simon who comes up to old Simon Peter. "After all, with all thy faults,

I love thee still." But does Peter's law of forgiveness satisfy the Saviour? Far from it. Peter had added the three and four together to make seven. Jesus told him to multiply the seven again, not by seven, but by seventy: "I say not unto thee, Until seven times: but, Until seventy times seven." That is the Gospel's law of forgiveness. One man is to forgive another who has offended him $70 \times 7 = 490$ times. If you forgive him so often as that, you may as well forgive him the whole at once. This is an indefinite number; it is not intended that the exact sum should be counted. Love does not know the way to count, does not understand arithmetic, has never studied the multiplication table; or, at least, it has an arithmetic of its own, a multiplication table of its own making. Does a mother count her acts of kindness to her wayward child? Where is the mother who would not deem such a question an insult to the feelings of her heart? Instead of requiting evil for evil, we should suffer a double injustice: love our enemies, bless them that curse us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them who despitefully use and persecute us, that we may be the children of our Father who is in heaven (Matt. v., 44, 45). We must thoroughly overcome the evil by the power of the good dwelling in us. No outward deed of performance, measurable by any outward standard, can any longer satisfy the divine will; but the moral law of the Gospel insists upon our having within us a holy, unconquerable, loving disposition, which, in order to secure its own glorious end, is not to be overcome by any evil, however great, or any obstacle however difficult. In possessing this principle within us, we have a true copy of God's moral perfection, being partakers of the divine nature.

Who can conceive of any thing higher than this in morality? Who can deny that Jesus has set up an absolute ideal? "Behold, I make all things new." This is true in a moral as well as in a religious sense. Jesus is the great Reformer in the department of morality as well as in the sphere of religion. In the Gospel the highest good, or *summum bonum*, is revealed in a glory which neither Plato nor Aristotle knew or even conceived of.

II. Christianity has not contented itself with setting up a perfect standard of morality. By doing this merely, Jesus would not have become the Reformer, Regenerator, and Redeemer of the world, but would at furthest only have contributed something toward the purification and improvement of Judaism, developing its principles to their full extent, teaching something thoroughly new out of the moral law, even to the lawgiver himself, and those most conversant with the contents of the law. In order to become the Redeemer and Regenerator of

the world, it was necessary that he should carry within himself a new religious principle, and from that centre to implant it in the hearts of his people, a principle in the possession of which we have real power to do that which is commanded in the Word of God.

But this new real principle was no other than the consciousness of divine worship, which Jesus had in a manner peculiar to himself, as the Only Begotten of the Father: "All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son." Whatever metaphysical background is to this peculiar and original consciousness of worship on the part of Jesus, this purely dogmatic question does not concern us here; but, inasmuch as the ethical consequences of the religious self-consciousness of Jesus are here spoken of, we have simply and exclusively to adhere to the openly revealed fact called in question from no dogmatic point of view, that the divine consciousness of worship on the part of Jesus consisted in the immediate certainty of communion of love between his spirit and God's spirit. The incarnation has the original condition of man on the image of God for its presupposition, and the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh has for its natural and necessary consequence the bringing of many souls unto glory, or the adoption of the sons of men unto the family of God. In other words, the religious consciousness of sonship on the part of Jesus was immediate, as far as he was personally concerned, and continued, at the same time, a consciousness of the general Godsonship on the part of men. He made actual in his own case what human nature is capable of.

The original destiny of the race was fully realized in the mightiest and purest of his sons; and thus a good and grand and efficacious beginning was made, with the view of enabling mankind to attain to the high end for which they were created. First, in the sonship of Jesus, that relation corresponding to the essence of God and the nature of man was given as an actual fact, was revealed in a personal history. In this men saw the possibility of becoming really and actually what they should be, but were not in reality. Man becomes an actual son of God by accepting the revelation of God in Christ as his heavenly Father.

How far lies in this a new real principle? If man is a child of God, the divine will is no longer foreign and external to him, to which he submits from force, fear of punishment, or hope of reward; but, knowing his essential relation to God, he feels that, in doing the will of God, he is fulfilling his destiny and perfecting his nature. Besides, when a child of God comes to know that he is the object of God's fatherly care and love, not only he feels joy unspeakable and peace which passeth understanding, but earnestly desires to love God in return. He is now transformed by the renewing of his mind, and proves what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God. The moral law is now written on his heart, and is no longer to him a dead, killing letter, a condemning law, but a living, quickening spirit. God worketh in him both to will and to do of his good pleasure. He is no longer swayed by the impulse of his unspiritual nature, but willingly obeys the dictates of God's Spirit, and does all from love and for the glory of God.

THE WORKING POWER OF THE CHURCH—HOW BEST TO UTILIZE IT.

BY THE REV. W. FLEMING STEVENSON, DUBLIN.

WHEN the feast was over, the Master said, "Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost." And the words may indicate both the place and drift of this paper. It does not pretend to add to that rich banquet you have shared since the Conference opened; but only, before the Conference dissolves, to preserve some simple hints for the ordering of our common Christian life, such *fragments as yet remain*. That *nothing be lost* explains its purpose with sufficient clearness, that all the energies resident within the Church be turned to actual account without waste and without miscarriage.

The Church of God has not been redeemed merely to be a depository of truth. When it has been proved to be in accord with philosophy and science, that is not all. Its aim is not reached in the Communion of Saints. There is a real end to which all these are preliminary. It exists for the blessing and conquest of men. The field given to it is the world: the world of all kindreds and tongues, but also the world of human sin, and human misery, and human want. All this human life, with its stately possibilities, with its ceaseless thought and energy, its huge but common daily toil, its cries of pain and despair, its weakness, and crushed hopes, and awful shame, its alleys of poverty, its deus of vice, its wounded spirits, its bleeding hearts, its pitiful social sores—to win this life for Christ, to penetrate it at every point like the light of the morning—this is the mission of the Church. No conception of conquest can compare with this for magnificence and daring; as its vastness grows upon us, we recognize the difficulty in the way. To meet, not only rooted evils in a particular country, but the evils that have been rooted in every soil; to cope, not only with fixed diseases that are the product of sin, but with the ever-multiplying forces of sin itself; to confront the boundless variety of human temperament and human circumstance with a specific for each; not merely to oppose and resist, but to overcome; and to do this by an agency that, as far as it is human, is itself weak and variable, and exposed to a thousand possibilities of derangement, must impose a singular strain upon the forces within the Church.

Yet this manifold activity is the natural growth of the Church and the expression of its mighty inner life. The Church is not an

artificial society, although its temptation has always been to err in that direction—a temptation to which, as surely as it yields, it is shorn of its strength, and finds itself fronted by the revolt of souls that yearn for liberty. It is a divine creation, and therefore natural, growing with the growth of men, feeling, expressing, and meeting the needs of expanding civilization and ripening culture. It shares the burdens of the people to-day, as truly as it used to share them at Corinth and Jerusalem and Rome. And as life grows more complex, and wants are multiplied, and new relations are always added to the old; as new desires are stirred, and new aspirations kindle, and social problems rise that never vexed the past, the Church keeps eager pace, throbbing under the same pressure of the same advancing life, and fronting every new line of human care and every new growth of sin with the pitiful love of Jesus Christ the Lord. It must be so, for the Church is divine, and brings the strength and wisdom of God to man. It must be so, for it is human and bears the weakness and danger and woe of man to God.

This is the conception of the work of the Church to which we are advancing, an ideal that we see as yet afar off. Home and foreign missions, charities and remedial agencies, are springing out of our Christian life. Though work is often more a yearning than a fact, yet the yearning is spreading with a swiftness that is full of promise. The danger nearest us is not so much of work unrecognized or undone, as of work isolated, fragmentary, inconsiderate, and therefore inharmonious and wasteful. And the problem we have to solve is, how to bind these modes of Christian service into a gracious unity, how to distribute them so that they will cover the largest area of human need. They represent our power to cope with the evil that is in the world; and in the face of that gigantic evil we must be very careful to utilize them to the utmost. For sin multiplies fast, and downward as well as outward.

Yet, lest there should be any misapprehension, it may be said, in passing, that the power of the Church is in the presence of the Holy Ghost. Without him, organization and activity will not produce work for God. We shall work in proportion as he seizes us, in

proportion as, by faith, we realize his indwelling. The Church is the body of Christ, and the Holy Spirit is its energy, its vital force flung from the heart to all the members, so that each movement, each work, is a spiritual movement, a spiritual work. Every believer has this energy. As he receives the Holy Ghost, he is indued with power from on high. And the working power of the Church is the power of the Holy Ghost that every child of God receives, acting upon the natural endowments which God has redeemed, and is thus the combined working power in all God's children. Whether our spiritual conquests shall be swift or slow must largely depend on the right use and direction of our spiritual forces. It is through these that God works, and carries out his vast designs. It is by them that the objects of the Christian Church on earth are to be fulfilled, that sin is to be fought and smitten, and the Gospel spread, that the manifold triumphs of Christian charity are to be won. When we seek to economize their expenditure, to render them available for the widest service, we are acting in the line of God's will.

To utilize the working power of the Church, it will be necessary (and I do not venture to do more than throw out a few hints):

1. That every member of the Church be taught the duty and urgency of work. The Christian receives power that he may wield power. He is to be an active force. There is no waste with God, and there has been no outpoured waste of energy on him. All that he has, all that he can do, is absolutely needed in the kingdom of Christ. There are many who are content when others are working, who are seized by the notion that the burden is to be carried by a few marked out for it by office, who, when a congregation or a mission is prosperous, claim their share in its prosperity by their vicarious work, though they have not moved a little finger. There are many who feel unconscious of a power to work, and many who are distrustful of their ability. These mistaken conceptions must be removed, and the absolute, unavoidable duty of personal service and personal consecration maintained. Moreover, the work must be up to our best, so that whatever the gift the most may be made of it. Though some have ten talents, there is no Christian absolutely without one. He may so use infrequent opportunities, watching for them through unfavorable circumstances, that his influence grows to be a wonder. Instances will occur to every one of the power of lives slung up in the seclusion of a sick-room. The least endowed, the worst circumstanced, can do something, and has the gift of the Holy Ghost that this something may be done, and is in the wrong, sinning against God and man, when he does nothing.

"The least flower, with a brimming cup, may stand,
And share its dew-drop with another near."

2. That means be devised to prevent work being undertaken for which the worker is unsuitable. It may probably not be till after experiment that the fitness will be discovered. The process may, therefore, be tedious. But though there is urgent need, there is a haste that is worse than delay. Unfitness for work is doubly mischievous; it hinders what is done, and it discourages the doer. There are persons in every Church whose lives are without result, whose tempers are worn and fretful, simply because their Christian activity has been run into the wrong groove. Every one has his specific duty, just as every member of the body has its function. We must search until we find it.

3. That the worker be trained. A gift is not to be put out to interest only; for that marks the lowest possible condition of Christian activity and life. It is to be cultivated. There is no divine instinct qualifying men all at once for their place. We recognize a training in the Providence of God, and how, through years of sorrow, hardship, and disappointment, he has been fashioning a human soul to be his instrument. There was a training—a slow and very patient training of the Twelve who were to witness for the Lord. We are not only to work, but to make the most of our power to work. The training may be very simple, and can seldom be elaborate; for the work is to be done by those whose hands seem already full. It may be no more than placing the inexperienced in the company of the experienced. Those who would nurse the sick can have the opportunity of a hospital. Those who would teach in a Sunday-school can have lectures and attend a training-class. Those who would visit a district may be shown the most effective way. Such help and culture are possible without imposing a strain on such as are already working hardest. It does not involve so much additional labor as a better distribution of it.

When these suggestions are wrought out in the Christian congregation, they will be linked with a fourth: its members will become a society of workers, each of whom will undertake some definite though simple office—a society as complex, but also as regular, harmonious, and as much directed to one end as a skillfully contrived machine.

Yet when all are working we are on the verge of an evil which will grow as the workers multiply. Good and zealous people are apt to hurry into the work next them, without any regard to what others are doing, or to whether the post they choose is the most needful for the Church. When one Sunday-school is recruited among the same children as another; when the poor of a district are visited and relieved by successive bodies of Christian people acting in ignorance of one another; when church after church is planted, and the ministers are

starved, in a quiet village that could accommodate all its parishioners under one roof; when, in the fields of heathen missions, one society competes with another for possession of the same slender tribe, the working power of the Church is squandered, and grave injuries are wrought besides. It breeds a guilty shame to think of the money, and strength, and noble faith and love that are thus thrown away, recklessly lost, in almost every Christian city. Now, then, I am led to,

4. A further suggestion: that conferences be held of the Christian workers of the different churches in each city and district. Some arrangement could easily be come to here by which the work would be distributed, and that unchristian collision, that jealous rivalry for local or sectarian influence, at which irreligious men scoff, and by which the Lord himself is wounded, be avoided. Misconceptions would be removed, different modes of action harmonized, ecclesiastical methods tested and brought nearer, the denominational frost that had bound the lips of common Christian workers would be thawed, and the interchange of experience would help forward God's kingdom. And a higher step still would be taken if—

5. Christian Churches, and primarily those within the same country, laying aside their long disputes, overcoming their hostility of prejudice, anxious to forget that their mission had often seemed to be of *Ephraim to envy Judah, and of Judah to vex Ephraim*, should meet around Him for whom they live and die, lifted up in their midst to draw them by the irresistible attraction of his love to the common centre of his cross; and there, under its shadow, should consult together for his kingdom, surrendering what seem to be their interests to his, not yielding one inch of ground that had been lawfully won and may be lovingly retained, but prepared to yield to one another in a holy Christian charity, and to preserve their stiff, unbending front against the forces of sin alone. Missionary conferences must put the churches to the blush. The private are teaching the generals how to fight. It is interesting in this connection to notice three experiments that have already been made in this century, that, though in strict independence of each other, tend toward solidarity of work. Chalmers taught, in his Glasgow parish, that practical power of many doing each a little that has been revived with such brilliant success to meet the wants of all the poor in German Elberfeld. Fliedner, at Kaiserswerth, has shown that Christian charity may have as complete control over its forces as a general over his army, hurling them up against the foe wherever want demands them, yet without sacrificing one jot of evangelical liberty. Wichern has followed, gathering up the isolated philanthropies and Christian efforts

of a country into one comprehensive system, and showing that the highest and most workable philanthropy is born within the kingdom of God.

Let there be a larger experiment still. Let the great Christian enterprises of the Holy Catholic Church be felt to be one; let the great Christian heart gather them to its love and bear them on its prayers; let us feel we have a stake in every blow that is struck at sin, a share in the triumph of every faithful sect; let us seek for that lofty self-consecration that is the very mind of Christ, and that will enable us to say heartily of others as one said of him, *He must increase, I must decrease*: so that, if men think it utopian that the churches will ever consult together, they will at least themselves take stones of stumbling out of the way. Alas! it will be an experiment even now; and yet it will be returning to a very primitive and apostolic faith: "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it;" "Endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Why should not the Protestant Christians of a city like this organize a common effort to look after the Protestant poor—look after them not so much by the agency of societies, but as members of the Church of Christ? Why should there not be combined, united efforts of the Church in every crusade against vice, against, especially, so terrible a vice as not so much the national but international vice of intemperance? A world of misery lies about us. If it is to be relieved, the Christian should be the first to relieve it. It is the same world into which our Lord Jesus Christ came. Are we not his disciples, the servants whom he sends upon errands of his will, the friends with whom he takes counsel by his Word? Must we always be content to see the same dense, broad circle of heathenism wrapping round the Church of Christ, the same terrible sins spreading and rioting in Christian lands, the same mass of unrelieved or ill-relieved poverty and woe lying helpless at our doors? It is not as if it must be. Given the working power of the Church at present, the full employment of every Christian gift and energy, and their wise direction (a direction that will be wise if it be left to the broad catholic love and unselfishness which the Holy Ghost will bestow), and such a revolution will be wrought, such a scattering of the darkness and the powers of it, such a flushing of the glory of Jesus from end to end of the world, as has never yet been paralleled, as even by Christian hearts is seldom conceived. No; it must not be as it is. We must ask for holy, consecrated lives; we must ask for faith; we must ask for a sacrificial will; we must ask to realize the power of the Holy Ghost.

If we are to trust the rough sketch that is sometimes drawn, the Church is but a handful of soldiers at bay, acting on the defensive, surrounded, hard pressed, disorganized, and on the point of despair. It is true that, in the earlier days of this Conference, our attention was occupied by the vital truths that underlie our faith; by the battle-cries of those against us, by a candid and patient investigation of the strength of their army, and their weapons of attack. That was only wise and necessary. The front lines of the Church—its lines of Christian work—may sometimes be broken; but so long as the lines of dogma behind them remain firm, so long as the Spirit of the living God vitalizes that dogma, the breach will be only temporary; the lines of work will not only be reformed, but advanced. It is a blunder when they tell us that the Church is driven to act on the defensive. For every blow that it parries, it deals a harder in attack. Its apologetics are instinct with assault. Christianity is essentially aggressive, and never more so than now. Far from withdrawing, it is marshaling its forces for larger conquest. Regal potencies are in it, unailing, undecaying, inexhaustible, irresistible—potencies that, because they are of God, are to subdue and mould our human life. Have they no history?

When we remember what Christendom was when it began; the handful of fishermen and peasants that preached it; the narrow and obscure corner of the earth in which they lived; their absolute insignificance, measured by the politics or thought of the time; when we remember their persecution by their own countrymen, and that the few persons of culture who joined them sank, in the eyes of the rest, to the same illiterate level, yet how soon their doctrines shook and overthrew the stablest beliefs that then existed, and climbed upon thrones to rule the world; when we recall the mighty march of Christendom from east to west, and now back again from west to east, noiseless as the pillar of cloud, luminous as the pillar of fire; when we reflect on the great intellects it has seized, and how it has laid every art under tribute, claimed the homage of science, and, while impressing upon culture its own stamp, has widened it, and elevated it, and made it, instead of the badge and heritage of a few, as universal as itself; when we remember what geniuses it has moulded, what wealth of eloquence and profound thought is inseparable from its teaching, in what majestic and immortal words it has ponred its aspirations through the lips of the glorified dead, and how its influence has been felt far beyond those whom it may claim as its own, so that the greatest poets and historians, the greatest painters and sculptors, the foremost statesmen and orators, the solitary thinker whose

“soul was like a star, and dwelt apart,” have for centuries been its debtors; when we remember the literature it has created, and, unlike all other systems, that it is creating still with unimpaired freshness and energy, and for which it uses every language under heaven; when we remember the nations it has builded, and the outcome of their national life, the commerce by which it crowds the restless sea and binds the parted lands; when we consider its liberating power, the energies and endowments it has set free for the service of the race, that it has struck the chains off the slave, and smitten the fetters of class, and proclaimed liberty to the captive mind; when we remember the unworn force of its truths, the consolations it pours into numberless stricken hearts, the braveries and heroisms with which it makes common lives illustrious, the untold peace with which it stills the trouble of conscience and the trouble of thought, the dying agonies it soothes, the streams of joy that flow from it to poor and sad, and lonely lives; and that there is no sign of decay about it, of being set aside when it has served its turn; no failure to meet fresh needs, no lack of potency to rouse men to self-sacrifice, no weakness to resist assault, no want of breadth and elasticity to cope with novel conditions of society, no less spiritual grandeur than in those first days when the Spirit came down like a mighty wind—if all that might thus be fairly said could be woven by some skillful hand into one broad picture, it would surely represent a power that, for splendor and resource, is like no other of which we have any knowledge on this earth.

When a solitary Christian goes down into the filth of some blind alley, seeking for the lost, or climbs the dark stair, hoping to dry the tears of the poor widow whose son has perished in a winter storm, these magnificent forces of Christianity are behind him. They are in their nature aggressive, imperious. They interpret for us the words of Christ: “As Thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world.” We have found already our dogmatic unity: let us not make it a resting-place, but a starting-point. Let us build upon it the temple of Christian love, not in word but in deed. Let it rise softly to the strains of that heavenly music with which the quiet airs are tremulous these well-nigh 1900 years, “Peace on earth, good-will toward men;” rise without noisy jarring of sectarian strife, Jesus Christ himself the corner-stone; until, in the likeness we have caught to his blessed charity, men find that Real Presence which is mocked by consecrated wafer, and, instead of the scoffs and taunts that are flung at us now for our divisions, one word will break from the lips of all, “See how these Christians love one another”—for God is love.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

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THE question of the relations of labor and capital is one of the problems of social science—a science whose domain is humanity; and whatever concerns humanity can not be alien to Christianity and Christians.

Working men are dissatisfied in America, and more dissatisfied in Europe. They allege that, while they are the producers of all wealth, they do not receive a fair share of the products of their labor; and they are groping in the dark to discover the cause and the remedy.

The indictment which they find against the existing order of things charges that, by means of unequal legislation, capital takes the lion's share of the products of industry; that the power of money to coerce men is increasing by the aggregation of wealth in corporations; and that the rich are growing richer, while the poor are growing poorer.

The struggle of individual workmen against the alleged aggressions of capital being hopeless, recourse was had to combination, and trades-unions were organized. The leading objects of these unions were higher wages, fewer hours of labor, and emancipation from the tyranny of capital. The unions regarded capital as their enemy, and declared war against it. They armed themselves with the strike—a weapon as dangerous to the assailant as to the assailed. Capital accepted the gage of battle, and undertook to starve the strikers, or disperse them by employing non-union men, or by importing workmen from neighboring cities and towns. In this trial of strength capital had the advantage. The next step was a confederacy of the unions of each trade in several adjacent counties or in a State. Great strikes were then ordered, and these were sometimes successful, and sometimes they failed. Men could still be brought from adjacent States, if protection from violence were guaranteed.

Finally, a national industrial union has been organized, which is designed to embrace all classes of working men in the United States. If this shall be sustained and consolidated, it would seem that nothing but discussion in its own ranks can prevent the victory of labor in the battle of strikes in this country; for a strike in any branch of industry in one place would be sustained by the financial and moral aid of

all the working men of the nation. But we shall see that such victories lead to ruin.

In Europe, however, it was soon discovered that national unions were inadequate. English employers starved the strikers by importing workmen from Belgium, Holland, and France. A logical response to this was the organization of an International Society—an alliance to proclaim the evangel of labor; a universal brotherhood of working men, which should ignore political and religious differences, disregard national boundaries and languages; all the affiliated having similar interests and similar grievances; all pledged to sustain each, and each to sustain all, in any authorized conflict, whether just or unjust, with the employers of labor. The conception was grand, but many difficulties have been encountered in its realization. The International Association is now nine years old; it has held some four or five congresses, in which opinions were any thing but harmonious; and it has promulgated doctrines which have alarmed society and made governments hostile.

If the International Association would confine itself to legitimate and practical objects, it might do much to ameliorate the condition of the working men of Europe. But if it has no higher aim than to organize and sustain strikes, if it contracts the taint of communism, if its leaders form a cabal hostile to property, inheritance, marriage, the family, and God, and seduce its membership into the adoption of destructive principles and measures, it will perish by internal dissension or be engulfed in the vortex of a political revolution.

If working men sought only to advance wages, and to make strikes for that end successful, every movement in the organization of these societies was dictated by correct reasoning and made in the right direction. But the successive advances in wages which have been made during the last thirty years have given working men only temporary relief, because the prices of commodities have risen with the rise of wages. Working men appear to have overlooked two important facts: one, that they are consumers as well as producers; the other, that whatever adds to the cost of the products of labor diminishes the purchasing power of the wages of labor. By not giving thought to these ob-

vious truths, they are surprised and indignant that, while their wages have been doubled within thirty years, their condition is no better now than it was thirty years ago. The cost of living has kept even pace with wages, and the unions are unconsciously doing their best to make it outrun them.

A number of causes over which the unions have had no control have doubtless contributed to the general advance of prices. Among these are the increase of gold since the discovery of that metal in California and Australia; the excessive issue of bank-notes before the late war, heavy taxes during and since the war, and an irredeemable national currency.

The effect of the increase of gold has been less in degree, but similar in kind, to that which was caused by the influx of the precious metals into commerce during the century succeeding the discovery of America. Without any scarcity of products, prices advanced three and four fold; and it will always be found that, when gold is produced with less labor than before, its value, compared with other commodities, will be reduced; and prices, which are the measure of this comparative value, will advance.

But the effect of the increase of gold on prices has been exaggerated by an irredeemable currency. Fortunately, the old State banks can no longer flood the country at will with notes having only a local circulation. The Government of the United States reserves to itself and its national banks the privilege of issuing notes payable on demand, but which can not be paid on demand.

Money has a twofold character: it is a medium of exchange, and a commodity having a value which is measured by the labor of mining, refining, and coining the metal. But bank-notes and government notes are not money. They are evidences of debt, promises to pay money, and their currency as a circulating medium will depend on the supposed ability and willingness of the drawers to fulfill their promises on demand or at some future time.

But, while individuals pay interest on their debts, the banks receive interest on theirs; and they consequently have a powerful motive to issue as many promissory notes as the laws permit. The national banks not only receive interest on their promises to pay money, but also interest on the government bonds which are deposited in the treasury of the United States as security that these notes shall at some time be paid.

I do not now discuss the morality of the legislation which authorizes a corporation to issue promises to pay two, three, or four dollars on demand for every dollar which it possesses to make these promises good. I only allege that the effect of such issue is to make money cheap and other commodi-

ties dear. If a given quantity of coined money be sufficient for the exchanges of a country, and that quantity be doubled without any increase of products to be exchanged, the excess would be exported, and prices would not be seriously disturbed. But, if the increase be bank-notes or government notes, the excess, not being exportable, would continue to circulate, doubling the volume of currency, but adding nothing to its purchasing power; and, as there would be no corresponding increase of products to be exchanged, prices would be doubled.

This inflated currency is food for wild speculation, and an instrument to facilitate "cornering," forestalling, and the making of railroads from a wilderness, through a wilderness, to a wilderness. In this, also, the cause of magnificent failures for millions, and wide-spread suspension, panic and ruin.

In the financial delirium which follows panic and ruin, men clamor for more currency, just as the poor drunkard, recovering from a debauch, begs for more of the stimulant which prostrated him, to brace up his shattered and trembling nerves. The new dose will give only temporary relief, to be followed again by exhaustion and another clamor for more. No matter to what extent the currency may be inflated, there will never be enough to satisfy debtors. Like the daughters of the horse-leech, they cry, "Give, give." But while the debtor's gain is temporary, the loss of creditors and of all who live on fixed incomes is permanent; for the dilution of the currency enlarges its volume, but adds nothing to its strength.

This dilution is a potent cause of the depression of labor; and working men have good reason to anathematize the legislation which reduces the value of their wages by depreciating the currency in which they are paid.

Again, although taxes are paid primarily by property, their burden falls at last upon labor. The owner of houses and stores adds the taxes to the rent, and the manufacturer who has paid a tax on his materials and another on his product adds both to the price which consumers pay. The profits of the capitalist are not diminished in either case, except that he pays the same advance as working men on the cost of the products which he consumes.

Let us next observe that the trades-unions are adopting some measures and recommending others which will have the same effect on prices as cheap money and high taxes. These are strikes, the proposed reduction of the work-day to eight hours, and in some of the unions opposition to piece-work, restrictions as to apprentices, and instructing their members, especially those who are employed on public works, or by corporations and wealthy institutions, to do as little work as possible while they seem to work.

Strikes are either successful or unsuccessful. If successful, they advance prices by increasing the cost of production; and, if unsuccessful, by diminishing the supply of products. In either case the whole body of consumers, not capitalists alone, will pay the advance.

The eight-hour rule, if adopted, would have a similar effect. The head men of the unions deceive their members when they make them believe that they can live as comfortably by working eight hours as they can by working ten hours for the same wages. Whenever the eight-hour rule shall be applied to all branches of industry, one of two things must result: either the workmen must do ten hours' work in eight hours—which they have no intention of doing—or the cost of all products of industry will be enhanced some twenty per cent., without any increase of means to purchase them. Working men must, therefore, demand and receive twenty per cent. more wages for a day of eight hours than for a day of ten hours, or deduct twenty per cent. from their purchases of food, clothing, and shelter. Intelligent workmen understand this, and some of them have the frankness to admit that they will first establish the eight-hour rule and afterward demand more wages. But they fail to perceive that, since whatever they consume is a product of labor, prices will advance as wages rise.

Working men want cheap rents, cheap food, and cheap clothing—not cheap in quality, but in price. The eight-hour rule would make these dearer. For example, a builder will contract to build a house for four thousand dollars, if mechanics will work ten hours a day; but if they and the producers of materials will work but eight hours a day, he will demand five thousand. The capitalist will not build unless he has a fair prospect of a rent that will remunerate him. He will not let a five-thousand-dollar house for the same rent as a four-thousand-dollar one. The capitalist will lose nothing, but the tenant will pay twenty per cent. more for his shelter.

The effect of the eight-hour rule on the cost of food and clothing would be similar to its effect on rents.

Let us next observe that trades-unions which exclude all boys beyond a certain number from learning their handicrafts, not even excepting the sons of their own members, are both selfish and short-sighted. Selfish, because they practically say to the boys, "You shall not have equal chance with us to earn a living." Short-sighted, because they prevent a supply of skilled labor, adequate to the increasing demands of population and wealth, and make it necessary for employers to import foreign workmen, while they compel great numbers of American youth to live by their wits, consumers of the earnings of

the very men who forbade them to become producers, and in one form or another a tax upon the community, and therefore a tax on labor.

If these statements are true, the trades-unions are playing a losing game. They propose and pursue plans of relief which must inevitably operate against themselves as consumers, while they inflict only a temporary loss on capital; that loss being limited to contracts made before an advance in wages or a curtailment of the work-day.

What then? Shall labor be ground in the dust, helpless and hopeless? Or, like the Hebrew athlete, strong and blind, will it pull down the pillars of modern society, and crush itself and its oppressors in one common ruin? There is no need of either alternative. Capital and labor are reciprocally dependent. Neither can be profitably employed without the other. It is as impolitic in capital to oppress labor, as in labor to destroy or paralyze capital. And, after all, what is capital but labor stored up for future use? As the fly-wheel accumulates force for the work the engine has to do, so he who has the industry to earn, and the self-denial to save, becomes a capitalist: accumulates labor, and converts it into force to move other labor. The wealthiest capitalists in this country began life with nothing but their hands and brains.

The wise king said, "He that would have friends must show himself friendly." We say that capital and labor ought to be friends; then let their representatives—the employers and workmen—show themselves friendly. If employers would feel and manifest sympathy for their workmen's troubles and sicknesses, take an interest in their welfare, rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep, and treat them as Christian men should treat human beings having the same sensibilities as themselves, and moving on to the same eternal destinies, it is quite possible that the envy and hatred which the poor often bear toward the rich might give place to loyal and kindly sentiments. But, unfortunately, these classes do not understand each other. They stand aloof, and misunderstanding degenerates into enmity.

I heard a printer, in a great publishing-house, say, "We seldom see the proprietor, and he never speaks to us."

I heard a master machinist, who employed many men and boys, say that he did not know the names nor the faces of his apprentices.

I heard coal-miners say, and, I fear, with truth, that the operators would be more distressed by the loss of a mule than by the killing of a man.

I heard a gray-haired forgeman say, "I have given the strength of my manhood to this forge, and now I am turned out, like a broken-down horse, to starve."

Such culpable indifference is the parent of bitter thoughts and bitter words on the part of those who are thus thrust out of the pale of humanity. How long will such employers counten the precepts of him who spake as never man spake, and whose heart yearned in sympathy for the lowly and downtrodden?

Le Play, in his work on "The Organization of Labor," informs us that, in those industrial establishments of France where there has been reciprocity of benefits and courtesies between employers and workmen; where the operatives receive constant employment from youth to age, and have no fear of being discharged in times of financial pressure and low prices; and, above all, where the laws of God are obeyed and Christian morals prevail, there is also reciprocity of confidence and good-will, the workmen and their families are comfortable and contented, and the proprietors prosperous.

Is it possible that envy, which has been called "the vice of republics," is so inveterate in the United States as to be proof against kindness, generosity, and sympathy? There are great manufacturing establishments in this country in which the aged and disabled, the widows and orphans, are not driven away to starve or to seek refuge in an almshouse. They are humanely cared for, and the men in such places work cheerfully, and strikes are not thought of. There is no secret about this. It is simply grace instead of greed—the grace of Christianity instead of the greed of Mammon.

In July last, a National Industrial Congress was held at Cleveland, Ohio. It was composed of delegates from the trades-unions of some ten or twelve States, and its proceedings were marked with a moderation and ability not always manifested by similar conventions. The Congress adopted a declaration of principles which contains so much good sense, combined with some questionable propositions, as to challenge the thoughtful attention of students of social science. The declaration gives us a view of what the sober and reasonable class of labor reformers fear and deprecate, and the remedies which they prescribe.

Their platform contains the following propositions and recommendations:

The consolidation of all classes of producers in the United States, preparatory to an appeal to the ballot-box whenever such appeal shall be needful.

The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics by the State and national governments.

Reservation of the public lands for actual settlers. No more for railroads and speculators.

The adoption of measures to promote the health and safety of miners, manufatrners, and builders.

Productive and distributive co-operation. The substitution of arbitration for strikes. The enactment of equitable apprentice laws.

The abolition of contract labor in prisons.

The non-importation of Chinamen.

Reduction of the hours of labor.

A national legal-tender currency, to be issued directly to the people.

With the exception of the last three, we commend these propositions to the favorable notice of all classes. And, if the Congress intends that only those Chinamen shall be excluded who are imported on speculation and farmed out as *quasi* slaves, we believe that a majority of the American people will indorse their exclusion.

But there would be inconsistency in the exclusion of voluntary emigrants, whatever their country or race. For, if the members of the American National Industrial Union accept the creed of the International Association, and we fail to perceive how they can logically reject it—that is, if they favor the solidarity of labor and the co-operation of working men everywhere—they can not consistently make a distinction between Europeans and Asiatics, provided that both seek our shores of their own free-will.

The financial proposition was not adopted without opposition, and its language does not clearly express what its advocates mean. The proposed "circulating medium is to be based on the faith and resources of the nation, and issued directly to the people." It is not clear whether the people who receive this national currency are to give security for it or not. If they give security, the currency will only benefit those who have property to pledge. It will enrich the rich, and inflate prices. If no security be given, every one will have plenty of money to pay debts, but the money will have no purchasing power. Debtors will flourish on the ruin of creditors, but no new debts can be contracted. Credit will be annihilated, commerce will relapse into barter, and society into barbarism.

Co-operation and arbitration were both recommended by the Congress; and both are peaceful and worthy of trial. But in large industries the co-operation of working men alone will be likely to fail through deficiency of capital, or through want of financial skill and business habits in the managers. To be successful, there should be co-operation of both labor and capital; and it would be strange if the wit of man can not devise some plan for an equitable division of the profits of such co-operation. Capital would necessarily assume all risks. Compensation for these, and living wages for the workmen, must first be paid. The profits, if any, over and above risk and labor should be divided between the capitalists and operatives by some rule or ratio, to be agreed upon by both

parties at the commencement of the partnership.

Co-operation and arbitration may prevent strikes, and settle many disputes between employers and workmen; but they do not go to the root of the difficulty. The real causes of the depression of labor are of long duration, and are so wrought into the framework of society that they can not be suddenly removed without convulsion and ruin. They can and must be removed, gradually and safely, by wise and conservative legislation. Among these are an inflated paper currency, extravagant rates of interest, standing armies, wars, and national debts. All interest, all taxes, all armies, wars, and national debts are paid by labor, and by nothing but labor. Working men feed and clothe millions of soldiers, supply them with all the modern engines of destruction to prepare for war, fill up the decimated ranks when war is flagrant, and pay the war debts after war ends in peace. If the Interna-

tional Association be, as it claims to be, a brotherhood of the working men of all nations, let it employ its influence and power, if it have any, to promote peace on earth and good-will among men. Let it aim to eradicate international jealousies and rivalries; let it try to allay the fears of the weak, and check the ambition of the strong; let it teach rulers that reason is a better arbiter than force, and that international duels are as impotent to decide questions of right and justice as duels between individuals. Then it will accomplish a work worthy of its imposing name. Then standing armies might be disbanded; soldiers, who consume every thing and produce nothing, be enrolled in the grand industrial army; the enormous cost and waste of war be saved to feed the hungry and clothe the naked; a heavy burden be rolled off from the shoulders of the toiling millions, and nations professing the religion of Christ be indued with something of the spirit of Christ.

CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY.

BY THE REV. T. W. AVELING, LONDON.

IF the excellence and value of systems and men are to be judged of by their fruits—and than this a more legitimate and equitable test of worth and unworth can scarcely be conceived—then the friends of Christianity need not be afraid to submit it to the severest scrutiny, provided that the rules of honor and honesty be observed in the judgment that is formed.

Very many persons are to be found who are incapable of perceiving the moral and spiritual beauty of the Christian system, but who can not be blind to the material advantages that have sprung from it. Unwilling to acknowledge the Divine origin of the religion of Christ, they show themselves among the most ready to take a share in the indisputable blessings it has conferred upon the world; and many of the most virulent opponents of Christianity owe their ability and opportunity for assailing it to the nourishment it has afforded them, to the fostering care it has extended over them—are indebted to it, in fact, for half their ordinary daily mercies. Strange and sad it is, but not uncommon, to find that the feather which directs the arrow pointed at the angel of Truth should have been taken from the pinion of that messenger himself: his wing it was which fanned the archer's infant brow, proved a covering to him during the development of his boyhood's powers, and is even now, and will be continually, folding its veriest foes within its protecting guardianship, and shedding such dewy fragrance along their path through life's pilgrimage that it will be as though they moved amidst the breathings of a perpetual spring.

Many of these antagonists of Christianity are men who have often met with sad and sorry specimens of its professors, and, acting on the principle "*ex uno disce omnes*," have hastily and illogically concluded that the system and its friends were like these; that religion was but a synonym for hypocrisy; that the creed was composed of noble words, but the conduct made up of ignoble deeds; and have come to clamor for its suppression and extinction. This state of mind is too accordant with the natural enmity of the heart toward God and truth to surprise us. Such persons are more ready to fasten on the failures than on the excellences of professors; as men are more inclined

to gaze interestedly on the sun when eclipsed than when shining in its full and unclouded splendor. But of such persons we beg an arrest of judgment. We cry, "Strike, but hear!"

It is not my design, in this paper, to speak of those agencies of Christian philanthropy which contemplate *directly spiritual results*—with these I know the world has little sympathy—but rather of those which, as I have stated, the world has learned to some extent to value, and of which it does not hesitate to avail itself. I want to show to what it is in Christianity all men, in these days, are indebted for the benefits they, perhaps unconsciously, enjoy. Yet must I say, in passing, that the mighty spiritual enterprises, at home and abroad, with which the Church, and to a great extent the world, is familiar, are but the natural development of Christian philanthropy in its highest phase. It is pity for immortal souls, perishing in ignorance and guilt, as well as obedience to the Divine command, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," which has led to those grand missionary operations which, as with a chain of golden deeds, are girdling the globe, and which one day will have their due meed of universal acknowledgment when the glorious issues are unveiled before an awed and admiring world.

While, therefore, it is ever to be proclaimed, as with a trumpet, that the religion of Jesus is a spiritual system, commending itself to cultivated intellects, and yet one understood by the humble in spirit; while it supplies ample themes for meditation which will well repay the student and the recluse for the time devoted to their consideration, yet it is also—and this we design to show—an eminently practical and humanely beneficent religion; one which was intended by its Divine Founder not only to draw men back to God, but all men nearer to each other; which, while it blesses the soul, blesses the body also; which is not only to fit man for the enjoyment of heaven, but for that of earth too—an enjoyment greater than he could possibly have realized apart from the influence it exercises, the hopes it inspires, and the encouragement it affords. On its banners it has emblazoned for its legend the words that formed the burden of the song of Bethlehem: "Glory to God in

the highest, on earth peace and good will to men."

Philanthropy, or love to man, did not begin with Christianity — was not then first inculcated—but was one of the earliest lessons enjoined on our race. It was a call to man to obey the original instinct which God created within him, but which sin interrupted in its development. At the fall, no doubt, selfishness was one of the principal, and perhaps the very earliest, of the products of the deadly upas-tree then planted. Each of the two primary offenders was ready to cast the blame of the first transgression on the other; while the language of the first murderer was but the key-note to millions of similar scornful repudiations since his day—"Am I my brother's keeper?" Against this selfishness the Divine protest was very early made.

The injunction to show love to one another was, we believe, part of the normal creed of humanity—a portion of the unwritten law—as surely as it lies embodied in the first recorded utterances of the Divine Oracle that unmistakably expressed the will of God: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

God has laid the axe to the root of this hateful tree of selfishness, by the most signal act of self-denial on his own part which the universe ever beheld, when he bestowed the "unspeakable gift" of Jesus Christ. That the Father loved the Son, we know. What, then, his pity and regard for us which led to the surrender of the loved one, who had dwelt in the bosom of the Father, for us men and our salvation! That Christ might offer a sacrifice for the sin of the world, he must needs become one of us. "Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death." Here is the grand illustration of Divine philanthropy; and from the vantage-ground of the cross Christ teaches men to love one another, henceforth making his own love to them the standard by which they are to measure theirs toward each other. So that now the highest form of human excellence in human relationships is to love our neighbor, not merely as ourselves—that was, perhaps, the loftiest standard by which to regulate the duty before Christ came—but now the sentiment is of a more elevated character, the standard an immeasurably superior one: his teaching is "that ye love one another, as I HAVE LOVED YOU." His was the love of one "who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust;" who did not wait till he could love us with the love of complacency, could pronounce us perfect, but who "remembered us in our low estate." He loved us because he had be-

come one of us; nay, he became one of us because he loved us; and herein is a tremendous mystery: while we are to love one another because we are brethren, involved in one common calamity, but interested in one grand scheme of deliverance—falling, all of us, through our relationship to "the first man, who is of the earth, earthy"—redeemed, all of us, through "the second man, who is the Lord from heaven."

As one practical and easily discernible evidence of his love to us, and as an example which we are to follow, the great Founder of Christianity "went about doing good." He appealed to his works, as well as his words, as a proof that should satisfy John the Baptist he was "He that should come." In blessing others as we are able, we are to be imitators of him. An order of true nobility—the Order of the Cross—has been instituted by Jesus Christ. Its insignia are simple, "having this seal," "None of us liveth to himself;" and on the obverse, "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith." While on the broad ribbon to which this seal is attached is seen inwoven, in golden threads, a sentence which unfolds the secret of the inspiration to a true philanthropy, "The love of Christ constraineth us."

Our proposition is that, of all the blessed agencies which have been at work for the melioration of the condition of humanity, Christianity stands pre-eminent, in the majesty of an unrivaled supremacy. It has been the parent of almost every kind of organized agency by which men have benefited one another. It learned its lesson from the Divine Master, and caught its inspiration from the cross. He who washed his disciples' feet said, "I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you;" not repeat literally the act just then performed, but cherish and exhibit the spirit it embodied.

While, as might be expected, the primary attention of the Church of Christ was directed to those who sought the friendly shelter of its sacred inclosures—when the rich gave of their substance to the poor for Jesus' sake; when "those that had possessions sold them, and parted them to all men, as every man had need"—yet Christians soon understood that they were to exhibit compassion and kindness, and render help to others who were not of their fold, and in forms and on a scale to which men were utterly unused. In the palmy days of paganism the poor and wretched found few or none to help them. The system that could originate and foster the cruelties of the amphitheatre was hardly likely to create and nourish gentle and pitiful emotions. If the priest and the Levite, among the Jews, could and did pass by the wounded and helpless, much more did the flamen and the priest. It was reserved

for Christianity to inaugurate a new era in the history of humanity. When from Calvary the ery went forth, "I lay down my life for the world," and the proclamation made within the shadow of the Acropolis, "God hath made of one blood all the nations that do dwell upon the face of the earth," found its echo amidst the columned splendors of the Forum, and was understood alike by Onesimus the slave and by the nobles of Cæsar's household, then, as "in Christ Jesus there was henceforth to be neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Seythian, bond nor free, but Christ was all and in all," they learned to "put on, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering," girding around them "charity, as the bond of perfectness; and whatsoever they did, in word or deed, doing all in the name of the Lord Jesus."

If we be asked, "What good has Christianity done to the world?"—and we know, from the quarter whence the question comes, what is meant by *good*—we point to the works of charity and benevolence and mercy with which the world abounds, and answer, "Behold the good: for these are the genuine offspring of the Christian system. 'Can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit?'—fruit like this?"

We ask men to look round at the hospitals, dispensaries, convalescent homes, reformatories, schools, alms-houses, orphanages, asylums for the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the idiot, the insane, the inebriate, the refugees for the fallen and for juvenile delinquents, and other agencies for overtaking and alleviating the thousand ills to which flesh is heir, and inquire, "Whence sprang they all?"

Hospitals, history tells us, owe their origin to Christianity; for the first the world ever saw was erected at Constantinople, under the direction of the bishop of that city. Neither there, nor at Athens, nor Rome—the high places of civilization, of political wisdom and power, the chosen abodes of philosophy, eloquence, poetry, and artistic skill—was its prototype to be found, "unless it be the small temple of Esculapius, on an island in the Tiber, where the maimed and sick were left to struggle in solitude in the pangs of death." Christianity showed "a more excellent way."

In all the centuries that have passed over the earth since the first proclamation of the Gospel, in the darkest as well as in the brightest periods of the Church's history, Christian philanthropy has never passed away. The monastic institutions of mediæval times were distinguished for the exercise of charity to the sick and poor, so that, if the ignorant multitude were very imperfectly acquainted with the mysteries of the faith of their inmates, they, at any rate, were able

to comprehend, to some extent, the worth of a religion that brought forth in them such fruits, and certainly learned to esteem and share many of the material advantages it secured. Men were "a hungered, and they gave them meat; thirsty, and they gave them drink; strangers, and they took them in; naked, and they clothed them; sick, and they visited them; in prison, and they came unto them."

It was assuredly to the inspiration of the religion he had learned from the New Testament that Howard owed the impulse that sent him forth on his embassies of mercy through all the countries of Europe, to discover and expose the appalling secrets of their prison-houses, until the indignant cry of insulted humanity inaugurated a change; and nothing inferior to such an influence could have led the gentle Elizabeth Fry to subject herself to the self-denial and personal peril to which her visits to Newgate exposed her in her attempted and happily successful efforts to overcome the demoniac fury and wickedness of its miserable inmates.

In all public calamities the genius of Christian philanthropy has passed among men as an angel of light. "When Alexandria was visited with the plague, during the reign of Gallienus, the pagans deserted their friends on the first symptoms of disease. They left them to die in the streets, without even taking the trouble to bury them when dead; they only thought of escaping from the contagion themselves. The Christians, on the contrary, took the bodies of their brethren in their arms; waited upon them without thinking of themselves; ministered to their wants, and buried them with all possible care: even while the best people of the community, presbyters and deacons, lost their own lives by their self-denying generosity. And when Carthage was ravaged by a similar pestilence, in the reign of Gallus, the pagans deserted the sick and the dying, and the streets were filled with dead bodies, which greatly increased the infection. No one came near them except for purposes of plunder; but Cyprian, calling his people together in the church, said, 'If we do good only to our own, what do we more than publicans and heathens?' Animated by his words, the members of the Church divided the work between them, the rich giving money, and the poor labor, so that in a short time the bodies that filled the streets were buried. Who, before Christianity taught men to do it, ever thought of redeeming captives taken in war? Yet this was what churches did; and even sold the consecrated vessels for that purpose, as was done by Ambrose at Milan." (Rev. J. Lord.)

Is it not found, now, that no sooner does a calamity happen by which widows and orphans are made, no sooner is it known that there is a wide-spread distress arising

from famine, war, or pestilence, even in other lands, than the Christian philanthropy of this country and of England is stirred to its depths? *theirs* more than that of all the world besides; and I do not hesitate to say it is because of the religion which has made the two countries what they are, in all that is good and great, and given them an enviable pre-eminence over the other nations of the earth.

In preparing this paper I tried—but the task was too herculean for me to accomplish—to ascertain what amount of money, during the last half century, had been poured into the treasury of our London philanthropic institutions, for that city may perhaps be regarded as the centre of philanthropic action; and I essayed to do the same with your own city of New York, taking this, as I presume I may, as the counterpart of London in the old country; but I failed from the very magnitude of the inquiry. One fact, however, I elicited, for which I was hardly prepared, and which speaks volumes. In London I ascertained—and, if I were as familiar with New York as with the more ancient city, I doubt not I should be able to assert something similar as existing here—there are nine hundred different charities formed to benefit men, and the vast majority of these relate to the body, its ailments and wants, embracing every form of disease and misery; including among them the aged, the helpless, the infirm, the incurable, the orphan, and the widow.

With one department of Christian philanthropy—that of aid to the orphans of respectable parentage—I am, perhaps, from the official position I have held for the last twenty-six years, as honorary secretary to the Asylum for Fatherless Children, at Reedham, near London, more familiar than many here. I select eight of the oldest or best known orphanages, five of which are in or near London, and offer the following statistics with reference to them:

St. Ann's Society, which has sent forth during its existence 3000 children, and received from the public.....	}	£500,000
The Orphan Working School, 4000 children, and received from the public.....		
The London Orphan Asylum, 3708 children, and received from the public.....	}	635,000
The Wanstead Infant Asylum, 3000 children, and received from the public.....		
The Asylum for Fatherless Children, Reedham, 800 children, and received from the public.....	}	200,000
The Crossley Orphanage, Halifax, toward which the three brothers Crossley gave £127,500.....		
Mason's Orphanage, near Birmingham, built and endowed by the founder, at a cost of Müller's remarkable institution* at Bristol, in which have been received 4140 orphans, educated at an expense of.....	}	260,000
	}	115,000

As an illustration of what Christian philanthropy in the heart of one man, and he a

* In thirty years Mr. Müller has obtained, "simply in answer to prayer," £580,000, for all his religious and benevolent operations.

Christian minister, can accomplish, let me call your special attention to the five institutions founded by the late Dr. Andrew Reed, of London, whose visit to this country, as a deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales, thirty-six years ago, some here may remember, and who was the father of the honorable member for Hackney, who has presided at more than one of the sessions of this Conference. He founded the London Orphan, the Wanstead Infant, and the Reedham Fatherless Asylums; the Royal Hospital for Incurables, and the Idiot Asylum at Earlswood, Surrey. The former has received from the public £263,216, and the latter £300,000. These five institutions, up to the time of Dr. Reed's death, ten years ago, according to a table given in the life written by his sons, amounted to upward of one million pounds sterling. In his will he wrote with his own hands these memorable words: "I bequeath these asylums to my beloved country, with an earnest prayer that they may be watched over with wisdom and benevolence; that they may be kept free from abuse and preserved in efficiency, and remain, age after age, memorials of that Divine charity which exalteth and glorifieth a people."

The ten institutions I have enumerated—every one of which is the offspring of Christian philanthropy—have received from a benevolent public £3,802,716, or nearly twenty million dollars.

Since writing the above, I have received a publication, which has emanated from the Bible House, designated "Christian Work." From it I find that *last year* the "local societies" of New York, the great majority of which embrace philanthropic objects, raised \$2,500,000, while it mentions in a note that the incomes of the various religions and benevolent societies in Great Britain, for the last year, amounted to £1,450,000, or \$7,250,000. This is far below the mark, for it does not take into account what is done by every well-organized church throughout the empire for the good of its own locality. I believe the sum may be doubled, and not fully represent the amount annually expended for the purposes of Christian philanthropy.

But after all it is not so much the amount of money raised for philanthropic purposes that shows the strength of the philanthropic principle, as something else, which no figures in arithmetic can represent. Think of the personal toil—unremunerated and unremunerative—which is necessary to carry on all the institutions of Christian charity and benevolence, and which is cheerfully given by hundreds and thousands of gratuitous, and yet often sadly misunderstood and abused laborers. Think of the instructions to the poor, given by myriads of hearty and loving workers whom the world never sees at their toils; of the thousands of men and

women who visit the bedsides of the sick and the homes of poverty, to minister to human wants, and often under circumstances of the greatest peril to health and life; and remember that as these were originated under the inspiration of Christianity, by men who had caught its spirit, so are they still maintained and perpetuated by such as are quickened by the same living power, who "do it as unto the Lord and not unto men." As of the early Christian women it was said, so is it true of them to this day: "Matrons especially devoted themselves to these works of charity, feeding the poor and ministering to the sick. They visited the meanest hovels and the most dismal prisons. 'But what heathen,' says Tertullian, 'will suffer his wife to go about from one street to another to the houses of strangers? What heathen would allow her to steal away into the dungeon to kiss the chain of the martyr?' It was because this benevolence was so universal that the pagans were struck with wonder and admiration, and marveled at the potent agency that could effect such results."

Two days ago, in company with a number of other delegates to this Conference, I availed myself of the invitation of the Mayor and Common Council of this city to visit the institutions which are maintained, under the direction of the Commissioners of Charities, in the islands of the East River. In the care of the sick, the poor, the helpless, the incurable, the insane, even of those who belonged to the criminal class; in the arrangements for the comfort of the soldier worn out in his country's service; and especially in the asylum for children on Randall's Island, where so many of the little waifs and strays of society greeted us, and in whose tiny shouts I thought I heard mingled the suppressed cry of heart-broken humanity that had begun to feel the warm touch of a generous benevolence—in all these I saw the direct and indirect effects of Christianity. It was a noble exhibition of that Divine charity which, as Dr. Reed said, exalts, honors, and purifies a people.

To all infidels and impugners of the work of Christianity as a remedial agency, to those who inquiringly or scornfully ask what good it has ever done in the world, we reply: "Look at the myriads it has blessed in relation to this life only—for this is surely an argument you can understand—listen to them, who, with a voice like the sound of many waters, acknowledge the million benefits they have derived from it." With a mightier emphasis than Job used can Christianity say: "When the ear heard me then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me it gave witness to me; because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to per-

ish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not I searched out." These things are not seen in merely isolated instances, but in multitudes of cases; not on a limited, but on a gigantic scale, somewhat more commensurate with the exigencies of humanity than in former days, and a little more in accordance with the injunctions of our holy religion and its Divine Head.

Now, is it too much to ask that the opponents of Christianity would show us some of their trophies, won without any help from the system they repudiate? They would find it a hard task to do this; for at every step in the exhibition we should lay our finger on this and that act, and claim the motive power as having been supplied by our despised Christianity. Men of the world have taken of the things created by it, and appropriated to themselves the credit of the creation. They have collected the medicaments which have been distilled in the laboratory of a divinely instituted religion, and labeled them with their own names. But it is very easy to discern the true parentage of all benevolent operations. If, in helping to dispossess poor humanity of any of its ills, the children of the world claim the honor of originating the thought and the work, we say, "Thy speech bewrayeth thee. The voice is Jacob's voice, though the hands be the hands of Esau." Such persons run the risk of being scornfully repudiated, as were the sons of Seeva, who wanted to have the credit of casting out devils; for as misery and evil take their flight from the homes and hearts of myriads, they cry to the mere imitators of Christian benevolence, "Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but who are ye?"

The day is not far off when those who now speak evil of Christianity, as if its sacred books were but a collection of old wives' fables, will have to make the acknowledgment that they contain within them sentiments and principles which have proved the germinant power of all that has stirred human hearts to noble deeds; that, instead of its domain being a mere paradise of dreamers, it is a nursery of noble souls that have filled the world with their achievements, and that will continue to do so in spite of the world's ingratitude. The Church of Christ may be often smitten on the right cheek, but she will return a kiss for a blow; she may be reviled, but she will not revile again; the ribaldry of the profane may pursue her, but she wafts back her blessings in return. She remembers the injunction of the Divine Oracle: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon

his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

I take my cynical brother, therefore, with me into the noble temple of charity and benevolence which has been reared by Christian hands, an ever-enlarging temple that is composed of living stones, many of which, rough-hewn originally in the quarry of humanity, have been shaped into a goodly symmetry, and "polished after the similitude of a palace;" and as the architect of St. Paul's

bids the visitor to the metropolitan cathedral gaze on the glorious structure that rises around him, to discover the most fitting tribute to the genius and skill which produced such a building, so, pointing to the grand results of a constructive and ever-growing benevolence which are to be met with everywhere, and which but for Christianity would never have been seen blessing the world, I say, "Si monumentum ejus requiris—Circumspice."

THE CARE OF THE SICK.

BY THE LATE COUNT AGÉNOR DE GASPARIN, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.

[This essay of the late distinguished Count AGÉNOR DE GASPARIN, who took such a noble and hopeful stand in behalf of our nation and country at the time of our greatest trial, was prepared at my request for the General Conference three years ago, ten months before his lamented death, and was intrusted to me by his widow at La Pierrière, near Geneva, to be used for the object he had in view. It was accordingly read in part before the Conference, and is here inserted in full, as the voice of one who, though dead, still speaketh.—*Ed.*]

GENTLEMEN,—I desire, in the first place, to express a sentiment of personal regret. Not only should I have been happy to take part in this truly œcumenical meeting of the representatives of Gospel Christianity, but, allow me to tell you, a feeling peculiarly deep binds me to the noble country in which you are now gathered. It would have been a great joy to me to shake hands with friends whose countenances are unknown to me, and to see with my own eyes a people which has set us such a noble example, and which holds the foremost rank in liberal civilization. Compelled as I am to decline the invitation with which I have been honored, I have felt bound to do as much as lies in my power, and I beg you to receive with indulgence a few short reflections on the subject I have been called to treat.

That subject is the care of the sick and of the poor, as it stands connected with the institution of deaconesses.

Allow me, gentlemen, to call your special attention to the care of the sick. It is for them that the institution of deaconesses has been founded, and the observations which this side of the question gives rise to apply so manifestly to the care of the poor that it would be but a repetition of the same arguments were I to examine the subject with regard to them. We shall find it to be a case of a *fortiori*.

Wishing to simplify and shorten as much as possible, I will spare you extracts and quotations, and have no recourse either to books or reports. The Gospel alone, experience, and facts will guide me while I endeavor to throw light upon the subject.

I. Nothing is more striking than the place assigned by the Gospel to the individual. Faith is individual, conversion is individual; the Good Shepherd "callesh his own sheep by their name." Every man individually is responsible before God; every man has individual duties to fulfill; consequently, no organization whatsoever—no system for promoting obedience, sanctification, or salvation—can supply the place of individual effort.

Now this applies to the exercise of charity, as well as to every other manifestation of

Christian life. The number of offices instituted by the apostles was very limited—just what is necessary for the maintenance of order, the preaching of sound doctrine, and the distribution of alms in the name of the Church. With this indispensable exception, the apostles maintain the fundamental principle of the New Covenant—individual activity. "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this," writes St. James, "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." When the Saviour is describing the last judgment in terms inexpressibly solemn, these are the words he addresses to the elect: "I was naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me." He does not say, "You gave money to an association which had undertaken to clothe and visit."

II. I grant that no one says these very words. No one thinks of giving Christians a permit of exemption from the duties of personal charity. By creating this new kind of charity, the Romish Church by no means intended to do away with individual benevolence. Nevertheless, the very existence of corporations for the carrying out of special objects naturally places those objects almost exclusively in the hands of those whose special business it is to attend to them, who are most familiar with them, and who consequently appear better fitted for the accomplishment of the duty than you or I.

And observe this: just as the Gospel principle which applies to the individual is specially manifested in the private exercise of charity, so the Romish Church, starting from a general principle which annihilates the individual, mutilates or destroys the individual manifestations of charity. The invention of charitable associations is only one of the practical consequences of that principle. Every one knows that the system which places the priest between God and the soul leaves no room for a personal faith, for conscientious self-government, and for a candid inquiry after truth. If the Romish Church undertake to rule over men's con-

sciences and to promise them heaven, it is not surprising that she should likewise undertake to perform all the duties of obedience for them. The development of charitable corporations in her midst is a necessary consequence of her system. She has some men specially appointed for prayer, others for the maintenance of pure doctrine, others for the guidance of consciences. She could not do without special men for almsgiving. Besides, these special agents are convenient, and we are glad to avail ourselves of them. Let me be relieved of the fatigue of seeking, and the trouble of coming to a decision. Let me be told what I ought to believe, and what I ought to do. Let my duties toward the sick and the poor be fulfilled by others in such a way as shall set my conscience at rest. Are there not people whose business it is? It is not mine. Religious or charitable associations will act for me, just as they pray for me. I will give the alms prescribed to me, as I accomplish the duties conmanded me, recite the formulas drawn up for me, and submit to the penances imposed on me. Here are my dollars. Now leave me alone.

It would be difficult to be a Christian at an easier cost.

III. Such are, gentlemen, the two tendencies which have been in antagonism for eighteen hundred years—individual effort on the one hand, a mechanical system on the other.

To confine myself to the question under consideration, I come to this conclusion. In proportion as the mechanism of good works is foreign to the spirit of the Apostolic Churches, so is it developed from century to century, in proportion as the doctrines of salvation by grace, and of faith in Christ, are lost amid outward forms—as the different ways of meriting heaven are multiplied—as the worship of God in spirit and in truth becomes materialized—as the immediate intercourse of the soul with God is prevented and the way into the Holiest closed—and as the priesthood, with its spiritual guidance, rises in power and importance. Charity becomes mere almsgiving, and even this almsgiving is the business of the priests or of the corporations—that is to say, that direct intercourse between man and man is at an end, quite as much as direct dealings with God.

Now Scripture brings man into contact with man—the poor with the rich, the sick with the healthy. If such contact be done away with, the only satisfactory solution of the social question is done away with at the same time. If I am suffering, and I see around me nothing but charitable associations—hospitals, aid given officially, special agents accomplishing the duties of their vocation—my heart will not be touched. I shall doubtless sincerely admire and deeply respect the devotedness of these agents of

collective charity; but shall I not be more or less inclined to look on them as the wheels which set the charitable machine going, by means either of taxes or voluntary contributions—as the workers of a well-regulated engine, which coldly and systematically distributes its alms, the monotonous drone of which I can easily distinguish, but which is destitute of a heart that beats and feels.

If, on the contrary, direct intercourse with my fellow-creatures is restored to me by the Gospel, every thing changes at once. I feel the pressure of a friendly hand, my suffering awakens sympathy in the heart of another, I see the countenance of my helper, and love responds to love in my own bosom. Thus is mutual affection created, and thus by degrees disappears the poison of those social questions which threaten our Old World, and which the New World will do well to take into consideration.

The weighty subject of practical charity would carry me too far; I therefore merely point out its importance. Two facts, however, stand out prominently: first, the predominance of individual activity; secondly, the limits within which this activity should be comprised. Beyond a certain boundary it must not extend, if it would accomplish its mission. Our individual charity becomes not only inefficient, but hurtful, when we scatter our help right and left, instead of confining ourselves to the families we know, with whose wants and circumstances we are familiar, and with whom we can maintain an interchange of sympathies. Common-place charity, alms given at the door, donations requested and forwarded by letter, are quite as injurious to the interests of real charity as is official help.

NOTE.—In several of our towns offices for relief and reference—the universal adoption of which can not be too highly recommended—have been established. That of Geneva, under the direction of Mr. Edward Fatio, is, to my mind, a model worthy of imitation. At these offices men devoted, enlightened, and charitable, in the true sense of the word, receive and carefully examine a mass of letters dictated by poverty, and full of its urgent requests—letters which, before they undertook the office, appalled the inhabitants of our towns, unable as they were to get at the truth.

After having taken a general survey of the requests, the party to whom they may be addressed dispatches them to the office, whither he likewise sends the petitioner when the latter calls for an answer, or, rather, when he comes to receive the help he has extracted from the donor's weariness, from his idleness—nay, from his very selfishness, anxious as he is to be rid of importunity—from any thing rather than from his benevolence. The office, which is in possession of all the requests, and is perfectly well acquainted with all the circumstances, sometimes gives a positive refusal, when professional beggars, idlers, or vagabonds are concerned. At others it strongly seconds the petitioner, especially when a family in distress needs a helping hand for a shorter or longer period; when a child is to be apprenticed or sent back to his native land

—while, at the same time, the office places at the employer's disposal both its experience and its good-will—to help him in finding a suitable situation, and in watching over the protégé. We may add that the chief endeavor of the office is to provide work for the indigent, and by that means to draw them up out of that miry slough which bears the name of mendicancy.

It would be long to tell the evil these offices have prevented, the base imposture they have unmasked, the moral putrefaction cleansed, the deep misery relieved, the efficient help given, the real bonds of union cemented between rich and poor through their means, the undisputed good they have done and are doing to this hour.

But one thing is necessary: it is that on both sides the same perseverance and the same energy should be displayed. If the office meet with idleness and hesitation, and its activity be disturbed by continual inconsistencies; if the receivers of letters, instead of sending them to the office, and watching the progress of the affair, give their alms without reflection, to repent of it at their leisure—one day because an importunate beggar wears them with his solicitations; the next, because they are seized with a fit of ill-judged, misapplied sensibility—the office, in spite of all its exertions, will be impeded in its movements, and the results of its labors will be compromised. We feel persuaded that the founders of the office for relief accomplish an excellent work, and render untold service to the poor and to society at large. Having seen these good Gospel daily laborers, who so courageously bear the heat and burden of the day, sometimes give way, both under the fatigues of their task and under the inconsistencies, we may add, the blinded incomprehension, and the very blame of those who should encourage them by every means in their power—we desire here to bear a solemn testimony to their devotedness, to their work itself, and to its utility.

IV. I have mentioned hospitals, and you will have seen, gentlemen, that I am not very fond of them. Of course, some are necessary. A limited number of hospitals, of limited size, are certainly required. But let us set aside as much as possible the traditions of the Latin Church, which has covered Europe with those immense shelters of poverty, the building of which was long considered the most excellent of good works. In the Middle Ages, every thing was comprised in these two forms of charity—corporations and hospitals. People gave to corporations and built hospitals; then, through the medium of these hospitals and corporations, they took care of their sick and relieved their poor. Succeeding centuries have followed in the same track. Such a course is so convenient—so much in accordance with the systematizing spirit of Europe; this systematic charity allows private individuals, and society at large, to be so easy and comfortable.

We ourselves are more under the influence of Romish tradition than we are perhaps aware. Every day we see new hospitals rising, which true charity would not require, but which are essential to selfishness. Except in special cases, which need special remedies, it is a lamentable thing to take away a sick person from domestic care, and thus to

force his family from the duties God had given them to fulfill. Our duties are our privileges; we must be careful not to deprive ourselves of them. A family will, perhaps, feel relieved when its sick member is carried to the hospital; but dare we affirm that such a relief is a blessing? On the contrary, domestic care is so valuable, so much more calculated to promote recovery than that bestowed in the best-regulated hospitals, that at Paris, for instance, the public administration has at length acknowledged its uncontested superiority. Every year the above administration gives increasing proofs of the importance it attaches to home care.

I shudder when I see asylums for the aged, though founded, of course, with the best intentions. What an accumulation of infirmity, of debility, of dejection! If any need the family, it is the aged. They need to be surrounded with the cheerful voices of the young, and the merry laughter of children. They love children, and are loved by them. Now can there be any thing easier than to place old people who are friendless and poor in private families? With one quarter of the money which is expended in building, furnishing, and maintaining an almshouse, aged persons could be supported in villages where they would enjoy the free country air. Such a proceeding would not make so much show, but it would do more good. The principle which substitutes individual charity and the influence of the family for mechanical systems and hospitals is, when put into practice, of a much more extensive application than would at first be supposed. With regard to lunatics, and even confirmed madmen, whose state seems absolutely to require the special care of an asylum, we believe the privacy of the family would soothe and quiet them. In Belgium, for instance, there is a custom of long standing, and which is frequently put into practice. There are villages in which persons in every stage of madness are received and taken care of. They are made to feel at home, and engaged in manual labor. The effect is most beneficial, and often they are completely cured.

V. Must it then be inferred that Gospel laborers, peculiarly fitted for the work, possessed of the requisite knowledge, and having a decided taste and aptitude for it—men, in a word, who are clearly called to it—must it be inferred that such should not receive the necessary course of preparation for the care of the sick? By no means. However limited the number of hospitals may be, the persons who are over them must be capable of fulfilling their duties, and this requires a certain amount of training. All the good-will in the world will not be a substitute for science and skill. We may add that the more home care is practiced, the more necessary will it be to have well-qualified nurses at hand, and thus to secure under our

own roofs that aid for which we once had to apply to public establishments. For both these reasons, persons should be trained to nurse rich or poor, as occasion should present.

Experience has shown the mistake of those who imagine that our nurses can not, without risk, penetrate into certain quarters of large towns unless invested with the name and dress of a Sister of Charity. The Bible women daily visit the dens of London. At Paris I have seen young Christian ladies going up the dirtiest staircases, in the most miserable dwellings, and every where they were respected. Besides, gentlemen, does not the city in which you are assembled possess a valiant army of charitable ladies, who never shrink from their labors, even before the Five Points?

VI. This simplicity of action, considered good for the apostles' days, was, of course, insufficient when men endeavored to improve the Gospel, and when the great Romish mechanism was organized. Then appeared the monastic orders. I do not intend to give you their history; I only make the following statement: The Protestant Sisters of Charity, who are so numerous in Europe, and whom it is wished to introduce among you, are modeled upon the Roman Catholic sisterhoods. I know what are the differences which exist between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant sisters. I know also that the similarities exceed the differences, and that the latter are more apparent than real. Do not imagine that I allow myself to be carried away by a spirit of malevolence. I sincerely respect the Protestant sisters, and their devotedness. Among the founders of these new institutions I have friends and relatives; and I understand the impulse upon which they act so much the better because I began by giving way to it myself, and by encouraging the work. I have therefore, perhaps, the right to hope that my opinion, which is the result of a serious and conscientious examination of the subject, will be of some weight in the eyes of impartial men.

VII. In the first place, I notice that the title of deaconess is misapplied to the Sisters of Charity in question. Only one deaconess—Phœbe—is spoken of in the writings of the apostles; and assuredly nothing can authorize us to suppose that she belonged to a corporation, governed by principles entirely contrary to those which regulated the other offices in the primitive Church. We may gather from analogy that the duties of the deaconess were similar to those of the deacon. She fulfilled the same requirements, at once so simple and so large, and which so decidedly maintain the established order of existence. "Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well" (1 Timothy iii., 12). Nothing here indicates a state of service

which would place those engaged in it outside the pale of ordinary existence, and under an authority entirely free to dispose of their persons.

It is worthy of remark that the true Church deaconesses still exist. The little Free Church to which I belong elects not only elders and deacons, but deaconesses also. The latter—who may be either single, married, or widows—attend specially to the visiting of the sick and the poor. They act in concert with, and are upheld by the Church, and in difficult cases have recourse to its advice. The life they lead is like that of every one else. Lastly, their exertions do not prevent the manifestation of individual charity any more than do those of the deacons. They have a household to superintend, children to bring up, and they are not, like the sisters, so special a personification of charity that one feels authorized to leave the exclusive care of it to them. The following historical fact is also worthy of observation: The Puritan refugees at Leyden drew up, under the direction of their Pastor, Robinson, a remarkable system of Church government, which contains the germ of several of the great improvements since realized by America. By this constitution five offices were established in the Church, and the subjects of the fifth class, who came after the elders, doctors, evangelists, and deacons, were the deaconesses—that is, our own Bible deaconesses. On this point, as on many others, the Puritans walked in the footsteps of the apostles; and imitated that simplicity so fruitful in its effects, and which alone preserves from error.

VIII. We here meet with an objection. By my own confession, it will be urged, neither the Church deaconesses nor individual charity will suffice in certain emergencies. I have myself acknowledged the necessity of training persons specially qualified for the work. Will not this bring us back to the institutions recently founded, and to the sisterhoods?

For a time such may have been the conclusion. Many a true Christian was convinced that, except by copying Rome, it was as impossible to find devoted nurses as to organize well-regulated hospitals; and yet the want of such nurses was unceasingly felt. But now experience has given in its verdict. Recent facts have plainly proved that we need not borrow from Rome's adulterated Christianity, and that a pious nurse, under the guidance of the pure Gospel, fulfills the duties of her vocation far better than if she were enslaved by conventional regulations. To mention only one example: For twelve years* an establishment for training nurses has been in existence at Lansanne, in Switzerland. Twice a year, after having given serious proofs of their piety

* Fourteen at the present moment.

and call to the work, eight pupils are admitted. For five months they receive lessons in the theory of nursing, and, above all, go through a practical training, paying visits to the hospital, sitting up with the sick at night, and watching by their bedsides in the daytime. A serious examination before competent judges terminates their apprenticeship; and brevets, according to their different abilities and acquirements, are given to the pupils, who are then placed either in our Protestant hospitals, or as independent nurses in different cities and villages. Some are employed by the Church, others by some charitable institution—all, in a word, are actively engaged. The work is one of liberty, and, therefore, with the apprenticeship ceases the superintendence. The most friendly intercourse is kept up between the head of the establishment and the pupils. He aids and protects them with pleasure; but there his control is at an end; their independence is respected, and each of them goes her own way upon her own responsibility. If continual superintendence, the "sine qua non" of the sisterhoods, is not indispensable, that celibacy *de facto*, which not only characterizes them, but is their very essence and bond of union, is, of course, not indispensable either. The nurses in the school at Lausanne are single, married, or widows. There is scarcely a class in which these three descriptions of persons are not represented.

Need I say they are distinguished by no particular dress. Often during their five months' residence at the establishment, persons of different classes in society are thrown together. It might seem necessary to adopt a special costume in order to prevent uncomfortable feeling, and to obliterate certain differences. But this uncomfortable feeling has never existed, and the differences are looked upon as perfectly natural. The young lady and the peasant girl—both neatly dressed, and in a way suitable to their respective positions—have always worked together in Christian harmony, and no social difficulties have arisen in their minds by contrasting the fine material and elegant cut of the lady's dress with the coarse stuff gown of the peasant.

No one thinks of giving them any other name than that of their noble profession. They are nurses, not sisters; or, rather, they are sisters in the truly Scriptural and enlarged sense of the word. It is the Romish system, with its classifications so contrary to the Gospel, its different grades of sanctity, its priests and monks accounted nearer to God than ordinary Christians, which has deprived the latter of their family name—of the title which belongs to all the members of Christ's body—and has bestowed it on the religious orders as their exclusive privilege.

The pupils of the Lausanne school, in re-

putuating a particular dress, feel that He who commands us not to let "our right hand know what our left hand doeth," does not call us to proclaim our good works by outward signs, and they are resolved not to attract attention or solicit respect by wearing a badge of their consecration. The same humility is evidenced in their setting aside the prestige which accompanies nursing when apparently gratuitous. When our nurses leave the school, they earn their own livelihood, and receive a modest remuneration for their services.

We live so much under the influence of that false sanctity invented by the Church of Rome, and it seems so necessary to us that our self-denial should be seen and known, that we look upon a salary, if not as a dishonor, at least as despicable, vulgar, and incompatible with fervent consecration to God's service. This refinement of self-denial was unknown to the apostles. They were too single-eyed and too upright to imagine such a thing. "The workman," said they, "is worthy of his hire;" and they even commanded that certain elders "should be counted worthy of double honor."

Do we not take it as a matter of course that magistrates, clergymen, missionaries should be paid? Yet, when charitable corporations are concerned, Romish traditions reappear, with the tenacity which characterizes erroneous notions, and a modest, lawful remuneration, sanctioned by the Gospel, appears to us a humiliation. Besides, gentlemen, that gratuitous nursing, so greatly honored, as practiced by some associations, does not really exist.* The board and lodging of the sisters are the expense of those who employ them, and when their labors are ended, a pension which will secure them against want, and provide for them in case of sickness, fatigue from over-work, or infirmity, is guaranteed them till death. The slight remuneration which our nurses receive is far from being equivalent to this.

We desire only to go back to true evangelical simplicity, and to have done with that pompous, noisy self-denial in which Rome is so skillful, and which she has organized so artfully. All special appellations and special dresses are set aside, pretended gratuitous service disappears; but what remains is a true, modest, unostentatious devotedness, and that suffices us.

We may add that persons in comfortable circumstances have often been numbered among the pupils. Their time of probation over, they devote themselves to the care of

* It is easy to have the poor gratuitously nursed by the formation of a special committee, which takes into its service one or more nurses, and sends them to the necessitous at its own expense. Such a committee exists at Lausanne. At other places unassuming private associations engage a nurse, and employ her as need requires.

the sick, of course without accepting a remuneration which they do not need. But you may be sure that while acting thus, they do not for a moment suppose that their gratuitous service is more acceptable than the required labors of their poorer companions, who are less favored, but quite as devoted to the Lord.*

IX. If I have dwelt at some length on the Lausanne institution—assuredly a most unassuming one—it is because it furnishes the demonstration of many disputed truths. It proves that in their care of the sick Christians need not borrow from the Church of Rome, and that the Gospel, in its simplicity, possesses a power upon which we do not sufficiently reckon.

Less organization and more life; an appeal to free, individual action; the development of the fund of strength which faith puts at the disposal of charity—such is our programme.

Instead of speaking to you of a small Swiss establishment, I ought to have put before you the noble example set us by America. During the civil war, who nursed the sick and wounded soldiers? Who founded those admirable asylums—those soldiers' homes scattered along the route from Washington to Texas? Who made those asylums so happy that the poor soldiers felt as if they were breathing the air of home? Who founded that wonderful organization, the Sanitary Commission? Who collected all the donations—not only money, linen, and lint, but garments, wine, cordials, books, paper, games, flowers and fruits, the perfume and flavor of which reminded the sufferers of their native village? You know as well as I do—the American women (for in such cases women play the chief part) devoted themselves—they set charity by proxy on one side. They wrote letters for the wounded soldiers, their tender hands administered to their wants, they surrounded them with comforts, nay, with luxuries and delicacies such as a woman's heart alone can devise. My friend, Mr. Laboulaye, in a work which is in every one's

* The superintendents of the Lausanne training-school are parents—Mr. and Mrs. Raymond; the family circle has, therefore, only been widened. Mr. Raymond is an established Christian, highly gifted for the work. His lectures are greatly appreciated, his power of penetration is remarkable, and his character is most amiable. All this peculiarly fits him to develop the minds of his pupils. He brings to his work extreme delicacy of conscience, all the kindness of an upright tender heart, and all the experience he has acquired by the bedside of the sick and in the houses of the poor. Lastly, the establishment possesses, in the person of Dr. Jain, a professor whose learned lectures, adorned sometimes by flashes of wit—the fruit of a mind at once original and acute, and fed by the assiduous study of the discoveries daily made in the medical world—not only captivate the pupils instructed by them, but attracts a good number of *externs*, happy to acquire knowledge which finds immediate use in the service of charity.

hands, has given our European world the history of the "Hospital Days:" the diary of a lady who during the war was at the head of the Fairfax Hospital, near Washington.* He has told us also of Mrs. Barlow. On her wedding-day she started for the army with her husband. Mr. Barlow was elevated to the rank of General. Each new campaign saw Mrs. Barlow at her post in the hospitals, and at length she died in her work under the walls of Petersburg. What a union! How noble, though brief, was their married life! Is not that an example of true devotedness, of supreme consecration, of the care of the sick practiced in simplicity and by the power of Christ?

During the American struggle the Central Association of women for the succor of the wounded collected a vast amount of money.

It enlisted quite an army of devoted ladies. And the work accomplished by women should not cause us to lose sight of that carried on by the men, particularly the great activity displayed by the Young Men's Christian Associations.

I call your attention to these particulars, gentlemen, although they are well-known to you, because they prove unquestionably that sisterhoods are not needed in your midst, and that their absence has been the cause of no drawbacks.

Have our hospitals full of sisters been any where crowned with such success as your temporary barracks attended by the volunteers of charity—as those spacious, well-aired buildings from which the typhus and scurvy were excluded, and where the bill of mortality was far lower than could ever have been expected? There improvement succeeded improvement, thanks to wonders of intelligence and kindness, such as the best regulated systems will never produce. Life is a great teacher, liberty is a great discoverer. Through its influence vast hospitals breathing infection and death were replaced by small asylums in sunny situations. By its hand gardens were planted, vegetables cultivated, flowers made to blossom; its care constructed steamers and cars specially adapted for the conveyance of the wounded, and, what is still better, it surrounded the sufferers with solicitude and love, and with that feeling of home under the influence of which the heart warms and the body is healed.

We have left far behind us wholesale charity—that charity always more or less hackneyed and professional which characterizes the most sincere and devoted corporations.

X. It appears to me, gentlemen, that the conclusions of this rapid sketch are self-evident. We have to choose between the two

* I do not know whether it is allowable to name Miss Jane Stuart Woolsey, but I venture to do so in this note.

tendencies which divide the history of Christendom into two very unequal parts. On one side are those mechanical systems so skillfully organized by the Romish Church—hospitals innumerable, almsgiving exclusively in the hands of charitable associations, corporations signalized to public respect by their dress, their title, their gratuitous service, by the practice of celibacy, by devotedness in regimentals, subservient to the will of a central superintendence, and marching with that uniformity which is produced by the abdication of independence. On the other side we see individuals in full possession of their liberty, the care of the sick and the poor confided to the spontaneous activity of Christian love, each child of God placed before his duty, and unable to set it aside under pretext of giving it up to more skillful hands, the Gospel the sole teacher, the apostles' example the sole constitution. You will have seen, moreover, that this liberty is perfectly consistent with decorum. Nothing can be better than that there should be Church deaconesses as well as deacons, leading the life of ordinary Christians. Nothing can be better than that intelligent, able nurses, who will exercise their noble profession with as much experience and skill as love, should be trained. Let people devise the best means and ways, distribute among themselves the care of poor families, agree to prevent abuses, and endeavor to establish between employer and employed that enlightened and direct intercourse which is alone productive of good—to such proceedings there can be no objection. In times of great extremity let extra opportunities for service be given and multiplied, as was the case in the United States during the civil war—for such activity there is an evident necessity. But all this is organization in independence, order in liberty. Liberty! Ah, let us not weaken that vital principle which the Gospel has given to us. Is it not our duty as evangelical Christians to work, to fight, to be exempt from the fulfillment of no one duty?

“See how these Christians love one another,” was once said of the disciples of the Saviour. May the time soon come when we shall constrain the world to exclaim with regard to us, “See how they love one another.”

Such is the true solution of Christian philanthropy; its special application will become clearer and clearer to us by practice. That charity which is true, lively, free, and individual will discover it; she will be ready for each day's necessities, however serious and diversified the circumstances which may arise. The important thing is the principle. It is so much the more necessary to maintain it, because Rome, that personification of progressive departure from the Gospel, will ever tempt us to copy her charitable in-

stitutions after modifying them for our own use. Her mechanical organizations, so cleverly got up and possessed of all the prestige of popularity and success, must be avoided by us.

Let us, gentlemen, have courage to uphold our principles; let us have faith in the power of truth and love. And if Rome hold up before us her Sisters of Charity, we will hold up before her our Churches of Charity.

XI. In fulfilling the delicate task imposed on me, I hope I have been faithful to the pacific, brotherly spirit of the Evangelical Alliance. The endeavor has been easy, for my heart contains nothing but feelings of affection and profound respect for the devoted brethren who have founded the Protestant sisterhoods. I am persuaded that, far from seeking to imitate Rome, it has been their earnest wish to serve the Protestant cause by clearing it of the reproach of callousness, by putting an end to a state of inferiority from which its honor was suffering. We had, indeed, a gap to fill up; our sick were often without the Christian love and care they need so much. And let us acknowledge that many suffering beings have met with tender care, and many souls have found peace and salvation in the hospitals superintended by sisters.

I even go further. We, who are the adversaries of a system which our consciences condemn, are indebted to these institutions, for we have been roused to action by the very error we combat. If we train pious nurses, is it not for the honor of the truth and of the simplicity that is in Christ? Is it not that all may clearly see the absolute sufficiency of a pure Gospel in the domain of Christian activity, as in matters of faith and doctrine? Let us not be unmindful of the service thus rendered us. The argument of necessity, which was the basis of the sisterhoods, has collapsed before the evidence of facts. Facts have shown that there may be a real call to service, and a holy consecration to the relief of suffering, without the help either of corporations, or of superintendence, or of distinction of dress, or of celibacy.

In bringing a controverted question thus openly before you, the committee who prepared the meeting of the Alliance have given proofs of a faith truly American in its hardihood and firmness.

Your committee was right, gentlemen; our unity fears not to come to the light. There can be no real unity if discussion is avoided, and only in proportion as the manifestation of diversity is allowed, can it be solid.

Compare with that false unity, boasted of by Rome, the unity of our Evangelical Alliance, in which there is room for the free aspirations of all hearts filled with the love of Christ, and for the unimpeded soaring of all

understandings penetrated by the same Holy Spirit.

Rome decrees dogmas which she imposes on all—at one time the Immaculate Conception, at another the Papal Infallibility. If these dogmas wound the conscience, it must be silenced. If the Bible raise its voice, it must be closed. If common-sense, convictions, truth should object, common-sense must be set aside, convictions must be ignored, truth must be smothered, and Rome's disciples must walk on blindfolded in the dark night of Roman unity.

We desire no such artificial uniformity—no such bondage. We seek after liberty and truth, in an open Bible and with awakened consciences. Yea! truth is our aim. Truth is the subject of our earnest supplications at the throne of grace, the object of our most intense desires.

Diversities arise precisely because our union is real, because it is strengthened by an

ardent, persevering search after truth, and because each aspiration after truth draws the bond closer. They arise because we have a horror of those expedient falsehoods which do violence to the conscience, and for that very reason destroy union. They arise because we all desire to possess that faith which is honest, upright, and always accompanied by a good conscience. Our union—which has nothing to conceal, which knows neither constraint nor reticence—loses nothing by being thus brought into contact with liberty.

As the children of one God, the redeemed of one Saviour, the disciples of one Holy Spirit, and as obedient to one Gospel, do we not see the hour drawing near when our Redeemer's prayer shall be fulfilled: "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?"

INTEMPERANCE AND ITS SUPPRESSION.

BY THE REV. HENRY A. NELSON, D.D.,

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THE earth was not yet dry from the waters of the deluge when the mischief and the shame of drunkenness first appeared. In the evening of its nineteenth century, Christianity finds intemperance still a giant evil oppressing the human race.

No age, no land, no people have been free from its miseries—from its fearful aggravation of all miseries. It every where confronts the active philanthropy of this age, opposing its beneficent progress, obstructing every good endeavor to ameliorate the condition of mankind. The Christian Church finds it every where a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel—an obstruction to the entrance of sanctifying truth into the hearts of men—a seducing and corrupting power, making humiliating and destructive encroachments even within her own inclosure.

Not unfitly has this representative council of Protestant Christendom appointed this as a theme for deliberation.

INTEMPERANCE AND ITS SUPPRESSION.

The form of the title by which the Committee assigned this topic is significant of the spirit which characterizes the Christianity of our age. The Church of Christ, recovering her consciousness of unity in him, recovers also her consciousness of his power residing in her, his body, and designed by him to go forth from her into and through human society. She strives to realize the unity for which, in sympathy with her Head, she longs and prays—not alone by investigation and contemplation of truth, seeking to find acceptable and intelligible words for the statement of the truth—but also, and eminently, by uniting her members in the common work of her Lord, realizing a union of beneficent and holy activity.

Contemplating the actual evils which oppose themselves to the salvation in which she believes, she proposes to herself, in her Lord's name and strength, nothing short of the *suppression* of them. She devoutly believes that "for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." She expects that her own right and successful manifestation of him will have this effect. If the evil works of the Evil One can prosper and prevail in her presence, she justly apprehends that she lacks his power and his indwelling. As she

becomes more devoutly and thankfully conscious of his indwelling, she the more confidently trusts that his virtue will go out of her for the healing of the world's sicknesses.

Scarcely does the evil of which we treat need definition. A term of general import and various application, implying excess of indulgence or lack of suitable self-regulation, **INTEMPERANCE**, has long ago come to the more specific signification which points to indulgence in the direction of inebriety. This philological fact is highly suggestive of the pre-eminence which this form of vicious indulgence has attained, of its wide prevalence, and of its fearful effects.

These effects—the morbid conditions of the body, the enfeebling and debasement of the intellect, the debauching of the moral nature, the hardening of the heart, the blighting of all pure affections, the aggravation of every impure and unholy impulse, the utter desolation of home, the multiplication of crimes, the loading of society with burdens of taxation, and the enfeebling of society by enervating vices, the hopeless ruin of souls by rendering them incapable of receiving the Gospel—these are too well known every where to all thoughtful and observant men.

Indulgence in intoxicating drinks—indulgence of that appetite and of those convivial practices which tend to drunkenness—this is unquestionably the form of self-indulgence to the consideration of which this hour is devoted, and which the Committee have indicated by the word *intemperance*, in accordance with the usage, now well established, of the language in which the discussion is to be conducted.

I shall speak, first, of the efforts which have been made in past years for the suppression of this evil.

The wise men of all ages have recognized *drunkenness* as a vice, and have warned their contemporaries against it. It has always been understood that the expressed juices of certain fruits, especially the grape, become capable, not only of gratifying the palate, but of producing exhilaration; and that, if this exhilaration is prolonged, it will give place to sottish prostration of all the powers both of body and mind. It has also been understood that such intoxication operates as an incentive to crime, to lust—to whatever is debasing to the individual and de-

structive to the family and to society. At the same time, it was believed that moderate degrees of that exhilaration might prudently be enjoyed, while all hurtful excess of the indulgence should be avoided. With this view men were warned against excess; were exhorted to set rational limits to their indulgence; to restrain convivial enjoyment within such bounds as experience might show to be safe. The drinking of wine was placed in the same category with the eating of food; moderate indulgence was allowed, excess was stigmatized as shameful, harmful, sinful.

The art of distilling spirits greatly increased the evils of intemperance, by furnishing liquors in which the intoxicating principle is much more concentrated, and which could be produced in much greater abundance and cheapness. These liquors became known under the general designation of *ardent spirits*—a name fearfully significant of their fiery energy, their withering and consuming power.

The evils and miseries which resulted from the use of these liquors were engaging the attention of Christian and philanthropic men in the early years of this century more widely and more earnestly than ever before. Those evils were ascribed to the *excessive and immoderate* use of such liquors. Christian ministers and ecclesiastical bodies, teachers and physicians, counseled *moderation* in the use of spirituous liquors; and temperance societies were formed for the purpose of suppressing "the too free use of ardent spirits." In a sermon preached "at the General Election, Hartford, Conn., May, 1807," the Rev. Amos Bartlett forcibly said: "Through the frantic influence of these spirits, rational beings are transformed into furies; the peace of society is broken, and many crimes are wantonly committed. To procure this liquid *poison*, families of the poor are deprived of their necessary food and clothing; and not a season passes in which many victims are not registered in the bills of mortality." Yet this vigorous and earnest preacher proposed nothing more radical than efforts to prevent the "*excessive* use of spirituous liquors."

Not long after this, the idea began to prevail that *total* abstinence is necessary for those who have once been addicted to intemperate drinking. Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, said: "My observation authorizes me to say that persons who have been addicted to the use of spirits should abstain from it suddenly and entirely. '*Taste not, touch not, handle not,*' should be inscribed upon every vessel that contains spirits in the house of a man who desires to be cured of intemperance."

In the course of the third decade of this century, many friends of temperance adopted the opinion that total abstinence from ardent spirits not only is necessary for the re-

covery of the intemperate, but is a prudent safeguard against the formation of intemperate habits; that it involves the sacrifice of no real good; and that benevolent regard for the safety and welfare of others demands it of those who are not sensible of any danger to themselves. This conviction soon led to the formation of societies whose bond of union was the mutual pledge of their members to abstain entirely from the use of ardent spirits as a beverage. Such societies, although meeting with much opposition, not only from the intemperate, but from conservative friends of temperance, who regarded that movement as extravagant and fanatical, nevertheless rapidly extended their influence, and enrolled large numbers in their membership. It can not reasonably be disputed that large numbers yet living, and many who have gone from this world, have been preserved from temptation to intemperance by means of that pledge taken in their early youth.

The popular movement was rapidly progressive; and when the public mind had been thoroughly roused to the rational consideration of the evils of intemperance, and of their causes and remedies, it was not long until many of the more earnest minds arrived at the conviction that *all* drinks which have power to intoxicate should be abandoned—as well those which derive their intoxicating power from natural fermentation; as those in which that power is intensified by the artificial process of distillation.

The formation of societies on the more advanced principle of abstinence from every thing that can intoxicate began about the year 1830; and it is worthy of remembrance that the emphatic epithet "*teetotal*" was first applied to such societies at Preston, England. The term is said to have been caught from the lips of "a simple, eccentric, but honest and consistent reclaimed drunkard of the name of Dickie Turner," who employed that provincial reduplication to emphasize the expression of his purpose—"I'll be right down teetotal forever."^{*}

The extensive adoption of total abstinence principles wrought a happy change in social customs. Spirituous drinks very generally ceased to be regarded as necessary to impart strength to the laborer, to hasten convalescence, or to enhance social enjoyment. Fair experiment convinced thousands of intelligent laborers that fatigue could be better sustained without alcoholic stimulants; and testimony was multiplied in favor of the good effects of abstinence amid exposures to heat and cold, excessive exertion, and epidemic disease. It was no longer necessary that the jug of spirits should accompany the farmer daily to his field, or be always near the bench of the mechanic; that the shopkeeper should offer the glass to every

* See "Temperance Cyclopædia," by Rev. W. Reid.

customer; that in the hospitable mansion the decanter should sparkle in the sight of every guest; nor that, amid the solemnities and the raptures of the bridal hour, libations should be offered to the demon most hostile to domestic felicity.

Temptations to intemperance were thus greatly diminished. It became possible for youth to grow up without continued incitements to dangerous appetite, alluringly associated with all their most pleasant experiences. The hope of those who led the reform was chiefly in this better training of the young—in the rearing of a generation who should never be enslaved by appetite, nor snared by convivial customs. There was, thus far, little to encourage expectation of recovery for those who had once become inebriates.

In the fortieth year of the century a new phase of the movement began, which filled all lovers of mankind with thankful wonder. Its visible commencement was in a grogshop in Baltimore, Maryland. Six wretched men, accustomed to waste there their earnings and their strength, woke suddenly to a just sense of their folly, and to the good purpose of reformation. Associating themselves under a mutual pledge to drink no "spirituous or malt liquors, wine, or cider," they immediately began the work of inducing other victims of intemperance to join them in the revolt against the degrading tyranny to which they had been subject. These efforts were attended with remarkable success. In many cities and towns enthusiastic meetings were held, at which reformed men rehearsed their thrilling experiences, and intemperate men, coming forward to sign the pledge, received welcome and sympathy and help from those previously reclaimed, and equally from the more numerous friends of the cause who themselves had never felt the drunkard's woe and shame.

In this country the movement speedily attained national dimensions, and no true American grudged it the most venerated of American names. The women of America also associated themselves very extensively, for the purpose of blessing the movement with womanly care and charity, in organizations which beautifully took the name of "Martha Washington." In other lands there was no reason for attaching these American names to the movement.

This movement did, without doubt, restore hope and happiness to many hearts and homes, but it fell far short of fulfilling the bright expectations which its first successes awakened. It failed to be thoroughly penetrated with the spirit and power of evangelical religion. Those drunkards were permanently saved from drunkenness who humbly sought salvation from sin through Jesus Christ. Comparatively few who sought moral reformation only, by moral and social

forces, without invoking God's regenerating Spirit, secured permanent moral reformation.

So great a movement of the public mind, in regard to a great public evil, must necessarily lead to inquiry concerning the duty of the civil government. From the earliest times the traffic in spirituous liquors had been regarded as involving such peculiar perils that it must needs be restrained and regulated by law. A system of licenses existed, whereby no one was permitted to sell intoxicating drinks without deliberate and written permission from the magistracy. This system was in logical harmony with the belief that these liquors were useful, but dangerous—needed in every community, but liable to be abused by the unwary, to their own hurt and damage, and to the hurt and damage of society. Like gunpowder and medicinal drugs, they should be sold only by men duly qualified to guard against the dangers of indiscriminate sale.

When the opium became general that all drinking of such liquors is harmful, and tends not only to the debasement of the drinker, but to the diffusing of fearful evils through the community, the logical propriety of licensing the traffic was called in question, and the logical propriety of suppressing it was affirmed. The conflict of opinion upon this question has been earnest and persistent. It is continued to the present time. This is a question which necessarily becomes complicated with politics, not only in that good and high sense in which it is well that moral questions should be carried to their proper issues in statesmanship, but also in that lower sense in which the practical work of government is so sadly damaged by selfish partisanship. For no bad uses are the allurements and excitements of rum more convenient than for those of political demagogues. Let us not wonder that principles most clearly approved to unbiassed reason are exceedingly slow in winning their way to political success. Let us candidly acknowledge that honest Christian statesmanship must find real difficulty in carrying the principles of this beneficent reform into legislative action which shall be unobjectionable and at the same time efficient. There are honest differences of opinion upon the questions how far and by what methods individuals may be restrained in respect to this traffic, without endangering the rights and liberties of all. No questions of political ethics better deserve earnest and persistent study. In the settlement of these questions, and in the practical application of the true principles involved in them, must not the temperance reform have the next stage of its progress? Does not the decade thus to be distinguished fitly follow that in which the question of human slavery was so decisively settled?

I venture no affirmation. I can not alto-

gether repress the hopeful anticipation. Let us consider how far such hope is justified by inquiring—

I. What has already been achieved in the temperance reformation of this century?

II. What problems remain for solution?

I. WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED?

1. A thorough and extensive awakening of the public mind, especially the Christian mind, to the evil of intemperance. That there is still much apathy, and much ignorance and sinful inattention, is not to be denied. So doubtless it is in all departments of moral reform and Christian work. Still it should be thankfully acknowledged that in this century there has been a great awakening to serious inquiry, and a diligent and earnest prosecution of such inquiry, upon this subject. The physiological, the economical, the social, the moral and spiritual aspects of the question have been extensively investigated and abundantly illustrated. The literature of the subject has become extensive and valuable. This is not all of unexceptionable quality. Upon what subject do not the literary results of human thought contain admixtures of error? Making due allowance, we still have reason to rejoice that, in periodical and permanent forms, useful information and valid argument are within the reach of all earnest and industrious investigators. Parents, teachers, pastors, legislators, have ample means of information to aid them in their work of instruction, admonition, protection.

2. The power of social organization has been largely enlisted in behalf of this cause. I have adverted to the association of great numbers under the mutual pledge of abstinence. These associations have been of various forms in the different periods of the movement and in different regions.

At present we have "Sons of Temperance," "Good Templars," "Templars of Honor and Temperance," etc., which have adopted, more or less, the forms and usages of Freemasonry. Their system of lodges, their badges, their secret signs, and their ceremonial render them compact and manageable organizations, are very attractive to many minds, and give them a certain efficiency. Many Christians disapprove, on general principles, of such secret associations, but I am not aware that their fidelity to temperance principles is any where questioned; nor does there appear to be any reason to doubt that they are the means of rescuing some, and preserving many from intemperance.

We also have "Bands of Hope" and "Cads of Temperance," etc., in which the young are associated under competent supervision; are practiced in the methods of conducting public meetings; and are subjected to the wholesome influences of song, and orderly social intercourse, consecrated to temper-

ance and virtue, and often hallowed by the reading of Holy Scripture and prayer.

There are also "Temperance Leagues" and "Temperance Alliances," formed for the purpose of united action in one or another department of the general work. Some of these have special reference to movements for legal suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

Some unhappy dissensions have arisen between different organizations and between distinguished individuals, marrying and damaging the work, just as Christianity herself has been wounded and dishonored by sectarian and personal strifes. Is not the present a favorable time for seeking such comprehensive views and such charitable adjustments as will harmonize all the forces which are honestly engaged for the suppression of intemperance?

II. PROBLEMS YET TO BE SOLVED.

1. *The Law Problem.*—How can civil society, by legislation and faithful administration of law, do most for the suppression of intemperance?

The public mind is now extensively and intensely engaged upon this problem in the United States, and the writer believes it to be true in some other countries whose churches are here represented. There is still much diversity of opinion among statesmen and among citizens. Some, insisting upon the immorality of the traffic in intoxicating drinks, and its utter contrariety to sound public policy, demand from the legislative power its absolute prohibition, and from the judiciary and executive the steady and earnest endeavor to suppress it entirely. Others, equally desirous for its suppression, but despairing of success in that direction, study methods of limiting and mitigating the evil. They would limit it to licensed dealers; would burden it by heavy taxation; would make the vendors responsible for injuries resulting from the traffic. There is also a question whether a uniform law shall be enacted for the whole state, or each local community be permitted to decide the question by the votes of its electors. States and communities are experimenting with these various methods with much thoughtful earnestness. Problems of law, and other practical problems, are not ordinarily solved, like problems of mathematics, with results demonstrably perfect, and unchangeably correct for all times and all places. The friends of temperance need not regret to see these various methods pursued simultaneously in different localities; and all should hold themselves ready to profit by the experiments. It is not proposed to discuss the merits of any of these methods in this paper; but it is believed to be proper to make some suggestions in regard to ethical principles applicable to them all.

a. The rights of property are not the only rights which it is the business of civil government to protect; nor should it be assumed that they must have precedence of all others. Let it be granted that there is real difficulty in legislating effectually against the traffic in intoxicating drinks, without some ideal, perhaps some actual encroachment upon the rights of property. But let it be considered whether such legislation can be omitted without the failure of society to protect other rights, no less sacred, from more certain and more harmful encroachment. The right of property in a manufactory which emits unwholesome effluvia is not held to be more sacred than the right of neighboring citizens to breathe salubrious air. Shall the rum-seller's rights of property be held more sacred, be treated more tenderly, be guarded more carefully than the right of the young wife to the unimpaired strength, the untainted breath, the uncorrupted love of her husband; the right of the mother to rear her boy unexposed to the enticements of the grog-shop; the right of society to protect itself against pauperism and crime, and to rear for itself a succession of citizens capable of defending and adorning and perpetuating the State? Doubtless in a perfect State, under a perfect government, all rights would be fully protected; for, doubtless, in their true idea, all rights are in perfect harmony. But in practical statesmanship, in communities of depraved beings, we are to seek bravely and take contentedly the nearest practicable approximation to such an ideal.

It is proper to consider the comparative value and sacredness of the rights of which civil government is the defender. We must not let that which clamors most loudly, and most readily enlists material forces in its behalf, crowd out of sight those which shrink away from the street and the market-place, and seek the privacy of home. It is the hoarse voice of materialism that shouts for the rights of property, and demands for them precedence before all other rights. It is the calm voice of Christianity which affirms the higher sacredness of the right to rear children in virtue and piety, and to dwell in peaceful homes, and to have those homes protected against the crection among them of establishments which regularly and systematically emit influences more baleful than the deadliest pestilence.

b. The drinker, as well as the vender, must be restrained by the civil power. It surely is time to inquire whether both the restraining and the prohibitory legislation have not too much proceeded upon the assumption that drunkenness is only a misfortune. Has not the moral sentiment of the people been wronged and damaged by directing legislative restriction and penalties too exclusively to one party in the immoral trans-

action? The Word of God plainly treats intemperate indulgence of appetites as a sin—the appetite for intoxicating drink as surely and as sternly as any other. The drunkard is not only a sinner against God, but a criminal also toward civil society, withholding from its interests his due contribution of productive industry; casting upon its systematized charities the burden of supporting his family; multiplying the probabilities that he will be an inmate of almshouse or prison; and surely diffusing a corrupting influence by his example. If the tempter to drunkenness is to be treated as a criminal, surely the drunkard should share the guilt and the penalty. And should not those who are not yet drunkards, but who patronize the grog-shops, be treated as accessories to that offense against society, which the liquor traffic is held to be, whatever may be the degree of criminality which the legislature attaches to it? If legislation is to deal at all with social vices, let it exemplify that impartiality which belongs to the very idea of justice, never charging the whole blame of any action in which two or more parties are associated upon one of those parties.

2. *The Church Problem.*—What has the Church of Christ to do, at the present time, to promote this reformation?

a. It belongs to the Church to educate the State in the Christian ethics of government. The Christianity of the world must elevate the public sentiment of the world above the groveling maxims and tendencies of materialism. The questions of legislation and civil administration can never be rightly settled in communities which are not pervaded by spiritual, Christian influences. A people who have only earthly and carnal aims, who know no interests that can not be estimated in money, will never have rulers who can wisely direct the forces of government on such questions as this. The State must have the Christian temper, tone, spirit, or it can never give its people a truly Christian regulation.

Will any one here interpose the objection that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and that the Christian preacher must "not know any thing save Jesus Christ and him crucified?" We reply that the great apostle whose inspired pen gave us that exalted maxim, gave us also luminous interpretation of it in his own life. We should not be right in taking it in a sense contrary to that in which he practiced upon it. We must interpret his statement of what he determined to do, by what the sacred record shows that he constantly did. And what Christian writer, inspired or uninspired, has more resolutely carried out the great central truth of the Gospel to its manifold deductions, or applied it to all ordinary affairs and all various duties in human life, more freely than the apostle Paul? Doubtless he preach-

ed Christ and him crucified to Felix; but Luke expressly tells us that he *reasoned* of righteousness, temperance, and the judgment to come, till that lewd despot trembled before his chained prisoner. Nor did he neglect to rebuke licentiousness and disorder and self-indulgence among his Corinthian Christians, and to inculcate self-denial for each other's welfare, and to give careful and considerate instruction to men and women how to keep themselves pure, and how to make their lives sweet and sacred and beneficent, in the very epistle in which he declares that determination to know nothing else but Christ crucified among them. The right knowledge of that central truth involves all else that belongs to practical as well as theoretical Christianity.

In our age, as in that and every other, it must be the men and women to whom Christ and his cross are all in all, even as they were to that fervent apostle—it must ever be such men and women from whose thinking and prayers and earnest activity those influences will emanate which penetrate civil society, and vivify it unto a life that can expel moral disease from its veins, and heal its ulcers and its sicknesses. From no mere ethical basis can depraved humanity reason itself up to moral integrity and purity. The movement must be from the evangelical basis. The uplifting power must be "the truth, as it is in Jesus." Neither forgetting nor despising the press and the secular platform and current literature, we believe that pre-eminently from the Christian pulpit must be sounded forth those mighty truths which work in the bosom of society, and move at length the whole body along pathways of beneficent reform. Nor should it offend those of our fellow-laborers in this reform who agree with us in our views of Christian *ethics*, but dissent from our views of *evangelical doctrine*, if we solemnly avow our belief that in this, which they reject, is the very life and soul of that which, with us, they accept. Here is the hiding of its power—"the power of God unto *salvation*."

b. In order thus to save society, the Church

must sanctify herself. How shall Christian truth, in its relations to this subject, fulfill itself in the Church of Christ?

For no specific and complete answer to this question is the Church yet ready. Her watchmen do not yet see eye to eye. This is no place for vehement assertion of individual opinion upon specific questions of Biblical exegesis or of Christian casuistry, upon which godly and venerable men would honestly and strenuously oppose each other. But, brethren and fathers, while we hold all such disputes away from this scene of brotherly communing, is there not something of truth on this practical theme which we can agree in uttering?—something which, by our united utterance, may gain some added power of beneficent influence?

On one hand, can not we agree in advising that reliance be not chiefly placed in Church authority? Doubtless we could not now agree in defining the limits within which Church authority might scripturally be applied. But has not experience taught us that at least it is not expedient to press such questions of authority against the consciences of dissenting minorities? Let us not hasten to uproot the tares, while it is certain that we should thereby uproot or trample down good wheat.

On the other hand, can not we agree in now recommending in clear and earnest words, to all who "profess and call themselves Christians," the *voluntary* self-denial (if to any it is self-denial) which is involved in total abstinence from intoxicating beverages? Can not we all agree in henceforth *exemplifying* this self-denial? If we are not able to agree in the opinion that the Holy Scriptures any where *command* this, are we not all agreed in the belief that the Holy Scriptures nowhere forbid it? Can we, as honest and considerate men, doubt the salutary effect of such an example?

Without this, whatever we may say, and whatever else we may do, can we convince our fellow-men that we are heartily earnest in seeking for the *suppression* of intemperance?

CHRISTIANITY IN ITS RELATIONS TO CRIME AND CRIMINALS.

BY THE REV. E. C. WINES, D.D., LL.D.,

Secretary of the National Prison Association of the United States.

THE question assigned to me for discussion before this Conference is, "The Relations of Christianity to Crime and Criminals." These two relations are essentially different. The first is one of uncompromising hostility; the last, of paternal tenderness and love. Sin, transgression, crime, is that "abominable thing" which the Lord "hates;" yet in the death of "the wicked" he declares that he has "no pleasure at all." The spirit of Christianity is profoundly benevolent; and in nothing is this quality more conspicuous than in its compassion for prisoners. Even in the Old Testament such expressions as these abound: "Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee;" "The Lord despiseth not his prisoners;" "From heaven did the Lord behold the earth, to hear the groaning of the prisoner." But it is in the New Testament that the compassionate character of Christianity shines most lustrous. In his account of the last judgment, our Lord even identifies himself with the wretched outcast in his cell, in these amazing words: "I was in prison, and ye came unto me." The scornful taunt of the Pharisees, "This man receiveth sinners," formed the glory of Him who "came, not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Publicans, outcasts, criminals—those covered with a deeper than any bodily leprosy—laid bare their wounds to the great Physician; and as conscious guilt and timid penitence crept abashed and imploring to His feet, they found ever a gracious welcome and a free forgiveness.

As was the Master, such are the disciples, in their measure and degree. We have a beautiful illustration of this in the liberation of Jeremiah from the dungeon of Malchiah, through the humane interposition of Ebed-melech, the Ethiopian eunuch. That the kindness of this Gentile convert was due to his religion is expressly stated in the history. His humanity was the effect of his piety. His mercy to others was the fruit of God's mercy to him. And so it is ever. To the love and grace of God in his Son, to the vitalizing power of Christianity, to the fact that we live under a dispensation of mercy, may be traced every development and every manifestation of humanity seen amidst the ruins of the fall. To the revelation of a

loving and redeeming Saviour we are indebted for our best civilization. The possession of this revelation, or the traces of it in tradition, are the source from which have sprung all the refinement that adorns and sweetens life, and all the exertions that men have made to lessen the volume of human misery, and to increase the sum of human happiness.

Christianity has a twofold function to perform in the relations under which we are now considering it—a function of prevention and a function of cure. The first of these topics will be treated by the Rev. M. Robin, of Paris, a gentleman abundantly competent to the task. Consequently, my part in the discussion will be limited to an inquiry into the power of Christianity with respect to men who have already fallen, and are undergoing criminal treatment in prison. Two questions meet us in this inquiry: 1st. Can these men be reformed? 2d. If yes, what are the principles and processes of the treatment most likely to accomplish that end?

I do not propose to argue the first of these questions on a *a priori* grounds, but to treat it rather as a question of fact and experience. Here and there experiments in reformatory prison discipline have been made, and always with results as cheering as they have been remarkable. Germany, France, Spain, Ireland, Australia, and Russia, each sends to us an experience showing the immense benefits which, so far as fruits of reformation are concerned, result from substituting for the old coercive systems of penal treatment systems impregnated with Christian love and kindness; an experience showing, at the same time, that the most successful prison discipline is a discipline of diminished restraint and of increased self-command, self-dependence, and self-action on the part of the prisoners.

Forty years ago or more, Councilor Von Obermaier was appointed director of the State Prison of Bavaria, at Munich. Into this prison were received the worst class of convicts, the shortest sentence being for eight years, and from that to life. On his

accession, he found from six hundred to seven hundred prisoners in the worst state of insubordination and chronic revolt. The prisoners were chained together in gangs, and attached to each was an iron weight, which the strongest found difficult in dragging. The guard consisted of one hundred soldiers, who did duty in every part of the premises, even in the workshops and dormitories. Twenty to thirty huge blood-hounds were let loose at night in the passages and courts to keep watch and ward. Obermaier immediately lightened the chains and weights, and would, if allowed, have thrown them aside. The dogs and nearly all the guards were dispensed with. Mr. Baillie-Cochrane, an English gentleman of great eminence, who visited the place in 1852, found the gates wide open, and without any sentinel on guard. None of the doors were provided with bolts and bars. The only security was an ordinary lock. The prisoners were treated so justly and with such genuine Christian regard that their confidence was won, their will gained, and their co-operation secured in the work of their own improvement. Prisoners of the best character were substituted as overseers in the workshops for officers from outside. If a prisoner transgressed a regulation, his comrades would say to him, "It is forbidden," and it rarely happened that he did not yield to this admonition. Numerous workshops were established, and many trades taught, and beyond their support, all their earnings belonged to the prisoners themselves. In their leisure hours they associated without further check on their intercourse than that which arose from an efficient system of observation, and Obermaier declared that the moral effect of such association was found beneficial rather than the reverse. The number of reformatations effected under this system was something extraordinary. Few, comparatively, relapsed. The reality of these results is attested, from personal observation, by Sir John Milbanke, British Envoy to the Court of Bavaria, and by Mr. George Combe, of Scotland, who speak of this prison, under Herr Von Obermaier's administration, as an illustration of the power of the moral sentiments (*i. e.*, of applied Christianity) to govern and reform criminals, without the lash or any severe punishment.

Take now the case of Mettray, near Tours, in France, established thirty-four years ago by M. Demetz, who is easily prince among all those who have undertaken the work of reforming juvenile delinquents. There are few who have not heard of the wonderful success of Mettray as a reformatory of young criminals, for the boys committed to that establishment are not mere vagrants, beggars, or viciously inclined children. They have

all been convicted of crimes, and prior to the establishment of Mettray nearly 80 per cent. of this class receiving their punishment in the central prisons became hardened offenders, and, on their discharge, followed a career of crime. Mettray is what is called in France a *colonie agricole pénitentiaire*. It is without wall or inclosure of any sort; and, except temporary confinement in a cell, there is no bodily restraint. The life is industrial. The chief industry is agriculture. "To improve the earth by man, and man by the earth," is the motto of the colony. A vast domain, consisting of several farms, is cultivated by these young criminals. Various trades have also been introduced, but chiefly such as are required for the production of implements for farm work, or for articles needed in the establishment. All, however, without exception, work on the farm in summer. A portion of the earnings belongs to the boys themselves. Of this a moderate part is placed at their disposal for immediate use; the rest is deposited to their credit in the savings-bank at Tours. A certain amount of clothing is allowed to each inmate. If a boy requires to have any part of his dress renewed before the stated time for such renewal, he has to pay for it with his own money; but if, at such time, his clothes are found in good condition, he receives the benefit of it by having the money which would have been laid out on clothes placed to his credit in bank. Every thing is done that can make duty attractive, and induce a constant habit of performing it. The boys are not pushed forward with rudeness. Great care is taken not to bruise their young hearts, already frozen by neglect or withered by vice, before they knew any thing of life. They are carefully tended, and led on to goodness by gentleness and trust.

The result is that less than five per cent. return to crime; all the rest become honest, industrious, useful members of society.

From 1835 to 1850, a period of fifteen years, an experiment in prison discipline of extraordinary boldness and success was conducted by Colonel Montesinos, an officer of the Spanish army, at Valencia, Spain. The average number of prisoners under his care was one thousand. Prior to his incumbency the system had been one of stern coercion, and the mean proportion of relapses had been from 35 to 40 per cent. Gradually, for this coercive discipline he substituted a discipline by moral forces. One by one he introduced new trades, till the number practiced amounted to forty-three; and he allowed each prisoner to choose the trade he would learn. One-fourth of the profits of their labor was given to the prisoners for their immediate use; one-fourth was reserved, to be paid to them on their dis-

charge; and only the remaining half went to the establishment. So great was the stimulus to industry supplied by a participation in their earnings, that the moiety left, after appropriating one-half to the prisoners, sufficed for all expenses, without a dollar's aid from the Government. Now, what was the effect of this system as regards relapses? For the first two years no impression was made; the proportion of recommitments remained as before. Aggregating the results for the next ten years of his administration, not more than one per cent. returned to a life of crime; and, during the last three years, not a solitary man who had been subjected to the discipline of the prison came back to it. Does this seem wonderful to any? It is less so than it appears. It is simply the fruit of a Christian system of penitentiary training. Colonel Montesinos did not foolishly attempt to repeal the laws of Heaven. He seized those great principles which the Creator has impressed on the human soul, and molded them to his purpose. He aimed to develop manhood, not to crush it; to gain the will, not to coerce the body; to secure the co-operation of the prisoner by kindness, not to awaken his hostility by harshness and severity. He thus employed the law of love in his work of reclaiming and saving fallen men, and he found love the most powerful of all laws. He acted upon his men not only by urging them to self-control, self-discipline, and self-reformation, but by giving them an interest in these great attainments. He encouraged and enabled them to raise their position, step by step, by their own industry and good conduct. And, finally, he discharged them before the expiration of their sentences (and the hope of this was ever kept before them), when he had satisfied himself that they desired to do well; that they had acquired the power and the will to earn an honest living; and that they had attained to such a degree of self-command as to be able to say "no" to the tempter. In which few leading facts do we not clearly see that the essential peculiarities are—no more restraint than is absolutely necessary; self-support as far as possible; extra benefits earned by extra labor; self-conquest encouraged and rewarded; increased comforts resulting from increased industry and improved character; and as much gratifying exercise of the faculties as prison life will permit?

In 1840, Alexander Maconochie, a captain in the British navy, commenced an experiment in prison discipline in the penal colony of Norfolk Island, Australia, which, unhappily, was terminated in 1844; but within that brief period of four years moral transformations were wrought which seemed little less than miracles. At that time Norfolk Island contained one thousand five hundred con-

victs of the very worst classes sent out from the mother country. Maconochie was a man of large heart, and of a broad and penetrating intellect. His insight was intuitive and profound. He saw clearly that, as regards criminals, the best service to society is to reform them; and he saw just as clearly that they can not be reformed against their own consent, nor without their free personal co-operation. The problem was, how to secure these essential conditions. Captain Maconochie can not have been the first to see that hope is the only power competent to secure this end; but he was certainly the first to feel that absolute confidence in it which was needed to make it the cardinal working principle of a system of prison discipline. He said to himself, What is the fundamental force which, in free society, stimulates men to industry, order, virtue, and piety? It is hope: hope of a living, hope of wealth, hope of influence, hope of ease, hope of the respect and love of their fellows, hope of forgiveness, hope of heaven. He said further, What is the form which this hope ordinarily takes in free life? It is wages or money, and the conveniences which money procures. Take away the hope of this reward from talent, skill, industry, and character, and you paralyze them at a blow. Maconochie then inquired, How can hope be made as operative in prisons as in freedom? And he said to himself, Only by adopting, in some form, and making practical, the idea and the inspiration of wages. He therefore devised a system of marks, whose operation in prison should be similar to that of wages outside; and his plan proposed to substitute for sentences measured by time so many hundred or so many thousand good marks, to be earned, as the sole condition of release, by diligence, study, and general good conduct. He thus placed the fate of the prisoner, measurably, in his own hands, just as Providence, within certain limits, puts the fate of every man in his own power. Such a system makes the prison an image of real life. It brings into play and enlists on the side of reformation all the motives which act on men in free society as stimulants to order, industry, and good morals. But Maconochie contrived to produce in prison life a still closer resemblance to free life, by giving to his marks a financial as well as a moral value. He would give nothing to prisoners in health but what they earned and paid for in marks. Thus his marks were made to represent money as well as progress toward liberation. A prisoner could, by diligence in work, attention to study, and good moral conduct, earn a daily maximum of marks. A certain proportion of these (say one-half) must go to supply his daily necessities of food, clothing, bed, schooling, etc.; so that the surplus only of his earnings—the savings, so to

speaking—counted toward his release. It is seen at a glance that, if a prisoner failed to earn a surplus, either by falling below the maximum or by expending all he earned, he became, by his own act and choice, a prisoner for life; whereas, by denying himself little comforts and luxuries, the hour of liberty, the sweetest possession of man, was constantly approaching, and with comparative rapidity.

Now, what benefit did Maconochie get from this system? First, his marks, thus made to represent money, gave him wages, which supplied him with a body of willing and progressively skilled laborers. Next, they gave him fines, which saved him from the necessity of imposing brutal and demoralizing punishments. Thirdly, they gave him school fees, for, although he was anxious to encourage education among his prisoners, nevertheless, as he refused them rations gratuitously, so he compelled them to yield marks for their schooling also. Fourthly, they gave him bail bonds, in cases of minor and even of great offenses; a period of close confinement being often remitted in consideration of a number of other prisoners of good conduct becoming bound for the improved behavior of the offender, under penalty of the forfeiture of a certain number of marks on a repetition of the offense. Even in the establishment of a sick club and a burial club he applied the inflexible rule of "nothing for nothing;" that is to say, here, as in all things, he made the discipline of the prison as much as possible like the discipline of Providence in free life. The prisoners, like free citizens, were thus made to depend for every necessary and comfort on their own industry and personal deserts, while their prison offenses were restrained by penalties free from every element calculated to embitter or degrade them.

Such is the general outline of his plan. What were its results? Reformations were effected to an extent and of a character unknown, either before or since, in any of the penal colonies of Great Britain. He told the whole story himself when he said, "I found the island a turbulent, brutal hell; I left it a peaceful, well-ordered community."

This statement might be questioned, if it rested on his personal authority only; but its truth is attested by disinterested witnesses, too numerous and too respectable to leave any room for doubt. He modestly adds that the results accomplished were not nearly so wonderful as they appeared, because all the time he was working with nature instead of against it. He studied God's plan of dealing with men, and, in his humble measure, copied it, as he was able, making always most especial use of religious instruction and culture.

What is now called the Crofton prison

system, but was formerly known as the Irish system, is an outgrowth from that of Maconochie. Sir Walter Crofton, an English gentleman of high administrative powers, was made, twenty years ago, chief director of the Irish convict prisons, then in such a deplorable condition that the Australasian colonies had refused to receive any more convicts from them. Sir Walter, in devising a new prison system for Ireland, adopted the mark system of Maconochie, with modifications which improved it in some respects, but with curtailments—no doubt resulting from restrictions imposed on him by the laws—which, in my opinion, weakened its force. The Crofton system consists of three stages: A penal stage of separate imprisonment, continuing eight months; a reformatory stage, longer or shorter, according to the length of sentence, with separation at night and associated labor by day, in which the principle of progressive classification is applied, with a gradual lifting of restraint and enlargement of privilege, including an increased share in his earnings, as the prisoner advances from class to class; and a testing stage, designed to verify the reformatory power of the preceding discipline, and also to serve as a period of natural training, which is intended to gradually prepare the prisoner for full liberty. I have enjoyed ample opportunities for a personal study of the organization and working of this system; and while there are some things in it, as practiced in Ireland, which I could wish to see modified, it has, on the whole, filled me with hope. The greater part of the prisoners earn their promotion from class to class within the minimum time, leave the establishment reformed, and become an industrious and useful element in free society. Lusk, the prison where the third stage is passed—if an establishment without an inclosing wall, and equally without bolts, bars, or grates, yet from which only two escapes have taken place in seventeen years, can be called a prison—I look upon as one of the grandest achievements of the nineteenth century, worthy to take rank with the power-loom, the steam-engine, and the magnetic telegraph; and the name of Crofton will have as honorable and bright a fame in the coming ages as those of Arkwright, Fulton, and Morse.

The impression made by the Crofton system on the mind of the late Lord Brongham, when, a few years before his death, the British Social Science Congress was held in Dublin, was expressed with his customary energy, in the declaration made from the President's Chair, that "Sir Walter Crofton had annihilated crime in Ireland." One of the most difficult of the problems in the whole range of penitentiary science has been solved by Sir Walter's method, through the intermediate prison at Lusk, a creation of his own

genius and completely original; that is, how to dispose of discharged convicts, so that they shall be quietly but successfully re-absorbed into the labor market, and so into virtuous society. The labor market is fully open to the prisoners discharged from Lusk, insomuch that the demand for convict labor is often greater than the supply. More than one employer has been heard to declare that the men whom he gets from the convict establishment are among his best hands—a superiority due to the wise and kindly training which they have received in the prison.

Russia, too—a country from which, perhaps, we should hardly have expected it—joins her voice to the voices of the countries from which we have already heard. Count Sollohub, a man of vigorous intellect and broad sympathies, some six or eight years ago inaugurated a prison system at Moscow which has yielded remarkable fruits. In his house of correction and industry in that city, he has shown what may be done by a humane and Christian treatment in the way of reforming criminals. The distinguished count devised a new scheme of penitentiary labor, which would take too much time and space to describe in detail in the present paper. I can only say, in a general way, that not only is every prisoner, not in possession of a trade at the time of committal, required to learn one, but he is permitted to choose the trade which he will learn. So long as the convict continues an apprentice, he gets no part of the product of his labor; but as soon as he is adjudged to be a master-workman, he receives a proportion equal to two-thirds of his entire earnings, the most of which, however, is reserved for him against the day of his liberation. So potent is the influence of hope, thus applied, that instances are not rare in which the convict apprentices learn their trades and are declared master-workmen in two months. The first general result of this system is, that nine-tenths of the prisoners master a trade so completely that, on their discharge, they are capable of taking the position of foreman in a workshop; and the second is, that there are scarcely any relapses. On the contrary, criminals who have been subjected to its discipline and have been discharged are, almost to a man, earning an honest living at the trades which they learned in prison. Of two thousand one hundred and twenty-eight prisoners released from the establishment in six years, only nine—less than half of one per cent.—were returned to it.

There remains time only for a word or two on the second branch of the inquiry, viz., On what principles must a reformatory prison discipline be based, and what are the agencies to be employed in working it? There is a single principle, which is broad

enough and strong enough to bear the whole weight of such a discipline. It is HOPE implanted in the breast of the prisoner, and kept there throughout the whole term of his incarceration, as an ever-present, ever-active, ever-living force. Hope, as we have seen, is the great inspiration of all human effort in free society. But men do not lose their character as men simply because prison doors have closed behind them, nor do they cease to be moved by that supreme force which produces all the activities, struggles, and competitions of the busy world outside. It follows that hope is just as vitally at the root of all true prison discipline as of all free human life. Quench hope in human society, or in a single human bosom, and you strike with instant paralysis the will, the conscience, the heart, and the understanding.

It is hope that exerts the broadest, most constant, and most stimulating influence on our universal humanity. What the wooing light and air are to plants, hope is to the human heart and will; and that inside as well as outside of prison bars. The inscription over the entrance to Dante's Inferno, "Let all who enter here leave hope behind," stood for ages over the prison gate, crushing every aspiration, and paralyzing all effort, except the effort to escape from the hated hell, in the hope and purpose of wreaking vengeance on society, believed by these wretched beings to be the great wrongdoer. In place of this device, so contrary to all human progress and elevation, must be written henceforth over the door of the prison, "Now abideth hope" for the convict and the prisoner, as well as for all God's creatures. This is the root of that truly Christian scheme of prison discipline which, with God's blessing and earnest work, is destined to change the prison-house into a moral hospital, and to multiply, to a number without number, histories like that enacted at the scene of the crucifixion, when, to a criminal of deepest dye, now penitent and believing, the expiring Redeemer uttered those words of kingly grace, which so lovingly invite the approach of all other criminals, "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise."

As regards the methods or agencies to be employed in applying this foundation principle, a branch of the subject which has almost infinite ramifications, I can only say here that work, education, and religion are the three great forces to be employed in the reformation of criminals, as they are in the general progress of society.

The necessity of labor is the most constant and controlling of all the laws of Providence in free society; and it is, at the same time, the most benignant, the most educational, the most disciplinary, and the most elevating of all human necessities. As Providence creates this necessity in free life,

so the State, or Christianity acting through the State, must create it in prison life. And the labor of the prison must be industrial—not a mere grinding of the wind. Bootless labor is as distasteful and irksome to a prisoner as to a freeman. Further, prison labor must be not simply industrial, but voluntarily industrial. A free choice of labor by the prisoner is an essential condition of a reformatory prison discipline. The arrangements of the prison must be such that, if the convict work diligently and behave well, he will have a comfortable subsistence; but, if he be idle and disobedient, he will suffer hunger—just as it happens to the diligent and the indolent outside. This is a consideration of fundamental importance; it is a condition absolutely essential, a *sine qua non*, if we really mean to change bad men into good ones. When a prisoner, under this sharp but natural spur, begins to exert himself, he does so by his own will. It is an inward impulse, not a mere outward pressure, that moves him. This little circumstance makes all the difference between an automaton and a man. The process which, under this state of things, induces in the prisoner habits of labor, is a process by which his self-control and self-assertion are strengthened; and this is precisely what is wanted to make him a better citizen. It is to no purpose, or to a bad one, that you make him work by an outward coercion; for when he is again free, and the coercion is thereby withdrawn, he will be what he was before. The force which impels him to work must be an inward power, which he shall take with him out of prison, to abide with and control him in his after-life. It avails little that *you* force him to work; he must force *himself* to work. This is the law which, like a decree of fate, controls free life. In freedom, inactivity entails want; while, conversely, activity assures competence, if not abundance. There is an ordained connection in ordinary life between exertion and the satisfaction of certain imperative needs. The same connection must be established in prison life; yet always in such manner that as much latitude shall be given to free agency as can be made at all consistent with the maintenance of proper discipline.

Education is another of the vital forces to be employed in the reformation of criminals, who have generally sinned through some form of ignorance, conjoined with vice. Its tendency is to quicken intellect, give new

ideas, supply food for thought, inspire self-respect, excite honorable ambition, open new fields of exertion, and afford a healthful substitute for low and vicious amusements. Need more be said to show its value in this work?

But nothing can supply the place of earnest, faithful, religious teaching, drawn from the Word of God, and based on its everlasting verities. I have a profound conviction of the inefficacy of all measures of reformation, except such as are based on the Gospel, pervaded by its spirit, and vivified by its power. In vain are all devices of repression and coercion, if the heart and conscience, which are beyond all power of external restraint, are left untouched. Religion is the only power that is able to resist the irritation that saps the moral forces of these men of powerful impulses, whose neglect of its teachings has been the occasion of their being immured within prison walls.

In reflecting on this subject, it has seemed to me that we might take a valuable lesson in our treatment of criminals from God's treatment of a world in criminal revolt against his law. "With loving-kindness have I drawn thee," are the words in which he declares his device for bringing back the wanderers to his fold. While we abhor and punish the crime, loving-kindness is the only medicine that will heal and restore the criminal. Sensibility to kindness keeps a lingering hold upon our nature, even in the last and lowest degree of human wickedness. This one germ of a dormant manhood is found to outlive the destruction of all the others, insomuch that, fallen as a brother may be from the moralities that once adorned him, the manifested good-will of his fellow-men still carries with it a charm and an influence, which are well-nigh omnipotent. There lies just here a regenerative and redemptive power, which no degradation can crush, and no depravity can obliterate. Since these things are so, and since, moreover, one-fifth of our convicts are minors, and two-thirds under thirty years, and therefore still in the plastic and impressible period, with Christian principles, Christian methods, and Christian agents in our prisons—the first two adopted from the heart, and the last working with the heart—it is my conviction that the mass of imprisoned criminals can be and will be returned to society, as the demoniac was restored to his friends, "clothed and in their right mind."

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AS AN AGENCY IN THE PREVENTION OF CRIME.

BY REV. E. ROBIN, PARIS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND BELOVED BRETHREN, —The first thing which attracted my attention after setting foot on the soil of America were the words, written in large letters over the entrance of a street-car, "Beware of Pickpockets." It was a notice dictated by prudence. I do not say that such a notice is more necessary in America than in any other country of the world. Pickpockets are not found in America only. The tribe exists elsewhere. In all countries the army of crime is organized in the bosom of society. It is, in truth, an ARMY. It has its soldiers, concealed in the crowd, who live only by the depredations and the crimes which they commit. They elbow us in our streets, in our public conveyances, and even within the precincts of our temples. Prudence, then, is not a needless precaution, since it leaves less facility to malefactors for the commission of their misdeeds.

In other times, when society succeeded in seizing one of these enemies of its safety, it inflicted upon him horrible tortures. In our day, manners are softened; the prisoner is a brother gone astray, who is to be won back to virtue. A notable progress that. But if we could keep the army of criminals from recruiting their forces, and thus destroy crime, that would be still better. This process would surely be more efficacious and more economical. In your State prisons, the average annual cost of each imprisoned criminal is two hundred dollars; and, for the most part, he remains a criminal. In the lodging-houses which I have visited in New York, and which are institutions of a preventive character, the Children's Aid Society expends only two dollars a year on each child, and makes of the greater part of these children moral and industrious citizens. Deducting, in both cases, from these expenditures, the product of the labor, and leaving wholly out of the account the injury done to society by the criminals, it is found that forty-five times more is expended for each individual in the prisons than in the preventive establishments, and that with little or no moral results, so far as the criminals are concerned. The preventive method is, in this regard, immeasurably superior. It has been said with truth, "It is better to prevent crime than to punish crime." It is of this preventive work that I propose to treat

in addressing you on the subject of Industrial Schools.

I. While placing questions of doctrine and of religious science at the head of its programme, the Evangelical Alliance could not neglect to give their due importance to practical questions; in other words, to works of Christian charity. To show the power of Christian principles, when applied to the evils from which society is suffering, is, at the same time, to offer the best defense of Christianity itself. Two of these evils are formidable: ignorance and idleness. Instruction and the love of work, penetrating to the lower strata of society, are the means by which alone these evils may be averted from future generations. Christianity has power to raise, has strength to preserve, from evil. If we may hope for the moral transformation of a man, already grown old in ignorance and given up to idleness and vice, this work will be yet easier if it be undertaken in favor of young minds, still docile and impressible. The whole future of society depends on a good Christian education, extending to all children, from the highest to the lowest classes.

All can not aspire to the advantage of a superior education, but none ought to be deprived of the *minimum* of instruction, indispensable in our modern life. This minimum, besides the moral and religious principles which are its essential basis, should contain a double element: primary instruction and the knowledge of a profession or business. Among all the nations which take thought for the future, persevering efforts are being made to attain this twofold object: to give to the rising generation a general and a professional education.

As to France, though a notable progress has been realized within the last ten years, much remains to be done in this respect. In 1864, at an annual meeting of the "Institute,"* it was stated that out of one hundred young men, twenty years of age, there were more than twenty-seven who could not read, that is, nearly one-third; and it appears from an official document† that out of one hundred newly married people, thir-

* Public annual meeting of the five Academies of the Institute, the 16th of August, 1864: Speech of General A. Morin, President, pp. 11, 12.

† Report to the Emperor (*Moniteur*), March 6, 1865.

ty-five could not sign their names. These facts do not go so far back even as ten years. Since then important reforms have been inaugurated. The position of school-masters and school-mistresses, whose salary reduced them to something akin to indigence, is improving; schools are multiplying; and instruction is placed within the reach of all.

There are, however—and here I speak particularly of the state of things in my own country—special classes, among whom instruction does not penetrate, and who remain complete strangers to it.

If we examine the different categories of children for whom elementary instruction is designed, we can distinguish four principal divisions.

Those of the first category, belonging to rich families, are destined to receive a superior education, and to occupy the highest places in society. Those of the second, the children of shop-keepers and small land-holders, avail themselves of the special instruction instituted for them, which excludes, ordinarily, classical teaching. The third class comprises the children of mechanics and farm laborers, who receive only primary instruction, more or less complete. In the education of this class we have to regret many deficiencies; but efforts are making to bring it to the proper standard. There remains a fourth category, consisting of deserted children, vagrants, and beggars, who are allowed, on account of the destitution or the neglect of their parents, to grow up in the most absolute ignorance both of elementary and professional instruction, and who thus live exposed to all the temptations of want, idleness, and vice.

Hitherto no measures have been taken in France to secure the benefits of instruction to this class of children. Compulsory instruction does not exist among us. The principle has many earnest advocates; but the difficulty of applying it, arising from paternal authority on the one hand, and, on the other, from the impossibility of obtaining general consent to the infliction of penalties on parents who should refuse to conform to its prescriptions, has raised up many adversaries. Yet it is impossible to ignore the fact that it is imperatively necessary not to abandon to themselves and to the suggestions of destitution these children, whom the absolute want of guidance, or the pernicious influences with which they are surrounded, must infallibly lead to vice, and thence to crime and to prison. We must protect them against the misfortune of their birth, against the culpable indifference of their parents, were it but in the interest of social order. This must be done by insuring to them the benefit of instruction, thereby obviating the danger which they create for society. The question of which we are

treating here is a question at once of charity and of public security.

These children, who roam about our highways or in the streets of our cities, are undeniably those who most need elementary and industrial instruction. If such instruction ought to be made obligatory for any, it certainly should be for them. Yet of all the children comprised in the different categories of which we have just spoken, these are precisely the ones who have no share in its benefits, and who derive no advantage from the improvement of our present organization and the progress that has been accomplished. Refusing to receive instruction, they must be constrained to accept it.

Eventually constraint will be necessary; but its use will then be late and ineffectual; the evil will have gained strength, and will be more difficult to overcome. For then this ignorant young vagabond will have become vicious, and will have taken, perhaps forever, a fatal path. The State, in the end, takes under its charge the child frequently convicted of vagrancy and mendicancy, and places him in a *house for correctional education*. It would be better to begin sooner, and not wait till the evil has become well-nigh irreparable. The establishments for correctional education are, as their name imports, repressive institutions, *i. e.*, prisons; and it is not in prisons that children should be brought up, but in schools. The prison, designed for the repression of evil, often increases it; the school only can effectually prevent it.

When a child has been convicted of begging or vagrancy, he undergoes a first commitment, which exposes him, always for several hours, and often for several days, to the most demoralizing association. Until his case has been examined, he is placed with precociously depraved children, who exert the most deplorable influence on his mind and heart. After the first commitment, he is generally given back to his parents. Restored to liberty, he commits the same offense again and again, until the court sends him to a house of correction. Some of these children have been taken up ten times, and oftener, before becoming the subjects of this last measure. Thus, in Paris alone, the number of children, under sixteen, arrested during the year 1872, was 3004, of whom more than half—1644—were apprehended for vagrancy and begging. Out of this number, 2307 were sent into the above-named establishments, *i. e.*, into the houses of correctional education.

There are in France fifty-five establishments, private and public, of this nature, in which there are 15,000 children, of whom 4500 are merely vagrants or beggars. There the children of every category—vagrants, beggars, and young criminals—are mingled together, most generally until their majority. This promiscuity is a great evil, and

aggravates the position of these children, who are often more unfortunate than culpable; and it must, at whatever cost, be done away with.

The State, putting itself in the place of the parents, undertakes the education of these children. In doing so, it places them among these unwholesome surroundings, where they are condemned to live for five, eight, ten, and even twelve years with other children who have already reached a degree of corruption and wickedness which makes their influence most formidable. The State must interfere sooner in their behalf, and, without waiting for the evil to be past remedy, it must apply the principle of obligation to them, creating special scholastic and industrial establishments, where, without incurring the risk of demoralizing contact, they may receive the education of which they have been deprived. These children require establishments of a strictly preventive character, without any punitive element, where they shall be protected against the contagious influence of evil. They must have, not prisons, but schools, as we have already said. No doubt whatever can be entertained as to the danger which menaces society from the administrative measure which places these children in the midst of the unwholesome influences we have described. The most enlightened solicitude, the wisest regulations, and the most vigilant supervision, whether exercised by the directors of these establishments or by the prison administration, can not lessen the peril of this corrupting contact. The only effectual means of putting an end to the evil is to separate these children from those already criminal, and to create for them a new popular educational establishment, where they can obtain the double benefit of elementary and professional—that is, industrial—education, without incurring the dangers we have pointed out.

This insufficiency in the means of education provided by the law in behalf of the category of children now under consideration is evident. It has been fully admitted among our neighbors in England, and here in America, wherever public attention has been seriously turned to their condition. In those countries the separation we propose has been made, and special establishments have been founded. These establishments, of which we shall speak farther on, have received, in England, the name of *Industrial Schools*, to indicate that the children learn a trade there, as well as the elements of primary instruction.

Our French establishments for correctional education, otherwise called agricultural colonies, were created solely to supply the want which was felt of making a first separation in our prisons between the adults and the young prisoners. They laid the

foundation of a first progress, of which France may justly claim the honor. We had our excellent law of 1850 in relation to young prisoners, our special houses for children, provisional liberation, and *patronage*, when in England the children were still mixed in the prisons with criminal adults. It was only in 1854 that the separation was made in that country, and the English have acknowledged that the adoption of the practice by them was owing to our example, and that their reformatories were founded in imitation of our penitentiary colonies. But having once entered on this course after us, they have made a step in advance. They soon perceived the necessity of a new separation between the children profoundly versed in evil courses and those whose errors were caused by want of a good education, including in that term religions as well as secular instruction. Three years after having separated the children from the adults, they separated these neglected children from the young criminals by instituting for them industrial schools.* Since ten years the number of reformatories, which had previously been increasing every year, has remained stationary, the number being then, as now, sixty-five; whereas the industrial schools have, during that period, multiplied rapidly. In 1860 there were forty of these; fifty in 1865; ninety-one in 1870; and at the end of 1872 the number had reached one hundred. Similar establishments, strictly preventive in character, have also been founded in the United States. Each State of the Union which joined the movement for reform has opened asylums and refuges for this class of children, where, besides shelter and food, they receive the instruction in which they were deficient, and often learn a trade which will give them the means of earning their living honestly. We Frenchmen, in our turn, ought to imitate this example by founding industrial schools.

II. How, then, should these schools be organized? The object of the new institution—to give the children admitted to it an education which should enable them to provide for themselves by their labor, and to become useful members of society—indicates the nature of its essential organization. It should give both elementary instruction and industrial training.

The elementary instruction should be the same as that of the primary schools. The same programme should be followed, the studies should be subjected to the same tests; the pupils of the industrial schools should compete with those of other schools, public and private, viz., for the certificates of instruction, if the school is a private one; or for the savings-bank credits, attested by

* "English Efforts to prevent Crime," by Charles Ford, Esq.

the little pass-books, if it is a public establishment. Those who distinguish themselves in these examinations should be entitled to gratuitous admission to our schools for commercial instruction. The industrial school would thus be put on exactly the same footing as the primary schools; and the State would thus insure all the advantages of a complete primary education to these children, who would have their share in the benefit of obligatory instruction; and we dwell on this similarity because, according to our conception, they should be really schools, and not penitentiary establishments. This would be the first part of their education.

To primary education should be added industrial teaching. A child's education is not complete until he has been made fit to provide for himself by learning a trade or business. The apprentice school thus becomes the complement of the primary school. The city of Paris has recently instituted an apprentice school, and has thus begun to make practical the idea that general instruction must be completed by industrial teaching. Various establishments, similar in kind, exist already both in Paris and in the departments, under the name of professional schools. The industrial school, founded for a special object, would unite the two classes of establishments, *i. e.*, the primary and the professional school, but with this special characteristic, that it would be designed for children who could not hope for admittance to the apprentice schools, which is the completion of primary studies. For the apprentice school, in accordance with the idea which led to its institution, is destined for, and can only be useful to, such children as have already received good primary instruction, and are thus prepared to acquire general professional knowledge, which may qualify them for the position of foremen in the workshops, and for becoming, should circumstances favor them, masters in their turn. The children admitted to the industrial schools have, on the contrary, received only very imperfect primary instruction, and often none at all. The greater number have passed the usual age of admission to primary schools, and reached the age for learning a trade. They must, therefore, have the means given to them of making up for lost time, and for acquiring the instruction of the school and that of the workshop together. Hence the double character of the establishment for popular education, of which we are now treating.

We do not enter into the details of the organization of work and of the different trades to be taught. It should be like that of other similar establishments. The time for study should alternate with the time for work, a larger or a smaller share being given to the former, in proportion as the pupil's instruction has been more or less neglected.

The school once founded, it would be necessary to regulate the conditions of admission with respect to morality, age, and school fees. The industrial school being instituted specially for children who, from the above-mentioned causes, would remain deprived of the benefit of instruction, whether general or professional, unless it were forced upon them, it is necessary that this class should be strictly defined.

The English law originally established four categories, the children belonging to any one of which may be sent to an industrial school, *viz.*, first, beggars; second, vagrants; third, destitute; fourth, those associating with thieves or other bad company. To these four categories, meant to include the various classes of deserted or vagrant children, the law, in its paternal character, adds three others: the child under twelve years of age guilty of an offense punishable by imprisonment, provided he be not convicted of felony; the child disobedient to his parents. [These children the French law sends to a house of correction if the parents desire it.] The third class comprises the insubordinate work-house children, whom also, in France, the administration of public assistance, representing paternal authority, has a right to send to a house of correctional education.*

These various categories of children comprise all those for whom the industrial school is designed. It would, therefore, receive children taken up for vagrancy or begging, those without means of support, those associating with people of ill fame, insubordinate children, and those judicially convicted under the age of twelve. So far as to the moral conditions.

As to age, the English law fixes fourteen as the latest period for a child's admittance to the school, and sixteen as the extreme limit of his stay in it. There would remain, then, only to fix the earliest age at which a child can be admitted. Without wishing to limit strictly this minimum, we think that the industrial school, intended solely to fill a gap in our system of national education, ought not to take in children too young. Ten or eleven might be this limit, until which time they would have the resource of the primary school.

Here an objection presents itself, prompted by the fear that parents might yield to the temptation to free themselves from the task of bringing up their children by throwing them on the care of the State or of charitable institutions. To guard against this abuse, it would be necessary to exact the payment of school fees from all parents able to afford that expense. We ask to have instruction made obligatory for the class of children of whom we are speaking, but not

* Act relating to Industrial Schools, August 10, 1866.

gratuitous in all cases. This has been wisely decided by the English law, which, when the circumstances of the parents justify it, requires payment, which may go as high as five shillings a week.

These points being settled, the authority competent to order a child's admission to the school must be designated. In England it is the magistrate, justice of the peace, or alderman, who gives this order. The School Board must submit the case of every child whom they propose placing in the industrial school to the judge chosen by the law. This wise provision of the law is intended to guard against the abuse of arbitrary detention, and to provide the needful guaranties for the child's liberty, as well as for paternal rights. In France it will be necessary to decide to whom this office should be intrusted—whether to the justice of the peace, or to the president of the civil tribunal, in concert with the public prosecutor, as is the case with children placed under paternal correction. It is a question to be decided by the legislator.

English law very prudently provides beforehand against an objection which might be raised in the interest of religious freedom. It requires that the justices or the magistrates, when choosing a school, shall ascertain to what religion the child belongs, and shall send him to a school of that persuasion [Art. 18], and, if an error should occur, the child's parents or guardians have a right to protest, and may themselves choose a school where the child shall be instructed according to the principles of their religious belief.

The school being thus founded, and all the conditions of admission being regulated, it has still to be decided whether the new establishment should be a boarding or a day school. Both have been tried in England, in Scotland, and elsewhere. England has adhered exclusively to the former, while Scotland seems to prefer the latter. The boarding-schools are organized in this manner: They are generally gotten up by private enterprise or by the School Board. Private individuals or a charitable association establish the school and have it examined by legally appointed inspectors. If the needful requirements have been complied with, the school is "certified" by the administration, which, in this case, pays a fixed sum per week for each child. It is this legislative grant, together with charitable contributions, which defray the expenses of the boarding-school. These expenses comprise, in addition to the cost of installation, clothing, food, school requisites, and the salaries of officials. These boarding-schools not being prisons, but educational establishments, the rules and the law leave a certain latitude to the managing committee. The child spends there only the

time necessary for his education. He may be apprenticed out, according to circumstances, after some months, a year, or two years, without, however, ceasing to belong to the establishment, and to be subject to the rules of the school, although he no longer lives in it, so that, if he behaves badly at his master's, he is at once sent back to the house. He may be restored to his relatives, if they seem able and willing to continue his education, but he remains subject to the rules of the house, as in the former case.

I have read of boarding-schools in America, though I believe the number is not great, where the pupils attend public lectures, or learn a trade in neighboring workshops and come back to the establishment at night.

In the day-school system, as it is practiced in Scotland, and particularly at Aberdeen, the child stays in the school the whole day, which is divided into two parts, the one part being devoted to elementary, and the other to industrial instruction. The children get three meals in the school, and go home at night to their parents. Regular attendance at school is thus insured. The School Board is authorized to appoint a special agent, or to call upon the police, who bring back, at the beginning of each week, the child who has missed school the week before. But the alimentary diet of the school is highly appreciated by these children, who are wretchedly supplied at home, and it is sufficient to insure their regularity.

Each of the two systems has its special advantages, and the choice between the two would depend on circumstances. The boarding-school withdraws the child from the evil influences of his family and from the temptation to vagrancy; but its protection is only temporary and somewhat artificial, for, sooner or later, he must be put back into ordinary life, where he will continue to be exposed to former temptations. Then it breaks the family ties, putting the authority of the school entirely in the place of that at home; and, finally, it has another drawback—it is very costly. The day-school leaves the child in every-day life among his family, upon whom he may exercise a good influence; and, above all, it has the advantage of costing less. We think both systems may be adopted according to the locality.

One point more remains to be considered. Who is to take the initiative in the creation of this new establishment of popular education—private individuals or the State?

In England, at the outset, the movement was inaugurated solely by private enterprise. The law merely established the principles in accordance with which the industrial schools should be certified and aided by the administration. Several States of the American Union have granted charters to establishments of this kind, which thus bear the character of *quasi* public institu-

tions. There can not be an unvarying principle on this subject. The habits and customs of each people must be consulted. Private effort has great advantages, when it is practicable, and when it only needs to be encouraged by law. We think it might have its share in this work of national education in France, provided that the law, as in England, should allow for each child regularly admitted in virtue of a magistrate's order, a fixed sum, which should partially compensate these establishments for the sacrifices they make, and thus cover a part of their expenses. It would be the contribution of the State in aid of charitable efforts; and in this it would only be applying to the new institution of industrial schools the provisions of the law relative to the houses of correctional education, founded by private individuals, and certified by the State, to which the administration pays seventy centimes a day for every child it places in them. There is no doubt that private initiative might be of great help to the State in the founding of industrial schools, as it was in that of the penitentiary colonies. It would suffice that the law should seek and should favor it.

In our country, perhaps, it would be too much to expect that private effort should suffice for the founding of these schools. There are four thousand five hundred vagrants in our houses of correction, and this number does not by any means represent all those to be provided for. The founding of public establishments would supplement the deficiency of private ones. We should thus have public and private establishments in this new category of scholastic institutions, as in the case of ordinary primary schools; the first making up for the deficiency of the second, and each completing the other. A fruitful emulation would thus be established by the union of various efforts tending all to the same end—that of saving children from ignorance, idleness, and vice. The com-

bined efforts of all in this great work of national preservation would not be more than is needful.

We are of the opinion, therefore, as to this point, that it is desirable that the State, while encouraging private initiative, should itself undertake the establishment of these institutions.

In brief: The necessity of industrial schools, embodying the principle of compulsory instruction—elementary and professional—seems to us demonstrated by the duty of protecting an entire class of children who are liable, through the neglect of their parents, to remain without the advantages of instruction, and thus to become dangerous to society.

The new institution of national education, whose outlines we have just traced, ought to be placed on the same footing as our ordinary scholastic establishments, whether public or private.

Thus would be accomplished a work of vast importance for the protection and elevation of society by the moral training of those children who, from their circumstances, as already explained, would be likely to become an element of disorder and peril to the State.

I recall, in concluding, that compassionate word of our Saviour: "I was in prison, and ye came unto me." Our Lord regards as done to himself what we do in behalf of prisoners. We ought to take pity on them, because our visits are, for them, a consolation and a relief. In reflecting on those poor children exposed in our streets to so many temptations of misery and of crime, I seem also to hear our blessed Saviour repeat, with a slight variation, this other compassionate word: "Suffer these deserted children to come unto me; take them under your care; and save them from the prison by instructing them, and by teaching them to earn their living by honest labor."

FAREWELL ADDRESS.

BY THE REV. NOAH HUNT SCHENCK, D.D., BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

*Delivered at the close of the Valedictory Services in the Academy of Music, New York,
Sunday night, October 12, 1873.*

MR. CHAIRMAN, BRETHREN, AND CHRISTIAN FRIENDS;—For the first time since the world began the lovers of God have met in Catholic Council on this Western Hemisphere. That Council now belongs to history. To-night we gather with deep emotion around an altar we have all helped to build. The hymns we sing, the prayers we put up, the words we speak, are designed as a spiritual libation to our common God, and as a valedictory office for those who part to-night, no more to meet this side the grave. I can but feel that the occasion is august. Memorable, it will assuredly be held by all who are now within these walls. The atmosphere we breathe is charged with solemnity. As I look on this vast audience, how overwhelming is the idea that the thousands gathered to the sessions of the Conference now closing, and assembled here and at this moment elsewhere in New York in halls crowded like this, have come together obedient to a common attraction, and under the gravitation of a common sentiment; that all have invoked the same spiritual baptism, and all, we trust, received the same blessing; and that, as they separate to-night on their various lines of departure, each faithful man may be supposed to carry away and take to his home, be it near or far, a gift from God, dispensed at this high altar of holy catholic communion by Him “who didst preside in the councils of the blessed apostles,” and who has given unmistakable testimony of His presence with this Conference, from first to last, in quickening grace and manifold spiritual power. And upon this meeting to-night, constituted though it be of frail and fallible creatures, I would fain believe that the eyes of angels

look almost tearlessly. For, if man may present a spectacle of moral grandeur to the vision of the skies, it is, as here, where thousands of minds and hearts blend and fuse in a concerted purpose to enthrone religious truth, and assert a world-wide fraternity in Christ, and display the reality of catholic communion in the Beloved—where all are marshaled under the twin sentiment of giving God all glory and helping all men heavenward.

The Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, marking as an epoch the twenty-seventh year of its organized life, now ends. Over London and Paris, over Berlin, Geneva, and Amsterdam, the *auréole* of the Alliance has shone. And now around the brow of New York, the Metropolis of America, the great *entrepôt* of the Western World, is this girdle of grace, this spiritual *corona*. We would hold all these capitals as thus peculiarly consecrated. We would thread these fair cities, as so many goodly pearls, upon the golden chord of Christian love, and adorn the Bride of Christ with the precious necklace.

The summons from New York for the assembling of this Conference, the call for the gathering of the tribes, has gone echoing round the world, and kindly reverberations have come answering back from almost every zone. From the Peiho and the Ganges in the far distant East, rolling westward over the high table-lands of Central Asia, rich and romantic in Aryan tradition, across the perturbed civilizations of Europe to where the silvery Seine and golden Guadalquivir pour their sparkling tributes to the sea; from the land where the superstitions of Thor and Odin have dissolved before the march of

Christian truth, southward to the continents and islands which lie under the starlight of the great southern Cross—from every quarter of our peopled planet the responses to the call for this Conference have been as deep calling and answering to deep.

And we came together as members of one great family, as children of the one common Sire, "after whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named." The membership of this Conference is a representation of the Church invisible, still on earth, and militant. We have not come clothed in the livery of bigoted organization, not as spokesmen of conflicting schools of thought, or as wearing the ecclesiastical vestments of the several religious denominations to whom we profess allegiance. We represent no constituency save that of the elect in Christ, no sentiment save that under which the brotherhoods of the Redeemed are coalesced in Christ. A convention thus constituted is one

"Where names and sects and parties fall,
And Jesus Christ is all in all."

The purpose of this Conference is not to organize a new church, or indulge vain fantasies of organic unity, or sketch utopian pictures of unified doctrine and uniform practice in religious theory and ecclesiastical method. We recognize the great fact that the Church on earth is a working Church, and therefore *not a picture in prophetic elements* of the Church in heaven, which is a Church at rest. Here there are, and are to be, "diversities of gifts," and "differences of administrations," and "diversities of operations;" but there, where the distinctions between the Church visible and invisible shall have ceased, in the "one fold" and under the "one Shepherd," there shall be no variety in unity, but soul shall answer to soul in the exact reflections of the Divine likeness. We rally here for no purpose that is selfish or secular, doctrinal or ecclesiastical. We have come simply for God's honor and man's help. We have not assembled for the defense of Protestantism. The necessity for that is passed, thank God! Its great principles have been promulgated and vindicated in trumpet tones of triumph all

round the world, and to-day are enthroned in the minds of the world's greatest thinkers and the hearts of Christ's most loyal servants. The Protestant idea has a following that is fully adequate to every exigency of defense and every purpose of propagation.

But this Christian Convocation has been summoned for fresh declarations of unity realized, for the interchange of the elements of varied Christian civilizations, for debating and arming in defense of Christian liberty, for asserting the franchise of free conscience, for making full exposition of catholic orthodoxy in applied religion, proving that the Evangelical Alliance holds and enforces those measures of truth which all Christian denominations confess and apply as *essential* for righteous rule in government, the correct ordering of society, and the salvation of the soul.

It is not a part of the office I fill to-night to speak of the sweet social reunions and the hospitable interchanges we have enjoyed. Neither is this the occasion for reviewing the programme of learned disquisition and dignified debate to which this Conference has given its time and thought for the last ten days. Let it suffice that the most important and pressing issues in religion and morals that could possibly challenge the attention of earnest minds have been discussed before us by those whose native gifts, whose specific and profound research, and whose rich and well-ripened thought have most abundantly qualified them for the great didactic office they have filled.

In the few sentences of valediction that I have to offer, my supreme desire and effort is to rise with you now, dear friends in Christ, to the highest spiritual level to which our Lord may be pleased to lift us, that we may realize the liberty of sons of God—yea, perfect freedom in Christ, and oneness in the Beloved.

The immediate influence and results of this Conference are quite beyond the most sanguine expectations indulged by its friends and promoters, and are simply amazing to those who looked with little heart or hope to the gathering of this Protestant Council. In fact, the Conference has astonished Amer-

ica. Here in New York, where we are accustomed to the rapid succession of noticeable events, even here, there has been a strange and almost unprecedented kindling of interest. And wherever the press has conveyed the proceedings of this body, everywhere the public eye has been widely opened to read and mark its daily deliverances. The most emphatic indications of the immediate influence of the Conference is to be observed in the great numbers that have thronged the different halls of audience to give ready and untiring ear to the utterances of our distinguished delegates. The interest excited and the personal attendance given to the daily sessions have been something unexampled in any convention of a moral or religious character ever held in this country. Nor may we omit to remark upon the voluntary and valuable services of the secular press. Never before in the history of religions or moral movements on this side the Atlantic, or probably the other, have the important offices of the press been so largely enlisted. I would take occasion here and now to make befitting acknowledgment for this grateful contribution to our great evangelic enterprise. There was a time when the public press of New York was stigmatized as "satanic," because led on by a Journal professing neither religion nor morals, but professedly conducted upon a mere mercenary basis; but, if we may argue from the posture of the press toward the Evangelical Alliance, this great power has experienced a glorious regeneration. Whether this new baptism has been of its own seeking, or the involuntary result of the great influence freshly created and wielded by this Conference, is not for me to pronounce.

The immediate influence upon those of us who have waited day by day upon its devotional and business Sessions, in the personal experiences of our souls, is something quite too important and memorable to pass over without a word of thanksgiving. I may not freely speak for others; but for myself I am glad and grateful to confess that, for the lighting up of my mind and the lifting up of my heart in the things of Christ, I

have had no experiences surpassing the engagements at Amsterdam in 1867, and these at New York in 1873, since I first attempted the following of the Master. Under the sweet spiritual influences evoked by these earnest-minded, warm-hearted Christian men, who have come together "out of all lands" to counsel and commune, have we not, day by day, and night after night, been newly clothed upon of Christ, and freshly charged with his heavenly Spirit, and largely encouraged for all the valiant ventures of faith?

Touching the permanent results of this Conference it may be premature to speak; but never yet has one of these convocations of the Alliance been held in the cities of Europe without entailing upon the locality appreciable and invaluable consequences to Christ and society. My brethren from abroad, I know, will give their emphatic testimony to this. Where the drum-call of the Evangelical Alliance has summoned the faithful, and the banner of Jesus waved over its solemn deliberations, there an influence has been born whose sacred vitality has developed and been disseminated in measures of blessing to the individual and to society as enduring as they have been beneficent. As elsewhere, so here, how many "who came to scoff remained to pray;" how many who heretofore have regarded religion as a professional or perfunctory thing, after looking upon and listening to these learned and pious pilgrims who have come to us from regions remote, who have crossed land and sea to give their testimony for Christ and the truth, to bow their faces before the altar here set up, for the common worship and catholic communion of the Christian allies; how many are there, I claim, who will henceforth regard religion, its offices, its franchises, and its blessings, as objects to be coveted, and courted, and possessed—who will substitute veneration for indifference, and, it may be, devotion for defiance!

There is no doubt that the Conference has created or produced a great religious influence in this country. The question is, how this influence can be best administered for God's glory, the Church's welfare, and the

soul's progress. Only yesterday it was determined, at a general meeting of the United States Alliance, to hold a biennial session for the discussion of living issues in religion, morals, and sociology. It is fondly hoped that this meeting on alternate years may keep the Christians of America well armed for the defense of religious liberty—may afford satisfactory exemplifications of Christian unity, and give ample opportunity for the great ventures of orthodox Christianity to be faithfully studied, and thoroughly sustained, and actively furthered.

Will you pardon me for again referring to the Conference as an event of magnitude, because of one or more aspects and relations to which I have not yet adverted? We are wont to accept the Latin proverb, "Omne ignotum pro magnifico;" but, in the instance before us, immediate proximity has not detracted from, but rather augmented, the idea of moral grandeur; the closer our proximity, the greater our reverence for the elements of the Conference, and the richer our enjoyment of its sacred atmosphere. May I ask you to regard this meeting of the Alliance as the sublimest possible exhibition of true internationalism? In this age of political convulsions, and when the facilities of intercourse are bent to the service of secular and selfish ends, what an immediate assurance is it, and what a pledge to the future, that we, as a body, appeal from all that is individualistic and economic, and ask for the commerce of higher sympathies as between Christian nationalities all over the world! The Evangelical Alliance inaugurates "the era of good feeling." The sentiment of internationality which dominates in the Conferences proposes not to communize labor interests, or fortify the strongholds of capital, or accomplish the peaceful arbitration of political differences; but rather to proffer to all, whatever each nation has that is excellent, in spiritual religion, in practical morals, and the science of society—so dictating and directing the free interchange of all that is cherished and held dear by each, that the honor of God may be vindicated, the soul advanced in spiritual culture, that civil and religious liberty may

go hand in hand, and every franchise that conditions and embellishes our noblest manhood may be asserted and conserved. This is the internationalism of the Evangelical Alliance, not only proposed, but practiced.

This Conference is historic. The greetings which it has received from so many and such dignified ecclesiastical sources must secure for it noticeable recognition and large space in the Church history of the period. The brave reformers, who, under fearful pressure, are now prosecuting a great inner mission, laboring to restore poor blinded, bigoted Rome to her primitive Christian life, have just sent to us from the very spot where Huss was martyred, from this scene where they are gathered in solemn congress, from the shores of Lake Constance, again vocal with protests against papal arrogance and usurpation, and over the signatures of a bishop and others, called and consecrated under the genius of Catholic revival—thence has come to this Conference a greeting and a Godspeed, the reach of fraternal hands, and the pledge of sympathetic souls. Similar salutations from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Metropolitan of Canada have been borne to us by eminent Christian legates. And then, from the churches set up in the heart of heathen nations, and far off in the islands of the sea, missionary greetings have come that have gladdened the hearts of the Alliance men, and linked this Conference with the history of the Church-at-work in a way at once primitive and Christly.

That this Conference should have had official and kindly recognition by the Emperor of Germany, and that it goes to-morrow to our National Capital to be formally received by the Chief Magistrate of this country, gives it a certain political relation which of itself is historic. Nay, more, we have good reason to believe that it has attracted the attention of many of the great ruling powers. It has come to be recognized as an engine of such great moral and religious force that no one can afford to ignore its existence, despise its teachings, or be careless to its influence.

And would to God that in immediate spir-

itual agency it might also be historic! and that this Evangelical Congress might, under God, be empowered to excite the energies of religious revival, and inaugurate a new Pentecost; so that, after our continuing for ten days with one accord in one place, in prayer and Christly counsel, the Spirit of God might descend in plenteous showers of grace, and accomplish the conversion of thousands to the saving faith of the Lord Jesus!

And now, I would address myself especially to you, dear brethren, who have come to us from various parts of Christendom, and give you our formal but feeling farewell. You have come hither not as the Argonauts of old seeking a fabulous amulet; not as pilgrims to some profane Mecca; not as Crusaders, proposing to retrieve by material forces for Him whose kingdom is not of this world, and whose triumphs are achieved neither by might nor by power, but by His Spirit, that which shall enhance the glory of the second dispensation of Christ. You have come not as the Genoese adventurer, stretching away from Palos, seeking India and stumbling upon a continent; neither have you come in the blind infatuation of the Romish pilgrims of to-day, who are flocking to French shrines to make their superstitious devotions. By what impulse driven, by what magnetism drawn, under what sublime gravitation are you here? What other than the love of God in Christ and the welfare of a fallen race? You have come from all the peopled lands of Christendom, bringing in the banners of the several army corps of the great host of Christ, and stacking them around this common altar, while high above all is lifted the imperial standard of the Great Captain of our common salvation. Oh, the history of these battle-flags of the Church militant! How many are tattered and torn, riddled and slit with shot and shell! How many are banners rolled in blood! How many have been ignominiously trailed through the corridors of the Inquisition, and struck with the mildew and the death-damps of its hideous dungeons! How many have floated triumphantly upon the air, in lands where heroic hands have held them up as faith-flags, and

where the breath of God's favor has played upon their graceful undulations! We are here bringing together the several ensigns under which we and our churches have contended for "the faith once delivered to the saints." There is a missionary who has worked for Christ twenty years in the heart of China. There is a Christianized Hindoo, one who has crowned the graces of gentle breeding and scholarly culture with the diadem of the religion of Jesus, and who has just given us, in tones almost prophetic, the pictured realizations of the Church's hopes touching the evangelization of the world. I see before me men from Spain and Mexico. Before me are those who live in the shadows of the snow-crowned mountains of Europe and the rocky sierras of America. All are charged with the sentiment of Christ's mission, and all pledged to the work of the Church of Christ. All have the same office, and all are braced and buoyed by a common hope. How in eternity shall we rehearse with rapture this gathering of the regiments here in New York, in the year of grace 1873? In what triumphant anthems shall we fight our battles over again in that better land, where all militant notes shall be lost in the grand diapason of the conquering chorus of the Church triumphant!

I can but feel that the Evangelical Alliance, as it has here exhibited its principles, projects, and practical character in the proceedings of the Conference now ending, has unconsciously exercised a prophetic office. Who can fail to accept the idea here so emphatically yet silently suggested, that this Christian Congress is a prototype of the coming civilization of the world? How eloquently does it declare that the time is near when there is to be a catholic civilization; when the provincialisms of districts not only, but the provincialisms of nations shall end; when there shall be such free trade in literature, religion, custom, and mechanical art, in every thing that enters into moral, social, and economic life, transfused through the nations, and races, and localities under the administration of new-born and newly adapted science, that human society shall become homogeneous, characterized every-

where by like conditions and conduct and purpose! Even now we behold the fulfillment of the prophecy of many running to and fro, and knowledge being increased. The scores of Orientals, who are being educated in our seminaries, or otherwise studying the laws and developments of our Western civilization, is sufficient illustration. Ere long the ends of the earth shall be as our neighbors. Through the marvelous facilities of intercommunication the great barter of intelligence and material is prosecuted each year in a ratio rapidly augmenting. Whatever is valuable in the society or trade life of any one land is now being promptly apprehended and practically applied to the wants of every other. Representatives of every nation are abroad gathering up and carrying home whatever is valuable wherever found. In this wise shall the problem of a catholic civilization be worked out. And this Alliance is the token and pledge of the golden age which lies onward. Then the dissonance of Babel shall be lost in a common speech restored for the free commerce of the world's thought, and the clash of religious sentiment cease in the universal acceptance of the religion of Jesus Christ. Inasmuch as here in this Christian Conference we have but one heart and one tongue, one principle and one aspiration, is it too much to claim that before us is the prophetic picture of the one-voiced Christian civilization which shall ere long make the whole world akin?

I love the Evangelical Alliance, not so much, because it provides for the communion of saints. This I can find elsewhere. Not so much because of its important deliverances in the great issues of moral science and religious culture. There are other oracles of equal wisdom and dignity from which these truths may be had. Again, I revere this organization, not so much because it is a defender of religious liberty and illustrator of Christian unity. I might point you to other agents of the one, and exemplifications of the other, though possibly inferior and less effective. But with my heart of hearts do I love this Christian alliance, because it is, at least to me, an antepast of

heaven, a foregleam of the soul's supernal state. Now, as it is true that "God is no respecter of persons," not even in the matter of church-membership, but that "in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him;" and as men "shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God;" and as there are sheep of various folds who shall be brought in by the great Saviour, that there may be "one fold and one Shepherd;" and as all who love the Lord Jesus Christ are declared to be "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God through the Spirit;" and as those "whom God has cleansed" no man may without blasphemy "call common;" and as there is the "same Spirit," and the "same Lord," and the "same God," though there be "diversities of gifts," and "differences of administrations," and "diversities of operations;" and, again, as, according to the vision of John on Patmos, the worshiping host who stand "before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, and cry with a loud voice, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb," are a "great multitude, which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues"—of a surety may we not aver that here, in this Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, we have produced, dear brethren in Christ, before heaven and among men, the richest possible realization that earth can be supposed to afford of the celestial life to which we all aspire.

It only remains that I give you, cherished friends in the faith of the Lord Jesus, the farewell of America to its honored guests, the Good-bye of the United States Alliance to the Delegates of sister Alliances here assembled in solemn Conference; and that

"Good-bye" is a simple but soul-felt "God bless you!" I would fain reach forth my hand and lay it upon your heads, and pronounce for each one the Benediction of Peace. As it is, I give you my heart, and offer the exchange of throb for throb in the reciprocal pulsations of Christian affection, in the precious brotherhood of a common love and life in the Blessed Jesus. Nay, more, I would invoke the everlasting arms to wind round us as we are here grouped together, and hold us now and forever as one in the Beloved. Go to your homes, brothers in the love and work of Jesus, and carry our hearts with you. Here we have "taken sweet counsel together." You have blessed us in your presence and by your prayers, and now, as you go hence, we give you Christian God-speed. May the Spirit of Christ always abound in your hearts, and the love of Jesus always be the great governing law of your lives! God be with you as you return to those who are waiting for you with loving eyes, looking westward for the ship that shall bear you to the sweet embraces of family and home. There are welcomes awaiting you beyond the sea, wifely and filial welcomes from those whose "eyes will watch your coming, and grow brighter as you come."

We part to-night only to meet beyond the flood. Some of us will doubtless flow together in the sweet communions of earth. But the members of this Conference, as a body complete, will only re-assemble in the New Jerusalem. God grant us safe-conduct to that City which hath foundations. But as we linger here in our fond farewells, and ere we relinquish the loving clasp of fraternal hands, shall we not send to God, on wings of faith, the catholic prayer, that He who by his "Holy Spirit didst preside in the councils of the blessed apostles, and hast promised through his Son Jesus Christ, to be with the Church to the end of the world, will have been so present with the Council of his Church here assembled in his name and presence, as to save them from all error, ignorance, pride, and prejudice; and to direct, sanctify, and govern them in their present work, by the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, that the comfortable Gospel of Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed in *all places*, to the breaking down the kingdom of sin, Satan, and death; till at length *the whole of the dispersed sheep, being gathered into one fold, shall become partakers of everlasting life, through the merits and death of Jesus Christ, our Saviour.* Amen."

APPENDIX I.

LETTERS OF GREETING.

APPENDIX I.—CONTENTS.

[The following letters of greeting from religious societies and distinguished individuals were brought before the General Conference, and selected for publication. A large number of private letters were also received, conveying the good wishes of invited guests unable to attend. Official communications of foreign branches of the Alliance, and letters of eminent public men in Europe, endorsing the objects of the General Conference, were published in connection with the Editor's report on his first Alliance mission to Europe, 1869, in Document No. III., pp. 34-39.—*Ed.*]

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APPENDIX I.

TESTAMENTARY ADDRESS

OF THE LATE DR. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, OF
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.*

To the President and Members of the Ecumenical
Assembly of Evangelical Christians at New
York:

DEAR AND HONORED BRETHREN IN CHRIST,
—There are many reasons which would have made me wish to be among you at present. The assembly which brings together at New York, in the western hemisphere, Christians of the Old and the New World, is unique of its kind in the history of Protestantism. Also, when your zealous deputy, the Rev. Dr. Schaff, invited me in your name to take part in it, I would willingly have answered yes; but my age was an obstacle altogether insurmountable. I desire, however, to address you a few words in writing.

If the meeting for which you have assembled is an important one, the period at which it is held is equally so, not only on account of the great things which God is accomplishing in the world, but also by reason of the great evils which the spirit of darkness is spreading throughout Christendom. The despotic and arrogant pretensions of Rome have reached in our days their highest pitch, and we are consequently more than ever called upon to contend against that power which dares to usurp the Divine attributes.

But that is not all. While superstition has increased, unbelief has done so still more. Until now, the eighteenth century—the age of Voltaire—was regarded as the epoch of most decided infidelity; but how far does the present time surpass it in this respect! Voltaire himself protested against the philosophy which he called atheistic, and said, “God is necessarily the great, the only, the eternal artificer of all nature” (“Dialogues,” 25). But the pretended philosophers of our day leave such ideas far behind, and regard them as antiquated superstitions. *Material-*

ism and *atheism* have taken the place of the true God in many minds. Science, which was Christian in the finest intellects of former days, in those to whom we owe the greatest discoveries, has become atheistic among men who now talk the loudest. They imagine that by means of general laws which govern the physical world, they can do without Him from whom those laws proceed. Some remains of animals found in ancient strata of our globe, make them reject the creation of which the Bible inaugurates the account by these solemn words: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.”

Eminent literary men continually put forward in their writings what is called *positivism*, rejecting every thing that goes beyond the limit of the senses, and disdaining all that is supernatural. These evils, which had formerly only reached the upper ranks of society, have now spread to the working classes, and some among them may be heard to say, “When man is dead, all is dead.”

But there is a still sadder feature of our times: unbelief has reached even the ministry of the Word. Pastors belonging to Protestant churches in France, Switzerland, Germany, and other Continental countries, not only reject the fundamental doctrines of the faith, but also deny the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and see in him nothing more than a man who, according to many among them, was even subject to errors and faults.

A synod of the Reformed Church in Holland has lately decreed, that when a minister baptizes he need not do so “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” A journal, when relating this fact, adds: “Will they, then, baptize in the name of the god Abyss?”

At an important assembly held lately in German Switzerland, at which were present many men of position, both in the Church and State, the basis of a new religion was laid down. *No doctrines!* was the watchword on that occasion. “No new doctrines, whatever they may be, in place of the old. Liberty alone.” Which means, liberty to overthrow every thing; and too truly, some of those ministers believe neither in a personal God nor in the immortality of the soul. For a portion of the European population, there is no other gospel than that

* [This document of the distinguished historian of the Reformation was prepared for the Conference in 1870, and, after its postponement, intended for the Conference of 1873; but the author was called to his eternal reward October 21, 1872. It was handed to me by his widow, at London, in July, 1873, “as a proof of the great interest which Dr. Merle d’Aubigné felt in the proposed Conference and in his brethren in the United States.”—P.S.]

of Spinoza, and often much less even than that.

Gentlemen, ought all this to make us lose courage? By no means. "Fear not, little flock," says our Lord, "for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" (Luke xii., 32). The Church is built on an immovable rock, which is Christ, "and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi., 18). "The word of the Lord endureth forever" (1 Peter i., 25).

Yes, brethren and dear sirs, whatever may be the shouts of triumph of the champions of infidelity, there will always be on earth thousands who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal; but we must desire more than that. We must defend the kingdom of God against its enemies and extend it over all the globe.

Seeing a great assembly from both hemispheres about to be gathered at New York in such critical times as the present, a thought has presented itself to my mind, and I would desire to communicate it to you. Ought not your meeting to be above all things (excuse the expression that I employ) like a council of war, in which to determine the plan of the great campaign which is approaching, or, rather, which has already begun? You are not merely an academy summoned to hear eloquent essays; you are rather an assembly called to deliberate upon the public affairs of Christianity. I can not banish from my mind the thought that such has been the object of the Divine Head of the Church in bringing together this Christian Congress. At all times, and among all nations, whenever great dangers have threatened the father-land, recourse has been had to the wisdom of the most enlightened, in order to determine what are the best means to adopt for its safety. The adversaries of Christianity are now in many places taking able counsel with one another, or holding tumultuous meetings for the purpose of planning its destruction. Shall not we also unite to consider the best means of saving it? or shall it be true that "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light?" (Luke xvi., 8). The great question for every individual is always this: "What must I do to be saved?" The great question for the Church at this time is: What must be done to save the Church? He who saves is Christ. "Neither is there salvation in any other" (Acts iv., 12). But, as says the apostle, "We are laborers together with God" (1 Cor. iii., 9).

Gentlemen, there is now an important work to be done; a crisis has arrived, perilous, decisive, which reminds me of those words of one of our French poets, the great Corneille:

"Et je puis dire enfin, que jamais potentat
N'eut à délibérer d'un si grand coup d'état."

You have to deliberate upon the triumph of the Gospel in Christendom. If you seek your wisdom from Him who "giveth to all men liberally" (James i., 5), there will, without doubt, result from your meeting unexpected light, effective, powerful means for remedying the ills which afflict us. It is not I, gentlemen; it is not a man of times already past, who can find here the guiding clue. A philosopher has said, "In periods of great difficulty the young are generally more discerning than the aged." However, as those who have convoked your assembly have asked me to speak, I shall address you, not some advice, but a few questions.

1st. Ought we not, in order to triumph over infidelity, to employ science itself, humble and healthy science, in opposition to a partial, proud, and sickly science, which seeks the knowledge of creation, but rejects the knowledge of the Creator, from whence result moral and intellectual enfeeblement and continual change? A system lasts a few years, and then it is succeeded by another. A scholar will affirm that we derive our origin from one of the lower animals which gradually became a man; and he may succeed in leading many superficial minds to adopt his theory, and then he will retract, but without being able, most likely, to bring back those whom he has led into error. Men of genius who have been the great lights of humanity—Bacon, Kepler, Newton, Pascal, Leibnitz, Euler, Haller, and many others—studied the creation, but they also acknowledged the Creator; and their theories have become the basis of all our science. Unfortunately, some of the learned men of our day (I do not say all) have not such elevated minds. The knowledge of visible things will only be sound when it is accompanied by the knowledge of the invisible God who is the author of them.

2d. Is it not important to uphold energetically the rights of the *mind*, in contradistinction to the extravagant and humiliating pretensions of *matter*? Let us defend manfully the superior attributes of man. Let us affirm that the faculties in virtue of which he is capable of knowing God, the Invisible, the Infinite, the Origin and End of man, are immensely above those by virtue of which he crawls upon this earth. How paltry is humanity if deprived of communion with the eternal God! Fallen, debased, we must say of him as did the prophet, "The crown is fallen from his head."

3d. Should not reform begin in the ministry of the Word? The princes of this world seek continually to remodel their armies, improve their soldiers, their rifles, their cannon; and shall the army of Jesus Christ alone do nothing for its improvement? Many are the changes that ought to be made in the ministry, but I shall mention only one, and that in the words of our

great reformer, John Calvin. Proofs and arguments are necessary with unbelievers, but that is not sufficient. There must also be sound doctrines, and there is, besides, a right way of presenting them to the people. Calvin shows that the minister must not be satisfied with reading a sermon coldly or reciting it correctly. "True preaching," says the reformer, "must not be dead, but living and effective. There is a force, there is an energy, which should be found in those who desire to be good and loyal ministers of the Word. No parade of rhetoric, but the Spirit of God must resound in their voice in order to operate with power" (*P'Esprit de Dieu doit résonner en leur voix, pour besoiigner en vertu*). Thus spoke Calvin. Doubtless one sometimes hears such voices, but they are rare. The progress which we have to make is a revival of the ministry of the apostles and of the Reformation. It was for the Church of England, and to the regent of the kingdom, the uncle of Edward VI., that Calvin wrote these words in 1543, but they are applicable to every church. May the Spirit of God resound in our voices!

4th. Ought not Christians in the times in which we live, the faithful and the pastors, to attach themselves more and more to the *person* of JESUS CHRIST? We must do so in order to contend against infidelity, and, still more, against popery. Let us, therefore, cleave with a living faith, with earnest love, not, indeed, to a fantastic ideal of Jesus, invented by unbelieving imaginations, but to the true person of Jesus Christ, such as the Holy Scriptures alone make him known to us, in all his humility, but also in all his beauty, his power, and his glory. Let us attach ourselves to him, not only for our own peace, but also for the salvation of the Church. We are in a great crisis, I would almost say in great distress; but if we are under the eye of such a friend, who has said with truth, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth" (Matt. xxviii., 18); and if he has added, "I am with you alway" (Matt. xxviii., 20), should we not be senseless if, in this pressing danger, we did not apply for help to that friend? Well, those words were addressed to us by the Son of God. We are full of confidence in the reality of his promises; let us act accordingly.

GREETING FROM THE BRITISH ALLIANCE.

From the Council of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance to the Council and Members of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States of America.

BELOVED AND HONORED BRETHREN,—We avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded us by our delegates proceeding to the General Conference about to be held in New

York, to commend them to your fraternal fellowship and regard. We present, by them, to yourselves and to the Christian brethren gathered together from different lands, our cordial and affectionate greeting, and our sincere congratulations on the auspicious occasion of your assembly.

We desire gratefully to acknowledge the hand of our gracious God in the removal of all causes for further delay in holding in your own city the Sixth General Conference of Christians of various nations, and in bringing to a successful termination the arrangements made in many different countries for a suitable representation being present to take part in its interesting proceedings. The Conference itself and its results will be regarded with deep interest by multitudes in this and other lands who desire to see the Christian churches both of the Old and New World brought into closer communion and co-operation, for the defense of religious liberty and the spread of the Redeemer's kingdom among all people.

Profoundly impressed with the importance of the meetings and the subjects about to be brought under your consideration, we invited the members of the Alliance throughout the United Kingdom to make special and united prayer to Almighty God for his blessing, that the approaching Conference may issue in results greatly to his glory, and the increase of unity, peace, and concord among all true Christians.

To move the springs of united prayer has been one of the peculiar privileges of this Alliance, and on no previous occasion does it appear to us that the supplications of God's children were more needed or more suitable than at the present time, when wise and holy men of both hemispheres are drawn together for fraternal fellowship, for spiritual profit, for mutual counsel, and for combined effort in the cause of truth and righteousness throughout the world.

May the Spirit of Grace and Supplication be poured out upon your assemblies. May the Great Head of the Church himself be with you.

Allow us, beloved brethren, to assure you of our cordial sympathy, and our readiness at all times to co-operate with you, and with the sister organizations in various countries, in making this Association increasingly a power for good. We have rejoiced in the formation of so large and influential an Evangelical Alliance as the one already established in your own country, and of which the present Conference may be regarded as one of the good fruits; and we record with thankfulness the valuable aid recently rendered by yourselves and our European associations in pleading effectually for the oppressed in a distant land. We are thus reminded continually of a great and holy work committed to our hands—the defense

of persecuted Christians suffering for righteousness' sake; the spread of the Gospel in all lands; the practice of Christian charity among ourselves, and commending it to the sympathy and practice of our fellow-believers; conflicts with infidelity and ungodliness in varied forms—these are claiming the most serious attention of Christians, and pressing upon them everywhere to unite, and by a common service to their one Lord draw closer the bands of brotherly love. Only thus united in holy activity can we be assured that doubts as to the divine authority of the doctrines we hold will diminish, and the promise of our Lord be not far from its final and glorious accomplishment—"that the world may believe."

May the God of peace and love enable you with one heart and mouth to glorify him who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so make manifest that the Prince of Peace has guided, controlled, and blessed your counsels.

Again we offer you our paternal and affectionate salutations. On behalf of the Council,

EBURY, *President.*

CHICHESTER,

ROBERT LUSH,

WILLIAM ASHLEY,

R. J. ROBERTSON (Lord Benholm),

Vice-presidents.

ALFRED S. CHURCHILL,

Chairman of N. Y. Conf. Com.

JOHN FINCH, *Treasurer.*

JAMES DAVIS, *Secretary.*

HERMANN SCHMETTAU,

Foreign Secretary.

LETTER FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Addington Park, Croydon,
August 1, 1873.

MY DEAR DEAN,—I can not allow the Dean of my Cathedral to go to America to attend a general conference of Christians of all countries, without expressing my good wishes and earnest hope that his efforts to promote unity in Christ's Church may be blessed.

In 1870 (before the proposed Conference was postponed, owing to the unhappy war between two great Christian nations) I wrote a letter to the late lamented Bishop McIlvaine, which he kindly undertook to present to the Conference. I hope that you will, on the present occasion, be the bearer of my good wishes in the place of one whose loss has been felt by Christian men wherever the English language is spoken.

You are aware that I have never been a member of the Evangelical Alliance, under the auspices of which the Conference is to be convened. But it is not possible for me to hold the position which God has assigned

to me in that Church, which has generally been regarded as the bulwark of the Reformation, without praying for God's blessing on all earnest efforts to spread the great Gospel doctrines which the Reformation vindicated. Never since the Reformation has it been more important that Christian men should learn to understand and co-operate with one another, and that they should, by the manifestation of their union in faith and good works, offer an effectual opposition to the growing progress of superstition and infidelity. And never has this union been more earnestly longed for than in the present day.

I trust that the Holy Spirit of God may guide all who take part in your discussions at New York; and that the solution of the great social and religious questions of which you propose to treat may be advanced by the mutual intercourse of minds accustomed, many of them, to regard these questions in different aspects, according to the peculiarities of their several countries.

That God may hasten the time when the differences, which at present tend too much to keep Christians asunder, may be removed, and when all who love the Lord Jesus Christ sincerely may be able, without compromise of principle, to unite both outwardly and in spirit, is my heart's prayer.

Believe me to be, my dear Dean, yours very sincerely,

A. C. CANTUAR.

The very Reverend

THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

GREETING FROM THE GERMAN CHURCH DIET.*

Berlin, September 1, 1873.

THE German Evangelical Church Diet, represented by two members of their Executive Committee, viz., Professor Dr. Dorner and Consistorial Councillor Noël, send brotherly greetings to the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance about to convene in New York City; with the expression of their heartfelt desire that in the battle against the dark powers of infidelity and superstition the bond of peace may draw closer and closer together all soldiers of the Lord on both sides of the great deep, and that to this end the approaching assembly may be blessed in its testimonies, prayers, and thanksgivings.

* [The German Church Diet was founded during the revolutionary commotions of 1848, and met for the first time over the graves of Luther and Melancthon in Wittenberg. It is a free society of Evangelical Christians in Germany, meeting from time to time for the discussion of subjects of common interest. It is the same for the various evangelical denominations of the German nation, that the Evangelical Alliance is for Evangelical Christians of all nationalities and tongues. It aimed first at a confederation of churches, but this idea has been abandoned.—P. S.]

In behalf of the Executive Committee of the German Evangelical Church Diet, the acting Vice-president:

D. P. RUD. KÖGEL, D.D.,
Chaplain to the King of Prussia.

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR
INNER MISSIONS OF THE GERMAN
EVANGELICAL CHURCH.

To the highly venerable Assembly of the Evangelical Alliance, to meet in New York in October next, the undersigned Central Committee, through its Vice-president, Dr. Dorner, of Berlin, and its worthy friend and agent, Pastor Krummacker, of Brandenburg, herewith respectfully bears its fraternal salutations.

These gentlemen have at our request accepted the commission to express to the highly venerable Assembly our warm interest in the deliberations, especially in those which pertain to the great work of Home Mission, and are of such vast importance to the Christian nations and the Evangelical Church in the present and the future.

Above all do we earnestly desire that the Assembly may be in the condition to assist in supplying the hosts of evangelical emigrants who annually arrive at your shores from all parts of Germany, with the blessings of evangelical worship, evangelical pastoral care, and evangelical schools, and to secure the same unto their children in their new home. What hitherto was possible to be done for these purposes in North America, partly by the joint assistance from Germany, for it we take occasion to express our sincerest thanks to those worthy and noble men who, with faith and many sacrifices, have co-operated with us. We pray them not to grow weary in their endeavors, and assure them of our readiness to work together with them for this end according to our strength and by all possible means. We beg the Assembly to furnish these gentlemen, Dr. Dorner and Pastor Krummacker, whom you will also recognize and cordially welcome as our representatives in your midst, with such thoughts and wishes as may be of importance for the spiritual interests of our evangelical countrymen, and ought to claim our attention and demand our action.

We pray that the Lord of the Church will fill the Assembly of the Evangelical Alliance with his Holy Spirit, and abundantly bless and direct it to the end that, in the midst of these serious times of conflict, his holy work of peace may prosper, and among all nations the kingdom of Jesus Christ be built up, to the praise of his name.

DR. WICHERN.

Berlin and Hamburg, July 24, 1873.

FROM THE EMPEROR WILLIAM OF
GERMANY.

At a private interview with his Majesty William I., Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, held at Bad Gastein, August 10, 1873, the Rev. Dr. Schaff, acting honorary secretary of the American branch of the Evangelical Alliance, after a full and free discussion of the principles and aims of the Evangelical Alliance and the programme of the General Conference, was authorized and requested to convey his Majesty's "cordial greeting and best wishes (*herzlichen Gruss und Segenswunsch*) to the General Conference to be held in New York, and to assure it of his entire sympathy with the evangelical principles and union efforts (*evangelische Grundsätze und Einheitsbestrebungen*) of the Alliance."

The Emperor desired it to be understood that he sustained the same friendly relation to the Alliance which his brother, King Frederick William IV. of Prussia, had publicly expressed in 1857, on the occasion of the General Conference then held at Berlin, when he hospitably entertained the delegates at his palace in Potsdam. It was his fervent wish and prayer that the approaching Conference might receive from above the spirit of wisdom and power, and lead to a closer union among Christians of all denominations and countries, which his Majesty felt to be of the utmost importance, especially in these times of growing conflict with infidelity on the one hand, and with superstition on the other. Only a united army can conquer the enemy and enjoy the fruits of victory. In laboring for true Christian union, we act in the spirit of Christ, who prayed for it before he offered himself as a sacrifice for the sins of the world. The Emperor also expressed his gratification that his chief chaplain, Dr. Hoffmann, and Professor Godet (the tutor of his only son, the Crown-prince of Germany) were to attend the Conference in New York, and said he would give Dr. Hoffmann every facility to do so; but this distinguished divine was then lying ill at Berlin, and died a few weeks afterward (Angst 28).

These expressions of interest in the Alliance on the part of the venerable Emperor were remarkably frank and cordial, and were repeated afterward by his Majesty at the dinner-table before several distinguished guests. They do credit to his personal character, and are of great weight in view of his official position as the royal patron of Evangelical Protestantism on the Continent of Europe.

FROM THE EVANGELICAL OBERKIRCHENRATH IN BERLIN.

THE Rev. Dr. Dorner conveyed to the Conference a message from Dr. Herrmann, President of the *Oberkirchenrath* (which is the

highest council of the United Evangelical Church of Prussia), sending, in behalf of this body, a cordial greeting to the General Conference, with the prayer that it may be richly blessed in its noble efforts to bring about a closer union among Christians of different lands and nations.

— FROM PROFESSOR ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE, VERSAILLES,

Member of the Institute of France.

Neuchatel, Sept. 12, 1873.

To the Rev. Dr. Schaff:

DEAR AND HONORED BROTHER,—You have asked from me a few lines, which you may submit to our brethren of every language and of every country whom the great festival of the Evangelical Alliance is about to assemble in New York.

I am happy to accede, were it only to be able to express to you and to all our brethren my deep regret at not being able to take part with them in this family celebration, and to enjoy upon earth that foretaste of heaven which is called *Unity in Christ*. But imperious duties detain me in France; they are all comprised in one, that of devoting myself entirely, in my impotence and weakness, to the regeneration of my unhappy country.

It is a solemn moment; never has union among Christians been more necessary, more desired by God; never, if it is realized, could it bear more blessed fruits; but (we can not repeat it too often) the world has its eye upon us. Evangelical Christians! it watches us, it studies us, to see what we will do; to follow us if we advance to a defined and blessed goal, to despise and disgrace us if we remain at a stand-still or retreat.

The crisis is universal in every domain—religions, political, and social. Here we have only to occupy ourselves with the first; our battle-field is religion. It is there we must conquer or perish.

Religion has already passed through *two* great crises: that of its founding, and that of its reform. It touches now upon a third, not less formidable, not less decisive. The question is to know if it is compatible with the needs and the tendencies of society in our days; if it has run its course, and must abdicate, to yield its place to the gross materialism which aspires to succeed it, seeing whether, putting itself at the head of modern civilization to purify it and permeate it with its spirit, it will conduct it toward new destinies.

It has converted barbarians; will it succeed in converting the civilized world?

Romanism, with the Council of the Vatican, has exhausted its vital principle. It has declared war against all the aspirations of the century; it has alienated from itself its

most intelligent and most reasoning adherents; it only retains blind votaries: in a word, it has ceased to be a religion; it is no longer any thing but a machine of war and government. And we Christians, we Protestants, are we fitted to inherit its privileges, to try and fill, in hearts and consciences, the place it has left vacant? I do not know what others will have to answer for their countries; but for France I answer, without hesitation, No! I say it in deep sadness, nothing is more melancholy than the aspect presented by Protestantism in the South, which I have twice visited and thoroughly examined since the war. Everywhere infidel pastors, or orthodox pastors who are in reality dead, doing still more evil in preventing souls starving for truth from leaving the Church and going elsewhere to seek the life they could not find in it. And if the pastors are dead, what shall I say of their eougregations?

The only cheering prospect in the midst of all this gloom is the movement which begins to work in several of these dead churches in the South of France. Living souls come out from them to form beside them a kind of *free church* to which the name only is wanting, and they group themselves round faithful pastors, supported, not by the State, but by the congregation. The great question of *Separation of Church and State* is floating in the air, and propounds itself where no one would dare propound it. It is everywhere at present, but above all in the little town from which I write, Neuchatel, in Switzerland, which perhaps will have the honor of being the first to present to the world the solution of this great discussion. As regards Romanism, it must no longer be studied in Rome, but in France. In Rome it stated its premises, but it applied them and put its maxims into practice in France. It no longer demands belief, but obedience from the souls it has enthralled. It is at variance with the State, at variance with the century. It has made a waste of the human soul, to enthrone itself upon the ruins!

But if it reigns in France at this moment, it is an ephemeral reign which can not last, for the bent of the spirit of the century is opposed to it. This does not mean that it is less to be feared for other countries. Banished from the new German empire, the Jesuits have invaded England, and threaten the United States, notwithstanding the Atlantic which separates them. In these two great nations (so dissimilar, and yet united by a common tie, the Bible, which serves as a base to all their social edifice), Romanism, grown more powerful beneath the shadow of the very liberties it wishes to destroy, attacks Protestantism to pervert and corrupt it. Therefore, we will say to our dear brethren assembled at New York, as we have

said for fifteen years to France, Beware of Romanism, under whatever name it disguises itself! Beware of that descent toward it, strewn with flowers, called Ritualism! But take care, also, not to imitate the Latin races, who, impeded in their flight by Romanism, know no other door of escape but unbelief. And nevertheless, even in France (which now is forcing itself to return to the Middle Ages, and to imitate every thing belonging to them except their faith), Romanism has lost much ground. The Republic has given it its death-blow, above all among the less enlightened classes, where, unhappily, it has too often killed faith at the same time. Our radicals, entering as if from below, have not understood that there are no durable liberties but those which are founded on beliefs. Poor France! a void is by degrees taking possession of souls. Because of her having passed from one extreme to another, and having built only to overthrow, she has finished by believing in nothing, not even in herself, and attacks the very basis of society in the three columns which support it—God, the family, and property. Where is the remedy for all these evils? There is but one, and you, Christians of all countries, assembled at New York, you have it in your hands. It is the Bible, the Word of God. In almost nineteen centuries that the Gospel has existed, has it lost its vigor? has its immortal youth faded? No; it is the same yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow—the same for eternity. If it no longer performs miracles, it is not Christ's fault, but that of his disciples. Jesus walks still upon the waters, but Peter no longer ventures to go to him; he looks at the tempest, and not at his Saviour; and, nevertheless, when all reels around us, when society appears to tremble upon its foundations, the secret for walking with a firm step on this moving ground, where Peter only sinks because he doubts, is "to look to Jesus!"

ROSSEEUW ST. HILAIRE.

FROM THE REV. ALEXANDER DUFF,
D.D., LL.D.

Extract from a Letter to Hon. George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, dated at Edinburgh, 11th September, 1873.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER IN THE LORD,—From what you state, you will, in a day or two, be leaving the shores of this "Old World" of ours for those of your own "New World" across the Atlantic. Would that it were in my power to accompany you! for my heart always warms toward America whenever I recall to mind the multiplied kindnesses which I once experienced at the hands of yourself and other noble Christian brethren in that great land. But, from pre-

vious communications, you know how, under present circumstances, it is impracticable for me to give effect to my wishes.

Soon in New York—"The Empire City," as I was wont to hear it called—will assemble the great Evangelical Congress, toward which, for a week, will be converging the eyes of all Christendom, as toward a focus of concentrated light and influence. And my fervent prayer is, that the presence and illumination of the Holy Spirit may be abundantly experienced in the midst of it.

In the programme of subjects to be discussed, I find that the subject of missions, or that of the world's evangelization, occupies a deservedly conspicuous place. Indeed, if properly viewed in the light of Scripture, it is the grandest of all subjects; since the accomplishment of the object contemplated therein is *the one* for which the world itself is preserved in being, and in the consummation of which alone the divine and glorified Redeemer will behold of the travail of his soul and be satisfied. I do trust, therefore, that it will be solemnly viewed, and worthily treated in all its height and depth, and length and breadth! seeing that the world's evangelization includes not only that of avowed heathendom, with its eight hundred millions, but also that of nominal Christendom, with its hundreds of millions, who are members of superstitious and idolatrous communities, or wrapped up in the folds of cold indifferencism or open infidelity, or wallowing in the filth and mire of abominable wickedness. Yea, more! There is a true sense in which, according to the remark of one of the holiest of your own divines, now, alas! no more, the purest of even our Protestant churches need not only to be revived, but reconverted, or converted again; that is, brought back to a state of real Scriptural humility, simplicity, holiness, and love.

Now, the difficulties in the way of this twofold evangelization of the professing Church of Christ and the heathen world are so enormous, alike in number and in magnitude, that I do not think they can possibly be exaggerated. I say this emphatically, because if there be, as is sometimes alleged, in some quarters a tendency to depict them in colors that are too dark, there is assuredly in other quarters a tendency to make comparatively light of them, and so to magnify partial successes as to make it appear that the whole world is rapidly on the highway toward easy and complete evangelization.

The latter tendency I can not but regard as a fatal and deadly one, fraught with almost infinite mischief; lulling the Church of Christ asleep in the bosom of inaction and carnal self-complacency, instead of rousing it into tenfold or a hundred-fold greater activity and energy in confronting the multitudinous foes that are now marshaled in

battle array against the cause of truth and righteousness throughout all the realms of earth, under the leadership of the apostate spirit who now "worketh in the children of disobedience."

Many seem to be afraid of looking at, or attempting to realize, the formidableness of these opposing forces, lest discouragement, depression, and dismay should surge over the ranks of the sacramental host, under the banner of our adored Emmanuel. Such apprehension, however, is not only an indication of base cowardliness, but of feeble faith, or a total want of faith, in Jehovah's eternal purposes and promises. Looking steadfastly at these, and placing implicit reliance on them, as revealed in his holy oracles, we have nothing to fear or dread, even if the difficulties in the way were vastly greater, and the forces arrayed against us vastly mightier than they really are. By these we are assured, in terms the clearest and most positive, that the most glowing visions of the prophetic muse relative to the ultimate destruction of all error and sin, and the universal reign of truth and righteousness, shall one day be triumphantly realized.

No matter, then, though now there may seem to be oceans of difficulties, and mountains of impossibilities in the way, faith—a living faith in Jehovah's purposes and promises—ought to prevail, and intensify the assurance that, in his own way and time, God's omnipotency will interpose and level these mountains, roll out these oceans into emptiness, rend the heavens, and pour down the richest effusions of the Spirit's grace over a ransomed and gladdened world.

While, then, gratefully acknowledging God's sovereign goodness, and fervently thanking him for any blessing which he may have undeservedly bestowed on her poor and unworthy labors in times past, it surely is the duty, the paramount duty, of the Evangelical Church of Christ throughout all her borders, in obedience to the Divine command, to awake and arise from present sloth and slumber; and forgetting the things that are behind in the sphere of evangelizing operations at home and abroad, because of their littleness, and paltriness, and utter inadequacy, go forth in the heroic spirit of prophets and apostles, confessors and martyrs, to the spiritual conquest of the nations, resolved, through all-sustaining grace, never, never to relax, but rather, more and more to increase her self-sacrificing efforts until the citadels of sin and Satan in every land be utterly demolished, and all the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ.

And now "Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ."

Ever, very affectionately yours,
ALEXANDER DUFF.

FROM PROFESSOR J. I. DOEDES, D.D.

Utrecht, Holland, Aug., 1873.

To the Honorable President of the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at New York:

HONORED SIR,—I can not abstain from sending the Conference now held at New York, a word of sympathy with my best wishes.

Feeling gratified to get a special invitation to attend the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, I should have liked very much to meet the brethren and hear their interesting accounts, and to take an active part myself in all that is to be done in order to promote the glorious aim the Conference has in view. But the distance, as well as my academic duties, keeps me back.

However, though I can not be present, I take the greatest interest in the labors of the Conference. With the utmost sympathy I look at the aim and strivings of the Evangelical Alliance—the more so in these days, now that in Holland, at least, not a few try to bring about an ecclesiastical alliance between those who confess the Christ of the Holy Scripture and the adherents of modern liberalism. Averse to an official ecclesiastical alliance, I highly approve of each endeavor to bring together and fraternize those who love the same Saviour of the world, and long to see the same Gospel of God's grace in Jesus Christ preached and professed. No amalgamation of the heterogeneous elements, but free co-operation of the evangelical churches, and spiritual union of all who desire to stand firm in their belief in "the Divine-human Person and atoning work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as the only and sufficient source of salvation, as the heart and soul of Christianity, and as the centre of all true Christian union and fellowship." By this we truly may expect, with God's blessing, prosperity and bliss for the evangelical churches.

And now, wishing your Conference may not be in vain, but may strengthen the hearts of all who are present, I take leave, and remain yours in Christ, our common Lord and Saviour,

J. I. DOEDES,
Prof. of Theol., Univ. of Utrecht.

FROM THE HONORABLE ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D.

A Letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. William Adams, Chairman of the Committee on the Programme.

Brookline (Boston), Oct. 11, 1873.

MY DEAR DR. ADAMS,—I owed to your kindness the first invitation, which I received some months ago, to be present at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance,

and which I was obliged to decline. More recently I gave my consent most gladly that my name should be included in the organization of the meeting, with the full understanding that it would be out of my power to be present. But as I have read, from day to day, the stirring reports of what has been said and done during the past week, I have regretted sincerely that I could not have broken away from a complication of engagements at home, and have run on, even at the eleventh hour, to manifest my sympathy in the objects and in the utterances of the occasion.

I should have eagerly embraced the opportunity to offer my most grateful acknowledgments to those who had thought me worthy to be named in your list of Vice-presidents—an honor which I could not but hold all the more distinguished and all the more dear, as associating me in some humble measure with the venerable President of your Assembly, Dr. Woolsey, whose signal and most successful labors in every good cause, whether religious, literary, educational, or international, have given him a deserved pre-eminence, which I should rejoice to have publicly recognized. I confess that my heart burned within me to be at his side when those thrilling words of his opening address came leaping over the telegraphic wires: "We are here, each one of us, whatever our form of worship, whatever our discipline, whatever our old recollections derived from our Christian forefathers, we are here as one body; with separate badges and banners, it may be, to mark our national or denominational differences, but all recognizing our supreme allegiance to one great standard of the Cross." This was the substance, if not the exact language, of an address which gave the key-note to all which followed.

I can not but feel, my dear sir, that there has been something of unspeakable impressiveness and grandeur in this multitudinous gathering from all quarters of our country and of the world, which New York has been privileged to witness. We have been accustomed of late years to vast assemblies, here and elsewhere. We have been entertained, almost to satiety, with what have been called "monster meetings," in almost all regions of the earth, and especially in our own region. We have seen grand exhibitions of art and industry in the principal cities of Europe and America—in Paris, in London, in New York, and Boston, and more lately in Vienna. We have seen the votaries of agriculture, on our own and other soils, rallying together to exhibit the triumphs and to advance the interests of their own pre-eminent department of labor. We have seen, almost annually, British associations and American associations of Science meeting together to compare opinions, to

proclaim results, and to encourage investigation and research. Grand musical jubilees, too, for which the most accomplished and renowned artists, and the most gigantic chorus-bands, have been enlisted, are no strangers to our own or other lands. Almost every interest among worldly occupations and pursuits, civil and military, political, literary, scientific, and mechanic, has heretofore had its mass meetings or conventions, and has challenged and chained the attention and sympathy of mankind by appeals to the eye or to the ear.

But the wonderful gathering at New York, which is just now about to separate, has been, I need not say, of a different sort, and in a different spirit. It was convened to discuss no mere secular subjects, to advance no mere material interests. It assembled in no pride of human invention or human intellect. The learning of Germany, the piety of Switzerland, the roused religious inquiry of France or Spain or Italy, the scholarship and eloquence of English universities or cathedrals or Independent Churches, met together for no purpose of competition or rivalry, and with no view to ostentatious display. No contests were to be waged; no triumphs to be achieved; no prizes to be won, save only that "prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus," toward which the great apostle represented himself as so eagerly pressing. All, all came together to lay aside for a time the differences which had so long separated them, and to remember only the better and higher things in which they agreed. They met to give public and united recognition of the truth, that religion is above all dogmas, precious as some of those dogmas may be; that faith is above all forms, dear as many of those forms may be; that postures and vestments and prayer-books are secondary matters, strongly as those prayer-books may be cherished, and justly as they may be prized; that unity and uniformity are two different things; that there may be separation without estrangement; antagonism, even, without alienation; and that the cause of Christ and his kingdom, and his Church universal, "which is the blessed company of all faithful people," is to be preferred far, far above the cause of any particular church, however venerable its history, or however valuable its organization.

Who can overestimate the importance and the influence of such a meeting—even if its only effect were to draw men out for a time from the narrow circles of their own denominations; to impress upon them that those circles are, after all, concentric circles, whose radii reach back alike to one and the same great Sun of righteousness; and thus to give them a broader margin and a wider circumference for their Christian charity and their Christian fellowship!

"Surely it is a strange fact," wrote an Episcopal clergyman of an English church to me, not many weeks ago, "and one pregnant with hope for the yet unchristianized portions of the earth, that, in the good providence of God, the Sultan of Turkey, the Khedive of Egypt, ambassadors of Japan, and the Shah of Persia—potentates heretofore shut up in their unapproachable exclusiveness—should be moved by a desire to visit the nations of Europe. But how should it shame us that we are unprepared, by our unhappy divisions, to exhibit the oneness of the 'truth as it is in Jesus,' and so render nugatory our blessed Lord's prayer that his disciples may 'all be one, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me!'"

And how just and foreible were the words of the excellent Archbishop of Canterbury, in the letter brought over by our friend the learned and liberal Dean of that cathedral, whose presence has added so much to the occasion: "Never," says the Primate of all England—"never since the Reformation has it been more important that Christian men should learn to labor with one another—that they should, by the manifestation of their union in faith and good wishes, offer effectual opposition to the growing purposes of superstition and infidelity. And never," he adds, "has this union been more earnestly longed for than in the present day."

I owe you an apology, my dear Dr. Adams, for so long a letter, recapitulating what is so familiar to you already. But as you had more than once most kindly urged my attendance at the meeting, you will know how to pardon my trespassing upon you. I desired to show you how deeply the meeting has impressed me as a churchman and as a layman; and to give you, too, the text upon which I should have ventured to offer a few words, if I could have succeeded in getting to New York even in season for the closing exercises to-morrow night.

It was my good fortune to see Professor Christlieb for a few moments before he went on to New York, and I have read his masterly essay with the greatest interest. The Dean of Canterbury passed a day with me.

Let me only hope, in conclusion, that the spirit which has animated the delegates may be kindled in millions of other hearts, and that to this great meeting in New York may be traced hereafter the lighting up anew of a flame of Christian faith and hope and charity which may catch and spread throughout the world, and which neither superstition nor infidelity shall be able to extinguish or withstand.

Believe me, reverend and dear sir, with the highest respect and regard, yours sincerely,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

Rev. WILLIAM ADAMS, D.D.

APPENDIX II.

REPORT OF PROGRAMME COMMITTEE,

WITH

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS AND RESOLUTIONS.

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APPENDIX II.

CLOSING REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PROGRAMME.

At the closing session, the Rev. Dr. John Hall, in behalf of the Programme Committee, made the following report:

Christian friends have forwarded to the Committee on the Programme papers and suggestions, on which it is deemed proper and respectful to make a report here, for the satisfaction of those who have opened communication with the Alliance in this manner, and for the purpose of completing the materials of the volume or volumes which will constitute the permanent record of this Conference. And it is proper to recall, in this connection, that the Conference does not pass resolutions of a legislative character. It is, in its own department, precisely identical with those great assemblies of students of science or of social reform whom observation and experience have taught that comparison of views, statement of opinions, and consequent impulse to thought and inquiry, are adequate results of their meetings and ample rewards for their labors.

In making their final announcements to the Conference, the Committee on the Programme beg leave to say that in all their preparatory arrangements it was their honest aim and endeavor to exercise the utmost impartiality as regards denominations, nationalities, and sections. Few can be aware of the manifold difficulties to be surmounted in realizing such an ideal, involving frequent correspondence with persons dispersed over two continents, and the amount of time and labor actually expended on the general programme. If this programme does not exhibit such an exact adjustment and balancing of devious interests as is entirely satisfactory to all, it must be borne in mind that the names of several persons for whom an appropriate place was provided do not appear in this document solely because they disappointed the confident expectations of the Committee at an hour too late to arrange for substitutes.

No. 1. A paper has been presented by the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The Committee recommend that an opportunity be afforded to

Mr. Henry Bergh, the President of the Society, to make a concise statement to the Conference, and have arranged accordingly.

No. 2. In regard to the important subjects of war and peaceful arbitration, concerning which several memorials from England and the United States have been presented, the Committee report that these topics, together with pauperism, its causes and remedies (too important to be overlooked by the Evangelical Alliance), had been committed to persons of the highest ability, whose presence was expected till within a few days of the opening of the Conference; and with this explanation they recommend that the memorials* now referred to be printed in their proper place in the proceedings of the Conference.

No. 3. Three papers have come from the Rochester branch of the Alliance in relation to infringements of the law of toleration in a nominally Christian country. In the judgment of the Committee, the interests of the sufferers would not be promoted, nor the cause of toleration served, by giving publicity to this report at the present time; and the Committee recommend that the papers be handed to the Alliance here, with the request that they be the subject of inquiry and of communication with the British Alliance, in order to concerted and efficient action, should cause appear.

No. 4. A careful paper on the subject of the Church of Rome in Canada, by Mr. Murray, the Committee recommend to be taken as read, and handed to the editor of the forthcoming volume.†

No. 5. The same recommendation is made in reference to a communication from the Rev. James Long, on the Christian Aspects of Russian Progress in Asia—a subject little thought of, and of great practical importance.

No. 6. A communication has been received from a newly-formed Branch in Brazil, conceived in the best spirit, and expressing regret that a personal representative could not be sent. The Committee recommend

* [One of these papers came to the editor's hands incomplete and without any indication of its authorship, and hence has been omitted.—*Ed.*]

† [This paper was returned to the author at his own request.—*Ed.*]

the Branch for enrollment, and that a copy of the report, when issued, be sent to its Corresponding Secretary.

No. 7. Two connected communications in French have been received from the Sabbath Committee of Geneva, signed A. Lombard, with a plan for concerted action among Sabbath Committees in Europe and America. The Committee recommend that these be referred to the Sabbath Committee of this city.

No. 8. A paper from the Antislavery Society of London, bearing upon the slave-trade in Egypt and elsewhere, is recommended for insertion in the volume of reports, as a means of keeping this fearful evil before the public mind, and promoting that civil and religious liberty, the furtherance of which is one distinctive aim of the Evangelical Alliance.

No. 9. The same recommendation is made as to a paper from the Turkish branch, on the opium trade.

PEACEFUL ARBITRATION.

To the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at New York:

DEAR FRIENDS,—We, the Committee of the London Peace Society, representing a considerable body of persons who are united together, irrespective of religious or political distinctions, for the one sole purpose of promoting peace on earth and good-will among men, venture respectfully, but most earnestly, to call the attention of the Conference to a question scarcely second in importance or urgency to any that can engage the deliberations of your great Assembly. As those who are associated to promote Christian union among men of all nations, the relations which exist between those nations as organized communities can not be a matter outside the province or the sympathies of such a body as yours; and as Christians, it is impossible that the present state of those relations generally can be regarded by you with any other than feelings of profound humiliation and sorrow. No one can deny that Christianity is emphatically a religion of peace and charity and brotherly love. No one can deny that the obvious tendency, as the avowed design of its teaching, is not only to unite men with God, but to unite them with each other, without regard to diversities of race or country or language, by virtue of the common fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of Christ. No one can deny that among the glorious hopes of the future on which it has taught humanity to rely, none are more clear and precise than those which relate to the disappearance of war and the establishment of universal peace.

But, alas! how sad is the contrast of what ought to be and what actually is. Near the

end of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, we find the earth, and even that part of the earth which professes to submit to Christian authority, filled with violence and blood. Within the last twenty years, those nations who collectively call themselves Christendom have been engaged in six desolating and sanguinary wars, which have involved the sacrifice of between two and three millions of human lives, while the waste and destruction of property, and the suffering and demoralization they have occasioned, are absolutely incalculable.

And what is still more sad and disheartening, when the actual conflicts have ceased, we find the studies, the labors, and the resources of peace incessantly directed to extending and perfecting an enormous war organization, as though the chief end of human life is to fight and to prepare for fighting. It is estimated that there are between four and five millions of the picked men of Europe dedicated wholly to the service of war, besides as many more who are partly trained to the use of arms. The cost, direct and indirect, to European nations of these armaments, and the interest of their war debts, can not be less than £500,000,000 sterling annually, while they are growing and, according to the present race of emulation, must grow rapidly year after year.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the evils of this system of armed rivalry. It ulcerates the heart of nations with mutual terror, hatred, and jealousy. It is the means of diffusing through society an amount of immorality and vice which it is fearful to contemplate. It diverts to purposes of destruction incalculable resources in men and money which might otherwise be devoted to the moral and material amelioration of the people, and to the furtherance of the great objects of Christian civilization. It mocks the spirit of the Gospel and belies the hopes it has held forth to the world, and gives ample scope to the infidel and the heathen to scoff at its pretensions and promises as a religion of peace.

Is it not time, then, that the Christian Church should gird itself to confront and resist this portentous system? Is it becoming that it should stand as, alas! it has too long stood, dumb and cowed in the presence of an evil so appalling, uttering at best only faint and faltering words of general lamentation, too often conniving at it, if not using in reference to it, language of direct apology and sanction?

We appeal to the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at New York to lift up its voice like a trumpet, and that with no uncertain sound, in favor of international peace. A signal, a glorious illustration has been recently given, by the example of Great Britain and the United States, of the fact, that there are other means than an appeal to the sword

by which Christian nations can settle their differences—means more in accordance with reason and justice, humanity and religion. And still more recently the British House of Commons has, by a deliberate vote, recognized as susceptible of general application the principle which in that instance was applied with such auspicious results.

May we not hope that a voice may issue from the bosom of your Conference which may strengthen the hands of those who, in the face of great opposition and manifold discouragements, are laboring to establish the dominion of right over might, to substitute the reign of law in the place of brute force, in regulating the relations and intercourse of civilized states?

HENRY PEASE, *President.*

CHARLES WISE, *Treasurer.*

HENRY RICHARD, *Secretary.*

Offices of the Peace Society,
19 New Broad Street,
London, September 3d, 1873.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA, IN RELATION TO THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN THE EAST.

By the REV. J. LONG, Church Missionary in Calcutta.

MUCH has been written on the political and military aspects of Russia in the East, but scarcely any thing on what is, for Christian men, a very important subject :

THE PRESENT POSITION OF RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA IN RELATION TO THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN THE EAST.

I myself having labored twenty-eight years in India as a missionary, and having visited Russia twice—in 1863 for five months, and lately for fifteen months—the above question has constantly come before me in relation to mission work. I have discussed it with many Russians as well as Englishmen, and have published several pamphlets on the subject. I regret it is not in abler hands, but I will do my best to open it in its bearings on Christianity.

The present position of Russia in Central Asia is practically that of a *neighbor* to England in her Indian dominions. The recent conquest of Khiva and Bokhara has given Russia a strong point on which to move either for war or peaceable development in relation to England and the East.

Russia, with a great future before her in respect to extension of dominion down to Eastern Turkistan and the Chinese Wall, is laying slowly but surely the foundations of a mighty Eastern empire in connection with Central Asia, as England has already done in Southern Asia.

Arising out of this new state of things, the great problem is, "Are these two great

empires to be like France and Germany, thwarting and impeding each other? are they to be military rivals, as France and England were in the last century, pursuing a policy of antagonism destructive to the real interests of both in the East? Or are they to pursue a nobler career—to rival each other in the arts of peace, in improving the native races, in giving that protection of life and property so necessary as the basis of missionary, mercantile, and philanthropic efforts; to set an example of what good Christian government is; and to extinguish the last glimmering rays of hope in Asiatic feudalism and in Islamism, whose strength has been, like that of Romanism, in maintaining the temporal power?

The recent conquest of Khiva by Russia, like the fall of Bokhara—"The Holy"—is a severe blow to Mohammedanism. England has brought down Moslem pride in Delhi and Lakhnan, as Russia is now doing in Samarcaud and Khiva.

Islam is struggling to recover lost power in Asia. In Central Asia the Moslem chiefs and priests proclaimed a *jehad*, or holy war, against Russia that has signally failed, as has the corresponding Wahati movement in India. The Euphrates is drying up for the kings of the East to pass over. They have thrown their last stake now, in *exciting the mutual jealousies of England and Russia*, hoping, in the spirit of the common proverb, "When rognes fall out, honest men come by their own."

As allies with the Mohammedans, in making "a cat's-paw" of England and Russia, are all the millions in Asia who are opposed to regular government and to industrious habits, and who, like the *sipahis* of the Indian mutiny, owl-like, shun the light of Christian civilization—the adherents of fallen, worn-out dynasties—the priesthood of a decaying idolatry—those who have nothing to lose and every thing to gain by revolution, who wish for a life of plunder and bloodshed—all these exult like the petrel in prospect of the storm, hoping it might redress their desperate fortunes; they look to war as the straw for the drowning man. With these are allied all native princes and chiefs who wish to rule their subjects with a rod of iron, like the Khan of Khiva, who appealed to England for support against Russia; but England wisely declined to take any step to support such a barbarous government.

I have lived in intimate intercourse with natives in India for more than a quarter of a century; and of all the arguments brought by them against Christianity, the one I found most difficult to meet was this: If your religion be so good, how is it that Christians have acted so bad? The history of Christian nations is one series of wars; the annals of Europe are written in blood. See how these Christians hate one another!

Should two such empires as those of England and Russia come into collision in Asia, or maintain a hostile policy, what additional food will be given to these objections?

England is doing a great work in India in promoting Christianity and civilization, and in training up the natives for self-government: much of this would be paralyzed by a hostile policy between England and Russia.

America and Germany have an interest in this question in relation to their mercantile and missionary establishments, which flourish under the ægis of British protection.

Russia is making great progress since her glorious work of self-emanicipation. The Russia of the present day is very different from the Russia of Nicholas, and her *spirit of reform deserves our thorough sympathy*. I have made the tour of Russia from the Caucasus to Finland, and have observed with deep interest the contrast the Russian Church presents to the Romish, in her having an open Bible: everywhere I saw encouragement given to the circulation of the Scriptures. The Russian Church is not bound by a Council of Trent, or shackled by the ecclesiastical despotism of a papacy; there is no law of celibacy isolating her priesthood from the laity; but much of the present and proposed reform would be checked by a war, or mere military objects.

It is obvious, then, what advantages would arise from a good understanding between Russia and England—the two great empires of Asia—in enabling them to co-operate with each other against the common foe of ignorance, feudal oppression, the cruel rites of paganism, and the destructive tendencies of Islamism.

The governments of England and Russia are in friendly relations; and were the peoples of both empires to know each other better, they would be still more so. In this respect the visit of the Czarowitz to England and the proposed marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh to the Emperor of Russia's only daughter, are auxiliaries to the cause of peace. Englishmen and Russians should see more of each other.

But the shield has a reverse. While the Russian *people* is pacific, and the Czar a friend of peace, there is a strong military party in Russia, influential in the press, whose policy is aggressive and intriguing in Central Asia, looking forward to a war ultimately with England on Asiatic questions. This party is reckless, for it has not to pay the costs or penalties of war. The Russian press, ignorant of Asiatic affairs, is too much influenced by this party, and is becoming more opposed to England, thinking she is averse to Russian progress in Asia. On the other hand, England is jealous of any Russian encroachment that

may endanger the stability of her Indian empire by undermining her outworks, and by the exercise of a disturbing power in India, while little is known in England of the progress of peaceful reform in Russia.

I am neither an alarmist nor a Russophobic; but the political aspect looks lowering—there are grave issues at hand. In our present relations, ambitious generals or intriguing diplomatists may any day endanger peace between the two empires.

Many pamphlets have been written on the Central Asia question; the majority take only the military aspect of the question, that England and Russia must some day fight about Central Asia, ignoring the mutual interests of both countries.

If Christian men leave this important question in the hands of military men, tortuous diplomatists, or mere secular politicians, natural animosities and susceptibilities may be so inflamed that England and Russia, like as in the Crimean war, may drift into, or be driven by an unenlightened public opinion into war, or an armed peace almost as bad as war.

The friends of Christianity and civilization in the East must take this up. We know that on the recent Alabama question their influence had something to do with the peaceful solution of the difficulty, which saved two kindred nations from the horrors of war.

An enlightened public opinion must be brought to bear on the action of diplomats, and a counter action must be used against military writers on both sides who regard a state of war as the natural condition of society. The public mind must be indoctrinated with the view that the points in which England and Russia agree are far more important than those in which they differ; that, as the two leading Christian empires of Asia, their real interest is to welcome each other as co-workers; that England should not view with such jealousy Russian advances in Asia, nor should Russia encroach too closely on the Indian frontier; that both empires have sea-room enough in Asia, and they should so act that contact may not lead to collision.

As one of the means for rousing public attention to this side of the question, the plan of prize essays may be of use. A prize of from £300 to £500 might be offered for the best essay, or essays, on the following subject:

A good understanding between England and Russia on the Central Asia question of great importance to the spread of Christianity and civilization in the East. The obstacles to this good understanding, and the best way of removing them.

The very advertising this subject in the leading journals of Europe would arouse attention to this aspect of the question, which

has, strange to say, been so much overlooked. Men have written as if the only solution of the problem was the *ultima ratio regum*—war.

The present time is favorable, as the two governments of England and Russia have shown in their recent correspondence on the Central Asia question a calm and peaceable spirit. It is not when men's passions are inflamed, and the storm of war rushes the quiet voice of calm discussion that the question can be raised.

The writers for the prize essay should treat, not of mere platitudes on the advantages of peace in general, but of peace between England and Russia; they should point out that the past relations of England and Russia have, with the exception of the Crimean war, been on a friendly footing; that in Europe commercial, social, literary, and religious ties tend to maintain that friendly footing, seenred still more by the spirit of reform in Russia; that in Asia friendly relations might condnee most powerfully, not only to the moral and material interests of both empires in Asia, but might also serve as a weapon against their common foe—Asiatic barbarism, ignorance, superstition, the tyranny of native princes and chiefs; that nations may be on friendly relations, though not agreeing in all points of policy.

But the writers should grapple mainly with the best modes of removing the chief obstacles to this good understanding—viz., the influence of political and military agents on the frontiers in intriguing, sowing dissensions on both sides; a tortuous, double-dealing diplomaey, which regards patriotism as hating other countries; the Press, fed by correspondents who love to fish in troubled waters, and to publish sensational articles; the Turkish question as connected with the Central Asia one; the Russian public's ignorance of the great moral and material improvements carried on by England in India; the English public's corresponding ignorance of the reforms being worked out in Russia, and of Russia's natural and necessary tendency to development in an easterly direction; the unsettled condition of the Persian and Afghan frontiers.

Much of the future progress of Christianity and civilization in Asia may depend on a good understanding between England and Russia; the points in which they agree are far more important than those in which they differ; and both should remember that the eyes of the Moslem world now regard a rupture between England and Russia as the only means of their regaining lost power. The crescent and the cross are placed face to face.

CONCERTED ACTION ON SUNDAY LEGISLATION.

[A communication to the Conference was presented by Professor Pronier from Mr. Alexander Lombard, of Geneva, President of the Swiss Society for the sanctification of the Lord's day, inviting the Conference to take some action in favor of securing to the working classes of Europe the benefits of the weekly rest-day, and inclosing a draft of such a measure as it was hoped the Conference would adopt. As the Conference was precluded by its rules from recommending or taking such action, this communication and the accompanying paper were referred to the New York Sabbath Committee; but in view of the importance of the subject, and in justice to the author, they are here inserted.—*Ed.*]

Geneva, August 1, 1873.

To the Committee of the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at New York:

DEAR AND HONORED BRETHERN IN CHRIST,
—As I am unable to comply with the kind invitation of the Committee of the Conference about to be held in New York, I must transfer to others the duty of representing our society. I can not do better than to charge with this mission my honored friends, Professor Pronier and Pastor Coulin, who are delegated to your Conference by the Evangelical Alliance of this city.

They will be very glad, I am sure, to early word to you in our name, and to aid in carrying out the views formally expressed by the Conference of 1867, at Amsterdam, which I with certain friends proposed.

It is a result more and more to be desired, that a joint arrangement be made on a practicable basis for an energetic and united action before the political authorities and the managers of the great industries, for the purpose of securing to every man the enjoyment of his weekly rest-day, and the benefits temporal and spiritual of the Lord's day.

Since it is not permitted me to make my feeble voice heard among you, and since the thoughts expressed in my essay on "the State and Sunday Laws," transmitted at your request, in 1870, do not fully meet the present requirement, I dare to hope that at any rate the essential result which our society proposes will be reached in some measure, and that the questions relating to the Christian and social functions of the Lord's day will be examined with the attention they deserve. I know that they have place in your Conferences, and that Christian men qualified for the task have been designated by your Committee to treat them; but what I must needs wish is that some more substantial results follow from your Conference than from that at Amsterdam. If the basis of an accord is once fixed, it will devolve on you to carry it into effect, and, with the help of our God, we love to hope that the revival of the divine institution of the Lord's day in Europe, and everywhere, will date from the Conference at New York.

Receive, dear and honored brethren in Christ, the expression of my respectful consideration,

ALEXANDER LOMBARD,
President of the Geneva Committee, etc.

ACTION PROPOSED TO BE TAKEN BY THE
GENERAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK.

The General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at New York, in view of the resolution with reference to the Lord's day, adopted at Amsterdam in 1867, and desirous of advancing the cause of the weekly rest-day in Europe, and of obtaining for the working classes a participation in its temporal and spiritual benefits, resolves as follows:

Resolved, That the Committee of the Evangelical Alliance of New York is invited to put itself in communication with similar committees in Europe, and to send delegates to act unitedly with them in suitable ways for the purpose of obtaining from governments and the managers of the great industries some practical measures for securing respect to the holy day, and for granting to those who are deprived thereof their enjoyment of its privileges.

WORKING-MEN'S LORD'S DAY REST
ASSOCIATION.

Object: To secure to the People their natural and Scriptural right to the rest of the Lord's Day.

President: The Right Honorable The Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.

To the Conference of Christians of all Nations assembled in New York:

MR. CHARLES REED, Member of Parliament, and Vice-president of the above Association, and Mr. James Girdlestone, Chairman of its Committee (tried friends of the cause), having announced their intention of attending the Conference, the Committee commends them to the brethren assembled, and desires to send through them their brotherly greeting.

The Committee recognizes the perpetual obligation of the Divine Law of holy rest on the Lord's day, and is convinced that this rest is one of the natural and Scriptural rights of man.

The Committee acknowledges with gratitude the civil laws in the United States and England that preserve the day of rest for the people of both nations, and believes that much of their prosperity is due to the national observance of the day.

The Committee deeply regrets that in so many ways the Sabbath is desecrated, and that so many thousands of our fellow-men are unnecessarily required to labor on that day, and earnestly hopes that the Conference will not separate without a declaration of opinion on this most important subject.

[Adopted at a special meeting of the Committee, held on the 11th September, 1873.]

CHARLES HILL, *Secretary*,
13 Bedford Row, London, W. C.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
THE DEFENSE OF THE CHRISTIAN
FAITH.

Proposed by the Rev. Dr. VAN OOSTERZEE, Professor of Theology at Utrecht, Holland.

THE Rev. Dr. M. Cohen Stuart, of Rotterdam, laid before the Programme Committee of the General Conference, at the request of the Rev. Dr. van Oosterzee, who was unavoidably absent, a printed communication, the substance of which is contained in the following extract:

"When, in the month of July, 1871, deputies from different branches of the Evangelical Alliance met together in Stuttgart, in order to make an effort in behalf of the religious freedom of their fellow-Christians in the Baltic provinces of Russia, and some days went by while we were waiting for the desired audience, the suggestion was made by one of those present, and earnestly supported by others, that the exceptional occasion of Christian friends from all parts of Europe and America bound to each other by unity of spirit being met together might still, in another way and for another aim than that which had brought us thither, be made useful for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.

"All unanimously felt the high importance of the time in which we actually live, and acknowledged, without reserve, that never, since the establishment of Christ's Church, had the spirit of forsaking and assailing the Gospel been so daring and dangerous as in this second half of the nineteenth century. All agreed in the conviction that not merely a part of religious truth, one or other dogmatic formula or Church confession, however important in itself, is now called in question, but that even the maintenance of those really fundamental truths on which the whole belief in Christian revelation at all times was founded—yes, of those great principles on which necessarily rests every confession of religion whatever—was at stake. They all felt that it might be called a good and holy work if Christians from different parts of the world were to join for the defense and maintenance of the faith in these days of struggle, thereto uniting and concentrating as much as possible all the forces which Christian science in various lands and churches would be able to supply.

"The motion for establishing an *International Association for the defense of the Christian faith against its actual aggressors*, brought forward by the writer of these lines, and eloquently and urgently seconded by others with various arguments, was carried; and the undersigned was deputed to submit to the different branches of the Evangelical Alliance, and to other corporations and individuals from whom sympathy and support might be expected, the suggestion which was

made, in order by these means to lay the first foundation for a more elaborate plan.

"This International Association, according to the spirit in which the proposition was made, ought to rest on the principles of an unshaken belief in the main facts and truths of the Gospel, but at the same time on those of true Christian love and toleration, and therefore not present a limited confessional, but a universal and cosmopolite character. As its aim, it ought to consider the thetic-apologetic maintenance of those foundations on which religion in general, and revelation more especially, is grounded, and therefore be fixed on the basis of the *historical revelation of God in Jesus Christ, in its supernatural and ethical character*. It would be its task to take notice of, and join with all that is done in various lands and churches for the furtherance of the same object, in order to co-operate with these as much as possible, so as to become a *central point* for divers endeavors now often too much isolated, taking thus an independent and prominent place, not against, but among others. The Association should, moreover, have at its disposal a fund, which, duly administered, might serve for a liberal reward for prize essays called forth by the Association, and judged by the most competent authorities. It is proposed to form a Board consisting of ten or twelve men from different countries in Europe and America, best known in the domain of theological, and especially apologetic science, which could meet perhaps once a year, and whose duty it would be to promote the publication of various apologetic writings bearing a popular, but at the same time, truly scientific character. Good translations of different existing apologetic works, now often confined to the narrow circle of one country, would seem advisable too. In a word, an *international apologetic intercourse* would in this way be promoted in defiance of the power of unbelief, for the strengthening of Christian faith, and to the glory of Him who, according to the prophetic word, "shall reign in the midst of his foes."

J. J. VAN OOSTERZEE,
Professor of Divinity.

[The Programme Committee, which was overwhelmed with the pressure of business during the sessions of the Conference, referred the paper of this distinguished divine to the Executive Committee of the American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance. It was accordingly brought before this body, which, while duly appreciating the importance of the subject, saw such formidable difficulties in the way of organizing, under the auspices of the Alliance, an International Apologetic Association, that action was indefinitely postponed. It is hoped, however, that the plan may continue to receive serious consideration, and be brought up in a practicable shape and by regular appointment, at some future meeting of the General Conference.—Ed.]

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Antislavery Society,
Offices, 27 New Broad St., London, E. C.,
September 6, 1873.

DEAR SIR,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society have addressed, through the Honorary Secretaries, a letter to the Rev. James Davis, the Secretary of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance, asking that the attention of the Conference of all Nations may specially be called to the subject of the slave-trade and slavery, with a view to awaken attention to these wide-spread evils, and to take such action as the Conference shall think best in this matter.

From a variety of circumstances the public have till lately indulged in the belief that, save in one or two places, and to a very limited extent, the slave-trade is suppressed and slavery is well-nigh extinct. How such an illusion exists is to some of us difficult to understand. There is slavery throughout Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Muscat, at Zanzibar, in Mozambique, etc., where tens of thousands are deprived of their birthright of personal liberty. In Madagascar, I have reason to believe, there are thousands of slaves held at the disposal and will of the owners.

These markets must be supplied, and hence, so long as slavery exists, the slave-trade will be carried on. Accordingly, this has been flourishing at Zanzibar; and though a treaty to suppress it has been signed by the Sultan, the traders will seek an outlet elsewhere. In the Upper Niue district, slave-hunting has been conducted on a large scale; and last year over 30,000 slaves were carried away from the interior of the Galla country. From the Lake Tehad district it is estimated that annually at least 4000 slaves are taken. We grieve, too, to see that in Cuba there are 350,000 slaves, nearly every one of whom is entitled to his liberty under British treaty rights; and in Brazil there are 1,500,000 human beings doomed to a life-long bondage; in addition to this, we have the Portuguese China coolie-trade from Macao to Peru and Cuba, involving fearful misery and sacrifice of life, and the importation into those countries of from 20,000 to 25,000 Chinese, many of whom are in a more wretched state than the negro slave in Cuba. There is also the Polynesian kidnapping, which continues to flourish.

With all this evil it surely becomes the Conference of Christians to give the subject the gravest consideration, and to take suitable action.

There is also another point demanding attention. Sir Bartle Frere, in his memorandum on the present state of the slave-trade and slavery in Egypt, says, "I was not at all prepared for the very general testimony as to the extent of the *slave-holding among Christians*, especially among the Copts, Syri-

ans, Abyssinians, etc., and I found it was generally regarded by residents who have the means of knowing as a practice which has spread *much among the Christians* of late years, and is on the increase."

A missionary in Syria also writes: "It seems the Turks, Mohammedans, *Christians*, and *Jews* think they can not live without keeping slaves."

This is a matter which affects the cause of Christ at large, and we should be glad to know that the Conference of all *Christians* will be able to give these topics their attention, and to give such utterance as shall assist to bring an end to such a state of things. The Committee will be thankful for any aid you will give in this matter. They are assured of your thorough sympathy, and will be cheered by seeing that you have been able to take action. I am yours truly,

BENJ. MILLARD, *Secretary*.

PROTESTANTISM IN BRAZIL.

1 Rua Nova de São José, São Paulo,
Brazil, Aug. 13, 1873.

To the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance to be held in the city of New York, October 2, 1873:

REV. FATHERS AND DEAR BRETHREN IN OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST,—We have the honor to inform you that at the annual meeting of the Evangelical Conference of the Province of São Paulo, Brazil, held on the 21st of July, 1873, in Santa Barbara, the Evangelical Alliance of Brazil was organized.

We inclose a copy of our Basis and Constitution, which is similar to the one adopted by the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, and also a list of officers elected. Though containing but few Brazilian names, we are thankful for these; and if the work of evangelizing this nation progress in the future as it has in the past, we have no doubt whatever that the Lord in his own good time will raise others to join us.

We request your united prayers in our behalf. We are in the midst of extreme ultramontaniam, and consequently in the midst of gross superstition and bold skepticism. The bishops have lately rebelled against the government, and openly declare to acknowledge no other authority but the infallible Pope. The final result must be separation of Church and State.

We do not enjoy religious liberty, but merely religious toleration, and are subject to much annoyance in the exercise of our religious privileges. In some places the people are compelled by the military to kneel down in the streets when the host passes; in others, either the mob or the police breaks up religious gatherings, as was not long ago the case in Pernambuco. We are not per-

mitted to build houses of worship in the form of churches or temples. Our Protestant national guards are compelled to do service on the Lord's day, and to accompany uncovered any procession of images which the priests may see fit to order.

But blessed be the Lord our God, the good seed is taking root in the hearts of the nation. The colporteurs sell annually thousands of dollars' worth of Bibles, Testaments, and religious reading. Churches are being organized, and in many places the people request the preaching of the Gospel. The Catholic priesthood here is demoralized, corrupted, and the people are tired of these their spiritual teachers.

We regret that we can not be personally represented at your General Conference, but we are especially instructed to assure you of our deep interest in all your deliberations. May the Spirit of God dwell richly in you and among you. May the world have once more a proof of the vital union of true believers. May all your discussions be to the glory of God and of his Son.

We shall be most happy to receive reports of the proceedings of your Conference for distribution among our members and people, and at the same time request the secretaries of the different branches to favor us with any publication or information which they may deem useful to us.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

Your humble and obedient brethren in Christ Jesus, our Lord,

E. VANORDEN,
JOHN IRWIN LEE,
M. P. B. DE CARVALHOSA,
Cor. Sec's, E. A., Brazil.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN TURKEY, AND THE CONDITION OF ITS PROTESTANT POPULATION.

WHEN the famous Hatti Sherif, extorted from the Turkish government in the beginning of the reign of Sultan Abdul-Medjid (circa 1840), was confirmed and strengthened by the treaty of Paris in February, 1856, Christian nations, and notably the Protestant nations of Great Britain and the United States, regarded the contest over, the question of religious liberty in Turkey as virtually settled, the victory as substantially won. The concessions made were taken as made in good faith; the promises were accepted as meaning what they seemed to mean.

Yet even in the years immediately succeeding the Crimean War, there were not wanting those who maintained that the concessions unwillingly made under pressure were little worth, and that every possible difficulty would be thrown in the way of their realization. Now, after seventeen years,

if we see evidence both of an honest purpose on the part of the Turkish government to redeem its pledges, and actual progress in redeeming them, no doubt it is all we can fairly demand. But the fact that the Turkey Branch of the Evangelical Alliance feels bound to present a memorial on this subject to the General Alliance meeting in New York shows that we fail to find evidence of such progress as we are entitled to expect.

We remark, however, in passing, that there are many men, and some of them influential men in government counsels, who honestly desire not only to meet the literal and technical sense of the imperial grants above referred to, but to secure and maintain in Turkey full religious liberty for all classes.

On the other hand, it should also be remarked that the government has always officially maintained that it never intended to concede to Christian powers any right of interference in relation to any class of its subjects, and most emphatically so in relation to its Moslem subjects, and has always consistently declared that it reserves to itself the exclusive and absolute right of control in respect to all the affairs of all its subjects. When we have acknowledged a formal and official granting of religious toleration, and the abrogation of the death penalty as punishment for a change of faith *as such*, we have acknowledged the fact as it really exists.

We now proceed to cite evidence that religious liberty is still seriously interfered with, not only in relation to Mohammedans becoming Christians, but in the case of evangelical Christians generally. We readily acknowledge, indeed, that the government has formidable difficulties to contend with in the fact that the principles of religious liberty are neither understood nor appreciated by the mass of the people of its various nationalities; we admit also that most of the grievances that have been suffered have arisen, not from the spontaneous action of the government, but from the intrigues often of several sects against our Protestant brethren, the fault of the authorities being that the local governor lent himself, in most instances, to be the tool of oppression, while redress from the Porte was tardy and inefficient; nay, we shall even admit that, in some instances, the native Protestants may not have sought the attainment of their objects, such as the building of churches and schools, in the precise order and method required by law and custom. Still, after all these deductions, we fail to find evidence of such a disposition on the part of the government to grant religious liberty to their Protestant subjects as the national engagements fairly entitle us to expect; and we maintain that those solemn pledges of the sovereign imply the obligation of seeing to it that what is promised by the central government shall not be rendered a dead letter through

the intrigues of fanatics, the venality of local magistrates, or even the ignorance and errors of the sufferers themselves. We observe, then, that—

1. The Protestant communities are, to a large extent, denied the right of representation in the general, provincial, and local councils of the empire.

Complaints come up repeatedly; and are loudly urged from all the provinces, that injustice and bad faith characterize the acts of the government in this regard; and the most earnest and repeated efforts of the civil head of the Protestants are without avail to correct the evil. The council in which the Protestants naturally desire to be represented is the Council of Justice; but the experience of Protestants is that they are almost always kept out of these councils, and when once admitted, are again thrust out on the slightest pretext, and that a most invidious distinction is made to their disadvantage when compared not only with Osmanlees, but also with the other Christian, and especially with the Roman Catholic subjects of the Porte. For example:

In the province of Aleppo, with a population of some seven thousand Protestants, they have no representative in the Central Provincial Council. In the large communities of Aintab, Marash, and Oorfa (in the province of Aleppo), there are no Protestant representatives in the local councils of justice; while the Roman Catholics, with much smaller communities, are represented. In one instance, where the Protestants largely outnumbered the Roman Catholics (six to one), and a Protestant was chosen to represent both communities, he was set aside, and a Roman Catholic received by the government.

In like manner, in the province of Sivas, Protestants have tried in vain to secure the same rights as others; and even in the cities of Sivas, Yozgat, and Marsovan, where at one time Protestants sat in the councils, they were afterward removed. The same is true in the provinces of Diarbekir, Erzroom, and Angora, and in Syria. In keeping with this, it is not long since the head of the whole Protestant community of the empire suffered the indignity of being placed, on days of formal presentation to the Sultan, out of the order and rank he formerly held along with other representatives of Christian sects, and was put after the Jewish representative.

2. The declaration that Christian testimony is received on an equality with Moslem testimony is not borne out by facts, especially where Moslem interests are affected.

Christians are constantly exposed to the old indignity of having their testimony set aside by Moslem judges; and it is always easy, and constantly practiced, so to control the process of a cause as to preserve the old injustice, even where the appearance of fair dealing is kept up. But in large portions of

the empire this new concession is absolutely a dead letter.

3. All the efforts of Protestants, both native and foreign, to build churches, schools, houses for the pastor, or such like, are hindered to the last degree by the government, or by local officials.

The government professes to foster education and favor eleemosynary institutions. But Robert College waited seven years for leave to be. A theological seminary at Marsovan was not, it is true, hindered in the building; but the local government was afterward so vexed because it had not prevented it, that now, for two years and a half, a missionary is hindered from building a house for himself, when there is confessedly no real objection to it; and this, too, although the American legation has done its best to secure justice in this instance.

Most of the places of Protestant worship throughout the country were built under the name of houses, or sometimes that of schools, as less likely to rouse opposition than that of church, the government having rendered the procuring of permission for the erection of a church so nearly impossible as greatly to discourage attempts on the part of Protestant communities to provide places of worship *recognized as such*. Whether the real difficulty consists in the opposition of the central government, or in the antipathies of local officials, or in the state of the laws they have to administer, it is not for us to say; we simply state the facts as we find them.

In numerous instances, also, where for many years the ringing of a chapel bell for the regular services of the Sabbath had been permitted, such ringing has lately been summarily and arbitrarily forbidden.

4. The government has within the last decade made a persistent and, to a large extent, a successful effort to crush out religious inquiry among Mohammedans.

Some years ago there was considerable open inquiry concerning Christian truth among Moslems. In the summer of 1864 the government arrested, imprisoned, and banished all upon whom it could lay hands of those wholly or partially committed to Christianity; and the intimidation and espionage then and subsequently practiced have borne their expected fruit in keeping back inquirers, and making the impression upon Mohammedans that religious liberty does not exist *in fact*—at least, for them. Instances could be cited from Constantiuople, Asia Minor, and Syria, did our limits allow of details. It is but right, however, to add that the Osmanlee converts to Christianity who stood firm in 1864 have since been allowed to profess their adopted faith, and even to labor actively for its diffusion, without molestation, though doubtless under our protection.

On the other hand, it is a cause of serious complaint that rude attacks upon Christian-

ity are allowed by the government to be published in the Turkish language, while no reply is permitted, and that although half the population of the empire professes the ennobled faith. By what right is our faith reviled, and at the same time our mouths temporarily closed?

5. Notwithstanding all paper professions and promises of the government in regard to the administration of justice, the testimony reaching us from all parts of the empire—testimony oftentimes most explicit and damaging to the government—shows either insincerity or imbecility in carrying out any principles of justice at all, or limiting the oppression felt by the Christian population to be so galling. Redress of acknowledged wrongs is excessively tardy, and delinquent officials, when removed for misdemeanor, are often reinstated or promoted, in defiance of all justice or even decency.

6. There is no part of this whole subject which more fitly calls for the thoughtful attention of Christians from all Protestant countries, as represented in the Evangelical Alliance, than the fact that during the last decade the Protestant powers have taken a new departure, pursued a new line of policy, in relation to Turkey.

The Sublime Porte has claimed to have exclusive control in its own internal affairs, and has shown itself increasingly unwilling to brook dictation, or even advice, from foreign powers in relation to its management of the religious affairs of its own subjects of all denominations. In deference to this claim on the part of Turkey, and perhaps with a laudable desire to respect the rights of Turkey as an independent state, recognized as a member of the body politic of Europe, the Protestant powers have taken long steps backward since the time when Lord Stratford de Redcliffe represented Great Britain at the Sublime Porte. The consequence is that now ministers and ambassadors of Protestant powers receive such instructions from their governments with reference to interfering in religious matters in Turkey, and the tendency toward absolute non-interference is so strong, that we may well fear results unfavorable to Protestant, and even to all Christian interests in this country. Roman Catholics, indeed, seem still to be efficiently protected; but Protestants seem in danger of being left to the uncertain justice of Turkish officials, with what result our previous remarks sufficiently enable us to foresee.

While stating these grievances, we would not be understood as denying that Protestants, native and foreign, enjoy many important privileges in Turkey. The publication and circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and of religious books in general, are freely permitted, in all languages, all over the empire. The opening of schools is not interfered

with, nor are any prohibited from meeting in each other's houses for divine worship, or from organizing themselves into churches or ecclesiastical unions. In regard to such things, it is but a few years since Turkey contrasted most favorably with most of the states of Europe. We thankfully acknowledge all this; and we only desire that the Turkish government should go forward, and grant to its Protestant subjects the unhampered enjoyment of those rights and privileges which are their due, and which the liberal conduct of the Porte, at a time when such liberality was rare, led us confidently to expect would never be withheld from them.

In conclusion, it appears to us that the exigencies of the subject which forms the heading of this paper call for the following action on the part of the Evangelical Alliance:

1. That that body give publicity to the facts we have presented, in order to awaken the attention of the Christian world, and enlist for our cause the support of Christian public opinion.

2. That the Alliance memorialize the government of Great Britain, as the power to which the Protestants of Turkey have always been taught to look especially for protection in time of need, and deprecate any withdrawal of the most efficient support of liberty of conscience, and of perfect religious equality among all subjects of the Porte.

The Committee of the Turkey Branch of the Evangelical Alliance,

GEORGE W. WOOD,
ALEXANDER THOMSON,
GEORGE F. HERRICK.

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 29, 1873.

APPENDIX.

Two illustrations of the tendency—we fear we must say the wish—of the government to ignore the existence of its Protestant subjects have been brought under our notice in time only to be referred to here.

1. *Sal Nameh* is an official annual register of all the government establishments and principal officers of the empire, including nearly all the clergy of every denomination. But here you will search in vain for any mention of the Protestant clergy, or of their local civil heads; nor is there any mention even of the Vekcel of the whole Protestant community, though he is a recognized officer of the government, with chambers assigned to him at the Sublime Porte.

2. *Jahriri Emlak* is an official census of the population and property of the empire. All other denominations are here duly enumerated, but there is no rubric assigned to the Protestants, who are therefore included under one or other of the other denominations, as the officiating clerk found most convenient. We can not but regard this as a mean insult to a community which presents no

less than eighty per cent. of its population of both sexes as able to read, and which, during the thirty years of its existence, has afforded no instance of conviction for any crime. A community presenting so striking a contrast to the other bodies of the empire was surely entitled to ordinary courtesy at the hands of their rulers.

MEMORIAL ON THE OPIUM TRADE.

To the Representatives of the Evangelical Alliance assembled in New York:

BELOVED BRETHREN,—We, the members of the Turkey Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, beg leave to call your attention to a most momentous subject, hoping that you will take it into serious consideration. The dearest object of our desires being the salvation of the whole human race from its lost estate, we would use all proper means for the removal of hinderances to its accomplishment. Such a hinderance we are pained to see lamentably effectual in preventing the moral renovation of a people comprising nearly one third of the earth's inhabitants; but which is removable, we believe, by the united influence of evangelical Christendom. In order to this end, we ask for earnest action on your part. The fact to which we refer is the opium trade in China. Feeling keenly the reproach that rests upon us and our religion when Christian nations carry on this nefarious business, we unite in presenting this case for your consideration, urging your attention to the following points, viz.:

1. The physical, mental, and moral ruin wrought by the habitual use of opium, and the sad spectacle presented by so mighty a nation falling victims to its power. What other spectacle upon the face of the earth can move more strongly the Christian heart? What object is more worthy to rouse Christians to united action than the hope of removing this curse? Unless the evil be speedily checked, centuries of sadder degradation and deeper misery must result to the people of China.

2. The Chinese government and many of the intelligent among the people are alive to the damage this opium traffic is doing. They are anxious to save the multitudinous inhabitants of the empire from this blight. Heathen China supplicates the help of Christian nations in putting down this diabolical trade, and shall she supplicate in vain?

3. The position of any Christian nation engaged in this traffic, protecting it by law and by force, with no other reason to give for such a course than the great revenues accruing therefrom, is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and injurious to its name—these gains being at the sacrifice of the interests, temporal and eternal, of myriads in China. This wrong done by Christians is, in

the eyes of the Chinese people, a blot upon Christianity, an evidence of its inferiority to their own heathenism as a system of morals, and a bar to its progress among them.

We therefore earnestly beseech you to take this subject in hand, and unite, as far as may be, the sentiment of the Christian world; and by delegations, the press, the pulpit, or otherwise, exert a strong influence for the suppression of this opium traffic, or, at least, for the deliverance of the Christian name from the stain that traffic has brought upon it.

Our hearts have thrilled at the boldness and success with which the Alliance has during past years come to the defense of religious freedom in Turkey and Russia; but lo! here is a cause more mighty; here we see imperiled vaster interests. God grant that, after having been so successful in pleading the cause of oppressed Christians, your influence may be equally powerful in rescuing the purity of the Christian name.

Believing, as we do, that a right use of your influence may, under God, result in so great a boon to China as her deliverance from the fetters of a fearful vice, and dispose her people more favorably toward the religion of Jesus Christ, we can not do otherwise than entreat you, in humble dependence on Almighty aid, to exert your utmost power in all legitimate ways for the accomplishment of this object.

GEORGE W. WOOD, *Chairman.*

GEORGE F. HERRICK, *Secretary.*

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS.

BY HENRY BERGH, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am inclined to believe that, on my appearance upon this platform, sentiments of the sort I am about to mention are uppermost in your minds, to wit: "What assurance, what audacity, what folly, in that man to venture where angels might fear to tread—is he mad that he thus dares to open his mouth within these classic and elegant walls, which have resounded with the eloquence of the most renowned speakers of the day, and now echo with the wisdom of God's servants, assembled here from all parts of the civilized world?"

But the privilege has been graciously accorded me to invite your attention for the space of ten minutes to a subject which is of real importance to the world at large—I mean our religious duty to that vast portion of God's creation, the inferior animals. Relatively, ten minutes is a brief period of time, and yet in ten minutes what deeds of good or evil may be enacted—deeds which may influence the destinies of men and nations for all time. Brief, therefore, as is this fraction of life—which every ticking of the clock continually abbreviates—I am truly grateful for the opportunity which is procured

me of giving utterance to a few reflections in your hearing.

Eight years ago, those precious creatures, which clothe us, and feed us, and work for us, were regarded by the statutory laws of our country only as property. Feeling sensible of the magnitude of this error, in a moral as well as material point of view, I humbly undertook the initiative of a reform. What progress has been made in that direction may be inferred from the fact that twenty-seven States and Territories of our Union and of Canada have enacted laws and chartered societies for the protection from cruelty of these speechless and devoted servants of mankind. But so much yet remains to be done that I am here to-day to ask you, through the medium of your holy office, to come to our aid. And no more appropriate occasion for so doing, it seems to me, could offer than the present, during the presence in this city of the delegated servants of the Most High, assembled here from almost every Christian nation of the world. In a material point of view, mankind generally admit the positive utility of dumb animals; but as to their moral responsibilities to them in return, their admissions are not so general. The omnipotent Creator of all things, in his dealings with his human children, employs mysterious means to accomplish his purposes.

Last winter, for example, his sovereign will was manifested, in a manner as terrible as it was efficacious, through the agency of the epizootic. This widespread and desolating scourge was the means of bringing home to the understanding of the most cruel and obtuse their dependence on the horse. If consequences so replete with disorder and alarm could ensue by reason of one race of animals being partially disabled, what would be the result if mankind were suddenly deprived of the use of all others as well? Could a deluge or an earthquake be more disastrous? How often in my pity and admiration of these speechless servants of mankind have I been met with this complaint: "Why are you always occupying your time with dumb beasts; why not elevate your thoughts to the level of your own race, which is much more worthy of your labors?"

If, my friends, we cast our eyes over the earth, do we not find that half of that which charms our senses and satisfies our hearts is derived from the animal kingdom? If we look about for some relation of life in which the animal kingdom has no connection with mankind, frankly speaking, we can not find one. If we think of agriculture, science, literature, poetry, music, pleasure, industry of any sort—they are every where represented.

Let us begin with pleasure. Shall it be fishing and the chase? Three species of animals are required, viz., the bird, the fish, and the quadruped. Is it riding? The horse,

the mule, the ass, the ox, the camel, and the reindeer are necessary, according to the locality we inhabit. Is it the banquet? What a meagre repast it would be, if among the delicacies these poor animals were wanting to the *menu*. Is it that last and loveliest of all living objects, a beautiful woman? Examine and enumerate the attire which sets off her charms. Look at the dazzling robe of silk, the dainty gloves, the minion shoes, the plumes which ornament her hair, the pearls which hang about her neck, the Cashmere shawl, the furs, and sometimes even the ruby color of her cheeks, and tell me, if you please, whence do all these come?

Is not this truth, therefore, forced upon us: that while these animals can live under the protection of Nature alone, man can not live without them? The Old Testament makes numerous allusions to them, and in our prayer-books we find expressions such as these—the innocent lamb, the heavenly dove, etc.; and, finally, Jesus, coming into the world, was permitted to be born in a manger, between an ox and an ass, and upon one of the latter the Saviour of the world made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

As to Poetry, she is nourished by fiction; she also compares not the beautiful woman to one of her sex, but rather to the swan, the butterfly, and gazelle. If we speak of Music, were they not our first masters? Do they not furnish the chords which draw such exquisite sound from the violin and harp, and provide the piano-forte with its snow-white ivory? With what burning eloquence, wit, sarcasm, and romantic histories, tales, and poems has not the goose-quill lent its aid! Where is derived the candle which the poet, the student, and the minister lights to aid his meditations? the oil within the beacon light? and then, after the fatigues of the day, is it not upon feathers, hair, and wool that aching limbs recline? What! Shall we give in return to these creatures, made of flesh and blood like ourselves, and so devoted, useful, and intelligent, only violence and disdain? Blows and neglect for their labor and the product of their bodies? Torment and death for real love and disinterested affection?

Ah! my friends of the human race, you imagine yourselves independent of these inferior creatures, and you are amazed that men and women should form themselves into societies for their protection. You interrogate us with the impious demand, "Why do you waste your time in defending senseless brutes?" Creatures, remember, which the great Maker of all has condescended to call into being. You freely bestow your love and admiration on a gem or flower which serves for an hour the indulgence of your pride or caprice, and then is laid aside, while these animals give you their affection in return for a few caresses, and place their lives and

services at your disposal for a handful of hay and a bucket of water! True, they speak not to our ears, but by their deeds do they not address themselves to our hearts, if we have any? Inquire of him that has felt the pressure of time in his soul, and experienced the misery of humanity—sickness, poverty, and the abandonment of his kind; ask him his sentiment of these confiding beings. What a treasure to the suffering paralytic in his chamber is the little feathered prisoner which sings to him of joy and hope! What profound attachment is formed between the unfortunate captive of the Bastille and the little animal which shares his solitude, no matter how mean and insignificant it be!

The instinct of cruelty is opposed to religion, and is not less a sin because the object of it is a speechless brute; nay, the sentiment of mercy seems all the more lovely in proportion to the humbleness and dependence of the recipient of it. We have voices to make our wrongs heard and respected, but these humble beings have only the faculties of feeling and endurance.

In a word, I venture to declare that this cause of mercy to the inferior animals is one of the most essential elements of true religion; and that no man or woman can be an acceptable Christian, in the sight of that just Being whose chief attribute is mercy to all his creatures, and yet be insensible to its holy and universal significance.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

[Sent to the Committee on the Programme by Rev. Dr. S. H. Hall, for the use of the Conference.—*Ed.*]

This society was organized May, 1828 (incorporated April, 1833), "to improve the social, moral, and religious condition of seamen; to protect them from imposition and fraud; to prevent them from becoming a curse to each other and the world; to rescue them from sin and its consequences, and to save their souls." It proposes to sanctify commerce, an interest and a power in the earth second only to religion itself, and make it every where serve as the handmaid of Christianity. Its first president was the Hon. Smith Thompson, and the late Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, its first corresponding secretary.

It is estimated that there are 3,000,000 of men engaged in operating the commerce of the world. These men "doing business on the great waters" are largely deprived of the means of grace. Nor are they readily reached by the efforts of the Church to give the Gospel to the destitute, but special efforts in their behalf have been attended with great success, and particularly the agency of this national society, which, while non-denominational, according to its charter, is heartily indorsed by the leading ecclesiastical bodies

of the country, and commended to the churches as doing important service in the great work of the world's evangelization. The society aims to secure the preaching of the Gospel to seamen by missionaries and chaplains, and the maintenance of Bethels in the principal ports of the United States and foreign countries, locating them at the temporary centres of an ever-changing commerce. Besides preaching the Gospel to seamen on shipboard and on shore, and to those employed upon our inland waters, chaplains visit the sick and dying in hospitals and elsewhere, and as far as possible supply the place of parents and friends.

The society also encourages the establishment of Sailors' Homes, Reading-rooms, Savings Banks, etc., and the wide distribution of Bibles, tracts, etc. The Sailor's Home, 190 Cherry Street, New York, is the property and under the direction of the society. It was opened in 1842, since which time it has accommodated 85,000 boarders. This one institution has saved to seamen and their relatives \$1,500,000. More or less shipwrecked seamen of various nationalities are constantly provided for at the Home, where a missionary of the society is in daily attendance, and religious meetings, besides the regular family worship, are held on week-day evenings. Similar institutions exist in other cities under the care of auxiliaries.

A few years ago the society inaugurated the work of supplying sea-going vessels with *loan libraries*, averaging forty-five volumes, including the Bible and some other carefully selected religious books, put up in a neat case, and intrusted as a general thing to converted sailors, who thus become for the time effective missionaries among their shipmates. Since this work was inaugurated over 4500 libraries have gone forth, with 195,000 volumes, which by frequent reshipment have been accessible to probably 200,000 men. More than *eight hundred hopeful conversions at sea* have been reported from this single agency.

The society publishes (monthly) the *Sailor's Magazine*, designed to collect and communicate information, and to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of Christians of every name in securing its object; the *Seamen's Friend*, gratuitously furnished chaplains and missionaries for distribution among seamen; and the *Life-Boat*, for the use of Sabbath-schools.

During the last year the Society had nearly fifty chaplains, missionaries, etc., in its service, and expended in its world-wide work \$65,000. It is steadily extending its usefulness, and of late has been signally blessed by the great Head of the Church.

The rooms of the Society are at No. 80 Wall Street, New York.

R. P. BUCK, Esq., *President*.

S. H. HALL, D.D., *Cor. Sec. and Treas.*

FRATERNAL APPEAL

TO THE
FRIENDS OF THE EVANGELICAL AL-
LIANCE AND OF CHRISTIAN UN-
ION GENERALLY;

WITH A PROVISIONAL SKETCH OF A PLAN FOR
A GENERAL PROTESTANT UNION.

[This Appeal of the late Rev. Dr. Schmucker, of Gettysburg, Penn., who took part in the organization of the Evangelical Alliance in London, 1846, and would have addressed the General Conference but for his lamented death, was brought before the Committee on the Programme, by his friend, the Rev. Dr. Conrad, of Philadelphia, with the request that it may be allowed a place in the official proceedings, which was cheerfully granted, in justice to the memory of the author and his zealous labors for Christian union. It presents an elaborate plan for an official confederation of the Protestant denominations. This is a proper subject for discussion at a Conference, and possibly for future action, though not by the Alliance as now constituted. The Alliance aims simply at a voluntary union of individual Christians of different churches, without interfering with their denominational relations or assuming any power of ecclesiastical legislation.—*Ed.*]

DEAR BRETHERN IN CHRIST,—We, the undersigned, invite your serious attention to a matter which the Son of God considered of sufficient importance to make it the subject of a detailed prayer to his heavenly Father near the close of his incarnate mission. "Father," said he, "the hour is come: glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee." And again: "I pray 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." Here the Saviour himself represents the *unity* of his followers as an important means for the triumph of his kingdom and extension of his glory. Let, therefore, no believer in Christ henceforth regard the subject of Christian union as of secondary moment, or refuse to listen to its claims, especially in these latter days, "when many are running to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

For centuries past the Protestant churches have suffered more or less from intestine dissensions.

The reformation of the corrupt Church of Rome was effected separately in the different countries of Europe by theologians and civil rulers, who, though generally sincere and faithful, were possessed of different degrees of qualifications for the work, and who, though agreed on all points of fundamental doctrine, yet differed in some things of less moment. In each country the doctrinal basis or confession naturally expressed the views of those who composed it, whether they were Lutherans or Reformed, Episcopalians or Presbyterians, and these were then established by law. Such were the Augsburg Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopal Church, the West-

miuster Confessiou, etc. The differences between these *principal* historic creeds were not, as is sometimes popularly supposed, the result of sectarian divisions among Protestants; for they were written and first published separately, by different persons, in different countries, and without any special reference to each other. Unfortunately, none of these different creeds gave sufficient prominence to the fundamental unity and agreement of the Church of Christ, nor did the latter of them express a full and cordial recognition of all other Protestant Churches, as integral parts of the one body of Christ. And during several centuries no *stated* intercourse existed between the churches of different Protestant countries. Where only one of these denominations occupied an entire country, as did the Lutherans in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, there was little or no difficulty. But where two or even more denominations occupied the same territory, and naturally each professed its own creed, the conflict of sentiments became more obvious, and opposing interests gave rise to angry controversies. Many of these confessions, unlike the œcumenical creeds of the earlier ages, were of great length, containing not only the grand cardinal doctrines of the Gospel, but also a vast number of minor tenets, less distinctly revealed in God's Word, which the mass of Christians never have, and in this world probably never will all understand alike. The polemical spirit generated in the conflicts with the Papists, and the Romish intolerance still adhering to many Protestant theologians, induced them to engage in unprofitable controversies among themselves on non-essential doctrines, which often disturbed the peace of the Church.

But in the United States the evils of sectarianism—that is, of opposing creeds and denominations, on the same ground—have been exemplified in the highest degree, which has naturally arisen from the peculiarity of our history and situation.

The several earliest colonies which emigrated to this country were generally characterized by the religious homogeneity of each; the Puritans occupying the Northeastern States, while the Episcopalians predominated in Virginia and other southern portions of the country. But for a century past emigration has proceeded from almost every part of Europe, and every one of the different religious organizations in those countries has its representatives in nearly all the cities and towns of our land. Every part of this population would naturally endeavor to establish a congregation of its own denomination, though the aggregate amount of all the inhabitants of any given town or village numbered not more than five hundred or a thousand souls. The conflict for the establishment and enlargement of half a dozen

or more denominations on the same territory, and of half a hundred in our cities, still continues, and is productive of unhappy intellectual, material, social, and religious consequences.

But of the immense waste of the resources of the churches, both pecuniary and intellectual, by the erection and foundation of twice as many theological seminaries as are requisite for the number of students, by the location of at least twice as many ministers in every town and village as are necessary to minister to the whole population; and of the great conflict of interests thus caused between different denominations, the jealousies and rivalries of every kind, we can not here speak in detail.

A somewhat similar state of things has arisen in Great Britain, from the large number of Dissenting denominations existing there.

This lamentable condition of the Protestant churches has long been deplored by the most enlightened and devoted disciples of Christ; especially in view of the constant secret machinations of the papal leaders, and progressive aggressions of their compact and well-organized legions in this country, toward gaining control of our government and of the education of the rising generation.

Various efforts have been made to remedy these evils, by inaugurating measures to promote the cause of Christian union and fraternal co-operation among Protestants. The first *Society*, so far as we know, ever formed for the express purpose of promoting Christian union, was that organized during the anniversaries of 1839, in the Tract Society's rooms in New York. After its organization, the society purchased several hundred copies of the little volume bearing the title, "Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches," and distributed them gratuitously among the members and other friends of the cause in different parts of the land. Owing, however, to the disturbed state of the ecclesiastical atmosphere, and other causes, the society accomplished but little, and was soon permitted to expire.

A few years later, in the fall of 1845, the present writer, in order to recall attention to the subject, prepared an extended address on the subject of Christian union, and having obtained the assent and promise of co-operation from about fifty of the leading divines and friends of union, he added their names, and distributed it under the title of "Overture on Christian Union;" inviting a meeting in New York during the anniversary week of 1846. Soon after its publication, however, the invitation to the Evangelical Alliance in London, in August, 1846, reached this country. As the leading friends of union desired to attend this World's Convention, and many of them to start before the

May meetings in New York, that meeting was dropped by common consent; and since then the great Evangelical Alliance has taken the place of all other societies for the subject of Christian union, until of late.

While it is admitted that the Evangelical Alliance has accomplished a great and glorious work, throughout the length and breadth of the Protestant world, in diffusing the spirit of brotherly love and union among all denominations and among Christians individually, and has vindicated the cause of the oppressed, its results have mainly been of a public nature, and it has not exerted its full influence on individual churches, and on the Christian community at large. It is believed that its power for good would be greatly augmented by some additional organization, calculated to extend its influence into the individual judicatories and churches, and among church members. Such a plan has lately been submitted to the Christian public, and the object of this Appeal is still further to explain the character of that plan, and to inaugurate measures by the friends of the Redeemer for its amendment and adoption.

I. *This plan is perfectly feasible*, because all the parts of which it is to consist not only now exist, but are already in actual and successful operation in the Protestant world. It does not contemplate the formation of any new association or society, it requires no additional meetings of those already in existence, and involves no additional trouble or expense, except such as may arise from increased activity for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. This plan embraces—

(1.) *The existing World's Evangelical Alliance.*

(2.) *The several existing National Alliances:* the British, the American, the German, the Dutch, the French, the Swiss, etc.

(3.) *The existing highest ecclesiastical body of each denomination* in the United States; and in foreign nations the auxiliaries of each National Branch, which are also voluntary associations.

II. This plan does not propose to interfere with the denominational standards and institutions, doctrinal, disciplinarian, or charitable, of the several churches adopting it; but leaves to each one the entire control over its own affairs.

III. This plan simply proposes to add to the two grades of the Evangelical Alliance, namely, the World's Alliance and the National Alliances, the existing highest ecclesiastical judicatory or body of each evangelical denomination in this country, and to unite them all as individual bodies into one voluntary advisory union or confederation, by the adoption of certain fraternal terms of association by each of the several confederated bodies. And by this simple arrangement, so easily effected, if deemed wise and desirable, a fraternal, voluntary, and adviso-

ry *organic* union will be accomplished between all the confederate denominations, closer than that *organic* union of the churches in the apostolic age. By this arrangement the great subjects of Christian duty and enterprise, which from year to year may occupy the attention of the Evangelical Alliance, will regularly become the subjects of discussion, deliberation, and action to twenty times more judicatories, and reach the ministry and membership of nearly the whole Protestant Church.

IV. Finally, this plan does not in the least preclude other judicious local efforts and manifestations of Christian union, or union of homogeneous bodies, but rather promotes them.

The only additions necessary to be made to the existing rules and regulations of these several bodies are the following:

I. *Additions to the existing Constitution and Rules of the World's Alliance;* being also, in a few cases, easy modifications of them:

(1.) *The World's Alliance* ought to consist of about *one hundred delegates* from the bounds of each *National Alliance*: to be elected, in the United States, by the highest judicatory of each confederate denomination, in equal numbers of clerical and lay delegates.

In other countries the delegates are to be elected by the members of the National Alliances, or in any other way designated by each National Alliance for itself.

(2.) The World's Evangelical Alliance should meet every *seven* years, and as often intermediately as may be deemed desirable.

(3.) The doctrinal basis of the World's Alliance, and of all its National Branches, is that adopted at the formation of that body at London, in September, 1846. Nor shall any person be admitted to a seat, either in the World's Alliance or any of its National Branches, until he has authenticated himself as a regular member of some confederate church or congregation; has signed the doctrinal pledge; has avowed his approval of the Design and Constitution of the Alliance; and paid into the treasury from one to five dollars, or more, for the necessary expenses and objects of the meeting.

(4.) *The powers* of the Evangelical Alliance, and all its Branches, are only those of an *Advisory Council*; and its operations are intended, not to interfere with existing ecclesiastical organizations, but to promote the same objects of common interest.

(5.) *The design* and great *work* of the World's Evangelical Alliance is to take under its review the general interests of Christianity and of humanity in all nations, throughout the entire field, which, the Saviour says, is *the world*. This comprehends, (a.) *The religious* interests of the heathen world, the suggestion of the most suitable locations for Foreign Christian Missions, and the proper prin-

ciples of non-interference between them, etc.; organized efforts to prevent the introduction of intoxicating liquors and narcotic substances among the heathen, and to promote the diffusion of Gospel light among them. (b.) It embraces all international relations and subjects, such as the discussion and circulation of the principles of Christianity on the subject of *peace*, and the evils and guilt of *offensive* war; the desirableness and feasibility and duty of Christian nations to abstain from war, and to settle all their differences, either by referring them to a third power for arbitration, or by both parties appointing ministers plenipotentiary to discuss and decide them; or by urging the nations to establish an International Court. Each nation should appoint one or two members, and the whole decide by majority of votes, adopting as their juridical code the acknowledged *Laws of Nations*, interpreted by the *spirit of Christianity*. (c.) To discuss and promote the cause of religions liberty, by adopting and publishing correct principles on this subject, and by appealing, on proper occasions, to civil rulers of nations in behalf of the oppressed.

II. Proposed additions to the Constitution and Rules of the *National Branch Alliances* :

(1.) The *American Branch Alliance* shall consist of an equal number of *delegates*, lay and clerical, as near as can be, from each of the confederated denominations, and shall meet triennially, and as much oftener as may hereafter be agreed on. An equal or senatorial delegation, rather than one proportioned to the size of each denomination, is preferred, in order to prevent a few large denominations from controlling the whole confederation—the fear of which would prevent some denominations from adopting the plan. Otherwise, the two largest denominations of our country (the Baptist and Methodist) would have as many delegates as all the others combined. Nor will the larger denominations have reason to complain, or to apprehend maladministration, as the ultimate execution of the purposes of the Alliance within their bounds will be effected mainly through their own judicatories, pastors, and church members; and the immediate agents of the Alliance, if any are employed, will always be instructed to act in conjunction with them. The delegates to the American National Alliance, in addition to the qualifications above named (I., 3), shall also present certificates of their election duly attested.

(2.) The delegates to the American Branch Alliance shall be elected by the highest judicatory or ecclesiastical body of the several confederate denominations, consisting of at least five hundred ministers each. The smaller bodies may aggregate numerically, and when amounting to five hundred ministers or more, the aggregate shall be entitled to the

same number of clerical and lay delegates as one of the large denominations, and each body a fractional proportion of them. At present, the number of delegates from each denomination may be twenty-five, and hereafter it shall be fixed, from time to time, by the National Alliance.

(3.) Each of the other *National Alliances* shall have exclusive power to settle the number of its own delegates and mode of appointing them.

(4.) In addition to the delegates above named, who constitute the proper and *equally balanced* body of the World's Evangelical Alliance, and of its National Branches, all such friends of the cause as see fit to attend the meetings of those bodies at their own expense may do so, and have a *seat* provided for them as *accepted visitors*; provided they first duly authenticate themselves, as the delegates do, in regard to church membership, doctrinal subscription, and contribution to the funds of the meeting; but they can not participate in any discussions or action of the body.

(5.) Finally, *church members*, connected with any one of the confederated denominations in America, not finding it convenient to attend the meetings of their *National Branch*, may become connected with it, as *contributing members*, by forwarding to the treasurer at New York from one to five dollars, or more, together with a certificate of church membership from their pastor or from any accredited minister of a confederated church, and receive a certificate of such membership, stating the amount paid. This plan will gradually enlist a large number of church members throughout the cities, towns, and country, connected with the Alliance, co-operating with its salutary measures, and furnishing the necessary funds to carry on its operations.

(6.) If the highest judicatory of any denomination, of at least five hundred ministers, is unwilling to elect delegates to the National Alliance, and a considerable portion of it be favorably disposed, that portion may, by holding a convention, or in any equitable way, appoint or elect one half the quota of delegates due to each denomination, to be duly authenticated.

(7.) As to the officers and working organization of the American National Alliance, they are fully provided for in its Constitution.

(8.) The grand objects aimed at by the American National Alliance, in addition to those already enumerated as originating in the World's Alliance, are such as the following, within the bounds of our own country :

a. To promote harmony, non-interference, and efficiency in the effort of the evangelical churches to supply all the waste places in our land, and to proclaim the Gospel throughout the heathen world.

b. To promote concert of effort in main-

taining the daily reading of God's Word in all our public schools.

c. To prepare and circulate suitable tracts and popular works on the grand objects of Christian benevolence and enterprise for which the association was instituted.

d. To promote concert of action in providing for Christianizing the numerous heathen immigrants who are flocking to our land, and erecting heathen temples among us.

e. To promote love and free sacramental communion, recognition, and co-operation among Christians of different denominations in objects of common interest; as well as to sustain each other's discipline.

f. To devise means for correcting the widespread political corruption prevailing among some of our citizens and rulers, which threatens the destruction of our civil liberties, and can not fail to bring down upon us the judgments of a holy and righteous God.

g. To co-operate in procuring stringent laws, prohibiting Congress and state legislatures from appropriating public funds or lands to any religious denomination, or for any religious denominational purpose.

III. *The Denominational, or Primary Branches.* The action necessary to bring the denominational branches, or the supreme judicatories or ecclesiastical bodies, into harmonious co-operation with this Alliance or Protestant Confederation is simple, and easily accomplished. These bodies are not required to make any change in their doctrinal or disciplinarian Constitution, nor to elect any new officers; but, acting under their existing officers and rules, to pass the following resolutions:

(1.) Each denomination of acknowledged evangelical character, containing at least five hundred ordained ministers, desiring to enter into this confederation, shall first, through its highest judicatory, pass a resolution approving the Constitution and Design of the World's Evangelical Alliance, and its Amer-

ican National Branch, as detailed in their constitutions.

(2.) Said highest judicatory shall elect delegates to the next American National, and the next World's Alliance, and send them, duly authenticated, as hereinbefore prescribed, to attend the next meetings.

(3.) It shall also assign a particular time in its *fixed order of business* when the affairs relating to the Alliance shall be taken up and transacted.

(4.) Such judicatory shall resolve that, whatever their powers may be when acting on other matters, all their action as a Branch of the Alliance shall be *merely advisory*.

(5.) The stated duties of these highest ecclesiastical bodies, or judicatories, as branches of the Alliance, are the following: *a.* To elect delegates to all the meetings of the American Branch Alliance, and also of the World's Alliance. *b.* To receive from their delegation, through their chairman, a written report of the transactions of each meeting of the American Branch, and of the World's Alliance. *c.* To discuss the topics and recommendations of these reports, and, if approved, to take such action to carry them into effect as they may deem proper, and to invite the action of their inferior bodies, of their ministers and laymen, for the same purpose.

(6.) Should any denomination become dissatisfied with the influence of the Alliance, it may at any time withdraw from the connection by a resolution of its highest judicatory announcing the fact.

(7.) The details of this plan are to be regarded as introduced *provisionally*, until the meeting of the *elected delegates*, who have full power to make such alterations and amendments in them as a majority of them may deem proper.

[Signed by the Rev. Dr. S. S. SCHMUCKER, Emeritus Professor of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, and many others.]

ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS OF THANKS.

[At the concluding business session of the Conference, on Saturday afternoon, October 11th, *Addresses of Thanks*, from the several Foreign Delegations, were presented and read to the Conference, and warmly indorsed in brief speeches by members of these delegations. Sundry *Resolutions of Thanks* were then moved by different delegates, seconded and appropriately responded to by others, and adopted by unanimous vote of the assembly. The final resolution was one of thanks to the presiding officer of the Conference, and was followed by the closing remarks of the President, which are given in the "Historical Sketch," pp. 43-45.—*Ed.*]

ADDRESSES OF THANKS

FROM FOREIGN DELEGATIONS.

FROM THE BRITISH DELEGATION.

PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE BY LORD ALFRED S. CHURCHILL, OF LONDON.

At a meeting of the delegates from Great Britain and Ireland, held on the 10th of October, 1873, Lord Alfred S. Churchill in the chair, it was moved by Charles Reed, Esq.,

M. P., of London, seconded by the Right Rev. the Dean of Canterbury, and

Resolved, That the delegates from Great Britain and Ireland to the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance now assembled in the city of New York feel constrained to express collectively their grateful appreciation of the thoughtful kindness and the abounding hospitality with which they have been received by the American brethren. They do not doubt that their own feelings are shared

by all the delegates from other countries; but they have had special joy in the opportunities afforded by the Conference for intercourse with those who are not only their kindred in Christ, but are related to them by the strong ties of language and of race. They earnestly desire that the labor and the liberality which have so largely contributed to make the present assembly memorable will be followed by great and abiding results; that the American churches may be invigorated for their Christian work; that Christian men in other lands may be impelled to more self-sacrificing exertions for the evangelization of the masses of mankind; and that peace and amity may, year by year, increasingly characterize the relationships of individuals, of churches, and of nations.

ALFRED S. CHURCHILL, *Chairman*.

FROM THE GERMAN DELEGATION.

PRESENTED BY THE REV. DR. DORNER, OF BERLIN.

The German delegates to the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance at New York, in taking leave, desire publicly to express their cordial thanks for the exceedingly warm and hospitable reception which it was their privilege to enjoy in this country, and especially in the city of New York. As this gathering of evangelical men from all parts of the globe in such numbers was without precedent, so the hospitality extended by the representatives of Protestant churches, by numerous societies for art, science, and philanthropy, by great industrial associations, and by government officials and magistrates, was unexampled in its grandeur. We part with a deep sense of gratitude, and also with intensified consciousness of the unity which binds together the evangelical Christians of different nations, and we shall deem it an honor and pleasure, if an opportunity be given to us, to return to our American brethren visiting Germany, as far as we may be able, the kindness here received. May the Lord bless this country, and increase the external and internal happiness of its inhabitants, and shield with his protecting hand the national banner.

[The signatures of all the German delegates were appended.]

FROM THE FRENCH-SPEAKING DELEGATIONS.

PRESENTED BY THE REV. DR. FISCH, OF PARIS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN BRANCH OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE,—The delegates of the three countries which form the French-speaking branch of the Evangelical Alliance—France, Switzerland, and Belgium—express hereby their deeply felt thanks

for the admirable reception which they have met in this Conference. The thought of evoking here these great assizes of our evangelical churches came from God, who gave to our American friends perseverance in the pursuit of that purpose, and, after a long, incessant toil, they see now their labors crowned with a success which went far beyond all expectations. They have been instrumental in bringing upon all the evangelical churches a blessing which will be lasting, as we ask God for it. The cordiality, the grandeur of their reception filled our hearts with gratitude. We shall go back to our homes and our labors much refreshed, quickened, and encouraged: The bonds of fellowship which tie us to our American brethren have been drawn much closer; we love them already—we shall love them much more henceforth. We hope that serious communion of prayer may sanctify these ties, and make them conducive of a great revival over all our respective countries.

And with a last word, uttered from the bottom of our hearts, we say to our friends of this continent, God bless you.

[Signed by the French delegates from the three countries.]

FROM THE CANADIAN DELEGATIONS.

PRESENTED BY THE REV. GEORGE M. GRANT, OF NOVA SCOTIA.

At a meeting of the delegates from the Dominion of Canada, held on the 10th of October, 1873, in the parlor of the Young Men's Christian Association Rooms, Rev. Dr. Green, of Toronto, in the chair, the following resolution was moved by R. Wilkes, Esq., M. P., seconded by the Rev. A. B. Simpson, of Hamilton, and unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That the delegates from Canada to the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance now assembled in the city of New York can not part without expressing their grateful sense of the munificent hospitality which they, in common with the other foreign delegates, have received at the hands of the United States Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, the Young Men's Christian Association, the managers of the various public institutions, and the civic authorities and citizens of New York and Brooklyn. The delegates rejoice to believe that the great objects which the Alliance contemplates have been promoted in a marked manner by this, its first session in America. While there has been a cementing of Christian hearts from many lands, they can not but trust that the ties of common origin, language, interests, and faith which bind together the United States and Canada may be especially strengthened by the hallowed influences under which the Conference has held its meetings; and they venture to hope that the Canadian

Branch may be able at no distant date to reciprocate in some measure the Christian courtesies and hospitality they have received.

Signed, on behalf of the meeting, by
ANSON GREEN, *Chairman.*

GEORGE MONRO GRANT, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTIONS OF THANKS,

ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE.

THANKS TO ALMIGHTY GOD.

MOVED BY THE REV. DR. ORMISTON, OF NEW YORK.

Resolved, That, in view of the great and manifold blessings of divine Providence vouchsafed to this meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, its members gratefully desire to record a humble and hearty expression of devout thankfulness to Almighty God for his goodness, and to commend each other to his care.

TO THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION AND OTHERS.

MOVED BY THE REV. PROF. JONES, OF WALES.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Conference are eminently due to the Young Men's Christian Association of this city for the use of their building, with all its elegant and commodious apartments, which has largely contributed to the success and comfort of the Conference. Our thanks are also presented to Mr. Peter Cooper and the Messrs. Steinway for the gratuitous use of their halls, and to the trustees of the several churches whose buildings have been generously placed at our disposal.

TO PASTORS AND CHURCHES.

MOVED BY THE REV. WM. ARNOT, OF EDINBURGH.

Resolved, That the General Conference recognizes with great satisfaction the interest which the pastors and churches of the city of New York, Brooklyn, and vicinity have taken in the Evangelical Alliance, which interest appears to pervade the whole country.

TO THE FAMILIES WHO HAVE ENTER-TAINED DELEGATES.

MOVED BY THE REV. J. C. HARRISON, OF LONDON.

Resolved, That the most cordial thanks of the delegates from abroad are due and are hereby affectionately presented to the Christian families of this city who have with so much hospitality received us into their homes, and contributed so largely to our comfort and happiness; the memory of

which we shall cherish with gratitude when we return to our several countries, and through the remainder of our lives.

TO THE PRESS.

MOVED BY THE REV. DR. BUDINGTON, OF BROOKLYN.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Alliance are due, and are hereby tendered to the Press in this city and elsewhere, which has given to the public, and at great expense, reports remarkably full and accurate of the papers read and the speeches uttered at these assemblies; and our acknowledgments are also made for the intelligent appreciation so generally shown of the objects and spirit of this Alliance.

TO STEAM-SHIP AND RAILROAD COMPANIES, AND TO VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

MOVED BY THE REV. DR. SCHIAFF, OF NEW YORK.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Conference be presented to the proprietors and agents of the several Transatlantic steamship lines who so generously furnished facilities of transportation for the foreign delegates, and to those American railroad companies who so kindly proffered free excursions to both foreign and American delegates, thereby greatly contributing to the success of the Conference and to the gratification of all its members; also to the various institutions that have extended courtesies to the members of the Conference.

TO THE COMMITTEES AND OFFICERS OF THE CONFERENCE.

MOVED BY JAS. GIRDLESTONE, ESQ., OF LONDON.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Conference be presented to the several committees of the United States Alliance for their labors in making preparation for this Conference; and to the officers of the Conference for their efforts to conduct its proceedings to a satisfactory result.

TO PRESIDENT WOOLSEY.

MOVED BY THE REV. DR. HALL, OF NEW YORK.

Resolved, That the cordial thanks of the members and friends of the Evangelical Alliance, now in Conference, be tendered to the venerable Dr. Woolsey for the wisdom, fidelity, and efficiency with which he has filled the chair of the President during these lengthened sessions.

[The resolution having been seconded, was put by the mover, and carried with marked cordiality.]

APPENDIX III.

STATISTICAL TABLES—ROLL OF MEMBERS—
BASIS AND CONSTITUTION OF ALLIANCE
—IN MEMORIAM.

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A STATISTICAL EXHIBIT OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES.¹

BY THE REV. DANIEL DORCHESTER, A.M., LOWELL, MASS.

WITHIN the brief limits assigned to this paper, only a bare statement of numbers can be given, without comments, and with only such explanations as are indispensable. With very considerable labor and correspondence the data have been collected, as far as possible, from official sources, and the utmost care and fidelity have been observed in the use that has been made of them. No

comparisons with the past, showing the wonderful progress which American Christianity has made, will be attempted. The exhibit for a single year of itself will be deeply impressive and inspiring. The figures, for the most part, will represent the year 1872, complete data for the present year from so broad a field not being yet obtainable.

I.—STATISTICS OF CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS, MINISTERS, AND COMMUNICANTS, FOR 1872.

TABLE I.
CHURCHES NOT EMBRACED IN ECCLESIASTICAL FAMILIES.

Denominations.	Churches.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Congregationalists ²	3263	3201	315,916
Episcopalians ³	2950	3004	239,218
Friends ⁴.....	....	....	57,405
Moravians ⁵.....	....	72	7,916
Evangelical Adventists ⁶.....	....	50	6,000
Mennonites ⁷	270	325	39,100
German Evangelical Church Union, Bible Christians, Schwenkfelders, and a few other small bodies (estimated).....	....	....	35,000
Total.....	6483	6652	703,555

TABLE II.⁸
THE LUTHERAN FAMILY OF CHURCHES.

Lutheran Bodies.	Churches.	Ministers.	Communicants.
General Synod of the U. States of America	1148	665	103,320
General Council of America.....	872	476	138,117
Southern General Synod.....	169	91	11,844
Synodical Conference of North America...	1165	756	191,134
Other Synods.....	529	227	42,780
Total.....	3883	2215	487,195

¹ [This exhibit of Protestant Church Statistics was not brought before the Conference, but is here inserted by direction of the Committee on the Programme, and may serve, in part, to supply the deficiency of the first division containing the Reports on the State of Religion. The author of this paper has in preparation a larger statistical work on the progress of American Christianity during the national century now closing.—P. S.]

² From the *Congregational Quarterly*, January, 1873, prepared by Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D.

³ From the "Episcopal Church Almanac for 1873."

[According to the Protestant Episcopal Almanac for 1874, the number of bishops is 53; the number of other clergy, 3065; the number of communicants, 246,051. The religious and social influence of this body is much greater than its numerical strength, especially in the large cities—New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Quite recently a secession has taken place, headed by Dr. George David Cummins, lately Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky. It was organized in New York, December 2, 1873, under the name of the *Reformed Episcopal Church*, on the basis of the provisional (Dr. White's) Prayer-book of 1785, and has two bishops, George D. Cummins, and Charles E. Cheney, of Chicago, who was consecrated by the former.—P. S.]

⁴ For 1871, from the *Friend's Review*, and embracing only the "evangelical" portion of the denomination.

⁵ From the Moravian "Text-book" for 1873.

⁶ Estimated by Rev. Josiah Litch, a very worthy and leading minister among this class of Adventists. Besides these, there are about 50,000 Adventists who hold Arian and Materialistic views.

⁷ For 1867, from Professor Schem's tables.

⁸ These statistics were taken from the "New York Observer Year-book for 1873."

[The "Lutheran Almanac" for 1874 gives the following numbers:

	Churches.	Ministers.	Communicants.
General Synod of the United States of America.....	1182	711	106,517
General Council of America.....	968	502	152,470
Southern General Synod.....	165	98	12,419
Synodical Conference of North America.....	1426	873	202,285
Other Synods.....	605	248	54,848
Total.....	4346	2432	528,539

TABLE III.
THE PRESBYTERIAN FAMILY OF CHURCHES.

Bodies bearing the name "Presbyterian."	Churches.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Presbyterians, ¹ O. S. & N. S., reunited in 1870.....	4,502	4,534	472,023
" Southern ²	1,555	869	93,003
" "United" ³ of North America.....	772	591	73,452
" Cumberland ⁴	1,572	1,108	86,174
" Synod of Reform ⁵	100	90	8,752
" "Free Synod" of.....	.....	.....	.....
" Associate Reformed Synod of the South ⁶.....	.....	70	Estimated
" O. S. Synod of Missouri ⁷.....	.....	75	30,000
" Other minor bodies.....	.....	.....	.....
General Synod of Reformed Church ⁸	132	58	10,009
Total Presbyterians.....	9,263	7,395	774,343
<i>Kindred Bodies.</i>			
Reformed Church ⁷ (late Dutch Reformed).....	481	501	67,123
Reformed Church ⁷ (late German Reformed).....	1,312	585	130,299
Total kindred bodies.....	1,793	1,086	197,422
Total Presbyterian Family.....	11,056	8,481	971,765

[N. B.—The above Table has been submitted to Rev. Dr. Hatfield, and by him brought down to the latest accessible dates.—Ed.]

TABLE IV.
THE BAPTIST FAMILY OF CHURCHES.

Bodies bearing the name "Baptist."	Churches.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Baptists, ⁹ Regular (North and South).....	19,720	11,893	1,585,232
" Free-will ¹⁰ (main body).....	1,463	1,197	69,910
Minor independent bodies ¹⁰ of Free-will Baptists—The Chatahoochie, American, Tow River, West Virginia, Arkansas, United Indiana, Central Illinois, Southern Illinois, Union, Ky., Cumberland, Ky., Alabama, North Missouri, Sandy Creek, Illinois, Saline Co., Missonri, North-west Illinois, and North Carolina Associa- tions.....	246	....	12,610
Baptists, Colored Southern ¹¹ (Additional).....	....	....	75,000
" Anti-Mission ¹².....	....	....	40,000
" Seventh-day ¹³	78	86	7,609
" Seventh-day, German ¹⁴	20	....	2,000
" Six Principle ¹⁴	22	20	3,000
Total Baptists by name.....	21,549	13,196	1,795,361
<i>Kindred Bodies.</i>			
Disciples, or Campbellites ¹⁵.....	....	....	200,000
Church of God, or Winebrennarians.....	400	350	30,000
Dnknkers ¹⁶	500	1,200	50,000
River Brethren, and other small bodies ¹⁴.....	....	....	16,000
Total kindred bodies.....	900	1,550	296,000
Total Baptist Family.....	22,449	14,746	2,091,361

¹ From the "Minutes of General Assembly" for 1873.

² From the "Minutes of the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church for 1873."

³ "Minutes of the General Assembly of said Church for 1873.

⁴ "Minutes" of said Church for 1873.

⁵ "Minutes of the Synod for 1872."

⁶ "The Tercentenary-book" of Presbyterianism, pp. 195, 196.

⁷ From the "N. Y. Observer Year-book" for 1873.

⁸ "Minutes of the Synod for 1872."

⁹ From "Baptist Year-book for 1873." The Regular Baptists are divided into two General Conventions, North and South, which are entirely independent of each other. The Northern Convention represents 6052 churches, 4460 ministers, and 519,736 communicants; and the Southern Convention represents 13,663 churches, 7431 ministers, and 1,065,496 communicants.

¹⁰ "Free-will Baptist Almanac for 1873." The statistics of some of the minor bodies are for 1870.

¹¹ About two-thirds of the colored Baptists in the South, although, according to Rev. N. G. Merry and other leading ministers of that body, independent of the Regular Baptists (white), in all their ecclesiastical associations, are nevertheless reckoned in with the Regular Baptists, in their Year-book (q.v.). The 75,000 "additional" is on the basis of numbers given to the compiler of these tables, by Rev. Mr. Merry, of Nashville, Tenn.

¹² In the "Baptist Almanac for 1861" as having 80,000 communicants. They have since declined. They are estimated at 40,000 in 1872.

¹³ From official sources for 1870.

¹⁴ Estimated.

¹⁵ This denomination make no enrollment of communicants. They are estimated at 350,000. Quite decided Arian tendencies have been manifested among them; but it is supposed that 200,000 of them may be classified as evangelical.

¹⁶ Baptist Year-book for 1873."

TABLE V.
THE METHODIST FAMILY OF CHURCHES.

Bodies bearing the name "Methodist."	Ministers. ¹	Local Preachers.	Probationers.	Members.	Total Communicants. ²
Methodist Episcopal Church ³	10,242	11,964	185,945	1,272,496	1,468,683
" " " South ⁴	3,013	5,134	....	651,146	654,159
" " Colored Church, } South ⁵.....	....	5,838	....	67,888	67,888
Methodist Episcopal African (Bethel) } Church.....	1,000	5,000	25,000	350,000	376,000
Methodist Episcopal African (Zion) } Church.....	700	900	25,000	174,300	200,000
Methodist Protestant Church.....	423	....	....	70,000	70,423
" Wesleyan Church.....	100	....	....	10,000	10,100
" Free Church ⁶	143	158	1,196	5,828	7,165
" Primitive Church ⁷	26	167	455	2,667	3,148
" Reformed Church.....	....	....	....	3,200	3,200
" Welsh Calvinistic Church..	20	....	....	2,000	2,000
" Congregational Church....	110	....	....	8,000	8,000
"The Methodist Church".....	766	432	1,796	52,000	54,562
Total Methodists.....	16,543	29,593	239,392	2,669,525	2,925,328
<i>Kindred Bodies.</i>					
Evangelical Association.....	660	453	....	81,690	82,350
United Brethren.....	870	831	....	125,464	126,334
"Bible Union," and other smaller } bodies.....	....	....	....	12,000	12,000
Total kindred bodies.....	1,530	1,284	....	219,154	220,684
Total Methodist Family.....	18,073	30,877	239,392	2,888,679	3,146,012

TABLE VI.
GENERAL SUMMARY.

Families of Churches, etc.	Churches.	Ministers.	Communicants.
Churches not existing as families.....	6,483	6,652	703,555
The Lutheran Family of Churches.....	3,883	2,215	487,195
The Presbyterian Family of Churches.....	11,056	8,481	971,765
The Baptist Family of Churches.....	22,449	14,746	2,091,361
The Methodist Family of Churches.....	27,538 ⁸	18,073	3,146,012
Aggregate.....	71,409⁷	50,167	7,399,888

From the foregoing tables we have the following results, representing the forces of

Evangelical Christianity in the United States in the year 1872:

Ministers.....	50,167
Church organizations.....	71,409
Communicants.....	7,399,888

II.—HIGHER EDUCATION.⁸

Collegiate institutions authorized by the States to confer degrees in the arts:

Congregationalists.....	21
Presbyterians (all kinds).....	31
Baptists (all kinds).....	38
Episcopalians.....	18
Methodists (all kinds).....	53
United Brethren.....	5
Lutherans.....	16
Reformed (Dutch and German).....	6
Friends.....	4
Evangelical Association.....	1
Moravians.....	1
Total.....	194
Number of professors reported in 162 institutions.....	1,444
Number of students reported in 157 institutions.....	15,208

¹ Embraces ministerial members of the Annual Conferences.

² Embraces ministers, members in full, and probationers, all of whom, according to the Methodist usages, constitute the body of communicants. The ministers are reckoned in here because they are not numbered as members of the local societies, as in most other denominations.

³ From the Annual Minutes for 1872.
⁴ See Table in the Nashville *Christian Advocate*, April 5th, 1873.

⁵ Statistical report of the Special General Conference, held at Augusta, Ga., March 19th, 1873.

⁶ The Annual Minutes of the various Methodist bodies do not report the number of societies, or church organizations. In many instances the name of a society which appears in the Minutes is only the leading society of a "circuit," which often contains from two to ten or more small societies, served by several ministers. The above number has, therefore, been taken from the United States Census for 1870, which gives the number of church "organizations" as a distinct item from church edifices. It embraces 25,278 bearing the name Methodist, 815 of the Evangelical Association, and 1442 of the United Brethren. Total, 27,538.

⁷ When compared with the number given by the United States Census, there is an apparent discrepancy. According to that document, the whole number of Church organizations, including Catholic and other non-evangelical bodies, in 1870, was 72,459. This is, however, explained by the fact that most of the above are for a period two years later, and also by

the notes given by the Superintendent of the census on pages 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 524, 525, and 526 of the Compendium.

⁸ The data for this table have been collected from the valuable Report on Education by General Eaton. Washington, D. C., 1872.

Theological Institutions.

Congregationalists.....	8
Presbyterians (all kinds).....	19
Baptists (all kinds).....	22
Moravians.....	1
United Brethren.....	1
Episcopalians.....	12
Methodists (all kinds).....	13
Lutheran and German Reformed Churches.....	21
Total.....	97

In the above list, in some cases, only a professorship of theology is represented, or a provision for quite limited theological instruction.

Professors reported in 82 institutions.....	304
Students reported in 78 institutions.....	2,825
Whole number of graduates reported from 45 institutions.....	19,531

All of the above institutions are under the patronage and supervision of the evangelical churches.

III.—FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Foreign Missionary Boards in the United States.....	18
Foreign Missions.....	83
Foreign Stations and Sub-stations.....	2,273
Foreign Missionaries—males.....	458
“ “—females.....	514
Total laborers on foreign stations.....	3,968
Native converts enrolled.....	96,039
Scholars in schools (day)—(incomplete).....	66,436
Woman's Missionary Boards.....	10
Auxiliaries.....	3,625
Foreign Missionaries supported.....	205
Assistant laborers, Bible-readers, etc.....	293
Schools supported.....	195

IV.—HOME MISSIONS.

Home Missionary Boards, including societies in aid of Freedmen, American Sunday-school Union, etc.....	38
Laborers—Ministers, Licentiates, Colporteurs, Teachers, etc.....	8,781
Localities supplied with religious instruction.....	9,129
Conversions and additions to churches reported in one year.....	26,918
Sunday-schools organized in one year.....	4,621

V.—RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS, BOOKS, TRACTS, ETC.

About nineteen-twentieths of the religious periodical literature is furnished by the evangelical churches.

Number of periodicals*.....	407
Regular circulation.....	4,764,358
Copies issued in one year.....	125,950,496

There are not less than twenty Religions Publication Boards sustained by the evangelical churches in the United States. The annual receipts from sales and charitable do-

* See United States Census for 1870.

nations of sixteen of these houses amounted in 1872 to \$4,165,370, of which \$725,158.72 was received in charitable contributions by fourteen societies.

Amount of Publications.

	Volumes.
American Bible Society, in 57 years, Bibles and Testaments.....	30,390,824
American Tract Society, in 48 years.....	26,188,405
Methodist Book Concern, New York, in 16 years.....	25,353,306
American Tract Society, Boston, in 11 years.....	3,915,926
Total volumes by four houses in given years.....	85,848,461

Tracts.

	Pages.
American Tract Society, in 48 years.....	2,635,108,095
American Tract Society, Boston, in 11 years.....	92,930,520
Methodist Book Concern, New York, in 12 years.....	63,344,800
Total pages of tracts by three houses.....	2,791,433,415

The Presbyterian Board of Publication, in 33 years, published 18,609,656 copies of volumes and tracts.

The Baptist Publication Board, in 49 years, published 46,232,017 copies of volumes and tracts, which were equal to 2,182,834,947 pages 18mo. .

VI.—PECUNIARY LIBERALITY.

Receipts of leading benevolent societies, in a single year, in the United States (1872).

For Foreign Missions.....	\$2,150,000
For Home Missions.....	2,600,000
For Church Extension.....	500,000
For Ministerial Education.....	450,000
For Religions Publication work.....	725,000
Total.....	\$6,425,000

The above are only a small portion of the charitable offerings of the evangelical churches—some of the most important.

Total receipts of four classes of religious societies, from the organization of each down to 1873.

Religious Publication Boards.....	\$73,000,000
Foreign Mission Boards.....	37,000,000
Home Mission Boards.....	33,000,000
Ministerial Education Boards.....	11,000,000
Total.....	\$154,000,000

These figures are taken from tables nearly completed, by the author of this paper, from data collected from official sources.

“The Lord God of our fathers make us a thousand times so many more as we are, and bless us as he hath promised” (Deut. i., 11).

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HELD IN THE

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 Rev. F. A. Noble, D.D.
 Rev. J. C. Pershing, D.D.
 Rev. S. F. Scovel, D.D.
 Rev. E. K. Squier, D.D.

Rochester, N. Y.

Rev. D. K. Bartlett.
 J. D. Bell.
 Louis Chapin.
 Rev. J. W. Freund.
 W. B. Levet.
 Rev. J. L. Robertson.
 Rev. C. Siehenpfeiffer.

San Francisco, Cal.

Rev. T. M. Cunningham, D.D.
 Rev. Otis Gibson.

Springfield, Ohio.

Rev. A. H. Bassett.
 Rev. A. Lowry, D.D.
 Rev. P. H. Mowry.

St. Anne, Ill.

Rev. C. Chiniquy.

St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. A. H. Burlingham, D.D.
 Rev. C. H. Foote, D.D.

Syracuse, N. Y.

Rev. A. F. Beard.
 Rev. J. H. Frazee.
 Rev. D. D. Love, D.D.
 Rev. Nelson Millard.
 Rev. B. Pick.
 Rev. E. G. Thurber.

Taylorville, Ill

Rev. L. F. Walker.

Toledo, Ohio.

Rev. H. M. Bacon.
 Rev. J. G. Fraser.
 Rev. H. M. M'Cracken.

Washington, D. C.

Rev. J. G. Butler, D.D.
 Rev. G. D. Chenoweth.
 Rev. J. W. Parker, D.D.
 Rev. Dr. Rankin.
 Rev. Byron Sanderland, D.D.
 Rev. O. H. Tiffany, D.D.
 Rev. W. W. Williams, D.D.

INVITED GUESTS.

In addition to the Delegates from various Branches of the Alliance, the following gentlemen were admitted to the floor of the Conference by invitation of the United States Alliance.

Prof. C. A. Aiken, D.D., Princeton, N. J.
 Rev. Jas. Allison, D.D., Pittsburg, Pa.
 Rev. L. H. Atwater, D.D., Princeton, N. J.
 Rev. F. D. Ayer, Concord, N. H.
 Rev. J. C. Backus, D.D., Baltimore, Md.
 Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
 Rev. W. S. Blackstock, Goderich, Canada.
 Rev. S. W. Boardman, Auburn, N. Y.
 Rev. J. H. A. Bomberger, D.D., Freeland, Pa.
 Rev. N. Bouton, D.D., Concord, N. H.
 Pres. S. G. Brown, D.D., Clinton, N. Y.
 Rev. J. J. Carruthers, D.D., Portland, Me.
 Rev. Alexis Caswell, D.D., Providence, R. I.
 Pres. W. C. Cattell, D.D., Easton, Penn.
 L. T. Chamberlain, Chicago, Ill.
 Rev. J. T. Champlin, D.D., Waterville, Me.
 Rev. Pharcellus Church, D.D., New York.
 James Court, Montreal, Canada.
 Rev. Samuel H. Cox, D.D., Bronxville, N. Y.
 Pres. J. Cummings, D.D., Middletown, Conn.
 Rev. Daniel Curry, D.D., New York.
 Rev. Henry Darling, D.D., Albany, N. Y.
 Rev. Cyrns Dickson, D.D., New York.
 Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, St. Louis, Mo.
 Rev. John O. Fiske, D.D., Bath, Me.
 D. K. Flickinger, Dayton, O.
 Rev. Ephraim Flint, D.D., Hinsdale, Mass.
 Rev. P. H. Fowler, D.D., Utica, N. Y.
 Prof. W. H. Green, D.D., Princeton, N. J.
 Hon. Dauliel Haines, Hamburg, N. J.
 Hon. Wm. F. Havemeyer, New York.
 Rev. E. O. Haven, D.D., New York.
 James Hemphill, Chester, S. C.
 Rev. Thos. Holmes, D.D., Merom, Ind.
 Oliver Hoyt, Stamford, Conn.
 Rev. A. S. Hunt, D.D., Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Rev. R. Irvine, D.D., Augusta, Geo.
 Rev. M. W. Jacobus, D.D., Allegheny, Penn.
 Bishop E. S. James, D.D., New York.
 Rev. H. Kendall, D.D., New York.
 Rt. Rev. Alfred Lee, D.D., Delaware.
 Rev. John Leyburn, D.D., Baltimore, Md.

Pres. George Loomis, D.D., Meadville, Penn.
 Rev. C. H. Malcolm, D.D., Newport, R. I.
 Hon. J. W. Marshall, Washington, D. C.
 Pres. J. A. M'Canley, D.D., Carlisle, Penn.
 Rev. A. T. M'Gill, D.D., Princeton, N. J.
 Rev. J. M. M'Donald, D.D., Princeton, N. J.
 Rev. Samuel Mease, Cincinnati, O.
 Rev. F. Merrick, D.D., Delaware, O.
 Rev. James Morrow, New Orleans, La.
 T. H. Nevin, Allegheny, Penn.
 Pres. F. H. Newbold, Delaware, O.
 Hon. Peter Parker, M.D., Washington, D. C.
 Rev. Wm. Patton, D.D., New Haven, Conn.
 Rev. George Peck, D.D., New York.
 Rev. T. Pryor, D.D., Nottoway C. H., Va.
 Rev. L. C. Ransom, Memphis, Tenn.
 Rev. C. H. Read, D.D., Richmond, Va.
 Pres. Asa D. Smith, D.D., Hanover, N. H.
 Rev. J. F. Stearns, D.D., Newark, N. J.
 Pres. W. A. Stearns, D.D., Amherst, Mass.
 Rev. Abel Stevens, L.L.D., New York.
 Rev. N. Summerbell, D.D., Cincinnati, O.
 Rev. Elliot E. Swift, D.D., Allegheny, Penn.
 Rev. Sewall Tenney, D.D., Ellsworth, Me.
 E. S. Toby, Boston, Mass.
 Pres. J. F. Tuttle, D.D., Crawfordsville, Ind.
 Rev. A. R. Van Nest, D.D., Florence, Italy.

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES.

Rev. Andrew Abraham, South Africa.
 Rev. H. J. Bruce, India.
 Rev. C. H. Carpenter, Burmah.
 Rev. Justus Doolittle, China.
 Rev. Joseph Edkins, China.
 Rev. A. Gront, South Africa.
 Rev. Samuel Jessup, Syria.
 Rev. Gulian Lansing, Egypt.
 Rev. S. G. M'Farland, Siam.
 Rev. Benjamin Schneider, D.D., Constantinople.
 Rev. John C. Smith, Ceylon.
 Rev. J. V. N. Talmage, D.D., China.
 Rev. J. J. Walsh, India.

THE BASIS OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

ADOPTED AT THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN BRANCH OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, IN JANUARY, 1867.

Resolved, That in forming an Evangelical Alliance for the United States, in co-operative union with other Branches of the Alliance, we have no intention or desire to give rise to a new denomination or sect; nor to effect an amalgamation of Churches, except in the way of facilitating personal Christian intercourse and a mutual good understanding; nor to interfere in any way whatever with the internal affairs of the various denominations; but simply to bring individual Christians into closer fellowship and co-operation, on the basis of the spiritual union which already exists in the vital relation of CHRIST to the members of his body in all ages and countries.

Resolved, That, in the same spirit, we propose no new creed; but, taking broad, historical and evangelical catholic ground, we solemnly re-affirm and profess our faith in all the doctrines of the inspired Word of GOD, and in the *consensus* of doctrines as held by all true Christians from the beginning. And we do more especially affirm our belief in the *Divine-human person* and *atoning work of our LORD and SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST*, as the only and sufficient source of salvation, as the heart and soul of Christianity, and as the centre of all true Christian union and fellowship.

Resolved, That, with this explanation, and in the spirit of a just Christian liberality in regard to the minor differences of theological schools and religious denominations, we also adopt, as a summary of the *consensus* of the various Evangelical Confessions of Faith, the Articles and Explanatory Statement set forth and agreed on by the Evangelical Alliance at its formation in London, 1846, and approved by the separate European organizations; which articles are as follows:

"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 the 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 the sins 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 being, however, distinctly declared 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."

C O N S T I T U T I O N
OF THE
UNITED STATES EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

ADOPTED JANUARY, 1867.

Revised at the Sixth Annual Meeting, January 26, 1874.

ARTICLE I.

This Organization shall be known as THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ARTICLE II.

The objects of this Association shall be to manifest and strengthen Christian unity, and to promote religious liberty and co-operation in Christian work, without interfering with the internal affairs of different denominations.

ARTICLE III.

Any person may be introduced as a member of this Alliance, on his own application, by signing the Constitution, and assenting to the principles, the basis, and the objects of this Association.

ARTICLE IV.

The officers of this Alliance shall be a PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENTS, HONORARY SECRETARIES, CORRESPONDING and RECORDING SECRETARIES, and a TREASURER.

ARTICLE V.

The business of this Alliance shall be conducted by an Executive Committee, elected annually by the Alliance from the various denominations of Christians represented in the Alliance; and the officers of the Alliance shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee. The members shall hold their places until the election of their successors; and are empowered to fill their own vacancies. The Executive Committee shall meet by appointment of the Alliance, or, on its own adjournment, or at the call of the Chairman, by the request or with the consent of any five members; provided that, in case of every special meeting, due notice shall be given. Five members shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VI.

The Alliance shall meet annually, at such time and place as the Executive Committee may appoint.

ARTICLE VII.

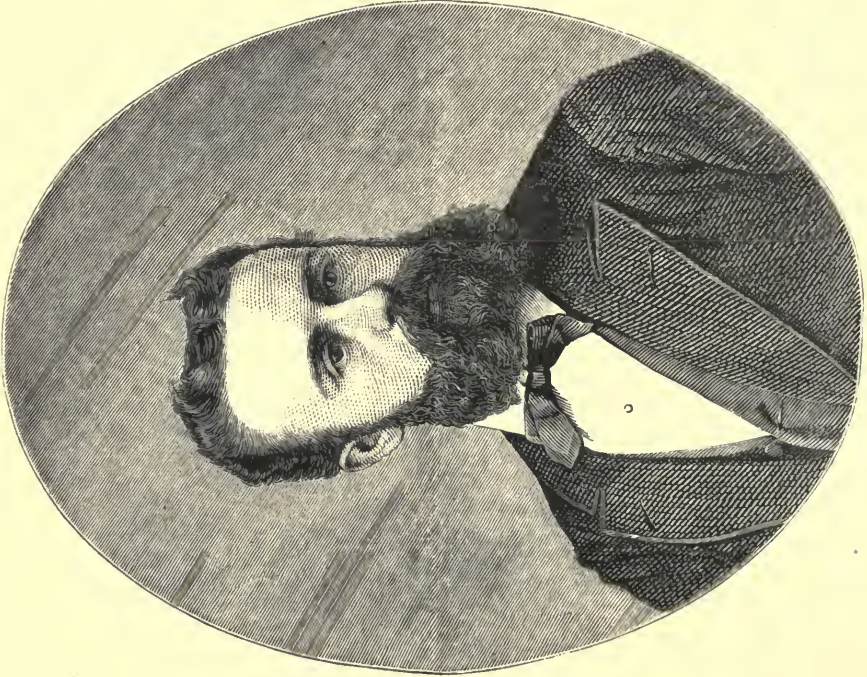
Local organizations in the United States, adopting the principles of this Alliance, may become connected with it by a vote of the Executive Committee, their members thus becoming individually members of this Alliance.

ARTICLE VIII.

This Constitution may be altered only at an annual meeting, and by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, provided notice of the amendment be given at a previous annual meeting; unless the alteration be recommended by the Executive Committee.



PROF. CESAR FRONIER.



REV. ANTONIO CARRASCO.

In Memory of PRONIER AND CARRASCO.

EVERY good cause has its martyrs, but the "blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church."

It is our sad duty to close this volume with an obituary notice of two eminent delegates to the General Conference, who, on their return to Europe, found a watery grave in the Atlantic Ocean, while their spirits, united in life by the bonds of friendship and Christian brotherhood, went up to the assembly of the first-born in heaven.

On a visit to Europe, in behalf of the General Conference, in 1869, I met Professor César Pronier at the Swiss Pastoral Conference in Geneva, where he delivered one of the principal addresses, and the youthful Antonio Carrasco, at the Church Diet in Stuttgart, where he spoke with Southern fervor on the opening prospects of a new reformation in Spain, Count Andreas Bernstorff acting as his interpreter. I became convinced that they were the proper men to represent, at the International Conference, the one the Free Church of Geneva, the other the evangelization movement in Spain. Both were gentlemen of acknowledged ability and power, and earnest, devoted Christians. They were accordingly invited to the Conference in 1870, and again in 1873, and accepted the invitation. Their addresses before the Conference are embodied in this volume, and will be read with a melancholy interest.

Professor CÉSAR-LOUIS PRONIER was born forty-two years ago, at Geneva, Switzerland, October 19, 1831. In early life he came to this country, and engaged for a short time in business in the State of New York, but returned to Switzerland, and studied for the Gospel ministry at Geneva and in the University of Berlin. At the age of thirty-two (1863), he was called to the chair of Systematic Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Free Church in Geneva, formerly occupied by the distinguished Dr. Gausson. He was justly regarded, especially after the death of his colleague, Dr. Merle d'Anbigné (1872), as the pillar of this institution, and as one of the champions of Protestant Christianity in French Switzerland. He was greatly esteemed and beloved by his friends and pupils; all Geneva was agitated by the news of his death, and manifested its sympathy by liberal aid to his bereaved family. He leaves a widow in delicate health, and six children—three sons and three daughters—the oldest not quite fourteen years of age. Professor Pronier, when on the eve of departure, before the outbreak of war in 1870, wrote to a friend that he apprehended he would never return from America, but considered it his duty to the Alliance and to his institution to go. He had the same presentiment in 1873; he spoke of it to his friends, and hoped that something might occur which would justify him to remain at home. But he made the sacrifice; he bade his family and friends his *dernier adieu*, and landed, after a stormy passage, in New York, August 29. He spent some delightful weeks with friends at Princeton, and afterward visited the literary institutions of New York and New England. He was very modest and retiring, but preached several times, addressed students of theology, and performed his duty to the Alliance faithfully. At the close of his address before the Conference the following significant passage occurs:

"The future is obscure, gentlemen; as obscure as those cloudy and indistinct horizons toward which, when crossing the Atlantic, I have sometimes seen the passengers on deck casting uneasy glances. The mighty ship was dashing through the trackless ocean; her prow was cleaving the foaming waves; her sails were swelling in the wind, and the heavy sound of her working engines struck on the ear; thus, with the ever-increasing obscurity, did we sail into night and darkness. So it is often with nations. What is in store for us I know not. Perhaps the future has in reserve for us strange surprises that will far exceed our hopes or fears. The horizon may perhaps clear when some kindly breeze springs up to drive away the thickest of the fog. But be that as it

may, be certain, gentlemen, that Switzerland will never become the hot-bed of clerical fanaticism. We are assured that God will never abandon that home of liberty, that theatre of religious events which, with the names of Zwingle and Calvin, have borne the blessings of the Reformation to the most distant coast of your distant land. He will remember the work of our fathers. He will inspire the faithful preachers of his Word, the churches and societies jealous of his glory, with a heroic and simple faith. He will destroy the best-laid plans of the enemy. Therefore, gentlemen, let Switzerland hold a large place in your affections. Pray for her in this her day of crisis. Often does she direct her gaze toward you. Remember her also; and may a powerful current of sympathies traverse the seas like that submarine wire which enables us to maintain uninterrupted communication with each other!"

Rev. ANTONIO CARRASCO was one of the leaders of the new reformation in Spain. He was born in Malaga, January 19, 1843, and was consequently only thirty-one years of age when he closed his career on earth. When a youth of sixteen, he became acquainted with the pure Gospel at Gibraltar, gave his heart to Christ, and joined a little band of Bible-readers which Matamoros had gathered around him at Malaga. Persecution soon began, and he was imprisoned for two years, with Matamoros and six other Spaniards, for no other crime but holding devotional meetings and reading the Scriptures. They were then condemned to hard labor as galley-slaves. The Evangelical Alliance sent a deputation to Madrid in May, 1863; and, although not admitted to the presence of Queen Isabella, it obtained their release. Their sentence was changed from penal servitude to exile. Carrasco went to Geneva, and there studied theology for five years with Pronier and Merle d'Aubigné. A younger brother of his is now studying in the same seminary. Matamoros took refuge in Lausanne, and died in the arms of his friend Carrasco. After the expulsion of Queen Isabella from the throne of Spain, in September, 1868, and the consequent proclamation of religious liberty, Carrasco returned to Spain, and entered with great zeal on the work of evangelization. He became the pastor of the Free Church in Madrid, which he gathered and acceptably served till his departure for New York, intending to return to it with new vigor. Its membership gradually increased to about 700, and embraced all classes of society, though mostly of the poor and lowly. It is the largest of the twenty-seven Protestant congregations organized since 1868. Carrasco was considered the ablest, as he was the best educated, Protestant preacher in Spain. "He was," writes an English evangelist from Madrid, Dec. 9, 1873, "our principal representative, the mouth-piece of Protestantism in Spain. None like he had that marvelous command of language and that felicity of expression that carry away an audience." He was also the President of the Protestant Synod, and made frequent visits to the scattered congregations throughout Spain. Mr. Castelar, himself the first orator and statesman of his country, regarded him as one of the most eloquent speakers, and wished to engage his services for the Spanish Republic; but Carrasco preferred, in poverty, to preach the Gospel, and to labor for the spiritual regeneration of the most bigoted Romish nation on earth. He was, however, a decided Republican, and an ardent advocate of the abolition of slavery in the Spanish colonies, in behalf of which he addressed, early last year, in the hall of the Grand Opera in Madrid, an audience of three thousand hearers with great power. Two days before his departure from New York he made, in Dr. Adams's church, alongside of the converted Brahmin, Sheshādri, an earnest and vigorous speech in French and Spanish, and kindled an enthusiasm for the evangelization of his country which manifested itself at once in liberal donations for his young and struggling church. One lady alone gave him, just before he sailed, four hundred dollars in gold for the support of a colporteur. He leaves behind him a young widow with three children, one of whom was born while he was in this country.

These beloved brethren lingered after the close of the Conference for a few weeks, to promote the great objects to which their lives were consecrated at home. They obtained from friends in America some funds and promises of future aid for their fields of usefulness, and endeared themselves to many Christian people in our country. They embarked in the French steamer, the ill-fated *Ville du Havre*, November 15, 1873, and occupied the same state-room on the ship. The awful disaster that overtook the vessel on Saturday, the 22d day of November, at 2 A.M., and involved the death of the majority of her passengers, is part of the mournful history of the year 1873, and shed a gloom over many families of our own country. The steamer came into collision with the sailing vessel *Loch Earn*, was struck on the side in which was the state-room of our friends,

and sank in twelve minutes. It is probable that Mr. Carrasco was killed at the moment of the collision, as he was never seen afterward. Professor Pronier, fearfully injured about his head, and profusely bleeding, appeared for a moment on deck in an almost delirious state, and, going below again to his friend, sank with the steamer into the bosom of the deep. His last words to Rev. Emile Cook were words of pious resignation, "*Nous sommes entre les mains de Dieu.*" Thus died two noble martyrs to the cause of Christian union.*

When the distressing intelligence reached us first by telegraph, early in December, we made inquiries as to the condition in which the bereaved families of our delegates were left, and it was ascertained that they were entirely destitute of this world's goods.

The sympathies of Christian hearts in the United States were awakened, and at once it was resolved to make some expression in behalf of the widows and fatherless.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, held in the Bible House, December 22, the following preamble and resolutions, submitted by Rev. William Adams, D.D., were adopted, and cordially commended to the Christian people of this country :

Greatly afflicted by that mysterious Providence which has consigned to a watery grave Rev. Professor Pronier, of Geneva, and Rev. Antonio Carrasco, of Madrid, when on their homeward voyage from the recent Conference in this city, be it

Resolved, That, cherishing with great affection the memory of these brethren, who endeared themselves to so many during their recent visit to this country, we extend to their desolate families, in this sudden and terrible bereavement, our tenderest Christian sympathy.

As an expression of this affection and sympathy, and in cordial obedience to the Divine teaching to "love not in word only, but in deed and in truth," be it further

Resolved, That this Alliance will undertake to raise a memorial fund, to be held by the Finance Committee of the Evangelical Alliance in this country, who shall be empowered to expend the same, or its (semi-annual) income, according to their best judgment, to aid in the support of Mrs. Pronier and Mrs. Carrasco, and in the education of their children.

Resolved, That all churches sympathizing with the Evangelical Alliance be hereby requested to take a collection on the third Sabbath in January, or as near that time as possible, in furtherance of this object, confident that such an act will not only convey needful relief to the distressed, but will prove a means of promoting a new and greater interest in Christian brotherhood and Christian evangelism throughout the world.

Before this official action of the Evangelical Alliance, a large and deeply-affected congregation was gathered in the church on Madison Square, December 14, 1873, when addresses were made by Rev. Drs. Adams, Crosby, Schaff, Tyng, and Bishop Janes, and prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Murray. A collection was raised, amounting to more than \$900. On the same day, in the Broadway Tabernacle, Rev. Dr. Taylor, pastor, a collection of \$450 was taken.

These sums were largely increased by private donations from sundry individuals. One gentleman of the city gave \$1000. Another, who himself lost a daughter in the same shipwreck, made a thank-offering of \$100 for the rescue of his son, who escaped the same fate by swimming to the *Loch Earn*. Many sent in their contributions anonymously. Before the close of the year the sums contributed amounted to nearly \$4000, and it is hoped that they will soon be increased to \$10,000.

It is proposed to put this memorial fund into the hands of the Finance Committee of the Alliance, to be applied, at their discretion, for the benefit of the widows and children who have been so suddenly and terribly bereaved. Contributions may be sent to Caleb T. Rowe, Esq., Treasurer of the Evangelical Alliance, Bible House, New York.

Three other delegates to the Conference, all from Paris, were also on board the *Ville du Havre*: Rev. Messrs. Th. Lorriaux, Emile F. Cook, and N. Weiss; but we rejoice to know that, after heroic exertions to save some fellow-passengers, they escaped with their lives, and after many perils by sea arrived safely at home. Mr. Lorriaux was a great comfort to the rescued passengers on the *Trimountain*, and is spoken of by them in most grateful terms. Mr. Weiss was too sick to leave the *Loch Earn*, and Mr. Cook kindly remained

* We blush in the name of our common humanity, not to say Christianity, to record that the notorious *L'Univers*, of Paris, the chief organ of Ultramontane Romanism, represented this disaster as a righteous judgment of God on the *Ville du Havre* for carrying so many "false prophets" on board, especially the apostate Carrasco! Has the editor of that paper (since suspended) never read of the story of the Galileans, and the severe rebuke of our Lord? (Luke xiii., 1-5).

with him in the ship, which was severely injured by the collision, and ultimately perished; but in the very moment of this second shipwreck our two brethren came in sight of the *British Queen*, which, after some days, brought them to the shores of England. Mr. Weiss recovered; but Mr. Cook, who on his arrival in Paris was hardly recognized, in his strange clothing, by his own wife and children, is temporarily disabled, in consequence of the awful excitement of several weeks, and is now in the South of France. Special efforts are now making to repair their losses independently of the Pronier and Carrasco fund, and the Executive Committee has voted a contribution to each from the General Conference fund.

In the mean time their friends in Europe are active in the same charity. The good people of Geneva have outdone us in their exertions for the Pronier family, and have adopted the children as orphans of the Free Church.

We see, then, already a silver lining to this cloud. The calamity which has overtaken two eminent servants of Christ will be overruled, in the providence of God, for the advancement of his kingdom in Switzerland and Spain, and throughout the world. We recognize his hand in this affliction, and humbly and devoutly bow to the will of Him whose footsteps are in the mighty deep, and who doeth all things well.

P.S.—After the above was set in type, the whole sum of ten thousand dollars, which it was proposed to raise for this charity, has been secured, and even more, by contributions from many churches and benevolent individuals. The whole thing was done with little effort, and with the utmost promptness and cheerfulness. As one of many specimens, I quote a remark from a letter of the Rev. Dr. John Hall (January 23), inclosing a check for \$1515.75: "Of this sum, \$1052.50 came to me in checks, and the balance in cash, many of the contributors begging that no publication be made of their names, and some of those who handed me the money withholding their names. I never saw more cheerful giving."

Our brethren in Switzerland, as I just learn from Dr. Coulin, of Geneva, have raised with the same promptness even the double sum for the Pronier family alone (100,000 fr., or \$20,000), and 30,000 fr. (\$6000) for the Carrasco family. Well done, good old Switzerland!

We greatly rejoice in this practical illustration of the idea of Christian union, which the Evangelical Alliance aims to manifest and to strengthen. It is the best close of this volume. It was our blessed Lord who, by his Spirit of love, has directed the General Conference and inspired this beautiful charity. To him be all the glory!

P. S.

New York, January 27, 1874.

EMILE F. COOK.

BEFORE going to press, intelligence was received from Paris that another of our delegates, the Rev. EMILE F. COOK, after surviving two shipwrecks, died in the prime of life (44 years of age) at Hyères, in the South of France, January 29, 1874, and was buried at Nîmes, February 2, where he spent a part of his youth, and where he was married. His last words to his wife were: "Do not despond, every thing is for the best; I have the peace of God, I have it." He maintained to the last that he did well in going to America,



Emile Cook

and had no cause to regret it. He leaves a widow and seven children, the oldest a girl of 17, the youngest a baby of fifteen months, without means of support. His funeral was attended by a large and deeply-moved congregation and twenty-one ministers of the Gospel. Rev. M. Babut, Rev. M. Lelièvre, and others paid touching tribute to his memory, as an amiable gentleman, a devoted Christian, and a useful pastor. A full report is

given in *L'Évangéliste* of Nîmes, February 5, a paper once edited by himself, and now by his friend and fellow-delegate, Rev. M. Lelièvre.

Emile Cook was the son of the Rev. Dr. Charles Cook, the father of Methodism in France and in Switzerland. He was born in Niort (Deux-Sèvres), 1830, educated in Lausanne and the Wesleyan institutions in England, ordained to the Gospel ministry in 1854, and labored in several missionary stations in France, and, since 1866, as pastor of the French Wesleyan congregation in Paris. During the siege in 1870 he converted his church and house into a hospital, and was unremitting in his attention to the sick and wounded. He was also, for the last two years, President of the Wesleyan Conference in France. While in this country last autumn, as delegate of the Paris Committee of the Alliance to the General Conference, he endeared himself, as a lovely and manly Christian character, to all who became personally acquainted with him. He was greatly delighted with his visit to America, although not in good health at the time, and most grateful for the kind reception he received. So he expressed himself to me on his last visit, with Mr. Weiss, on the day before his departure. The only drawback to his pleasure was when he thought of the feeble, struggling Protestantism in his own native and beloved France, as contrasted with the powerful Protestantism of this country. "Pray for France," was his request; and "France for Jesus alone," was his highest wish.

After the shipwreck of the *Ville du Havre* he remained, in the heroic spirit of Christian self-denial, with his sick friend and fellow-delegate, the Rev. N. Weiss, on board the *Loch Earn*, and took such good care of him that the latter acknowledges that under God he owes his life to Cook. He conducted devotions with the officers and sailors every day. When, after long and terrible sufferings, they came in sight of the *British Queen*, just as the *Loch Earn* was about to sink, the captain turned to Cook, and said, "Your prayers have saved us." We have already referred to his arrival in Paris, and his departure for the South of France to restore his shattered health. At first he seemed to recover, and hoped soon to return to his work, but at last succumbed to the shock of the terrible disaster. His wife bears the loss with Christian resignation, and feels thankful that she was permitted to take care of her husband in his last moments.

Cook takes now his place with Pronier and Carrasco as a martyr of the General Conference and the cause of Christian union. The same charity which came so promptly and cheerfully to the aid of the families of our brethren from Geneva and Madrid, will at once be set in motion for the family of our brother from Paris; and the whole work, I trust, will be accomplished in a few weeks. On Monday, February 16, the Ministers' Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New York, after listening to the sad news and an appeal from Dr. Schaff, resolved to raise five thousand dollars for the benefit of the family of brother Cook, and appointed a committee, consisting of the Rev. Drs. Foss, Curry, Crooks, Judge Fancher, and others, to carry out the resolution. On Sunday evening, February 22, a memorial service was held in St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church, in Fourth Avenue, in which the pastor, Dr. Foss, Dr. Adams, Dr. Schaff, and Judge Fancher made addresses, and a liberal collection was taken up. A similar meeting was held in Brooklyn. The Executive Committee of the Alliance, on Monday, February 23, passed resolutions of sympathy with the Cook family similar to those reported in the case of Pronier and Carrasco. About two thousand dollars are already secured, and, more than this, a new and stronger interest has been kindled in the evangelization of France. So we may well say with our departed brother, now resting in heaven from his labors, "Every thing is for the best." The friends of the Alliance in Europe also will not deny themselves the privilege of manifesting their practical sympathy with "the fatherless and widows in their affliction." "And now abideth faith, hope, charity; but the greatest of these is charity."

New York, February 23, 1874.

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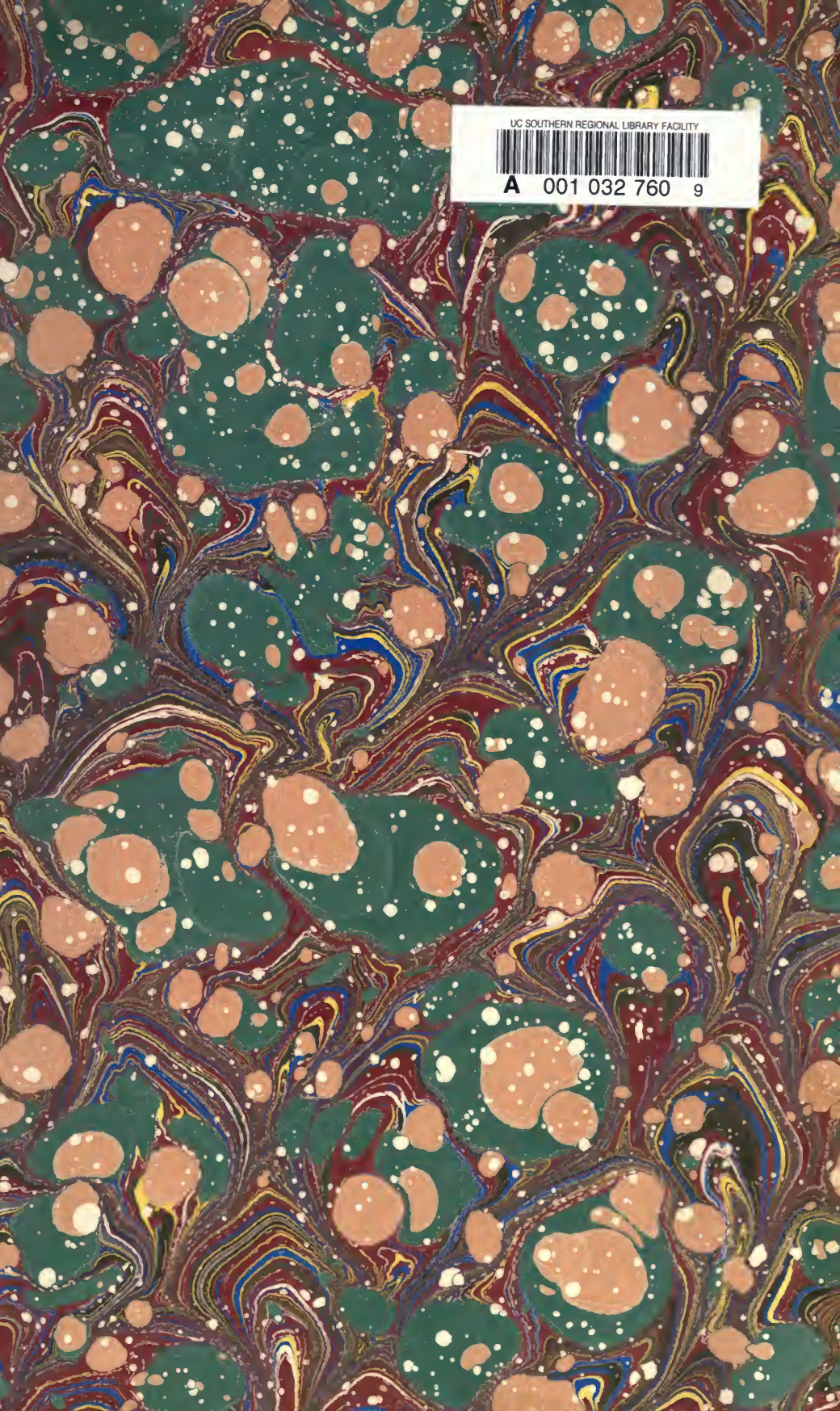
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