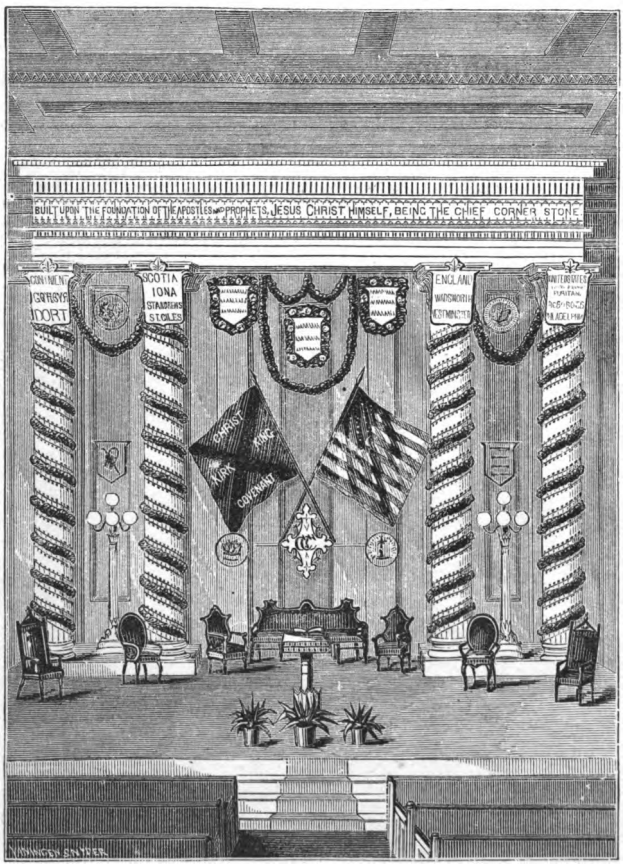
To Philadelphia Society
& Princeton College
from
J. McCosh



SEVENTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADA., DECORATED.

THE

TERCENTENARY BOOK.

COMMEMORATIVE OF THE COMPLETION OF

THE LIFE AND WORK OF JOHN KNOX, OF THE HUGUENOT MARTYRS OF FRANCE, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PRESBYTERY IN ENGLAND.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE "TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION" AS OBSERVED BY THE PRESBYTERIANS OF PHILADELPHIA, NOV. 20, 1872; THE ORATION OF PROF. S. J. WILSON, D.D., LL.D., AND HISTORICAL PAPERS OF THE REV. R. M. PATTERSON, THE REV. J. B. DALES, D.D., AND THE REV. JAMES McCOSH, D.D., LL.D.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE REV. HENRY C. McCOOK.

ILLUSTRATED.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION.
No. 1334 CHESTNUT STREET.

WESTCOTT & THOMSON,
Stereotypers and Electrotypers, Philada.

SHERMAN & CO.,
Printers, Phila.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY. By the Rev. H. C. McCook, Pastor of the Seventh Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia 9

JOHN KNOX: An Oration. By the Rev. Samuel J. Wilson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History, Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny.......... 63

PRESBYTERIANISM IN PHILADELPHIA. By the Rev. Robert M. Patterson, Pastor of the South Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.. 115

PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By the Rev. J. B. Dales, D.D., Pastor of the Second United Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia................................ 175

PRESBYTERIANISM IN FOREIGN LANDS. By the Rev. James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton.. 209

1*

INTRODUCTORY.

BY THE

REV. H. C. McCOOK,

PASTOR OF THE SEVENTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

INTRODUCTORY.

THIS MEMORIAL VOLUME, both as to the fact and the form of its existence, originated thus. An overture from the Synod of Toledo, and also one from the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, came before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at its sessions in Chicago, A. D. 1871, asking the Assembly to take order for the celebration, during the year 1872, of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the completion of the work and life of JOHN KNOX, in Scotland; the organization of the first Presbytery in England, and the MARTYRDOMS of St. Bartholomew's Day in France. Upon which the following action was taken:

"Resolved, 1. That the observance of this Tercentenary Year be recommended to all our Synods, Presbyteries and Congregations.

Resolved, 2. That a committee of three, the Moderator, (Rev. Z. M. Humphrey, D. D.,) being Chairman, be appointed to secure an address or addresses, to be delivered during the Sessions of the Assembly of 1872."

The purpose of this action was to revive in the hearts of the clergy, and awaken in the hearts of the people an intelligent interest in the Noble Army of Martyrs and Confessors, who from the very earliest ages, have professed, defended and suffered for the Scriptural doctrine and order known as PRESBYTERIANISM. The ultimate aim was to deepen the attachment of Presbyterians to their Church and its pure and apostolic principles of faith and government.

Presbyterians, as a people, have always been distinguished for general intelligence in matters concerning the Faith and the Church. But it is to be regretted that the mass of the American Branch of the Family, have not been sufficiently well informed as to the History of their own Church. This is due to several causes. The sources of information, the original documents, are not among us. Without these, he who writes upon the incidents of the past, is perforce limited to the narrow round of the magazinist, rather than encouraged to the wider sphere of the historian. This necessary guide, stimulus and support of historic study can only be had by a journey across the Atlantic. The terrible and continual struggle of a nation comparatively new, with the physical rudeness of a new country covering a continent, has allowed little leisure, or ability for the accumulation and study of historical materials.

The busy Present has pushed its claims upon us so persistently, that our hands and thoughts have been largely withheld from exploring the buried Past. Moreover, the mixed nationalities that are especially characteristic of the Presbyterian Church, have been to no inconsiderable degree, a hindrance to that concentration of interest and effort, from which history profits so largely. Scotland, England, Holland, France, Ireland, Switzerland, Italy, all have poured their streams of Presbyterian peoples into the currents of our ecclesiastical life. They have blended into a common national organization, or have run here and there and been absorbed by other denominations. Our children, many of them, have in their veins ancestral blood that represents all the chief transatlantic sources of Presbyterianism. It runs in sympathy with Covenanter, Puritan and Orangeman, with Huguenot, Hollander and Vaudois, and with each almost equally. It is therefore not to be wondered at that American Presbyterians, with such diffused sympathies and descent, and under such adverse circumstances as above mentioned, should have failed to show that concentrated and personal interest in the history of Presbyterian ancestors, which, for example, is possible to the members of the Church of Scotland.

Even with these hindering influences, however,

there is much to encourage wise effort in the direction of promoting a love and knowledge of our Church History. With increased wealth and culture and leisure there has come a deeper interest in the Past. Thousands of tourists annually cross the Atlantic, and return from the scenes and associations connected with the men and events of history, with quickened interest in all that belongs to them. Here and there an enthusiastic scholar, overcoming the obstacles of distance, burrows for a season among the libraries of the Old World, and gives noble testimony, as in the case of MOTLEY in his History of the Rise of the Dutch Republic, of our ability to make valuable contributions to the world's current knowledge of the history of both Church and State.

The variety of national and family traditions and sympathies, which heretofore has hindered the concentration of the thought and feeling of American Presbyterians, will in the future promote a more enlarged, even if less intense interest in the general history of the martyrs and confessors of our faith and order. Through the Providential changes of two centuries and a half, the Divine Head of the Church has already wrought out upon our shores a "Pan-Presbyterianism" than which nothing could be more complete. Scotch, English, Irish, Dutch, Swiss, French, Italian—elements from all these great Presby-

terian centres are here fused and kneaded together, and cast into the mold of the American Church. It is inevitable that our sympathies cannot be limited to the history of any one of the above named fields of inquiry. We belong to all of them, and they all belong to us. And we shall yet learn to cherish the historic records of them all as ours. To the community of faith there comes the kinship of blood to deepen and strengthen that sentiment which must send forth our interest and inquiries throughout the entire annals of Christendom.

Indeed, there is no branch of the Christian Church, certainly no one of the great Protestant Family, whose history presents so many points that may well command the attention, excite the interest, and awaken the pride of its adherents as does our own Presbyterian Church. And there is none whose history is more catholic in ecclesiastical annals. Without any disparagement of our beloved brethren of other denominations we may yet affirm this.

If we look into the history of the Anglican Church, we must search the records of the southern half of a little island of Europe. If we would read the noble and thrilling annals of Lutheranism, Germany for the most part holds out to us the scroll. But within what country of Europe can you shut up the grand historic doings

of the Presbyterian Church? In what one tongue can you read its annals?

What passages in history, of whatever age or people, can exceed in the thrilling interest of their surroundings, and in their momentous consequences to the race, the events that, for example, the Italian may tell you, have been wrought among the valleys and peaks of the Alps of Piedmont? —that the Switzer will narrate as he paddles you over his lakes or leads you along his mountain passes, and speaks of Calvin, Zwingle, Farel, Berne, Zurich and Geneva?—that the Netherlander will evoke around the noble form of William the Silent, or weave out of the stormy adventures of the "Wild Beggars of the Sea"?

What memories follow us through sunny France as we trace the sufferings and the valiant strivings of the Huguenots! What tales the Scotchman tells as we walk over hill and heather, and recall the days of the Covenants! With what mingled feelings of pride and regret do we listen while the Englishman recites how Presbyterians saved the liberties of England, saw their Church established in the realm, and then fell before the blow that, while it smote to the earth, yet gave history that imperishable tablet upon which is written the heroism of the Two Thousand non-conforming divines, who gave up position, influence, comfort that they might keep their conscience clean.

And, finally, what Irish Presbyterian has not felt his quick, warm blood beat quicker and glow more warmly as he described the siege of Londonderry, or sang of the Battle of Boyne Water?

Surely with a spiritual ancestry drawn from men and women of such heroic blood, with a Church History thus associated with so many of the noblest and most interesting eras and incidents in the annals of the human race, we should be unworthy of our high descent were we to let the records of the past die away from our memories. And yet, remembering how truly Catholic the life and work of our beloved Church has been and is; remembering how broad have been the sympathies of Presbyterianism with all who have labored for political and religious liberty, with every man striving for freedom of conscience and the right of independent judgment, we shall not suffer this laudable pride and interest in our Church to degenerate into the spirit of the sectary and the bigot. Dearer to us than any Denominational name will ever be the hallowed title of the Universal Brotherhood — CHRISTIAN. But we shall not be the worse Christians by being the better Presbyterians. We shall not be the worse but the better Defenders of the Faith Catholic, by cherishing tenderly and espousing warmly the things that belong to our own spiritual Household. Not less faithfully but the more, shall we

bear witness with others for the common truths of the Evangel, by being true to the testimony which now—as in all the past it has been—is our only justification before the world for our existence as a distinct Communion of the Christian Church.

There can be no other than good results following this deeper and more intelligent interest in our Ecclesiastical History. Whatever benefits the study of History in general can confer, will in large measure follow. The increased enlightenment of our own membership as to their doctrines and order; a more fervent and intelligent loyalty to their own Church; a firmer adherence to principle through the influence of the noble examples of the martyrs and confessors of other days; a Catholicism which shall be none the less hearty and true because held within the bounds of Scriptural orthodoxy;—these are advantages of the utmost importance to the higher welfare of our Zion. It was not therefore strange that the action of the General Assembly above cited, looking to these manifest benefits, was gladly received by the thoughtful friends of the Church, and arrangements for carrying out its provisions most heartily entered upon. In the Assembly of 1872 convened in the city of Detroit, a special meeting was held, at which addresses were made by Rev. Edward P. Humphrey, D. D., of Louisville, Kentucky, and Rev. Samuel M. Hopkins, D. D., of

Auburn, New York. The meeting was marked by the most profound enthusiasm and interest. The theme of Dr. Humphrey's address was "JOHN KNOX;" that of Dr. Hopkins, the "HUGUENOTS."

During the year, similar celebrations were held by Synods, Presbyteries, communities and congregations throughout the entire bounds of the Church. Never before had there been so many and so well used opportunities to spread among the people intelligence of the noble men, the historic deeds, and the Scriptural principles of the Presbyterian Church. The people responded to the efforts of the clergy, with a heartiness that oftentimes swelled into enthusiasm. In every case, so far as has been ascertained, the Tercentenary celebrations were attended by large audiences, whose interest in the subjects discussed was, without exception, not only equal to but far beyond the expectation of managers and speakers. The several families of Presbyterians forgot their minor differences, and met, sang, prayed, rejoiced, wept, and applauded together, moved by a common reverence for their common spiritual ancestors, devotion to their Evangelical principles, and gratitude to the Covenant Keeping God, who had blessed the Church and the world with the priceless gifts of such memories and such men. Multitudes of hearts, young and old, received a new impulse in

the path of duty and devotion, while they followed, through their lives of conflict, suffering, triumph, death, those old Knights of the Evangel, Defenders of the Faith, Martyrs and Confessors of Christ, Heroes and Saints of the Church Militant, "of whom the world was not worthy."

Among the many Tercentenary meetings above referred to that which was held by the Synod and City of Philadelphia was the most complete in its arrangements, remarkable for its success, and far-reaching in its influence. Indeed it assumed—although such was not the original thought—a national character and became in fact representative of the whole Church.

Early in the summer, the Presbyterian Ministers' Association of Philadelphia, appointed a Committee of ministers and elders, of whom Rev. William P. Breed, D. D., was Chairman, to which was committed the general arrangements for the proposed celebration. This Committee reported, recommending that the celebration be held on Wednesday, November 20th, the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the establishment of Presbytery, at Wandsworth, near London, England; the exercises of the day to be in the Seventh Presbyterian Church, Broad Street and Penn Square, above Chestnut; the evening exercises to be in the New House of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, and in connection with the formal

opening of that building. The details of the programme, as adopted and carried out, appear fully in the following pages, which are simply a MEMORIAL of the great occasion of which they are the official report.

The day which had been chosen proved to be propitious, cool but clear and bright. Invitations had been sent to the professors in our Theological Seminaries, to professors in a number of the Colleges, to the editors of Religious papers, and to others of official or personal distinction. A number of these were present. There was a large attendance of clergymen from New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. At ten o'clock the invited guests, together with the ministers and elders present, to the number of near four hundred, assembled at the Presbyterian House, and marched in procession to the Seventh Church, Rev. William E. Schenck, D. D., acting as Marshal, assisted by Rev. Drs. R. H. Allen and Alfred Nevin. They were welcomed to the Church by the organ and choir, and occupied the platform and seats which had been reserved for them. The house was already filled to its utmost capacity, and so continued during the entire services of morning and afternoon. Indeed, the interest manifested by the audience was unabated to the very end, the close of the exercises at a late hour in the afternoon, being

marked by as much enthusiasm, as the opening exercises of the morning.

The meeting was called to order by the Hon. William Strong, Associate Justice of the United States Court, who had been appointed to preside at the morning session. The opening devotional services were: reading the Scriptures, Psalm Forty-sixth, by Rev. T. W. J. Wylie, D. D., of the First Reformed Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia; Prayer by Rev. Z. M. Humphrey, D. D., Moderator of the Assembly of 1871, and pastor of Calvary Church, Philadelphia; and Singing by the congregation of the Old Hundredth Psalm, beginning,

> "All people that on earth do dwell
> Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice."

The Memorial Discourse was then delivered by Rev. Samuel J. Wilson, D. D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History in the Western Theological Seminary, Alleghany. The oration produced a deep impression upon the vast congregation, and at the close of the meeting the desire was expressed on all sides that it should be repeated in the Academy of Music. This desire was subsequently consummated, on the evening of January 22d, 1873, in the presence of four thousand people, fully as many more, it was estimated, being prevented from attending by inability

to secure tickets. The statement of this fact not inappropriately belongs to a report of this Tercentennial, of which it was in fact, a sequel; and further, as showing the profound interest awakened by the celebration itself. It was well worth all the expenditure in money and time and labor, had no other results obtained, to have secured the grand fact of such an audience, swayed under the power of such a speaker and such a theme, applauding to the echo the names, the deeds, the kirk and the principles of our noble Presbyterian sires.

The address of Dr. Wilson was followed by the singing of the hymn,

> "Come let us join our friends above
> That have obtained the prize."

The hymn was sung to the familiar tune of "Dundee," which Burns has immortalized in his "Cotter's Satudray Night." The sentiment was in such happy sympathy with the tone of the oration and the feelings of the audience, that the people caught up the melody with their whole hearts and voices. Never before, perhaps, did

> "—Dundee's wild-warbling notes arise"

from human lips with greater pathos and power. Many were melted to tears. The Tercentenary was already a success!

The services of the morning closed with the benediction pronounced by that honored champion of the faith, Rev. Geo. W. Musgrave, D. D. As the congregation retired, a song written for the occasion, entitled "Three Hundred Years Ago," was sung by the choir.

The services were resumed at 3 o'clock, afternoon, the Rev. Wm. P. Breed, D. D., pastor of the West Spruce Street Church, Philadelphia, presiding. After prayer by Rev. Herrick Johnson, D. D., pastor of the First Church, a historical sketch of Presbyterianism in Philadelphia, was read by Rev. Robert M. Patterson, pastor of the South Church, Philadelphia. The congregation then sang the hymn:

"These Western States, at Thy command
Rose from dependence and distress,
Prosperity now crowns the land,
And millions join Thy Name to bless."

Rev. J. B. Dales, D. D., pastor of the Second United Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, followed with a historical paper on "Presbyterianism in the United States." The hymn

"Am I a soldier of the Cross,"

was sung to the tune of "Martyrdom," after which Rev. James McCosh, D. D., LL.D., President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, read a paper on "Presbyterianism in Foreign Countries."

On motion of ex-Governor Pollock, the thanks of the meeting were rendered to the speakers of the day for their addresses. The motion was accompanied with a few eloquent words that more truly than is usual in such ordinary courtesies, expressed the great satisfaction and gratitude of the auditors.

On motion of George H. Stuart, Esq., thanks were rendered by a rising vote to the pastor, elders, trustees and congregation of the Seventh Church, for the welcome which had been extended to the audience, and for the additional interest and pleasure that had been given to the occasion by the beautiful and appropriate decorations with which the platform and walls were adorned. After the Doxology the Benediction was pronounced by Rev. Thomas Murphy, D. D., pastor of the Frankford Church.

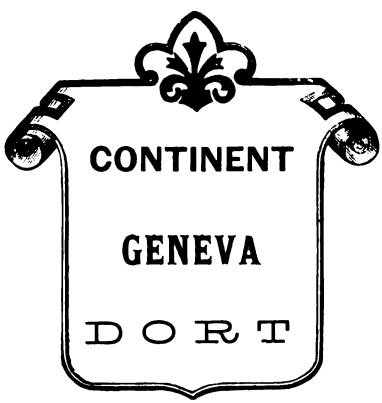
Before the benediction, at the request of many in the audience, the chairman called upon Mr. McCook, pastor of the Church, to give the key to the historical designs that entered into the decorations. These designs had been prepared with much labor and expense, and were a gift to the "Tercentenary Celebration" by the gentlemen of the Seventh Church. The general plan, with the historic details, had been suggested by the pastor. But for the exquisite taste with which the details had been wrought into artistic shape,

the Church is indebted to Mr. John Gibson, Chairman of the Committee on Decorations. An engraving of the designs over the pulpit and platform forms the *frontispiece* of this book.

The general purpose of the decorations was to present to the eye an outline of the places, men and events most distinguished in the different eras of the Church, or most closely associated with the special objects to be commemorated. It was thought that the minds of the people might thus be reached through "Eye-Gate," while the speakers should assail them through "Ear-Gate," and the great aim of the Tercentenary furthered in a way agreeable to the assembly, and not inappropriate to the occasion. It was remembered that the day for which they were prepared was a Jubilee, a celebration. And it was agreed—the general committee also approving—that the people of the Seventh Church might so far depart from the simple and undemonstrative ways of our staid Presbyterian fathers, as to give the sacred edifice a festal seeming.

A large platform had been erected for the accommodation of officers, speakers, and invited guests. On this, immediately in front of the reading desk, stood three Century plants, a floral symbol of the "Tercentennial." Of the four columns behind the pulpit, (see *Frontispiece*) the two inner ones commemorated the Churches of

Scotland and England, the two outer ones those of the Continent of Europe and the United States. Each column was surmounted by a blue shield, with gilt edging. On these were inscribed the names of places of special note in the Church history of the countries represented. Around each column were passed eight canvas bands painted blue, and bordered with scarlet, on which were laid in white letters the names of worthies of the Church. Between these bands were entwined wreaths of evergreen. Thus, on the column representing the Continent, were, on the shield, against the capital, the following,



On the shaft, *first band*, Waldenses; *second*, Huguenots; *third*, Calvin; *fourth*, Zwingle; *fifth*, Farel; *sixth*, Coligni; *seventh*, William of Orange; *eighth*, D'Aubigné. On the column representing Scotland, on the shield,

Iona was the seat of the ancient Culdee Presbyters; St. Andrews the place at which John Knox was called to the ministry and began to preach, and where the reformed worship was first set up under its prior James Stewart, afterward the Good Regent Murray; St. Giles the Edinburgh Church in which the great reformer exercised his ministry during many eventful years of his life. The names on the shaft representative of Scotland were, *first*, Knox; *second*, Hamilton — Wishart; *third*, Melville; *fourth*, Regent Murray; *fifth*, Gillespie—Bailie—Rutherford—Henderson,—(the four Scotch Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, the latter perhaps the central figure of the National Covenant days) — *sixth*, Earl of Sutherland; — (the first signer of the Covenant)—*seventh*, Davidson; *eighth*, Chalmers.

The third column was thus arranged; on the shield,

The representative names were, *first*, Wickliffe; *second*, Tyndal; *third*, Pym; *fourth*, Hampden; *fifth*, Calamy; *sixth*, Gouge—(the moderator of the first English Synod)—*seventh*, Reynolds; *eighth*, William and Mary.

On the column appropriated to the United States were, on the shield,

The tablet to the "New England Puritans," represented the very large element of Presbyterian Puritans that entered into the original constituency of the Congregational Churches of New England. The names on the columns were, *first*, McKemie; *second*, Andrews; *third*, Witherspoon; *fourth*, Tennent; *fifth*, The Alexanders; *sixth*, MacMillan; *seventh* Barnes; *eighth*, Bullard.

Along the cornice above the columns was displayed the Scripture text, Ephesians ii: 20, "Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, JESUS CHRIST himself being the chief Corner Stone."

In the large open space between the two inner columns, immediately back of the pulpit, forming the centre piece of the design, was the Blue Banner of the Covenant crossed with the American National Colors. Below the intersection of the flag-staves was a beautiful floriated diamond-shaped monogram, three Roman C's, [c C c] having the double signification "Three Centuries," and "Christ's Crown and Covenant," the banner-cry of the Covenanters. The Covenant Banner was of blue silk, made for the occasion, the chief authority for the form, a scarlet St. Andrew's Cross in a field of blue, being the learned antiquary Sir Walter Scott, whose information concerning the banner borne by the

faithful defenders of the National Covenant would appear to be more trustworthy than his representations, or more properly mis-representations, of the characters of those gallant and persecuted men. It will be of interest to most readers to read some of the references which were uncovered in the search after the true form of this banner, and which determined the construction as above described. The following are from "Old Mortality." At the head of Chapter V, stands this quotation:

> Arouse thee, youth!—it is no human call—
> God's Church is leaguered—haste to man the wall;
> Haste where *the Redcross banners* wave on high,
> Signal of honored death, or victory!
>
> JAMES DUFF.

In Chapter XXIV, this passage occurs in the description of the siege of Tillietudlem Castle: "With this answer the ambassador returned to those by whom he had been sent. He had no sooner reached the main body, than a murmur was heard among the multitude, and there was raised in front of their ranks *an ample red flag, the borders of which were edged with blue.*" Chapter XXVIII closes with the following sentence: "And when the sun arose, the *scarlet and blue colors* of the Scottish Covenant floated from the Keep of Tillietudlem."

In the opening sentences of the Thirty-fifth

Chapter of "Waverly," is this passage: "Waverly and his new friend followed him, though probably he would have dispensed with their attendance. They soon recognized in solemn march, first, the performer upon the drum; secondly, a *large flag of four compartments*, on which were inscribed the words: COVENANT, KIRK, KING, KINGDOMS."

In one of the notes on "The Battle of Bothwell Bridge," in "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," there is a curious account of the origin of the use of blue as the favorite color of the Covenanters. This the author concludes with the remark: "I have seen one of the ancient banners of the Covenanters; it was divided into four compartments, inscribed with the words—*Christ—Covenant—King—Kingdom.* Similar standards are mentioned in Spalding's curious and minute narrative, vol. ii., pp. 182, 245."

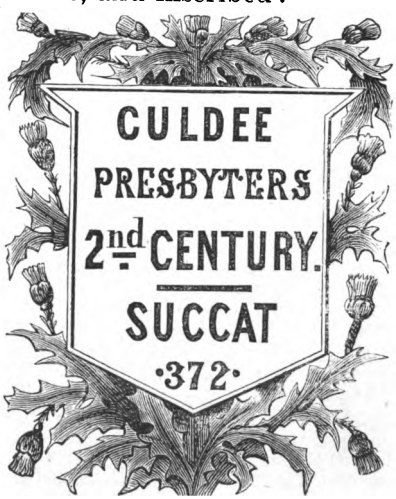
In the Editor's Preface to the late beautiful edition of "The Scots Worthies," by John Howie, of Lochgoin, occurs this passage: In a pamphlet, which first appeared fifty years ago, one of the Howies has the honor assigned him of announcing the tidings (of the Revolution of 1688) to the neighborhood around. "What do I see?" said the laird of Torfoot, alarmed at the approach of a horseman, and making ready for any danger that might be at hand—"What do I see? But one trooper? And that motley crowd is a rabble,

not a troop. That trooper is not of Claverse's band: nor does he belong to Douglas, nor to Inglis, nor to Strachan's dragoons. He waves a small flag. I can discover *the scarlet and the blue colors of the Covenanter's flag.* Ha! Welcome you, John Howie, of Lochgoin. But what news? Lives our country? Lives the good old cause?" "Glorious news!" exclaimed Howie; "Scotland forever! She is free. The tyrant James has abdicated. The Stuarts are banished by an indignant nation. Orange triumphs. Our wounds are binding up. Huzza! Scotland and King William and the Covenant forever!"

The fact seems to be that there was the same liberty and diversity in the selection of a standard on the part of various local bands among the Covenanters, that we know to have existed among the original troops of our own Revolution, until the several favorite flags had crystallized in the present form of the national colors. It is possible that the same result followed among the Covenanters. But if so, the form finally adopted and used has not been discovered by the writer, neither from books at his command, nor from a considerable correspondence with such of our citizens of Scotch descent as were thought most likely to know. It is hoped that some one to whom these lines may come, can give the desired information.

Above these banners, in the same open space,

were arranged three tablets, especially commemorative of the three principal objects which gave occasion to the celebration. The tablets were surrounded by borders on which were painted the conventional floral symbols of the several kingdoms of Scotland, France, and England, and encompassed by wreaths of evergreen. On the right was the tablet to the Church of Scotland, bordered with the thistle, and inscribed:

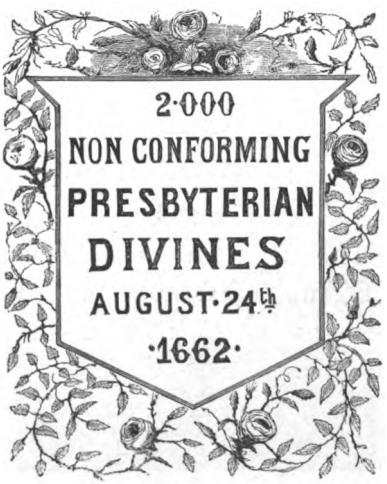


The inscription certainly should have removed the impression, which nevertheless inadvertently found utterance in outside quarters, that the occasion was a celebration of the "Third century of Presbyterianism!" Succat is the surname of St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. He was a Scotchman, born on the banks of the Clyde, near

Glasgow, A. D. 372, just fifteen centuries ago. The bond that thus united the early Kirk of Scotland and the Church of Ireland, may yet be seen in the intimate relations between the Presbyterians of the two countries. This inscription to Succat was intended to be a fitting recognition of the large and worthy element in the American Church whose ecclesiastical descent is drawn from the historic men of old Ulster, and who are known among us as the "Scotch-Irish." That St. Patrick was thoroughly imbued with the principles of the Culdees, and therefore a sound Presbyterian, is apparent from the following quotation from Archbishop Ussher: "We read in Nennius that at the beginning St. Patrick founded 365 churches, and ordained 365 bishops and 3000 (elders) presbyters." One bishop and about eight elders for every church! which looks very much like the bishops and elders of our modern Presbyterian congregations.

The central tablet was to the martyred Presbyterians of France, and was surrounded by a border of lilies. The word Huguenot is variously derived; by D'Aubigné from a French corruption of the German word *Eidgenossen*—the Genevese confederates being called *Eignots*, confederates. Others derive it from *Hugues*, the name of one of the Genevese leaders. The inscription upon this tablet read,

On the left was the tablet to the English Presbyterians, surrounded with the conventional roses of "merry England." It was inscribed as follows:



The event commemorated occurred shortly after the restoration of Charles II., by whom a law was enacted, known as the Act of Uniformity, which required all clergymen not only to use the established liturgy, but also to renounce and condemn the Solemn League and Covenant, Presbyterian ordination, and all efforts for changing the then present establishment. About two thousand ministers, chiefly Presbyterians, whose consciences would not allow them to conform to this act, abandoned their churches and livings, and subjected themselves to the sufferings and persecutions which followed.

Below the Banner of the Covenant was placed a model of the seal of the Church of Scotland, a Burning Bush, with the Latin motto, "Nec tamen consumebatur,"—And yet it was not consumed.

The seal of the Church of Ireland is similar to this, the motto, however, being different, "Ardens, sed virens"—Burning but flourishing; a variation not inappropriately describing the warm and fresh hearted children of the Green Isle.

Opposite this, beneath the American flag, was what may perhaps be called the seal of the American Presbyterian Church, viz., the seal of the Trustees of the General Assembly. It is a figure of the brazen serpent lifted up upon a cross. The motto surrounding it is not on the seal itself, but was given to the artist, by the writer, to satisfy his notions of harmony. The idea of the figure, it was inferred, was this, that in the wilderness of this new country our Presbyterian fathers had been called to lift up the one only Remedy for sin, the Hope of the nation as of every soul. The quotation from the Vulgate "Vox clamantis in deserto"—The voice of one crying in the wilderness—was therefore given for a motto, as expressing the thought that our beloved Church had been in the past—and indeed is still—a voice crying in the midst of our wild prairies and forests and mountains of the far West, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord." As there was at that time no thought of perpetuating these symbols through this Memorial Book, the reader may look charitably upon this liberty, and put it to the credit of "poetic license." But seriously, would it not be

well that the church should have this or some other symbol which might be popularly known as our Church seal? Or, is not the seal of the Trustees of the Assembly entitled to claim this character?

Between the two columns on the right of the platform were these tablets: above, a seal commemorative of the Waldensian Church, a Lily growing in the midst of a bed of thorns with the motto "EMERGO"—I struggle through. This was copied from a rough sketch made several years ago by a minister of the Waldensian Church, visiting this country, and was represented as being a favorite seal or design of the Church. The ancient seal is well known to be the flaming torch, with the motto—"Lux lucet in tenebris" —The light shineth in the darkness. The design which was used, whatever may be its official

character, is certainly beautifully expressive of the history of that ancient Presbyterian people.

Beneath this, was a tablet to the Dutch Church, whose terrible sufferings under Alva, and whose noble struggles and triumph under William the Silent, present one of the most thrilling records in the annals of Presbyterianism. In the early stages of the conflict with the Spanish power, the term "beggars" was applied to the opposition by one of the Spanish party. At a banquet of some of the Dutch nobles, in the heat of after dinner excess, this indignity was discussed with much warmth. Great was the indignation of all that their enemies should have dared to stigmatize as beggars, a band of gentlemen with the best blood of the land in their veins. Their host, Brederode, who apprehended the power of an original, striking and popular epithet, assured them that noth-

ing could be more fortunate. "They call us beggars! Let us accept the name. We will contend with the inquisition, but remain loyal to the King, even till compelled to wear the beggar's sack." He then beckoned to one of the pages, who brought him a leathern wallet, such as was worn at the day by professional mendicants, together with a large wooden bowl, which also formed part of their regular appurtenances. Brederode immediately hung the wallet around his neck, filled the bowl with wine, and drained it at a draught. "Long live the beggars!" he cried, as he wiped his beard

and set the bowl down. "*Vivent les gueulx.*" Then, for the first time, says Motley, from the lips of those reckless nobles rose the famous cry, which was so often to ring over land and sea, amid blazing cities, on blood-stained decks, through the smoke and carnage of many a

stricken field. The humor of Brederode was hailed with deafening shouts of applause. Shouts of "*Vivent les gueulx*" shook the walls of the stately mansion. The shibboleth was invented. Their enemies had provided them with a spell which was to prove, in other days, potent enough to start a spirit from palace or hovel, forest or wave, as the deeds of the "wild beggars," the "wood beggars," and the "beggars of the sea" taught Philip at last to understand the nation which he had driven to madness.*

Between the two columns on the left of the platform were the following designs: Above, the seal of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, an open book with light radiating from beneath, on the open pages the motto "Sit Lux,"—Let there be light!

* Rise of the Dutch Republic, vol. i., p. 521.

Beneath this was a tablet commemorative of the Westminster Assembly, inscribed:

The Westminster Assembly of Divines was created by the famous Long Parliament of England, and met in the chapel of King Henry the Seventh, Westminster Abbey, July 1, 1643. Afterward, when the weather became cold, the sessions were held in the Jerusalem Chamber. It consisted of thirty-two lay assessors, two of them representatives of Scotland, and one hundred and forty-two divines, four of them Commissioners from Scotland. They were of all shades of opinion in matters of Church government. The duty imposed upon this Assembly appears from the following extract from the ordinance of Parliament by which it was convoked: "Whereas amongst the infinite blessings of Almighty God upon this Nation, none is, or can be, more dear unto us than

the purity of our religion; and for that as yet many things remain in the liturgy, discipline, and government of the Church, which do necessarily require a further and more perfect reformation than yet hath been attained: And whereas it hath been declared and resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the present Church government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the Kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the State and government of this Kingdom; and that therefore they are resolved that the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, *and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad:* And for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from all false calumnies and aspersions, it is thought fit and necessary to call an Assembly of learned, godly, and judicious divines, to consult and advise of such matters and things touching the premises, as shall be proposed unto them by

both or either of the Houses of Parliament, and to give their advice and counsel therein to both or either of the said Houses, when, and as often as, they shall be thereunto required."

The sentence in the above, which has been italicized, presents what may be considered as the main object of the Westminster Assembly, viz., to frame such a system of Church Government and Public Worship as might unite the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland in religious uniformity. Nay, it looked even beyond this, to a like uniformity among all the Reformed Churches of Europe. It was a cherished thought of many of the leading spirits of the Assembly, notably of that great and good man, Alexander Henderson, that Protestant Christendom might be led, through the agency of the Westminster Assembly, to form a substantial Union in matters of Church government and worship. It was a noble conception, which seemed at times to be on the eve of consummation. It failed; but the presence of such a sublime and truly Christian idea in the hearts of those Assembled Divines must give an interest and dignity to their characters and deliberations which no detraction of adversaries can belittle. And it is quite certain that their conclusions, as embodied in the "Westminster Confession," expressed the convictions of the great majority of the most learned and godly

men of that age, throughout the Protestant world.

These conclusions were substantially accepted and enacted by both Houses of the English Parliament, and Presbyterianism became the established form of Christianity. The dissolution of the Long Parliament by Cromwell, and the events subsequent to the Restoration of Charles II., almost entirely overthrew the work of the Assembly as to England. But Scotland heartily accepted its conclusions, its Kirk and Parliament ratified its Confession, Discipline, and Catechisms, and her noble children have cherished and upheld them to this day with unabated sincerity and affection. It is from Scotland rather than from England that these honored symbols of the Gospel Faith have been transmitted to our American Church.

The following decorations in the Church remain to be noticed. A large "life size" bell constructed of natural flowers, hung from the centre of the ceiling, a fitting symbol of a Jubilee. This beautiful design was an offering from the First Church of Mantua. Around the galleries and organ-loft were hung festoons of evergreen, and hanging baskets containing plants and flowers. In the vestibule of the church were these decorations. Over the main inside door, a design of "Welcome," drawn from the message to the

ancient Church of Philadelphia, as recorded in the third chapter of the Revelation—an open door, out of which issued rays of light, in the centre of the rays a key, combining the form of a cross, all signifying the only Source of Knowledge, Faith and Opportunity, viz.: He that hath the key of David. Below, on a scroll, was the name "Philadelphia," and above, the text, "Behold I have set before thee an open door." On the key stone of the arch of the door were two hearts bound together, symbolizing the place of the City of Brotherly Love in the Key Stone State, as well as the fact that Charity is the Key Stone of the Christian Virtues. On the north side of the door was a fac-simile of the famous National League and Covenant of Scotland, with the signatures of many of the principal original signers. The persecutions of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud in their endeavor to force Episcopacy and liturgical worship upon the unwilling Presbyterians of Scotland, finally aroused the entire nation to resistance. This resistance culminated in that grand act of Covenant before God, and confederation with each other, which is known as the "National Covenant." It was adopted and signed at the Grayfriars Church, Edinburgh, Feb. 28th, 1638. The meeting at which this was done was one of the most remarkable of which History has any record. When the vast audience within

the church, composed of the very flower of the Scotch nobility and gentry, had all signed, the document was removed into the churchyard, spread upon a level grave-stone, and the signatures of the multitude invited. The scene here was even more impressive than within the church. The emotions of the people found vent, on the part of some, in tears, of others in shouts of exultation, but among all, in a fervent, solemn uplooking to the God of Covenants. The whole of the large parchment was covered with names, contracted into less and less space as the face of the scroll became covered, until at last only initials could be signed. Some wrote after their names, "*till death;*" others opening a vein, subscribed with their blood. The movement was universal. The entire nation took the Covenant. Thus was begun that revolution in Great Britain which led finally to the Long Parliament, the death of Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, and the secured liberties of the United Kingdoms.

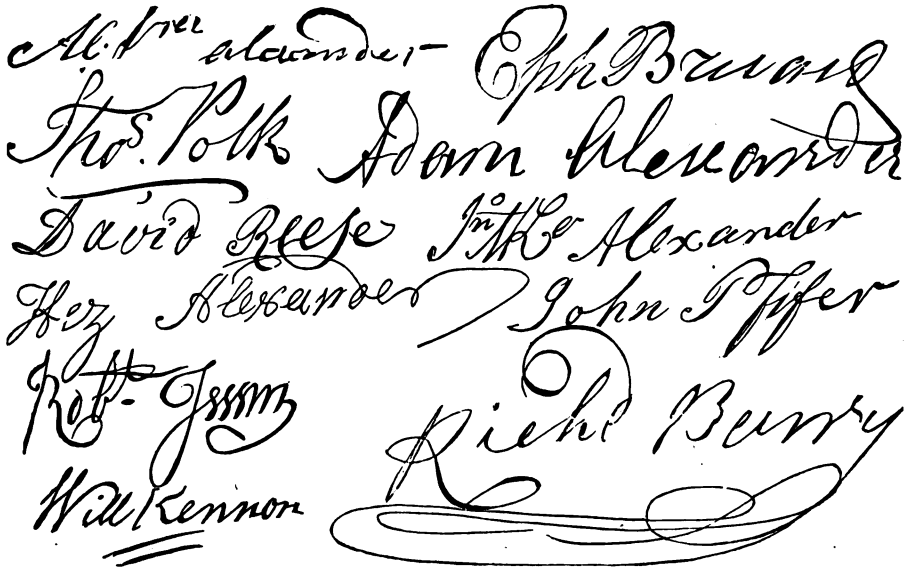
On the south side was a large printed copy of the Declaration of Independence made by the Presbyterian citizens of Mecklenburg County, N. C., May 31st, 1775, *thirteen months before* that made by the Federal Congress, in Philadelphia, July 4, 1776. This document, handsomely printed in blue, and enclosed in a gilt frame, is on a parchment 28 by 40 inches.

It contains, beside the Declaration itself, fac-similes of the signatures of the Committee who prepared it, which we give on the accompanying pages, and a historical note from Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, authenticating the now established fact which has conferred such honor upon the Presbyterians of North Carolina. The juxtaposition of this bold Declaration with the fac-simile of the Scotch League and Covenant, showed at a glance that the influence which Presbyterian principles had in invoking, stimulating, and sustaining in the Old World the spirit of Civil Liberty, wrought with like results in the New World. The document, as might be expected in the city where stands the old Independence Hall, attracted great attention, and provoked animated remark.*

On the south side of the main outer door was a large photograph of the old Seventh Church, erected A. D. 1806, which stood in Ranstead court, between Fourth and Fifth streets, above Chestnut. In this building the sessions of the General Assembly were regularly held, whence it was called the Assembly Church, or Tabernacle.

* A few additional copies of this Mecklenburg Declaration were printed, and may be had on application to the writer, by those who may wish to frame them for our Seminaries, Colleges, public and private libraries and halls. A trifling expense for frames might furnish all our Church Institutions, should some liberal friend be found to undertake the matter.

FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURES OF THE COMMITTEE WHO FRAMED THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—FROM LOSSING'S PICTORIAL FIELD-BOOK.



Benjamin Patton John Foard

John Davidson William Graham

John Flennikin Waightstill Avery

Charles Alexander

Henry Downs Robt Harris

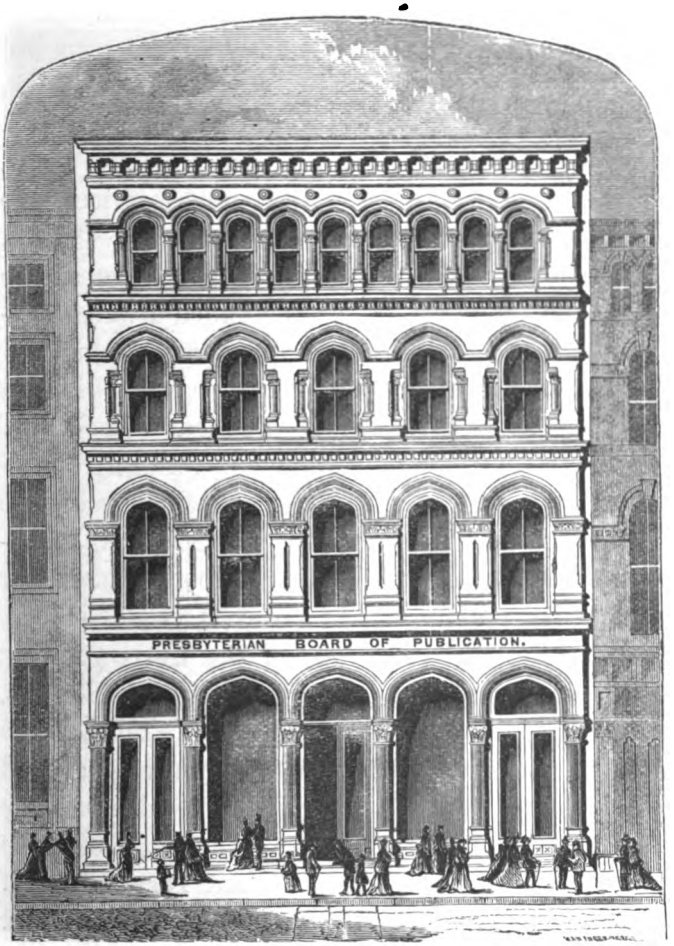
Ezra Alexander Neill Morrison

James Harris

Here also occurred the famous separation of the Presbyterian Church into the Old and New School parties. The church was torn down without any picture of it having been preserved. But a complete restoration of the building was made from an engineer's survey and architect's description, lately discovered among some old papers, from which this picture was taken. Opposite this was a photograph of the Third Church, Pittsburg, in which the Re-Union of the Old and New School Branches was consummated.

The evening exercises of the celebration were held in the new Presbyterian Publication House, at No. 1334 Chestnut street. The opening of this noble edifice was greeted by the public with lively interest. Throngs of visitors poured through the House during the day, and all expressed warm admiration of the completeness and commodiousness of all its appointments. A committee of ladies had decorated the salesroom, halls and offices with statuary, evergreens and flowers, giving a gala air to the whole of the beautiful building.

In the evening the House was literally "jammed." The Assembly Room was the centre of attraction, and was closely packed with ladies and gentlemen, many of whom were obliged to stand from seven to ten o'clock listening to the addresses and the music. Large numbers being



PRESBYTERIAN PUBLICATION HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA.

unable to get in, a second meeting was organized in the Rooms of the Board of Education.

The services in the Assembly Room were full of interest. The Rev. Alexander Reed, D.D., President of the Board of Publication, presided. After an opening piece of music from the choir, which had kindly volunteered its services, the opening address was made by the Rev. W. E. Schenck, D.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Publication, who extended a warm welcome to the audience and gave some account of the House, its cost, and the uses to which its several parts were to be applied. The Rev. Herrick Johnson, D.D., followed, speaking on behalf of the Board of Education, which was here generously accommodated by the Board of Publication with fine apartments, without charge for rent, fuel or light. The Rev. Cyrus Dickson, D.D., of New York, one of the Corresponding Secretaries of the Board of Home Missions, tendered his congratulations on behalf of the Presbyterians of New York, and warmly alluded to what his eyes had seen of the usefulness of the colporteurs and publications of the Board of Publication, as diffused in the distant Territories and on the Pacific coast of the United States. The Rev. Henry M. Field, D.D., of New York, Editor of the "New York Evangelist," next addressed the audience, eloquently alluding, among other sub-

jects, to the painful absence on this occasion of the "lost tribes" of our Presbyterian Israel—the southern portion of our Church. The Rev. John Leyburn, D.D., of Baltimore, who was over twenty years ago the Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Publication, responded kindly to the allusion of Dr. Field in regard to the southern brethren, and entertained the audience with humorous reminiscences of the Board in its early days. Further brief remarks were made by the Rev. John W. Dulles, D.D., Editorial Secretary of the Board, the Rev. James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton College, and the Rev. Henry E. Niles, of York, Pa. These addresses were interspersed with delightful music from the volunteer choir. At the close, thanks were voted to the committee of ladies who had arranged the decorations—Mrs. S. C. Perkins, Mrs. Strickland Kneass, Miss Mary Sutherland and Mrs. S. B. Stitt; and the meeting adjourned after a season of thorough enjoyment.

At the meeting extemporized by those who could not enter the Assembly-Room, which was held in the rooms of the Board of Education, the Rev. Thomas Murphy, D.D., presided. Short addresses, but earnest, eloquent and brimfull of the happy spirit that pervaded the multitude that thronged all parts of the House, were made by Dr. George Hayes, President of Washington and

Jefferson College, Dr. Wm. O. Johnstone, Dr. Alfred Nevin, and Ex-Governor Pollock.

Thus ended the formal celebration of the Tercentennial of the great events in the history of the Presbyterian Church, which are naturally grouped about the life and death of John Knox, the sufferings of the Huguenots, and the establishment of Presbytery in England. Perhaps no event ever so fully aroused and united the Presbyterians of Philadelphia. And the interest was carried into the general community by the excellent reports which appeared in leading newspapers of the city, which were ably represented in the various sessions of the meeting. That the beneficial influences of the Tercentennial have not yet ceased to be felt is manifest in the deepened and deepening interest among our people in that which relates to their Church History. Let us see to it that these influences are perpetuated! There is opened to us a vein of truth, the solid facts of history, in which too few ministers have thought it worth while to mine for the benefit of the people. But it has been shown beyond a question that the hearts and minds of the people will respond to well directed efforts to enlist their interest in the mighty facts of God's Providence, as written in the History of His Saints. Let us be wise to enter again into this field, which hitherto we have trodden only for our own entertainment and instruction, and

explore it with minds intent upon culling therefrom such materials as we may arrange into such shape and comeliness as shall win the people to receive them at our hands. Providence too is to be studied. There is in that also a divine revelation for us. As leading to, and illustrating the Revelation of the Word, the teacher of God's ways and truths will find it well repaying his faithful study. If for nothing else, to set in play some force that shall counteract the pernicious influence of the frivolous literature in which so many of our youth delight—the whipped-up-froth of venial authors, whose productions are dealt out at wholesale by the literary confection-mongers, whose wares are found even in our Sunday-school libraries.

The writer ventures to close this account, with a word, calling attention to an agency whose aim is in the direct line of the benefits issuing from the Tercentennial—The Presbyterian Historical Society. A large collection of valuable books, manuscripts and relics, gathered together by the indefatigable Librarian and Treasurer, Samuel Agnew, Esq.,—lies stored away in bales and boxes, and well-nigh inaccessible, for lack of a suitable edifice in which the collection may be displayed, preserved and made available to the student of Presbyterian History. The period is ripe for a well-concerted effort to

place this valuable Society and its treasures in safe and comfortable quarters.

The following description of the new Publication House, whose opening was such an important feature in the Tercentennial, is appended:

The "Presbyterian Board of Publication" of the late Old-school Branch of the Church, went into operation in the year 1838. Its first place of business was on Sansom Street, Philadelphia, in a rented room. After a few years it purchased a house on Chestnut Street above Eighth Street. This building was not long after destroyed by fire, when the house recently occupied at No. 821 Chestnut Street was erected on the same site, and the business of the Board was continued therein until after the Re-union, when it was removed to this place. The "Presbyterian Publication Committee" of the other Branch was organized fourteen years later, in 1852, and was located not long afterward in the building which then occupied the lot on which this new house now stands.

The first General Assembly of the happily reunited Church, which met in this city in 1870, united the Board and the Committee, and recommended the organized Board of Publication, "as soon as practicable, to sell its house and lot, No. 821 Chestnut Street, and to provide a larger house, adequate to its now extended operations,

and to the prospective growth of its business, on the premises Nos. 1334 and 1336 Chestnut Street, or in that vicinity." This recommendation has now been carried out, and the new house, now completed, is to-day for the first time fully opened for the uses for which it was erected.

This new Presbyterian Publication House occupies two lots, Nos. 1334 and 1336 Chestnut Street, above Thirteenth Street, and directly opposite the United States Mint, one of the most eligible business localities in the city of Philadelphia. It has a front of forty-four feet on Chestnut Street, and runs back two hundred and thirty-five feet to Sansom Street. It is four stories high, besides the basement. Its Chestnut Street front is built of granite, brought from quarries in New Hampshire, is adorned with columns of colored and polished granite from Aberdeen, in Scotland, and is greatly admired for its architectural beauty. The architect who planned and has throughout supervised the erection of the structure, is John McArthur, Jr., Esq. Mr. Lewis Havens was the contractor and builder.

The basement is fire-proof throughout, and will be used mainly for the storage of stereotype plates and printed sheets. The entire first floor is occupied by the bookstore; the front by the retail, and the rear end by the wholesale department. In the second story, at the Sansom Street end, is

a large, handsome and well-lighted Assembly Room, around the walls of which is arranged the valuable Library of the Board of Publication, with a number of elegant portraits which have been presented as gifts to the Board by generous friends. Among these are conspicuous the likenesses of Albert Barnes, Thomas Brainerd, D. D., William W. Phillips, D. D., George W. Musgrove, D. D., Thomas H. Skinner, Sr., D. D., John M. Mason, D. D., George Junkin, D. D., and the late Matthias W. Baldwin, Esq. This commodious and beautiful room is used for the meetings of the Board of Publication, of the Ministerial Association, the Presbyteries of Philadelphia, and a variety of other gatherings connected with the work of our denomination. On the same floor is a Committee Room, for smaller meetings; a Travelers' Room, with toilet conveniences for the use of clergymen and others transiently visiting the city; and the spacious and well-ventilated offices of the Board of Publication, Board of Education, and the Ministerial Relief Fund. The two last named, which are the only others of the General Assembly's benevolent schemes now located in Philadelphia, have been invited by the Board of Publication to occupy apartments on this floor without charge for rent, fuel or light. The third story, except one large front room, which is rented out, and one other

room used as the office of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church, is used for the storage of merchandise connected with the operations of the bookstore. The whole of the fourth story is rented to a number of tenants.

The cost of the House will be about $130,000, exclusive of fixtures or furniture. The Building Committee, consisting of Messrs. William E. Tenbrook, Chairman, John D. McCosh, Gustavus S. Benson, Samuel C. Perkins, George Junkin, Morris Patterson, John W. Dulles, D.D., and William E. Schenck, D.D., under whose constant and most careful supervision the edifice has been erected, are entitled to the thanks of the whole Church for the labor they have expended, and for the beautiful, economical and commodious erection those labors have secured. This new Presbyterian Publication House is already greatly subserving not only the particular interests of the beneficent and prosperous Board which has erected it, but all those of the great and growing Presbyterian Church in the city and region in which it is located, and will furnish agreeable headquarters and a denominational home to all Presbyterians who may either reside in or occasionally visit Philadelphia.

JOHN KNOX.

AN ORATION

BY THE

REV. SAMUEL J. WILSON, D.D., LL.D.,

PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, ALLEGHENY, PA.

JOHN KNOX.

AT the beginning of the sixteenth century Scotland was wrapped in the densest gloom of intellectual and moral darkness. Feudalism, ignorance, superstition, licentiousness and tyranny —the worst elements of the Middle Ages—held brutal sway throughout her borders. The bishops and abbots, with half of the wealth of the realm in their coffers, outranking princes and nobles both in dignity and power, and setting at defiance alike the laws of God and man, outraged every principle of virtue and every dictate of decency. Priests and friars, bestial in their stolid sensualness, filled the land like the frogs of Egypt. There were friars white and friars black and friars gray—friars of every hue and habit and description, and friars everywhere.

Monasteries and nunneries were counted by the hundred, and each several one of them was a leprous plague spot. The investigation into the condition of monasteries in England which was ordered by Henry VIII. disclosed a corruption

as festering and loathsome as that upon which fire and brimstone were rained in Sodom. The state of morals in the Scottish monasteries was, if possible, worse.

The people had these bishops, abbots, priests and friars for their teachers, leaders and examples in holy living. "The priest's lips no longer kept knowledge;" and when immortal souls "sought the law at his mouth," they were tantalized with dead forms in a dead language, which were as destitute of the spirit and grace of the gospel as a mummy of the pyramids, wrapped in cere-cloth, is destitute of warm, pulsing blood and stirring passions. The Bible was almost as unknown as one of the lost Sibylline books. The pulpit was obsolete. Instead of the sermon were substituted gossip, scandal, ribald jest and obscene comedy. By means of excommunication, anathema and interdict—the most terrific ecclesiastical machinery ever invented—the clergy tyrannized relentlessly over the souls and bodies of men. Priests ground the faces of the poor as systematically and as sedulously as though they had been called of God and ordained of men for this specific service. The Church, which should have been the friend and helper and teacher and lifter-up of the people—which should have been quick to discern their wants and swift to avenge their wrongs—used all its power to keep them in

ignorance, to foster their superstitions and to add to the bitterness of their burdens.

This apostate Church, winking at every species of vice, and tolerant of all forms of iniquity, "breathed out threatenings and slaughter" against all who ventured to question her authority or dared to seek for light and truth. For all such she had the ready argument of tyrants, *fire and sword.* Men were burned at the stake for having the New Testament in a language in which they could read and understand it. Yet this vast despotism, with all its elaborate machinery of oppression, was impotent to arrest the progress of the truth. It could burn men with balls of brass in their mouths to keep them from preaching the gospel in the flames, but it could not destroy or paralyze the truth for which these men died.

But the day of Scotland's redemption was drawing nigh. The echo of the voices of Wickliff and Huss sounded faintly along her shores. By and by she caught glimpses of the light which had been kindled in Germany, Switzerland and France.

A youth of twenty, with the blood of earls and dukes in his veins, invested with a high ecclesiastical dignity from his childhood and with a long and brilliant line of promotion open before him, began to feel the stirrings of the ne

spirit that was abroad among the nations, went to Germany, sat at the feet of Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and caught the enthusiasm of the eloquent converted Franciscan monk, Francis Lambert, at Marburg, and returned to Scotland all aflame with zeal to preach the gospel. One afternoon a fire was prepared in front of the old college in St. Andrews, and this young man—only three-and-twenty years old—died at the stake as only one of God's heroes can die, and then history wrote, in ineffaceable characters, the name of the proto-martyr of the Scottish Reformation—*Patrick Hamilton.*

As had been predicted, "the reik of Patrick Hamilton infected as many as it blew upon." From his ashes sprung men armed with the panoply of the gospel. The hierarchy could burn men, but these very burnings kindled a light which could not be put out. A learned and eloquent evangelist arose in the person of George Wishart. When he preached, crowds hung upon his words, spellbound, by the hour. If churches were shut against him, he preached in the streets, on dikes or from city gates. His voice rang like a trumpet through Scotland. It was one of the few truly brave and grand voices that have been heard in this world, but it was soon quenched in fire. On the gentle slope in front of the castle of St. Andrews, the sea sounding his requiem,

George Wishart gloriously sealed his testimony with his blood. His persecutors, fearing that eloquent, clarion voice even in the flames, stopped his utterance by tightening a cord around his neck. Through the tapestried window of the castle, reclining on luxurious cushions, Cardinal Beaton witnessed the martyrdom, glutting his lecherous eyes with the agonies of this illustrious witness of the truth.

The Hierarchy, wielding the tremendous power which had been won for it by Hildebrand and Innocent III., bearing two swords, the temporal as well as the spiritual, insolently lording it over prince, priests and people, and setting its face like a flint against all enlightenment of the intellect or soul, exercised a most cruel and heartless despotism. Its spirit was devilish. So long as its magnates could roll in wealth, so long as they could pamper their lazy bodies on the hard earnings of the poor, so long as without restraint or let or hindrance they could indulge their brutal lusts and passions, they were content; but rather than lose an iota of their ill-gotten and ill-used power, rather than have the people read the word of God for themselves, they would see Scotland lighted from one end to the other with blazing stakes and fagots. They had the power and they used it savagely. Their inquisition for those who dared to preach Christ was as keen

and unerring as the scent of the bloodhound. Every voice that was raised in behalf of truth and righteousness was stifled in fire. Every kindling of light was trodden out in blood. To have the love of Christ in the heart, and to dare proclaim it, was swift and sure destruction.

Whence, then, can deliverance come? Where can be found a man strong enough and brave enough to grapple with this gigantic despotism, whose mighty power has been the steady growth of ages? Has God in his quiver one such arrow? Has he, in all his kingdom, one such champion hero?

A tutor in the family of Douglass of Langniddrie, who had been a teacher of philosophy at St. Andrews, until, becoming disgusted with the jargon of scholasticism and the corruptions of papacy, he abandoned the one and renounced the other, became the devoted follower and chivalrous sword-bearer of George Wishart. When Wishart was arrested, he advised the tutor to return to "his bairns," as he could no longer be of any service to him. Very reluctantly, and only after earnest remonstrances, the tutor followed this advice. Besides teaching the classics, he exercised his pupils daily in the Holy Scriptures and indoctrinated them theologically by catechetical instruction, and at stated intervals these catechisings were public.

The times were now fraught with momentous issues, and events big with the destinies of peoples crowded thick upon each other. A few months only after the day upon which Cardinal Beaton, lounging on his velvet cushions, had witnessed from his window in the castle, with undisguised satisfaction, the burning of Wishart, his own lifeless body, covered with the gaping wounds of assassins' daggers, was hung as a public spectacle from that identical window.

The tutor of Douglass, together with his pupils, took refuge in the castle of St. Andrews, which was then held by the enemies of the late cardinal. Here he was soon recognized as one who was eminently fitted to become the teacher and leader of men and of princes, rather than to be the tutor of boys. When the judgment of his friends in this regard was solemnly announced to him, and he was adjured to undertake the work of the ministry, he burst into a flood of tears, shut himself in his chamber, and for days was overwhelmed with the profoundest grief. Through the importunity of friends, and partly through the impertinence of a certain champion of the papacy, he was at length constrained to enter the pulpit in defence of the truth. It was a memorable day in Scottish history when he first preached in the parish church at St. Andrews. Brave men held their breath as they listened to his bold and

sweeping utterances. Such preaching had not been heard in Scotland for ages. "Others hewed the branches of the papistry, but he struck at the root." Some rejoiced and took courage, some doubted, some hoped, some feared, many were furious, but all felt that there was a new power in the world, while a few chosen spirits recognized JOHN KNOX *as the ordained champion and leader of the revolution then beginning in Scotland.*

By the aid of French forces the castle of St. Andrews was reduced, Knox was taken prisoner, was loaded with chains and confined as a galley-slave. Through hardship, exposure and sickness his body was reduced to a skeleton, but his spirit remained invincible. Once the galley on which he was confined came in sight of St. Andrews, and the spires of the city being pointed out to him, he was asked if he knew the place. With kindling eye he replied: "Yes, I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory, and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place." We admire the indomitable spirit of Julius Cæsar, who threatened to their faces to crucify the pirates who held him in their power as a prisoner; but these words of Knox, in the condition in which

he then was, breathe a grander courage than that of Julius Cæsar.

Released from the galleys, he spent five years in England as an asylum from persecution, and as a preacher in Berwick and New Castle he was "mighty in word;" as chaplain to Edward VI. he "stood before kings;" as a court preacher he was as plain and fearless and searching as Latimer; as a theologian he was consulted in regard to the Book of Common Prayer and the Articles of Religion; as a divine a brilliant line of promotion was open before him in the Anglican Church. Edward VI. proffered him a bishopric, and any dignity in the English Church was within his easy reach; but he could accept none of these without the sacrifice of honest and well-grounded convictions, and he therefore relinquished them all "for conscience' sake," and remained loyally and heroically true to these convictions in spite of gold and glory. He remained poor and untitled; but is there a title on earth that would add any dignity to the simple name JOHN KNOX?

When that "idolatrous Jezebel, mischievous Mary of the Spaniard's blood," came to the throne, Knox was compelled to flee from England. He went first to France, thence to Switzerland and thence to Germany. His exile on the Continent forms an important segment of his life, for it threw him into contact with other Reformers

from all parts of the world, and afforded him time for study and mature reflection. In the matter of the church at Frankfort, he had an opportunity of testifying publicly against the false and pernicious principles upon which the English Reformation was conducted, and, in consequence, he again proudly accepted exile rather than sacrifice or compromise a jot or tittle of his honest convictions. But the most important feature of this part of his life was his intercourse with John Calvin at Geneva. These two great men, whose influence has struck deeper into the currents of history than any other two men then living, entertained the most ardent esteem and friendship for each other. Although Knox at this time was fifty years old, he pursued his studies at Geneva as diligently and enthusiastically as the merest tyro. This seems to have been the sunniest part of his stormy life. He was engaged in congenial studies and he was surrounded with congenial companions, yet he relinquished these studies and the society of congenial spirits in Switzerland, and returned to Scotland just so soon as he felt that he could be of service there.

Back once more in his dear native land, he preached day and night, almost incessantly, and the *word grew mightily.* No part of his life was more fruitful of great results than this brief sojourn in Scotland at this time. His clear vision

pierced through all disguises, shams and compromises. His sharp, incisive judgment penetrated to the very core of the issue. To him all compliance with papal ceremonies was treason to the cause of truth. With a steady hand, which never missed its aim, he at one blow cut the last tie that bound the hesitating Reformers to the papacy. Thus early in the struggle he settled, at once and for ever, the policy of the Reformation in Scotland. There were to be no compromises, no temporizing expediences. The work was to be genuine and thorough. At this time, when almost totally hidden from the world and unknown to it, he laid deep and immovable the foundations of the Scottish Reformation. His glowing earnestness fused the floating, incoherent elements of Reform into consistency, symmetry and strength. A masterhand was on the helm, and the noble ship, responding to his touch, assumed that course which she held triumphantly to the end. All ecclesiastical history since that day is a vindication of Knox's policy of the Reformation. It is the only true policy.

Called to the pastorate of the English church in Geneva in 1556, Knox returned to Switzerland, where he remained for two years. While there his time was occupied in preaching, in pastoral labor, in working upon the Geneva Bible,

and in uttering his terrible "Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women."

In the mean time the queen regent of Scotland, "crafty, dissimulate and false," having thrown off her cunningly woven disguises, took the first step toward the total extirpation of the Reformation in Scotland by summoning the Protestant preachers to stand their trials at Stirling. The queen regent, Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, notwithstanding bitter and rankling jealousies among themselves, had joined hands for the purpose of crushing out Protestantism utterly. The plans were all matured. The plot was ripe. The mine was about to be sprung. At this supreme crisis the man whom God had been preparing, by a long and severe discipline, to be one of his ordained instruments in great achievements, steps suddenly upon the scene. Elijah was kept hidden in obscurity until he was to confront Ahab. Moses had a forty years' discipline in the wilderness, and came from the deserts of Midian to stand before Pharaoh. Moses and Elijah were no more really chosen, ordained and prepared ministers of God to act in great crises of the Church than was John Knox. In slavery and in exile his nature was seasoned and toughened to the texture of true heroism. In his public catechisings at Langniddrie, he first trained to popu-

lar speaking that voice which afterward shook thrones and dashed to pieces the schemes and policies of kings, queens, princes and nobles.

On the invitation of certain noblemen he returned to Scotland "in the brunt of the battle." His appearance at Edinburgh, as sudden and as unexpected as the appearance of Elijah at Samaria, created among his enemies as great a panic as though it had been the invasion of a hostile army. A good man in earnest, and with a good cause, is as "the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof," mightier than armies and navies. Although under sentence of outlawry and liable at any hour to be arrested and executed, Knox resolved to stand with his brethren at Stirling and share their dangers and their fate, "by life, by death or else by both, to glorify God." But from this threatened danger the Lord preserved both him and them.

Amidst the throes of incipient civil war, and in verification of his own prediction while a galley-slave, he returned to St. Andrews. The archbishop peremptorily forbade his preaching in the cathedral, and threatened that in case he should dare to do so he would be shot down in the pulpit by the soldiers. In defiance of the archbishop's threat, and in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, he yet preached.

This was the very crisis and pivot of the

struggle. At Augsburg the princes saved the Lutheran Reformation, when the theologians would have compromised or surrendered. Knox, by his splendid intrepidity, saved the cause in Scotland, when nobles as brave as the bravest would have yielded to the demands of the archbishop. John Knox at St. Andrews is a figure as grand and towering as Martin Luther before the diet of Worms.

The effects and results of Knox's preaching at this time were marvelous. In the three days at St. Andrews—the primal see of Scotland—popery was utterly overthrown, the Reformed worship was set up, images and pictures were torn from the churches and monasteries were demolished. Knox's doctrine was as fatal to popish superstition as the fire which ran along the ground in the plague of the hail was fatal to the vegetable gods of Egypt. Wheresoever that doctrine went —and it ran very swiftly—popish power and popish idolatry, with all the paraphernalia thereof, melted before it.

In less than a month after his triumphal appearance at St. Andrews, Knox's voice was ringing among the rafters of St. Giles and of the Abbey Church at Edinburgh. Chosen at once as pastor of St. Giles, he entered upon his labors in that church which his name has made historic throughout the world, and where "his tongue

OLD ST. GILES, EDINBURGH.

was more than a match for Mary's sceptre," and where so often "his voice in an hour put more life into men than six hundred trumpets could."

During the trying vicissitudes of civil war, Knox was the one pillar of strength upon which Scotland leaned with her whole weight. Wise in counsel, utterly fearless in action, mighty in the resistless torrents of his eloquence, the nation turned to him instinctively as its God-given leader. With a price upon his head, with hired assassins waylaying his path, ever at the post of duty and of danger, "careless of his own carcass," thinking only of his dear Scotland, in the darkest extremities of perilous times waking the expiring courage of heroes with the trumpet peals of his eloquence, he fought the good fight bravely through, until within one year peace was proclaimed, popery was abolished by act of Parliament, and a confession prepared principally by himself was adopted. There never was a nobler fight or one that was more signal in its achievements. A complete revolution was accomplished, popery was abolished, the Reformed Church had a firm status and a complete Presbyterian organization. The battle was really gained. Henceforth the struggle was to maintain the ground which had been won.

A more dangerous power, however, than fire and sword was now to be encountered in the in-

sidious influence of a brilliant court which had as its centre the beautiful and fascinating Mary Stuart. The eagle eye of Knox perceived at once the point of danger, and Mary, on the other hand, as soon discovered the one power which stood in the way of the accomplishment of her designs. Knox was summoned to Holyrood, and in a long conference Mary tried her best to intimidate and awe him. She might as well have tried to shake Salisbury crags with the breath of her nostrils.

When the news of the massacre of the Protestants at Vassy in France reached Holyrood, Mary had a grand ball to celebrate the event. On the next Sabbath, Knox thundered in St. Giles against those who "were more exercised in fiddling and flinging than in reading or hearing God's most blessed word, and those who danced as the Philistines their fathers danced, for the pleasure which they take in the displeasure of God's people." Mary sent for Knox the next day. He retracted nothing, but told the queen to her face that her uncles, the Guises of France, "were enemies to God, and spared not to spill the blood of many innocents," and then let her understand very distinctly that "it was not his vocation to stand at her chamber door and to have no further liberty, but to whisper his mind in her Grace's ear." That voice was for Scotland and the world.

"He departed," as he tells us in his "Historie,"

"with a reasonable merry countenance." "He is not afraid!" whispered the papists as he passed. Turning upon them, he replied, "Why should the pleasing countenance of a gentilwoman affray me? I have luiked on the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been affrayed above measure." That man could not be frightened. Next, Mary plied all her exquisite art to flatter him, but in this she succeeded no better.

Times grew critical. Many of the nobles were proving recreant. Knox sacrificed some of his dearest and sweetest friendships rather than yield an inch or an iota to the growing encroachments of the papacy. In his estimation one mass was worse for Scotland than a hostile army. The nobles were ready and anxious to compromise. Parliament was pliable and plastic in the hands of Mary. Knox alone stood in her way. He, therefore, must be silenced or be put out of her way somehow.

For the fifth time Knox was summoned to the palace. In a torrent of tears and a tempest of passion, Mary stormed and railed at him. Carried beyond all bounds of prudence, she at last spitefully exclaimed: "What are you in this commonwealth?" Grandly Knox replied: "A subject born within the same, madam; and, albeit I am neither earl, lord nor baron within it, yet has God made me—how abject soever I am in your

eyes—a profitable member within the same; yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility."

There is not in history a nobler answer.

For writing a circular letter, which he was authorized to do by the General Assembly when any exigency demanded such a measure, he was arraigned and tried for treason. He made a brave and able defence, and to the bitter disappointment and chagrin of Mary, he was acquitted. The queen had learned that Knox could not be intimidated, neither could he be flattered, or cajoled, or wheedled into compliance with her wishes. She had also discovered that she could not have him beheaded for treason in Scotland.

She next entered into a conspiracy by which, through a wholesale slaughter of the Protestants, she hoped to get rid of her enemy. A league had been formed between the pope and the Guises, by which Protestantism in France was to be utterly rooted out by force. To this infernal bond Mary set her fair and jeweled hand, and that brought Scotland within the fatal scope of the league. But there is a wheel within a wheel. A jealousy between Mary and her husband, Darnley, and the consequent murder of Rizzio, turned the fierce currents of history into other channels,

and Scotland was saved from the horrors of a massacre such as that of St. Bartholomew.

Under the regency of Murray the Church had peace, and the revolution of 1560 was ratified. There was still a strong and vicious papal party, but by firmness the regent kept down all insurrections until he was taken off by the hand of an assassin.

Under the regency of Lennox there was civil war. The castle of Edinburgh was held at this time by the queen's forces, and these forces were under the command of the apostate Kircaldy of Grange. Overwhelmed with grief on account of the death of his beloved Murray, Knox had been smitten with apoplexy, and was no longer able to walk to church or to ascend the pulpit without help. Yet he was as watchful and fearless as ever. Not liking the reports which he received of the preaching in St. Giles, Grange came down to church one morning with a band of desperate men to intimidate the preacher. The old man rightly interpreted their presence as a threat, and, his infirmities forgotten for the time being, his wonted fires flamed forth again; and leveling his thunders right at Grange, he made the very shingles on St. Giles tremble.

His friends now feared for his life. The castle was full of Hamiltons, all thirsting for his blood. He was shot at through the window of his own

house. But he was totally unconscious of fear. At length he was prevailed upon to leave Edinburgh, on the ground that his longer continuance there would involve the lives of his friends. He went to St. Andrews.

James Melville, who was then a student, has preserved for us in his diary a very graphic account of the habits and appearance of the great reformer at this time. He brings the scenes vividly before us. We see the tottering old man walking and sitting in the yard at St. Salvator's college, calling the students around him, exhorting them to be diligent in their studies, to know God and his work in the country, and to stand by the "gude cause." With his heart yet young, we find him encouraging the students by his presence at a play which was acted by them on the occasion of the marriage of one of their regents. We see him in his great weakness creeping to the kirk, "slowly and warily," with a "furring of martics about his neck," a staff in one hand and his trusty servant supporting him on the other side. We see him lifted bodily by two men into the pulpit, and then leaning wearily upon it for support. We hear his tremulous, faltering, uncertain tones as he opens the text; we listen as he "proceeds moderately for the space of half an hour;" and then entering upon his application, he warms and glows until he makes

THE HOUSE OF JOHN KNOX, EDINBURGH.

the students "grew and tremble so that they cannot hold their pens to write," and kindling with the rush and momentum of his thought, the spirit triumphing over the half-dead body, we see the shriveled limbs become instinct with life and energy, and the whole man "so active and vigorous that he is like to ding the pulpit in blads and fly out of it."

Providence opened up the way for his return to Edinburgh before he died. He returned according to an earnest invitation, and on the express and emphatic condition that he "should not temper his tongue or cease to speak against the men of the castle."

Once more he is back in his old pulpit, but his voice can no longer fill St. Giles. To accommodate him with a smaller audience chamber, the congregation prepared for him the Tolbooth church. While these preparations are in progress, I invite you to accompany me for a little while to the Continent.

When Knox was driven out of England by "Bloody Mary," he found a grateful asylum in France, where he formed many intimate and ardent friendships. Perilous times cement kindred spirits.

While Luther was lecturing on philosophy at Wittenberg, the venerable Lefevre in France, through the study of the Epistles of Paul, had

reached the central doctrine of the Reformation, justification by faith. Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, occupied the same theological ground. When, therefore, this doctrine was proclaimed in Germany, France responded to it with a quick and live sympathy. The leaven of the gospel spread rapidly from the professor in her great university to the peasant in the furrow—from the prince by the throne to the mechanic at his bench. Margaret of Valois, queen of Navarre, the witty, the accomplished and the beloved sister of Francis II., was in full sympathy with the Reformation, and for some time she carried the sympathies of her royal brother with her. But it was not to be expected that the enemies of the gospel would quietly witness these rapid conquests without putting men to death "for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." As in other countries, so in France, persecutions raged fiercely. Loaded with every opprobrious epithet, charged with crimes as atrocious as those which were laid against the early Christians by the pagans, subjected to tortures as refined in cruelty as those of Nero, in spite of fire and steel and the balançoir, the noble band of martyrs and confessors in France heroically maintained their course, singing psalms at the stake, "glorifying God in the fires," bearing their testimony to the truth, until their enraged persecutors, in order to silence them, cut

out their tongues and flung them, yet quivering, into their faces. In the sixteenth century, France was the bloodiest theatre of persecution of any country in Europe save one.

Yet the blood of these glorious martyrs only fertilized the soil for the propagation of the truth. The smoke of their sacrifice disseminated the principles for which they died. The Scriptures were translated into French by Olivetan, the relative of Calvin. The Psalms, turned into metre by Marot, "the poet of princes and the prince of poets," were sung at the court and on the fashionable promenade of Paris, and were hummed even by King Francis himself. The printing-press was busy. It teemed with books and tracts. Tracts were scattered like autumnal leaves in the streets of Paris.

A placard against the mass was one night posted on the walls of the principal cities throughout the kingdom, and even on the king's own door. Francis was infuriated when he thought of the insult against his own majesty, and was alarmed and horrified when he thought of the insult against the holy sacrament. As a public expiation for this latter offence, he ordered a solemn procession, which in its object, its spirit, its incidents, its grotesque blending of extreme devoutness with savage ferocity, is one of the most unique in history. Everything possible was done

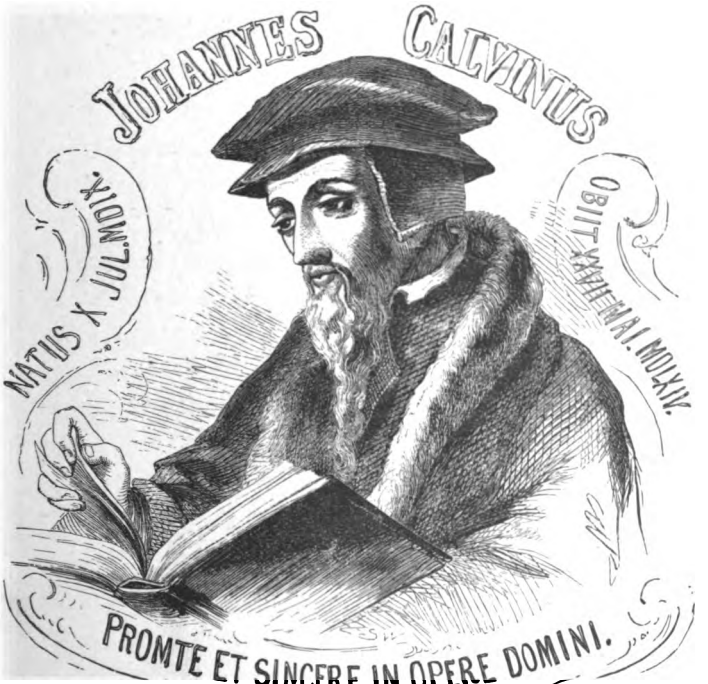
to make it the most imposing spectacle of the kind which had ever been witnessed in France. The highest dignitaries in Church and State, emblazoned with the insignia of their offices, adorned the ranks. Every shrine in Paris was emptied of relics, and the procession was graced with all the treasures of the reliquary, from the crown of thorns to the beard of St. Louis. Under a canopy borne by princes of the blood, the host was carried by the bishop of Paris. In six public places on the route of the procession as many altars were erected for the repose of the sacrament, and beside each of these altars there was a scaffold, a pile of fagots, and an iron beam, so arranged by means of pivot and pulley that it could be raised and lowered at will. When the head of the procession reached these altars successively, a Reformer was tied to the end of the beam, and by a see-saw movement was plunged again and again into a bath of fire. These awful dippings were so timed that, the ligaments being consumed, the victim dropped into the blazing pile just as the king was devoutly kneeling at the altar in adoration of the host. The misguided, maddened populace bowed down in the streets to worship bits of wood and dead men's bones, while, at the same time, they morbidly luxuriated in the exquisite tortures of those "of whom the world was not worthy." Strange extremes meet in human

nature! This spectacle engendered a morbid taste for public slaughterings, which has many times since converted France into an Aceldama, a field of blood, and which has had as its legitimate results the guillotine of the Revolution and the awful butcheries of the Commune, three centuries later.

A French refugee in Basle heard with keenest pain reports of the awful sufferings of his friends in France, and his indignation was kindled to a white heat when the persecutors, with the king at their head, attempted to palliate the atrocities which they were committing by publishing the basest calumnies against both the opinions and practices of the Reformers. He determined that these traduced and persecuted people of God should be vindicated. To this end he wrote a little book, and in a bold and immortal address dedicated it to Francis II. This was the first edition of what the world now knows as Calvin's Institutes, the noblest apology ever penned by an uninspired man.

The Institutes of Calvin at once gave consistency and symmetry to the Reformed Church in France; and, in spite of sceptre and sword, cemented by the blood of martyrs, it grew strong, until it published its own apology, in its doctrines as crystallized in the Confession of 1559. At this time, a single step in the right direction would

have emancipated France from the thraldom of the papacy, but she knew not "the time of her visitation." Behind the throne, upon which sat a poor, weak, sickly, uxorious boy yet in his teens, stood the Lorraines, with the duke of Guise at their head, and they with consummate ability and craft and utter unscrupulousness wielded the powers of the government for the suppression of the gospel. It was an ominous conjunction—the gloomy despot, Philip II., on the throne of Spain, the duke of Guise behind the throne of France, with Mary Stuart, niece of Guise, as wife of the puppet king, and the mother of Mary and sister of Guise as queen regent of Scotland. It was a conjunction which portended evil, and it brought upon France "a day of wasteness and desolation," a time when God's people "were scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden under foot;" a time when every sanctuary of safety and of right was ruthlessly invaded and wantonly desecrated; a time when clustering villages of peaceful, thrifty, God-fearing citizens were razed as though they had been dens of wild beasts, and with an overthrow so utter and complete that not a stone was left to mark the spot where they had been, nor a human being to tell the story of their destruction; a time when rivers in their courses were dammed up with the bodies of slaughtered saints; a time when the lords and ladies of the court regaled



JOHN CALVIN.

themselves daily, amidst pleasantry and repartee, by witnessing, from the windows of the palace, the mortal agonies of tortured martyrs; a time when the atmosphere of the court became pestilential from the stench of blood; a time when little children at their plays talked about and familiarized themselves with the thought of death by martyrdom.

The massacre of Vassy, in open and utter defiance of the edict of January, which has been called the Magna Charta of religious liberty in France, demonstrated to the Protestants the absolute necessity of self-defence. Longer non-resistance would be suicidal. They rallied, therefore, under the standards of their renowned leaders Condé and the Colignis. Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, put her young son Henry into the ranks as a soldier, and pawned her crown jewels to raise money for the war. Charlotte de Laval, urging her husband, the admiral Coligni, to take up arms in defence of the suffering Protestants, was asked by him: "Are you prepared to endure confiscation, flight, exile, shame, nakedness and hunger, and what is worse, to suffer all this in your children? Are you prepared to see your husband branded as a rebel and dragged to a scaffold, while your children, disgraced and ruined, are begging their bread at the hands of their enemies? I give you eight days to reflect

upon it; and when you shall be prepared for such reverses, I will be ready to set forward and perish with you and our friends." Charlotte instantly replied: "The eight days are already expired. Go, sir, where your duty calls you. Heaven will not give the victory to our enemies. In the name of God I call upon you to resist no longer, but save our brethren or die in the attempt." The admiral was in his saddle the next morning. There were heroines as well as heroes in those days.

The baleful theory of uniformity—the theory that there was only room in France for one Church, and that the Roman Catholic Church—divided the nation into two hostile camps and plunged the country into a series of civil wars. Spain sympathized with and aided the Catholic party, Philip II. urging upon France the policy of extermination which he was carrying out in the Netherlands. England and the Netherlands sympathized with and aided the Protestants, the latter country sending her immortal prince of Orange to take the field. It was a struggle great and memorable both in the principles at stake and in the distinguished leaders on each side. It was the genius, heroism and godly enthusiasm of the Bourbon and the Coligni on the one side, and the Machiavellian craft, intrigue and devilish hate of the Guise and the Medici on the other.

WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

Wars follow each other in rapid succession. "Blood toucheth blood." The fields Dreux, St. Denis, Jarnac, Moncontour and Arnay le Duc rendered the valor of the Huguenots historic. Condé and D'Andelot are dead on the field. Then there comes a lull in the din of battle, a short respite from war. Negotiations are going on concerning a marriage alliance which is to unite the two parties and give lasting peace to France. The admiral Coligni is invited to the court, and has repeated interviews with the young king Charles IX. He urges upon Charles the policy of uniting France and the Netherlands in an alliance against Spain. Catharine, the queen-mother, on the other hand, used all the witchery of her power to thwart that policy and to poison the mind of Charles against Coligni.

One loves to dream of the results that would have attended the policy of Coligni. France Protestant and in alliance with the Netherlands, and the allied armies of the two countries led by such men as the prince of Orange and Coligni! What a different history of Europe we would be reading to-day, and what a different map of Europe our children would be studying to-day!

The admiral Coligni was at this time the head and soul of the Huguenot party. He had gained the ear, and by his frank, high-toned Christian chivalry was rapidly winning the heart, of King

Charles. The queen mother, her son the duke of Anjou and the young duke of Guise took the alarm. Charles must be rescued from the potent influence of Coligni at all hazards, and these three spirits balk at nothing which will further their plans. They resolved upon the assassination of the admiral, but through unsteadiness of aim the assassin only succeeded in severely wounding him. The conspirators had hoped to destroy the Huguenots by striking down their illustrious chieftain. In this they were foiled. They then determined to compass their ends by a general massacre, which was to begin with the Huguenot nobility then assembled in Paris on the occasion of the marriage of the gallant Henry of Navarre with the sister of Charles IX. The beginning being made in Paris, the massacre was to become general throughout the provinces.

Catharine, with all the magic power which she exercised over her children, and with all her consummate Medician art, began to work upon the king to wrest from him the fatal order. She appealed, in turn, to every motive and passion. With exquisite skill she touched every spring of his being—his fears, his suspicions, his pride, his vindictiveness, his vanity, his jealousy, until, maddened, phrensied, in a delirium of rage, vexation and mortification, he exclaimed with a horrible oath, that since they thought it right to kill the

admiral, he was determined that every Huguenot in France should perish with him, so that not one should be left to reproach him with the crime.

This happened an hour before midnight. Arrangements were instantly completed for the murdering to begin the next morning. The signal was to have been given from the great bell of the Palace of Justice at daybreak, but Catharine, in her impatience and nervousness, ordered the tocsin to be sounded from the belfry of a neighboring church an hour and a half earlier. Then Catharine and her two sons, Charles IX. and the duke of Anjou, stole to a window of the Louvre and tremblingly peered into the dark and quiet streets. All was as still as death until they were startled by a single pistol-shot. A sudden spasm of remorse seized the guilty trio, and they sent word to Guise that he should proceed no further with massacre. But it was too late. Guise, with his leash of sleuth-hounds, was already well on his way to the hôtel of the admiral. The soldiers who had been stationed to guard the hôtel betrayed their trust, and became the eager accomplices of the murderers. Awakened by the noise at the gate and in the halls, Coligni, yet weak from wounds, had arisen from his bed, had thrown around him his dressing-gown and was sitting in an arm-chair when the assassins entered. He did not move. There was not the

tremor of a muscle. There was not the quiver of a nerve. He looked into the faces of those desperadoes as calmly as though they had been his children coming to kiss him good-night, and regarded their naked swords and daggers with as much composure as though they had been the arms of his mother extended to embrace him. One of the most desperate of these desperate men was wont to say that he had never seen man meet death with such constancy and firmness.

The assassins made swift and thorough work of it. In the court below, Guise and a few of kindred spirit sat upon their horses. Up from the horsemen comes the eager, impatient cry: "Have you done it?" "It is over," was the reply that dropped from the window. Again comes up the cry: "But here is Guise, who will not believe it unless he sees it with his own eyes. Throw him out of the window." And the gashed body of the best and the greatest man then in France was thrown down upon the pavement of the court beneath as though it had been the carcass of a dog. Not yet satisfied, Guise dismounted, stooped down, and in the darkness of the early morning peered into the face of the dead hero. The face being bloody beyond recognition, Guise coolly took his handkerchief from his pocket, wiped the blood from the features and again scrutinized them narrowly. "'Tis he. I know him," he said, and as he rose

gave the body a kick, then vaulting into his saddle, and shouting, "Courage, soldiers! We have made a good beginning. Now for the others!" he galloped from the court-yard.

The blood of the great, the good, the immortal Coligni was the first that was shed in this awful massacre. His body was afterward subjected to every indignity and insult which satanic malignity and ingenuity could suggest.

The preparations and arrangements for the massacre were extensive, elaborate and complete. They were made by those who had a genius for laying snares and weaving nets and setting traps and achieving success in murder on a grand scale. Ever since the great procession of expiation under Francis II., the people of France had been undergoing a continuous education which was fitting them to become actors in tragedies of horror. The inflammable populace of Paris were as ripe for a carnival of blood as tinder is ready for a spark. The houses of the Huguenots were all marked. The papists had as a badge a strip of white linen round the arm and a white cross in the cap, while in the windows of their houses flambeaux were burning for the double purpose of designation and of giving light to the murderers in the streets. The signal was sounded from every steeple in the city. "Kill! kill! Down with the Huguenots! Down with the Hugue-

nots!" were the watchwords. Suddenly, Paris was converted into hell. The halls and staircases of the Louvre were slippery with the best and noblest blood in France. There was no more pity for the toothless babe than for the bearded man. Dead and dying bodies rained from the windows. In some places blood reached the shoe latchets. But I draw a veil over the horrible, sickening details.

Fast as couriers could carry the news, the hellish contagion spread throughout the provinces. In each city and town and village the scenes of Paris were repeated, until, according to some estimates, as many as one hundred thousand were slain. And certainly it will not lessen our sad interest in this awful tragedy to know that the victims of it were Presbyterians in doctrine, worship and discipline.

When the news reached Spain, Philip II. was beside himself with joy. He regarded the massacre as the highest possible exemplification of Christian virtue. At Rome the pope and cardinals went in state to church and had Te Deums sung and masses said in honor of the event; and genius, in the person of Vasari, was employed to perpetuate the memory of it by a painting on the walls of the Sistine chapel, and there, on those walls, stands that painting, the damning evidence of the pope's complicity in the massacre. A

medal was also struck to commemorate the event. But when the news reached England, the court went into mourning, and Queen Elizabeth did herself and her nation immortal honor by administering a stinging rebuke to Charles IX. through his ambassador. When the news reached Edinburgh, Knox was overwhelmed with grief, because many of his personal friends had been slaughtered. Once more the old man was carried to the pulpit and lifted into it, and then he poured out the red-hot lava of his indignation against the perpetrators of the hellish outrage, and denounced the judgments of Heaven against the cruel murderer and false traitor, the king of France, consigning him to the eternal "execrations of posterity to come." This was one of his last public services. After this he preached the installation sermon of his colleague and successor in the Tolbooth church. That was his last public service.

In devout meditation, in hearing God's word, in joyously entertaining his friends—for Knox was eminently a genial and social man—in counseling his session and his colleague, in trying to reclaim Kircaldy of Grange, in solemnly admonishing Morton, who was about becoming regent, in taking affectionate leave of relatives and friends,—the few days that remained to him on earth were occupied. With exclamations and ejaculations drip-

ping with the very myrrh of the gospel constantly on his lips, he lay waiting till "God's work was done." With a clear intellect and an unclouded spirit he triumphantly ended his "long and paneful battel."

In the middle of a paved street in Edinburgh the passer-by reads, upon a square stone, this inscription:

J. K.
1572.

Beneath that spot, over which now trundles the commerce of a great city, were once laid the remains of him who "NEVER FEARED THE FACE OF MAN."

He has been dead these three hundred years. During all this time history has been busy with his life and his character. These have been fiercely assailed and eloquently defended. For three centuries his work has been speaking for him with ever-increasing volume of meaning and of eloquence. He needs no other monument. He needs no other apology.

He is charged with rudeness and coarseness toward the elegant lady, Mary Stuart queen of Scots, but there is absolutely nothing in the records to justify such a charge. He was firm—firm as the Pentland hills; he was inflexible—inflexible as the fully-developed, storm-strengthened oak; and having learned, as he tells us, from

Isaiah and Jeremiah, to "call wickedness by its own terms, a fig a fig, and a spade a spade," he did speak in all plainness as both his "vocation and conscience craved," but always with dignity and courtesy, nevertheless. With some soft sentimentalists it is an unpardonable offence that he should have made Mary weep and "shed never a tear himself." Hear his own defence: "Madam, in God's presence I speak; I never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures—yea, I can scarcely abide the tears of my own boys, whom my own hand corrects, much less can I rejoice in your Majesty's weeping; but seeing that I have offered you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth, as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain, albeit unwillingly, your Majesty's tears rather than I dare hurt my conscience or betray my commonwealth through my silence." If that be coarseness, perpetual thanksgivings to God that John Knox had the grace to use it! "Better," said Regent Morton, "that women weep than that bearded men be forced to weep."

But I submit that such a man as this is not to be measured by the rules of etiquette or by the laws of gallantry. Knox had more serious business than playing the courtier. Every time that he stood before Queen Mary he carried the spiritual destiny of millions on the tip of his tongue.

He was there to defend truth which had taken hold of every fibre of his being. He might have pleased Mary, but by doing so he would have betrayed the cause of Protestantism in Scotland, and that would have involved the cause of Protestantism in England. So long as Elijah the Tishbite and John the Baptist need no apology for coarseness, John Knox shall need none.

But suppose he had faults? They are but specks on the surface of the sun. The sun makes the earth rich in all beauty and fertility, notwithstanding, and Knox made Scotland "blossom as the rose." "Knox is the one Scotchman to whom of all others his country and the world owe a debt," says the weird hero-worshiper, Thomas Carlyle.

It was not for nothing that John Knox had for ten years preached in Edinburgh and his words had been echoed from a thousand pulpits. His was the voice which taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a freeman, the equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate that had trampled on his forefathers. The murders, the adulteries, the Bothwell scandals, and other monstrous games which had been played before Heaven there since the return of the queen from France, had been like whirlwinds fanning the fires of the new teaching. Princes and lords only might have noble blood, but every Scot had a

soul to be saved, a conscience to be outraged by these enormous doings, and an arm to strike with in revenge for them. Elsewhere the plebeian element of nations had risen to power through the arts and industries which make men rich; the commons of Scotland were sons of their religion, while the nobles were splitting into factions, taking securities for their fortunes or entangling themselves in political intrigues; the tradesmen, the mechanics, the poor tillers of the soil, had sprung suddenly into consciousness with spiritual convictions for which they were prepared to live or die. The fear of God in them left no room for the fear of any other thing, and in the very fierce intolerance which Knox had poured into their veins they had become a force in the State. The poor clay which, a generation earlier, the haughty baron would have trodden into slime, had been heated red hot in the furnace of a new faith. Thus historians who have no sympathy with Knox's creed are constrained to recognize the inestimable value of his work and his teachings. Such services as he rendered to his country and to the world might condone for a little rudeness in the presence of a woman whom he believed to be, and whom history has adjudged to be, a murderess.

He is charged, moreover, with intolerance. But of what was he intolerant? Of error and corruption that were rank and pestiferous, of tyr-

anny which treated the soul of man as a mere plaything of kings, lords and prelates. He did well to be intolerant. He could have done nothing less, and have remained a true man. His intolerance consisted simply in his carrying out unflinchingly the only principles upon which a reformation worthy of the name could have been achieved in Scotland.

His Presbyterianism was not derived from Geneva. He did not learn it from John Calvin. He found it where Ulrich Zwinglius found his Presbyterianism—in his Greek Testament. He made the discovery when he was teaching his "bairns" at Langniddrie. His views on this subject were fully matured when he was in England, before he had ever seen Calvin. And so strong were his convictions on the subject that the offer of a bishopric could not tempt him to modify his policy in the slightest. He and those who aided him in preparing the Book of Discipline, as Row said, "took not their example from any Kirk in the world—no, not from Geneva—but drew their plan from the sacred Scriptures." Knox, therefore, could make no compromise with popery without a total betrayal of principles in defence of which he counted not his life dear unto him.

And this Presbyterian system of doctrine and government is the strongest and safest defence

against popery which has ever been reared. Knox detected the weakness of the English Reformation. Events have amply justified his fears and vindicated his views. The Anglican Church has, in a measure at least, become a training-camp for the papacy. In the great reaction against the Reformation which was directed by the Jesuits, Presbyterianism saved Protestantism. It formed a bulwark against which the maddened waves beat and dashed and broke in vain. Had Knox faltered in Scotland, Protestantism would have been swept from England as the whirlwind sweeps dry leaves from the highway.

The time may not be far distant when the decisive struggle will be between the armies of Antichrist and the compact and serried hosts of this our beloved Presbyterianism. Contemplating, therefore, the life of Knox, one of the grandest ever lived on this footstool of God, and catching inspiration and enthusiasm from our theme, let us close up our ranks and stand firm, ready to repel assault or to charge to victory.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN PHILADELPHIA.

BY THE

REV. ROBERT M. PATTERSON,

PASTOR OF THE SOUTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN PHILADELPHIA.

I. PROPHECY AND FULFILLMENT.

IN the year 1702 a missionary of the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," writing from Burlington, New Jersey, said: "The Presbyterians here come a great way to lay hands on one another; but, after all, I think they had as good stay at home for all the good they do. In Philadelphia one pretends to be a Presbyterian, and has a congregation to which he preaches."

In the following year another missionary of the same society journalized in this city a fact and a prediction: "They have here a Presbyterian meeting and minister, one called Andrews; *but they are not like to increase here.*"

A truer and more potential prophet declared to the little church and its angel: "Behold! I have set before thee an open door; and no man can shut it." Therefore, Presbyterians have had such an "increase" that they are now the strongest religious denomination in the city, and Philadel-

phia is the largest Presbyterian city in the United States.

There are here three ecclesiastical organizations which are *Presbyterian in name* as well as in fact—the one which for facility of designation, we call the Reunited (the late Old and New School, now happily in one) branch, the United, and the Reformed (Synod and General Synod). Their latest returns sum up as follows: The *Reunited*, 95 ministers, 69 congregations, 19,365 communicants, 23,833 Sabbath-school members, and $992,777 raised last year for congregational and other purposes, and reported to their Sessions; the *United*, 10 ministers, 11 congregations, 2759 communicants, 2171 Sabbath-school members, and $49,563 raised and reported; the *Reformed*, 10 ministers, 12 congregations, 3439 communicants, over 1000 Sabbath-school members, and $46,517 reported.* The aggregate of the three are, 115 ministers (80 of whom are Pastors), 92 congregations, 25,563 communicants, over 26,900 Sabbath-school members, and $1,089,000 contributed last year. They have church-edifices which will seat over 66,000 persons. In addition to these buildings, the Reunited branch opens to-day to the public a most capacious and

* The statistics for the Reformed branch are incomplete and below the real figures. They could not be fully obtained for all the congregations.

complete structure for its Board of Publication, which is one of the most imposing ornaments of Chestnut street, and which is to be the central sun whence are perpetually to flow the rays of truth for the Presbyterian illumination of the country. It has an Hospital, on land conveyed by one who was among the most active of its ministers, munificently endowed at its commencement by one of its largest-hearted laymen, and managed by a Board of Trustees at whose head is one of the most zealous and eminent of its living servants. And it will shortly have a Home, the foundation of which has been laid by one of its ministering women, for the aged and destitute of her own sex.

There is also in the city an Independent Presbyterian church which has been, and is, a great power for Christ, (the Rev. John Chambers'.)

Our view, to be complete, should also include two other denominations which are not *called* Presbyterian, but which have doctrinal symbols that are Calvinistic and forms of government that are Presbyterian, *viz.*, the Dutch Reformed and German Reformed. They have 17 ministers, 17 churches, at least 4794 communicants, and 4572 Sabbath-school members; and they reported last year, the Dutch, for congregational and benevolent purposes, $27,107, and the German, $6,288 for benevolent objects alone.

The full Presbyterian strength of the munici-

pality exhibits, therefore, 133 ministers, 109 congregations, over 30,300 communicants, over 31,500 Sabbath-school members, and $1,122,252 raised and reported last year. The valuation of their church properties cannot be less than six millions of dollars.*

The history of the "increase" from "a Presbyterian meeting and minister, 'one called Andrews,'" in 1702, to this imposing array of 1872, would make a volume of the deepest instruction and most thrilling interest. Disjointed articles and sketches of a few particular congregations have appeared, but no history of the one progressive Presbyterian movement has been written. All that can be done in this paper is, as from an exalted position, to take a bird's-eye view of it.

II. THE BEGINNING OF THE CITY AND CHURCH.

Philadelphia was founded in 1682. Settlements in its neighborhood, and within the limits of what is now the city, had been made before William Penn received the grant of the Province; by Friends in Shackamaxon, or Kensington, and by Lutheran Swedes in Southwark. But when Penn arrived, in 1682, he found only eight or ten caves

* "The eccentric General Lee was buried in Christ Church ground. 'He wished not to lie within a mile of Presbyterian ground, as too bad company.'" (Watson's Annals.) His bones could not find a quiet resting-place now—Presbyterian churches are too abundant here!

dug on the banks of the Delaware, and one house at what is now Front and Dock streets.

There is a tradition that the great founder of the city preached the first sermon that was heard within its bounds.

Not only were the Friends the predominant religious society at the outset, but the members of other persuasions united with them in worship. In 1684, when the town contained not a thousand inhabitants, the Friends' meeting, which was the only one in existence, would number eight hundred persons, a large proportion, of course, coming from the country.

But as early as 1691 serious dissensions broke out in the Society. George Keith, a Scotchman, a teacher in the Friends' School and a member of their Meeting, raised a dividing agitation by the promulgation of views for which he was expelled from the Society. The immediate effect of this was to give a great impulse to Episcopacy. Keith became a clergyman in the Church of England, and drew large numbers with him into that organization. Taking advantage of this, "the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which was organized in England, in 1701, not especially for work among the heathen, but, as Bishop Wilberforce declares, to spread Episcopacy among the colonists, made the greatest efforts to build up that sect here.

There were, however, a few of the early settlers in Philadelphia whose preferences were for other forms of Protestantism—not many indeed; the earliest mention is of "nine Baptists and a few Independents in the town." They were shaken off and shaken together into their own organizations by the dissensions which split the Friends' Meeting.

The first known Presbyterian minister in the colonies was the Rev. Francis Makemie. A native of Ireland, he came to America soon after his licensure in 1681, and settled in Maryland. There he founded the churches of Rehoboth and Snow Hill; and thence, as a centre, he did a large amount of missionary work in the other colonies. In one of his tours he visited Philadelphia, in 1692, while it was in its highest state of religious fermentation; and it is probable that he then gathered together the little band of Presbyterians. Certain it is that in 1697 they had been organized into a congregation, and in alternation with the Baptists and Congregationalists were meeting in a frame building, which was called the "Barbadoes Lot Store," on the north-west corner of Second and Chestnut Streets. In that year, Watson says, the town contained a "Swedish Lutheran Church, Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian and two Quaker, one of them being George Keith's separation."

In the autumn of 1698, Mr. Jedediah Andrews, a young Licentiate from Massachusetts, commenced to preach to the Presbyterians. The position socially was not encouraging, for a contemporary wrote in that year, "The Church of England and the Quakers bear equal share in the government." The little congregation was treated with contempt by the adherents of the Anglican Church, which was endeavoring to establish itself as *the* Church of the colony.

Mr. Andrews was ordained to the work of the ministry and installed as pastor of the congregation in 1701. That was also the year in which Philadelphia received its charter as a city, with Edward Shippen for its mayor. The history of the city of Philadelphia, and the history of Presbyterian pastorates in it, commence together.

The population of the place then consisted of five thousand inhabitants, living in seven hundred houses, which lay snugly and compactly between the Delaware River and Dock Creek, now Dock Street, from the mouth of the latter up to Market Street.

There is a record of the ordination, in 1704, of two elders, one of whom was John Snowdon.

In the same year the congregation erected a frame church on the corner of Bank Street and Buttonwood, now Market Street. This was called "The Old Buttonwood Church," because of the

buttonwood trees of large dimensions which stood around it. It was enlarged in 1729, rebuilt in 1793 in Grecian style, and on account of the encroachments of business taken down in 1820, when the present church at Washington Square was constructed.

That old frame building was probably the scene of the organization of our original American Presbytery, whose first recorded roll contains the names of four ministers and four ruling elders. How enraptured must those glorified souls be as they now look down upon our land and behold, in place of their one little Presbytery, 542 Presbyteries and Classes, with 8481 preachers of the Gospel, 9305 congregations and 966,313 communicants! *

Here let us pause to pay a tribute to William Penn and his associates and successors. Philadelphia was the cradle of American organized Presbyterianism. Here were formed its first Presbytery, probably in 1705 or 1706, its first Synod in 1717, and its first General Assembly in 1789. Here too met all the Assemblies of the now Reunited Church, except three, down to the year 1834. And it is under the laws of Pennsylvania that the trustees of our supreme body are incorporated. Attention has not, however,

* These figures are for 1870. They were incomplete then, and are below the aggregates now.

been pointedly called to the fact that there was no other city in the colonies in which our ecclesiastical courts could have been freely constituted and conducted. It was in 1707, subsequent to the organization of the Presbytery, that our Makemie was imprisoned by Lord Cornbury, in New York, as a "strolling preacher," so that he might not spread our "pernicious doctrines!" Makemie did not reach the Presbytery that year until the second day of its session, and he left it to go to New York to stand trial for the *crime* of preaching the Gospel without a license from the Anglican lord! In the colony of New York, too, "up to the very moment of the Declaration of Independence, Presbyterians were denied a charter of incorporation." In Virginia, in Maryland after 1689, in Carolina after 1703, they were treated with intolerance. But Penn came hither, in his own words, "to lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind." He was intrigued against by "the hot church party," as he styled them. They even sought at one time to have the Province transferred to the jurisdiction of Cornbury, who would doubtless have treated Mr. Andrews as a "strolling preacher," and have tightened the bands around his congregation as a dissenting conventicle. But they failed. Penn's "free colony" was preserved, and, therefore, belongs to this city the peculiar honor of having

cradled our Church in its infancy. Philadelphia Presbyterians, while differing from William Penn's peculiarities, have especial reasons to venerate his name.

III. THE CHURCH IN THE LAST CENTURY.

The growth of the city during the first half of the last century was slow. In 1749, after an existence of 67 years, it contained only 2076 houses and 15,000 people, and Fourth street was its western limit. Nor was the progress of our Church rapid. In 1705 there were five adult baptisms in it, and four in 1706.* The erection of the church building had a popular influence. The supercilious English missionary who in 1702 had spoken with such contempt of Mr. Andrews' ordination, and thought Presbyterians "had as good stay at home for all the good they do," became alarmed in 1705. He then wrote: "There is a new meeting-house built for Andrews, and almost finished, which, I am afraid, will draw away a great part of the church, if there be not the greatest care taken of it." It was necessary to enlarge that building in 1729. Mr. Andrews, who did a great deal of itinerant missionary work through New Jersey and Pennsylvania, obtained

* The reported additions in the various branches, during the past year, to the Communion Table on profession, were 1998, and the baptisms of infants 2065, and of adults 394.

in 1734 a colleague in his pastoral office. In 1736 a division of sentiment as to who should be associated with him led to the formation of another church, under the Rev. Robert Cross, which, however, in the subsequent year, was re-united to the First, under the joint pastoral care of Messrs. Andrews and Cross. But financially the congregation continued to be exceedingly weak. A contribution of £30 was received by the synod, in 1714, from the Rev. Thomas Reynolds, of London, for the use of ministers in this country. It was divided among the three "most needy" congregations; and one of them was the Philadelphia church. In 1737 it had also to receive £50 from the synod to enable it to purchase a graveyard.

Moreover, the church was agitated by a severe internal commotion. The Rev. Samuel Hemphill came from Ireland to Philadelphia in 1734. He brought with him the Arian and free-thinking sentiments that had commenced to work with their deadly leaven in the Irish Presbyterian Church, and which were not fully cast out of that body until Henry Cooke arose in this century as the champion of orthodoxy. Mr. Andrews had already applied for an assistant. In ignorance of Mr. Hemphill's erroneous views, he invited him to occupy his pulpit a part of each Sabbath. But the man's poisonous utterances soon broke forth.

The "free-thinkers, deists, and in general the worst part of the community, flocked to hear him, while the better part of the congregation stayed away." Mr. Andrews felt bound to prosecute him before the synod. The charges were sustained, and Mr. Hemphill was suspended. But the trial was an earthquake both in the church and the city. Members of the other denominations and the outside world mingled in the controversy. A Quakeress appeared before the synodical commission with a claim to be heard in favor of Mr. Hemphill. Benjamin Franklin wrote in his newspaper, and even issued pamphlets, in defence of the errorist. But the discovery of plagiarism did for him with the world what the proof of heresy would not do. Though he could preach fluently, he could not write. Some of the sermons which had been so attractive to his admirers were found in the published works of the Arians, Dr. Clarke and Dr. James Foster. "This, like a frost, nipped his popularity, and his adherents fell off like withered leaves at once." But the agitation was trying to Mr. Andrews. It wearied him, and almost drove him from the field. And it must have been a staggering blow to the church for a while.

Our cause, however, received a decided impulse toward the middle of the century by a large immigration, and especially by the wonderful re-

vival which accompanied the labors of the celebrated George Whitefield.

"The influx from abroad from 1718 to 1740 was wholly Protestant and largely Presbyterian. . . . In September, 1736, one thousand families sailed from Belfast. . . . On the 9th of that month one hundred Presbyterians from Ireland arrived at Philadelphia." Ireland thereby lost, and Philadelphia gained, some of its best inhabitants. The British government was made uneasy by the exodus. The little Philadelphia church was gladdened by the reception of a portion of it.

The state of religion in the colonies, as well as in the mother country, had been distressingly low. But under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards and the Tennents, and other kindred spirits, a remarkable quickening had commenced even before the visit of Whitefield. His grand gospel eloquence, however, greatly stimulated and extended it.

His progress in the colonies was a triumphal march. Processions of horsemen escorted him. Judges suspended their courts when he preached. Immense crowds, in churches and in fields, hung upon his lips. Dr. Stevens, in his "History of Methodism," calls him "the greatest preacher, it is probable, in popular eloquence, of all the Christian ages." He was in this city, on his first visit, less than a month, but he shook it to

its foundations and agitated the surrounding country. The population of the city was less than 15,000. Congregations of 10,000, of course drawn from the country as well as from the city, gathered around the preacher on "Society Hill." It is Benjamin Franklin's testimony that, "from being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the streets of an evening without hearing Psalms sung in different families in every street." No books sold but the religious, and such was the general conversation. Dancing-schools were discontinued; balls and concerts were given up. For a year after, there continued to be a daily public religious service, and three services on the Sabbath. Twenty-six associations for prayer were formed.

The moral and religious improvement which accompanied Whitefield was admitted, but the latitudinarians of the day censured him for his affinity with "the hot-headed predestinarians." Kalm, a contemporary Swedish traveler, says that "the genuine Calvinism of Whitefield and Tennent, and their ardent zeal for vital, practical godliness, was called 'New Light.'"

This decided Calvinism of the flying evangelist brought him into fervent sympathy with the Presbyterians who had already been quickened; and they were further quickened through him.

Kalm said in 1751, "The proselytes of this man, or the 'New Lights,' are at present merely a sect of Presbyterians." The two pastors of the First church condemned some of his peculiarities and measures (as both he and Gilbert Tennent themselves did in their later days), and they did not sufficiently estimate the great work the Lord was doing by him; nevertheless, they permitted him to preach in their building.

But serious differences accompanied the revival. Sad dissensions on presbyterial and synodical powers and ministerial qualifications and modes of examination, after agitating the synod for years, rent it in 1741. On the first of June in that year, in that "Old Buttonwood Church," and amid great excitement, the little body which represented our whole denomination in America (only twenty-six ministers and eighteen elders were present) was torn asunder into two fragments. They were both made up of as sincere and earnest Christians as the Church has ever had. They were all zealous for the truth, and there was really no fundamental difference between them. But they misunderstood each other and exaggerated their differences, and thought for a little while that they could not walk together. Having no religious papers, they carried their controversy into the secular press. Franklin's Gazette became the vehicle of sharp and

acrimonious attacks on each other, for which the writers, in a few short years, were bitterly penitent. The dissensions through the country were such as would most profoundly humble Christians if they were to happen now. The people of Philadelphia were especially agitated. All this, united with the increase of population and the great addition to the number of professing Christians, necessitated the formation of a new congregation. The Second church was, therefore, organized in 1743, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, "the terrible and searching preacher" of the day, of one of whose discourses even Whitefield said, "Never before heard I such a searching sermon."

The first place of worship of the new congregation was "The 'Great House,' *in the western part of the town,*" *on Fourth street below Arch,* which had been erected the preceding year, through Whitefield's special efforts, as a grand preaching station for itinerants, but which, through the shortness of subscriptions to pay for it, failed of its object, and in 1750 became the "Old Academy," in 1759 the College of Philadelphia, and in 1779 the University of Pennsylvania. But the new congregation, through the enthusiastic efforts of their pastor, built, and in 1750 occupied, "a spacious and very expensive church edifice" on the north-west corner of Third

and Arch streets. The chosen site was a farm, "Dr. Hill's pasture," as it was called. Mr. Tennent himself lived "out in the country," at what is now Fourth and Wood streets. The city had then about fifteen thousand inhabitants; and five years later Fifth street was its western extremity.

Before the erection of the new church, Mr. Andrews, the senior pastor of the first congregation, had been called away from the scene of labor, of strife and of temptation. Born in Massachusetts in 1679, and graduated at Harvard in 1694, he had come to Philadelphia when he was twenty-four years of age. If Dr. Franklin's opinion is to be depended upon, he was not an attractive preacher. But Dr. Franklin was loose in his religious views. Hemphill, the Arian plagiarist, was his favorite, and when his voice was silenced in the church, the philosopher ceased to attend its services. But whatever may have been the pulpit powers of the first Philadelphia pastor, he was abundant in labors. In addition to the performance of the ministerial work in his own congregation, he traveled freely as an evangelist through the surrounding country. He was, moreover, until very near his death, recording clerk both of the presbytery and of the synod, of which latter body he was also the first moderator. He was especially eminent as a peacemaker. In this office he endeavored to deal with

his Old and New Side brethren, with neither of whom he seems heartily to have sympathized at the outset. But when the schism was complete, he went with the Old Side. His death took place six years afterward, in 1747, but not before a cloud which fell upon him had been removed by his humble penitence.

His colleague from 1737, the Rev. Robert Cross, was the leader of the Old Side, and probably the author of the celebrated "Protestation" which brought matters to a crisis in the synod. He had been born in Ireland in 1689, and had come to this country when he was twenty-eight years of age. He was first settled in New Castle from 1719 to 1723, when he removed to Jamaica, L. I. In that field he won an excellent reputation, and his labors were blessed with a precious revival of religion. In 1734, before the Hemphill difficulty arose, a majority of the church in Philadelphia desired to settle him as associate pastor; but a strong minority were in favor of the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson. The synod, therefore, refused to translate him. The consequence was that his supporters were the next year erected into a separate congregation, and in 1736 they made out for him an independent call. This the synod unanimously approved in 1737, and he left Jamaica. The struggle between the two places for his services had been great and long

continued. A celebrated Quakeress said of him, what has substantially been said of many since his day, "His people almost adored him, and impoverished themselves to equal the sum offered him in the city; but failing in this, they lost him." Before the time for his installation arrived the two congregations were happily reunited, and he was settled with Mr. Andrews over the one church.

After the death of Mr. Andrews, in 1747, Mr. Cross continued to be the only pastor of the First church until 1752. Then the Rev. Francis Alison was associated with him. Mr. Alison had been born in Ireland in 1705. He was, therefore, forty-seven years of age when he settled in Philadelphia, and he lived and labored here in the church and in the University of Pennsylvania for twenty-seven years, until his death, in 1779, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He was eminent not only as a scholar and an educator, but as a man of practical benevolence in the church, a public-spirited citizen in the State and a powerful supporter of religious freedom.

The two colleagues were very pronounced in the movements which led to the division of the synod. But they were also active in the healing of the schism in 1758. Dr. Alison preached a sermon before the two synods on May 24th of that year, as the union was being consummated.

The discourse was published under the title, "Peace and union recommended." At the second session of the reunited body, in 1759, Mr. Cross was chosen moderator, but "on account of his age and bodily infirmity he declined the honor." He was then seventy years of age. For the same reason, we suppose, in the following month, on the 22d of June, he resigned his pastoral charge. He lived, however, eight years longer, dying in 1766. "He excelled in prudence and gravity and a general deportment, was esteemed for his learned acquaintance with the holy Scriptures, and long accounted one of the most respectable ministers in the province."

Mr. Tennent was still pastor of the Second church when the reunion was accomplished. He had done more than any other man to produce the schism: it is to his honor that, when convinced of his error, he labored hard to correct it. In him a true, fervent piety was engrafted upon an Irish nature which was naturally hot, impulsive and inclined to be censorious and overbearing. Therein lay his power under the Spirit of God, and also his weakness. At first without any special spirituality as a pastor, he was, through a sharp attack of sickness, profoundly humbled before God. Thenceforward he was unwearied in his labors, persistent in purpose and tremendously powerful in preaching. Traveling with White-

field to Boston, the effects of his sermons rivaled those which attended the eloquent evangelist. But he misjudged his brethren who were not at one with him on every point, and fell into the prevalent error of setting up the personal peculiarities of his own religious experience as the standard by which they were to be judged. A wonderful change, however, followed his settlement in the city. It is said that his preaching was not as forcible and animated as it had been, and no such results accompanied it as had been witnessed elsewhere. But a sweet charity grew upon him. His controversial spirit died out. Although he had reached the age when men's habits of mind and of action are generally supposed to be unchangeably formed (he was forty years of age when he came to Philadelphia, having been born in Ireland in 1703), he exhibited a great transformation of character. He therefore earnestly labored for the reunion of the two synods, and on the accomplishment of the measure he was complimented by being chosen the first moderator of the reunited body. He lived for six years longer, and died while still pastor of the Second church, in 1764, though the last three years of his life were years of great bodily infirmity and weakness.

In the mean time, the First church, which adhered to the Old Side in the division, continued

to grow, largely through immigration from Scotland and Ireland, after the formation of the Second, which was in connection with the New Side. In 1759, the year following the resignation of Mr. Cross, the Rev. John Ewing was settled as Dr. Alison's colleague. Mr. Ewing was a native of Maryland, where he had been born in 1732. Two years after his settlement a movement commenced which resulted in the completion, in 1768, of the Third church, at Fourth and Pine, "for the benefit of inhabitants down on the hill."

"Down on the hill!" Philadelphia was not naturally the dead level which it is now. It was a rolling tract of land. It rose in a high bluff from the Delaware. Creeks ran through it. It had its marshy spots. The site on which the present First church was erected in 1820 had once been a pond.

The Third church was at the commencement a collegiate organization with the First. Hence, its first pastor, the Rev. Samuel Aitken, in 1768, alternated with Dr. Alison and Mr. Ewing in supplying both. But in 1771 the new congregation independently called the Rev. Geo. Duffield to be their pastor. Mr. Duffield had been born in Pennsylvania in 1732, and was settled in Carlisle. Although the reunion had been accomplished, the fiery feelings that accompanied the

schism were not entirely extinguished. An earnest revivalist and a popular preacher, Mr. Duffield's sympathies had been with the New Side. In Mr. Tennent's closing years, when he was disabled from much of the active work of the pastorate, the Second church twice called the bold Carlisle preacher to be his associate pastor. These calls were unsuccessful; the one from the Third congregation, at a later day, prevailed. But it was unacceptable to the First church; and Mr. Duffield commenced his ministry here in the midst of one of the most remarkable disturbances that the church has ever witnessed.

No further progress in this branch of our Church during the last century can be chronicled. The revolutionary troubles were brewing. Their immediate influence, and their subsequent effects, were depressing and destructive to religious interests. The remaining thirty years of the century passed without the demand arising for increased church accommodations.

Dr. Ewing continued to be pastor of the First church until 1802, when he died, in the seventy-first year of his age. In 1773 he had associated with him, as assistant, the Rev. Robert Davidson, D.D., who had been born in Maryland in 1750, and who in this field, and as professor in the university, and afterward as vice president of Dickinson College, attained a splendid reputation

as a linguist and a scientist. He died in 1812, while pastor of the church in Carlisle.

In the Second church, after Mr. Tennent's death, the Rev. John Murray was settled for a year. He was followed, in 1769, by the Rev. James Sproat, a native of Massachusetts, where he was born in 1722, and converted under Mr. Tennent's preaching during his New England tour. He confined his studies to theology, in which he received the doctorate in 1780, and was noted for his gift of prayer and his eminent practical piety. The Rev. Ashbel Green was associated with him in the pastorate in 1787 and until 1793, when Dr. Sproat fell at his post under an attack of the yellow fever. We have now reached men of eminent and widespread reputation in the Church who have not yet passed out of the memory of the present generation, and it will be sufficient simply to indicate their pastorates. Dr. Green continued in the Second church until 1812, having associated with him first the Rev. J. N. Abeel, in 1794–5, and then from 1799 the Rev. Jacob J. Janeway, D.D. The successor of Dr. Duffield in the Third church was the Rev. John Blair Smith, D.D., from 1791 to 1795, and again, after three years' absence as president of the newly-founded Union College, New York, from May to August, 1799, when he was carried off by the yellow fever.

Concurrent with the events in the one branch which have thus been narrated were the following: The Market Square church, Germantown, was organized as a German Reformed congregation in 1733. The First German Reformed in the old city proper was built in Race near Fourth, in 1747. The Scots church was founded in connection with the Associate presbytery in 1750, and, weak though it was, in a few years lost by a secession of members forming what is now the First United Presbyterian church. The German Reformed also built the Frankford church, in 1770. In 1798 a little band of Covenanters commenced to worship together, and shortly afterward called as their pastor Rev. Samuel B. Wylie—afterward the Dr. Wylie eminent as a leader in that branch of the church, and as a professor and vice provost in the University of Pennsylvania; but they were so few in number that, even on the Sabbath after the ordination of their pastor, in 1802, they met for their preaching service in the bedroom of one of their members, not more than twelve feet square, and in that little space "they were not crowded."

IV. WEAKNESS OF THE CHURCH SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

At the close of the eighteenth century our churches were gasping for breath. The population

of the city more than doubled between 1776 and 1806. It increased in those thirty years from forty thousand to about ninety thousand. But it is doubtful whether the Presbyterian communion rolls were as large in the latter year as in the former. The new building which the First church erected in 1793 contained one hundred and sixty-three pews, and could accommodate nine hundred persons; but in 1801 it had only ninety communicants. In the same year the Second church, which at its organization had 160 members, numbered only 200. The Third church, which had been formed in 1762 with 80 *families*, had in 1802 only 165 communicants. The three entered this century less than 500 strong in a population of 69,408. The Frankford church in 1807 had not members enough to hold the offices required by law; the number of adherents to it was only 46 in 30 families.

Two comparisons will forcibly suggest the weakness of our denomination at that time:

Albany has now about the same number of inhabitants (69,423) that our city had in 1800; but Albany has 2379 Presbyterian communicants.

Our neighboring city of Camden, through which also beats the blood that is our life, contains 20,000 people, but it has about as many

Presbyterians as Philadelphia had 70 years ago, with three and a half times the population.

V. CAUSES OF THE DEPRESSED CONDITION.

The causes of this check and decline were various. The rapid statement of them will exhibit other important facts in the history.

1. The seventeen years' division of the denomination (1741 to 1758) had a specially prejudicial influence on the churches of this city. This had been the centre of the excitement, and long after the wound of the schism was healed its scar remained. Two presbyteries of Philadelphia continued to exist, "composed severally of the litigant parties, and the aged members on both sides retained something of the old bitter feelings toward each other." There were some very unpleasant contests between the particular congregations. The members of the First church would not aid the Second in the collection of money to build the Third. The unhappy dispute between the First and the Third, which commenced before the breaking out of the revolutionary war, was not settled for twenty years, and it kept up a personal alienation between Drs. Ewing and Duffield. Nor were there wanting internecine struggles in the congregations themselves. Those who are fed on the genuine milk and strong meat of Presbyterianism become necessarily men of in-

tense convictions. Priding themselves in their strength, however, they have been apt to array their convictions too strongly against each other on personal questions and points that touch not the essentials of their system. It is a marked proof of the divine origin of our faith and order that God, looking upon our sincerity and honesty, and pardoning our misdirected zeal, has overruled even our internal strifes to the advancement of the one great cause in which we agree.

2. Down to the era of the Revolution the adherents of the Church of England, not only in other colonies, but in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding Penn's liberal charter, contended for the rights of an Establishment.

Early in the century George Keith, the author of the dissension among the Friends, and subsequently a missionary of the English society, traveled among the Friends, intruding into their meetings and attempting to interrupt their services or to speak at the close of them; and when the heads of meeting interfered to prevent him, he claimed that they were rude and were resisting Queen Anne, because, forsooth, he held a commission as missionary from a society which was chartered by the crown! Not to let him speak against Friends in Friends' meeting was rebellion against the queen! This is a sample of the general assumption of the Episcopal clergy of that day.

They complained that it was persecution not to allow them to be superior here, as they were in England.

The efforts which the Episcopalians thus made were a perpetual annoyance to Penn and his successors. They met with a powerful support in England, and they won such a practical recognition of their claim here that, down to the separation from the mother country, the annual mortuary tables which were published gave the reports of the Episcopal congregations, connecting with them also their "christenings," and attached those of the other denominations as a kind of appendix to them. We meet in a standard work with such a record as this: "In 1729–30 the interments in one year, from December to December, were 227; in *Church ground*, 81, in Quaker, 39, in Presbyterian, 18, in Baptist, 18, and in strangers' ground (the present Washington Square, an adorned graveyard for them now), 41 whites and 30 blacks. . . . It is worthy of remark that although the influence of Friends was once so ascendant as to show a majority of the population, yet it seems from the above that *the Church* must have been then most numerous."

Now, remember that "the distinction of ranks was kept up in the colonies with the precision and etiquette of a German principality of four miles square;" that down to the Revolution the churches

here were "little else than appendages to churches of the like character in the mother country;" and that abroad our denomination was still suffering from the sting of persecution, while the influence and the money of England were under the control of the Establishment: and you can realize the tremendous social and financial disadvantages under which our Church labored.

3. The protracted revolutionary war demoralized all the churches, and especially the Presbyterian. Its ministers were patriotic to the backbone. There was not a Tory among the pastors of this city. Several of them were so pronounced from the beginning that when the British took possession of the place they were compelled to fly, and their churches were ruined by the occupancy and intentional abuse of the foreign army. A Methodist writer candidly says: "When the British took possession of Philadelphia in 1777, after the battle of Brandywine, though they dispossessed the Methodists of St. George's, making it a riding-school for their cavalry, it is said they showed some regard to them (probably on account of the side Mr. Wesley espoused in this contest, which seems to have been the cause that led them to favor the Wesley chapel of the Methodists of New York) by giving them the use of the First Baptist church in Lagrange place, in Front street, to worship in,

thus showing them a little more favor than was manifested to the Baptists and Presbyterians." The Presbyterians received no favor. Their congregations were broken up and scattered. In 1777, during the British occupancy, only 21,767 persons could be found, by an official census, in the city, although the population the year before was 40,000. Almost half the people were fugitives, and many of them never came back to their old homes.

Moreover, when peace returned, money did not return with it. The financial condition of the country was crushing for years. The pastors even of this city were wretchedly supported. The Rev. Ashbel Green was called to the Second church in 1786, and the Rev. John Blair Smith to the Third in 1791, on salaries equivalent to $800. The Rev. William Marshall, pastor of the Scots church from 1779 to 1786, never received more than $225 a year. Nor were the salaries promptly paid. A man so prominent, and who became so powerful, as Ashbel Green, has left on record the fact that his wife told him one morning that "she was without money to go to market, and without a stick of firewood in the house;" and that in his distress he went out into the street and told his story to one of his elders, who, mortified by the tale, advanced enough from his own pocket to meet the pressing wants of the family.

Generally, the pastors of an earlier day united teaching with pastoral work. Probably that was necessary for their support, but it prevented them from giving their full energies to labors that really demanded them all.

4. The successive visitations of the yellow fever in 1793, '7, '8, '9 and 1802 continued this prostrating work of the revolutionary war. Dr. Sproat, of the Second church, with his family, and Dr. John Blair Smith, of the Third, fell victims to the terrible scourge. The city was largely deserted. Its streets were a desolation. Among the inhabitants who remained at home spirituality seemed to be almost entirely dead. In 1797 all the churches, except one Methodist and the Second Presbyterian, were closed. Dr. Green tells us that he never preached with more directness and earnestness than that year, while the pestilence was stalking among the people; and yet he did not know of a soul that was savingly impressed by that preaching.

5. Infidelity, as a moral scourge, was almost equally destructive. Bancroft well says that "the school that bows to the senses as the sole interpreter of truth had little share in colonizing America;" but the religious skepticism which prevailed in connection with it, in the eighteenth century, fell with a blighting influence upon the

land. The officers of the revolutionary army were largely infected by it. After our struggle for independence, sympathy with the French political movements inoculated the country with the poison of French irreligion. So widespread had this become that our General Assembly of 1798 issued an address on the subject, and appointed a day of fasting and prayer on account of it. In this city free-thinking had a specially strong foothold. Its advocates mingled among the church-people, and had an influence in their congregational arrangements. As far back as 1735, Mr. Andrews speaks of "the infidel disposition of too many here;" and alluding to Mr. Hemphill, he adds: "Some desiring that I should have assistance, and some leading men not disaffected to that way of Deism as they should be, that man was imposed on me and the congregation. Most of the best of the people were soon so dissatisfied that they would not come to meeting. Free-thinkers, deists and nothings, getting a scout of him, flocked to hear." Later, just at the close of the century, and while this city was the seat of the national government, the evangelical ministers found it necessary to form an association for the adoption of measures to counteract the spread of infidel notions through a certain newspaper which was patronized by Secretary of State Jefferson. Rampant infidelity

had more influence than—the Lord be praised—it has now.

6. The standard of morality both in the Church and the world was low. The churches had not so much power, because they were not really so spiritual as they have since been. The line between the religious and the irreligious was not as distinctly drawn. Clergymen of a certain class fought duels in the last century. Lotteries were freely resorted to for the purpose of raising money for religious uses. In this way even such a Presbyterian church as the Second, and such an Episcopal church as Christ's, raised the money wherewith to secure bells. Drunkenness was not degradation. What a state of society there must have been when the gentle and harmless Moravians "had to give up their night-meetings because some young fellows disturbed them by an instrument sounding like a cuckoo, which they sounded at the end of every line of the hymns"! The worshipers of God were not protected by the civil power. The chains which we have heard about, as having once kept vehicles from passing churches during the hours of service on the Sabbath, were not drawn until the very close of the century.

"The good old times!" The good times are *now*, and the better are ever coming.

An idea of the relative strength of the different denominations at the beginning of the revolu-

tionary war may perhaps be formed from the mortuary and baptismal tables of 1774–5. The Episcopalians reported 207 burials in their grounds (Christ's and St. Peter's, 176, St. Paul's, 29); the Lutherans, 196 (the German Lutheran, 173, and the Swedes, which has since become an Episcopal church, 23); the Presbyterians, 158 (First, 58, Second, 29, Third, 61, Scots, 10); the Quakers, 129; the German Reformed, 66; the Romanists, 44; the Baptists, 8; the Moravians, 4; while in the potter's field there were 390 interments. The "christenings" reported were, by the Lutherans, 390 (the German, 345, the Swedes, 45); the Episcopalians, 323 (Christ's and St. Peter's, 231, St. Paul's, 92); the Presbyterians, 126 (the First church, 47; Second, 17; Third, 39, Scots, 23); German Reformed, 93; Romanists, 57; Moravians, 5. The Methodists are not particularized, I suppose because they had no burial-ground and were still closely associated with the Episcopal Church, though they commenced to preach here in 1767, and at the first conference in 1773 they reported 180 full members in the city.

It will be an interesting hint of the size of the city during the revolutionary war to note that "the western improvements scarcely extended half a mile from the Delaware, and it was a country walk for citizens to go to the hospital,

the Swedes church or the shipyard at Kensington." In 1777 there were 3508 houses in what was then the city proper, 781 in Southwark and 1170 in the Northern Liberties—in all the districts, 5459, of which 287 were stores. The churches were—"four Presbyterian, three Episcopal, two Catholic, one Lutheran, one Methodist, Baptist, Moravian, German Calvinist, Swedish Lutheran."

VI. PROGRESS IN THIS CENTURY.

But for the reasons which have been given, at the beginning of this century, the various denominations were on a plane. The history has a new point of departure. And from that time the progress of Presbyterianism in every element of strength has been unequaled.

In the largest space which might be presumed upon for this paper, I could not trace the organization and history of the churches that have been formed in this century, even in the general way in which I have followed the first three with their pastors. All that I can do is to summarize the results and show the general progress by periods. Even in this summary way, moreover, I must restrict myself to the one reunited branch, for only in reference to its congregations have I been able to obtain the figures. I endeavored to

secure the statistics of all, and succeeded with some, but failed in others. I wish to make precise and accurate statements, and not to indulge in estimates or guesses based upon partial reports. Let it, therefore, be understood that the following statements refer to the reunited branch of the Church alone; though, as far as I can judge, the accurate figures of the other branches would by no means weaken the general view of our Presbyterianism which will be given.

The opening year of the century was marked by the organization of a new church, the Fourth, with the Rev. George Potts as pastor, but no great impulse was given in the years immediately succeeding. Between 1788 and 1816, 400 or 500 houses were erected annually in the city, but only five new churches of our denomination were called for. In 1816 the city, including Southwark and the Northern Liberties, extended three miles along the Delaware and about a mile east and west, and contained 15,000 houses, and probably 100,000 people. There were then in it more than 30 churches, and 8 of them were Presbyterian.

Summarizing the new churches by decades, we find that two were organized between 1800 and 1810, seven between 1810 and 1820, four between 1820 and 1830, eleven between 1830 and 1840, ten between 1840 and 1850, twenty-two between 1850 and 1860, fourteen since 1860.

Three have also been received from other branches. Seven have been disbanded or consolidated with others. There are now sixty-nine in all, four of which are in what, it ought to be hoped, is only a state of suspended animation.

The living stones which compose these organizations have increased in a greater degree.

The first year in which all the churches reported the number of their communicants to the presbytery was 1806. The total was 722. Last year the number was 19,365.

Observe the great increase which this is in proportion to the number of inhabitants in the city. The population in 1806, according to a directory for that year, was between 90,000 and 100,000. In 1870 it was 674,022. In the former year we had, therefore, not more than one communicant in every 124 of the population; we have now one in every 35. Or to put the matter in another form: The census of the city is seven and a half times as large now as it was then; our communion rolls are almost twenty-seven times as large.

If we cast our eye back midway in the century, we find that in 1836, just before the division, the reports were very incomplete. Several churches failed to make any. Those which sent up their returns numbered 4331 communicants. The division did not permanently stay the progress of the denomination. Each party, as the other

by its subsequent course admitted, was contending for great truths, though without the proper guards and connections. God blessed the truths and removed the errors, and has placed us in one body again with the truths, as we hope, rightly related and interlaced.

Greater still has been the development of the benevolence of the Church. This is true not only absolutely, but relatively, both in proportion to the number of members and the wealth of the people.

In 1789 the churches which were then in the city raised £16 19s. for the benevolent causes which were managed by the Assembly.

In 1807 the whole presbytery of Philadelphia (which consisted of 20 churches, 16 of them in the country, with 1500 communicants) reported only $871 for the same purposes.

In 1825 we had 17 churches, with 3946 communicants. They were reported as contributing $1048.

For years after the division, one of the branches did not publish in the statistical tables the moneys contributed for benevolent objects. This was not done until 1853. In that year the two branches had 46 churches, with 11,096 communicants, who contributed $40,503.

There were, in 1860, 60 churches, with 15,519 communicants. Their contributions were $79,377.

In 1870, the year of reunion, the numbers reported were 17,982 communicants, and $190,170 of contributions.

Last year, with our 19,365 members, our benevolent columns amounted to $473,300. This is 450 times as much as in 1825, although the communicants are only five times as many; almost twelve times as much as 1853, while the communicants are not doubled; and six times as much as in 1860, with an increase in communicants of about one-fourth. It is, moreover, twice as much as was reported by the denomination in the whole land in 1837, when it had over 220,000 members. It may be added, too, that down to 1815 the annual expenditures for missions in the whole denomination rarely exceeded $2500.

The first year in which both the then separate branches published the moneys raised by their churches for their own congregational purposes was 1865. The amount of that column in all the churches in this city was $216,036. Last year it was $519,478.

The other columns in 1865 ran up to $231,100, making, with the congregational expenditures, a total of $447,136. The same total last year was $992,777. The amount has, therefore, much more than doubled in seven years. The field of labor is great and growing. May the next seven years far outstrip the last seven

in the contributions for the support of the work! The standard which has been reached is by no means the tithe of the means of the Church.

The piety and the activity of our membership cannot be set forth in figures. We have no thermometrical scale on which growth in grace can be graduated. But if conversions of souls and contributions to God's cause be any evidence of a faithfulness blessed by the Holy Spirit, there must have been in this Church a great and growing active piety. If that has been accompanied by a neglect of the contemplative and meditative elements of the Christian character the fact should humble us. Deepening spirituality is needed as well as growing numbers and increasing contributions.

VII. THE GREAT EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF THE CITY.

While portraying especially the progress of Presbyterianism, we will not forget the one faith that unites the other evangelical denominations with us. The impression exists to some extent that the Church is being rapidly outstripped by the world, and that a constantly increasing proportion of our population is passing beyond the influences of the sanctuary. The following facts show, on the contrary, that a larger proportion of the inhabitants of the city are members

of the churches now than were at the beginning of the century:

The first year for which I have been able to find the official reports of the Baptist churches is 1807. The Methodists then reported 2170 members in the city; the Presbyterians, 746; the Baptists, 488. The total was 3404, or about one in 26 of the population. Last year there were in the churches of our reunited branch alone 19,365 communicants; under the Methodist conference, 18,976; in connection with the two Baptist associations of the city, 14,798—a total of 53,076, or one in 12 of the population. The city has seven times as many inhabitants; these three leading denominations together (without counting our United and Reformed branches) have seventeen times as many members as in 1807.

I would like to have included in this the figures of all the churches. The only others that I have been able to obtain are those of the Episcopalians for last year, though not for the beginning of the century, when they were the strongest denomination. The number of communicants in that branch of the Church is 16,936. Including that number, the total of these four great denominations is over 80,000. Thus one in eight of the population is a communicant in one of these churches. Add their Sabbath-school children and the families that are under their direct influence, and it

will be found that the means of grace are brought in constant contact with a very large portion of the people. There are still too many outside of all ecclesiastical lines—enough to demand the unintermitted missionary labors of Christians; but the proportion of them is not so great as it was seventy years ago. This should encourage us to labor and pray and hope for greater progress still. The army of Christ has not been retreating. It has not been acting on the defensive. It has gone on conquering. Let its members be stimulated and encouraged for the further conquests to which its Leader calls it.

The united ecclesiastical money-reports of these denominations in the city of Philadelphia for the last year, are also imposing. They are as follows: The Reunited Presbyterian, $992,777; United, $49,563; Reformed, $46,517; Dutch Reformed, $27,107; German Reformed, $7225 (benevolent only reported); Episcopalian, $592,000; Methodist, $354,000; Baptist, $300,000—in all, $2,369,345.

The figures show not merely that the Church of Christ in its various branches is making decided progress, but that Presbyterianism has in every element of strength been blessed with a greater advance than any other denomination.

Manifestly, Calvinism, if old—and old it is, older than Calvin, older than Augustine, older

than Paul, older than time itself—is not worn out. It has great power in winning souls to Jesus and developing in them the Christian life. The Presbyterian form of government, if rigid and iron-clad, has largely multiplied its willing subjects.

We almost hesitate to give the comparative facts and figures, lest we be charged with boasting. But we are telling the simple story of God's work in us and by us and for himself, and as we tell it we cry out humbly and gratefully, What hath God wrought!

If Philadelphia be a fair representative of American society, Presbyterianism is pre-eminently adapted to America.

VIII. CHARACTERISTICS OF PHILADELPHIA PRESBYTERIANISM.

Certain characteristics of the Church which God has so abundantly blessed will close this paper. Here are the prominent features which have given Presbyterianism its power in this city:

1. The watchmen upon its walls have been noble men.

It is the ministry that largely gives character to a Church. On the list of our Philadelphia pastors are found 221 names. Of these 88 have already been wafted through heaven's pearly gates into the visible presence of their Lord, 72 are

laboring in other posts, 60 are still in the pastoral work here. On no field of the same extent, in no catalogue of the same number, do we believe there can be found a band of men equal to them in intellect, in moral worth, in spiritual activity and in permanent usefulness.

Nineteen of them have been called to the venerable chair of the moderator of the General Assembly—one-sixth of all who in the whole national Church have received that honor.

The roll of the already glorified (called from earth while still in the pastorate here) commences with the first pastor of the First church and ends with the late emeritus pastor of the same church, Albert Barnes: the life-long student and popular interpreter of the word of God; a man of strong convictions and mild in his strength; attaching to himself as with bands of steel one branch of the denomination, and preserving the unbroken respect of the other through all the days of separation; spared to behold the two reunited, and to mingle with us all for a little while in ministerial converse, through which his speech distilled as the dew, but then, in the first flush of our reunion joy, translated without seeing the pain of death.

Among the living ex-pastors are men that are hard at work in other pastoral fields and in colleges and theological seminaries at home and

abroad, some of them among the first biblical and theological scholars of the day.

The Church here has drawn many of its ministers from other parts of the Lord's vineyard. But it has raised up not a few for its own home use, and has sent to other places a large number of eminent workers. Among the earlier on this list may be mentioned John Rodgers, whose peculiar honor it was to be moderator of the first General Assembly. From the later and the living sons of the Church in Philadelphia may be selected for loving mention, without the risk of being considered invidious, the world-wide name of one who is recognized as a primate among theologians, and who has been the instructor in their seminary life of two thousand American ministers—Charles Hodge: *Clarum et venerabile nomen!*

The moral character of the long line of pastors has been even more elevated than their intellectual standing. You can count on the fingers of one hand all against whom, from the beginning to the end of these 170 years, any charge of impropriety was ever made.

2. As the ministers themselves have in general been highly educated, so they and their churches have uniformly co-operated in the educational movements of the city.

The University of Pennsylvania is not a secta-

rian institution, though it seems lately to have come especially under the influence of one of the Christian denominations. It was established as a State institution, and it is greatly indebted to Presbyterians—how much is partially suggested by the Honorable Judge Ludlow's remarkably beautiful address at the late inauguration services of the new building. But I beg leave to place in his gallery a grand old portrait which he has left out of its frame. The Rev. Francis Alison was one of the first scholars of his day. President Stiles pronounced him "the greatest classical scholar in America, especially in Greek," and "in ethics, history and general reading a great literary character." In 1756, when he was fifty-one years of age, the University of Glasgow gave him the degree of doctor in divinity. He was the first American minister who was so honored, and such was his position, and so highly esteemed was the honor, that the synod of Philadelphia passed a resolution of thanks for it. The synod had in 1744 placed him at the head of a school which it engrafted on a previously existing grammar school of his own in New London, and in which instruction was to be given "in the languages, philosophy and divinity." From that school went forth some of the most eminent men in Church and State of the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, among

them "Charles Thompson, secretary of the first Congress; Rev. Dr. John Ewing, provost of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Ramsey, the historian; Dr. Hugh Williamson, one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States and historian of North Carolina; Rev. Dr. James Latta, eminent as a divine and a teacher, and Thomas McKean, George Read and James Smith, signers of the Declaration of Independence." Such was Dr. Alison's reputation that when the academy in Philadelphia was about to be established, Dr. Franklin sought, and in 1752 secured, him for the position of principal. When it was transformed into a college in 1755, he became vice provost and professor of moral philosophy, and during a part of the government of Dr. Smith he seems to have acted as provost. While in this position he was also associate pastor of the First church. His pupil and his successor in that church, the Rev. Dr. John Ewing, became the first provost of the university when the college was so transformed in 1779. He was a prodigy of learning. Dr. Miller says that "at the age of twenty-six, before he undertook the pastoral charge, he was selected to instruct the philosophical classes in the College of Philadelphia during the absence of the provost, the Rev. Dr. Smith." Afterward, "besides presiding over the whole university as its head with dignity and

commanding influence, he was professor of natural philosophy in the institution, and every year delivered a course of learned and able lectures on that branch of science. But this was not all. Perhaps our country has never bred a man so deeply as well as extensively versed in every branch of knowledge commonly taught in our colleges as was Dr. Ewing. Such was his familiarity with the Hebrew language that I have been assured by those most intimately acquainted with his habits that his Hebrew Bible was constantly by his side in his study, and that it was *that* which he used of choice for devotional purposes. In mathematics and astronomy, in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, in logic, in metaphysics and moral philosophy, he was probably more accomplished than any other man in the United States. When any other professor in the university was absent, the provost could take his place at an hour's warning, and conduct the instruction appropriate to that professorship with more skill, taste and advantage than the incumbent of the chair himself. His skill in mathematical science was so pre-eminent and acknowledged that he was more than once employed with Dr. Rittenhouse of Philadelphia in running the boundary-lines between several of the States, in which he acquitted himself in the most able and honorable manner. He was one of the vice presi-

dents of the American Philosophical Society, and made a number of contributions to the volumes of their 'Transactions' which do honor to his memory." Dr. Ewing continued to be provost for twenty-three years, until his death, in 1802. Then, down to the year 1852, almost without an interregnum, Presbyterians were provosts or vice provosts of the university. Here we have the names of John McDowell, LL.D., Robert Patterson, Dr. Robert M. Patterson, Samuel B. Wylie, D.D., and John Ludlow, D.D. Let this be accepted as typical of the educational position of Philadelphia Presbyterians.

3. Because of the solid intellectual character of its pastors, and because of the intellectual and logical character of its system, Presbyterianism has always attracted to itself a large proportion of the intelligence of the city.

In the last century and in this we meet with frequent hints of the eagerness with which the first men of their time sat under the preaching of our pulpit orators. And to-day, as in the past, ruling elders and adherents of our churches grace every county, State and federal court that we have. Their names are among the brightest on the rolls of our lawyers and physicians. To enumerate them would be to draw out a catalogue which would be an address in itself; we could

not select a few without omitting others equally eminent.

The denomination is, however, and always has been, very largely a Church of the working classes. They make up the bone and sinew of the greater number of its congregations, and they must continue to do so if we are to maintain our numerical, money and working progress.

4. The conservative character of its pulpit has given our denomination great power.

The Bible teaches all the morality that the world needs. The seeds of every true reformatory movement are in the inspired book. Christians should not be willing to accept rationalistic humanitarians as leaders, nor to descend from the revealed vantage-ground to work with them on their platform for the world's regeneration. In this spirit the Presbyterians of this city have acted. Among its pastors have been men whom some of their conservative brethren may have considered radical on current moral and political questions; but even they have not swept the platform over the pulpit, nor sunk the accredited ambassador of the skies in the demagogue of the hour. The two classes have kept the Church where it should be in contact with social questions. Radicalism of belief and of purpose, united with conservatism of action (God's own mode of dealing with sin and sorrow), has been the charac-

teristic of Presbyterianism in its struggles with the evils of society, and this has greatly helped to build it up in this steady, quiet and substantial city.

5. The bitterest opponent of Presbyterianism in Philadelphia could not charge it with a want of patriotism. The dissolute Charles the Second understood the connection between our theological system and republicanism when he said that for this very reason Calvinism was a religion unfit for a gentleman. History, while contradicting his conclusion, has abundantly substantiated his premises. And in this city, from the beginning, our Church is a proof of the essential republicanism of Presbyterianism.

At the commencement of the struggle for independence it was considered doubtful which side the merchants of Philadelphia would take. The question caused great anxiety in the East and at the South. But the synod of Philadelphia met in May, 1775, just a month after the battle of Lexington, and without hesitation or trimming *unanimously* placed itself on the side of the colonies, and in a pastoral letter to its churches used these words: "In particular, as the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia consists of delegates chosen in the most free and unbiased manner by the body of the people, let them not only be treated with respect and en-

couraged in their difficult service, not only let your prayers be offered up to God for his direction in their proceedings, but adhere firmly to their resolutions, and let it be seen that they are able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry them into execution." Inculcating in connection with this a spirit of humanity and mercy, they used words which are sometimes quoted in ignorance of their origin: "That man will fight most bravely who never fights until it is necessary, and who ceases to fight as soon as the necessity is over."

So pre-eminent was the patriotism of Presbyterians, so great were their sacrifices, so popular had they become in their political relations, that the fear existed, at the cessation of hostilities, that our Church might seek the honors, the emoluments and the power of an Establishment; but the synod of 1781 took the opportunity to disavow this, and to affirm its adherence to the grand principles of religious liberty which underlie our institutions.

The Philadelphia pastors and churches had their share of those sufferings, and did their share of that work. The scholarly Dr. Ewing, while on an educational visit to England in 1773, expostulated with Lord North, and defended the colonies in the circles of the learned. Dr. Davidson, for his devotion to the cause, was compelled to

leave the city when the British entered it. Dr. Duffield's clarion patriotic voice was heard in prayer for the colonies as a chaplain to the Continental Congress, in ringing exhortations to the people of his charge, and in the camp while the cannon of the enemy were directed against it.

Coming down to our own time, when the government was struck at eleven years ago, where, in this broad land, were found pastors and people who flew more quickly to its support, and stood by it more persistently to the end of the struggle, than those who constituted the Presbyterian churches of this city?

And now there are none more ready to hold out the ungloved hand and to grasp with an affectionate embrace the alienated brethren of the South, in forgetfulness of the past, and to bind the Church, as well as the State, in a heart-unity more thorough than ever.

6. A very decided denominationalism has characterized Philadelphia Presbyterianism.

This has, however, always been associated with the broadest catholicity. Our system unchurches no Christian. But its catholicity has gone farther than the hearty and constant recognition of the ministry and ordinances of other churches. Before the middle of the last century, in extraordinary circumstances, the presbytery of Philadelphia, with the consent of synod, ordained a man

with Lutheran views, so that he might be able to labor among his destitute co-religionists in the country. Amid the bitter feeling which characterized the commencement of that century, it is recorded that on one occasion, "when Christ church could not be used, the Presbyterians offered the use of their church to the vestry."

Further examine the names of the managers and the working members of the charitable union societies of the city, and see where they belong. Look into the columns of contributions, and see from whom the money comes. Their strength is Presbyterian. Decided denominationalism and catholic charity have been happily blended in the working of our Church in Philadelphia.

7. Presbyterians seem to others to depend mainly on slow accretion and quiet culture for their growth. Our doctrine of the church-membership of the children does make this very prominent. But the congregations in this city have been richly blessed by revivals. The largest numerical increase, from the founding of the Second church down to this day, has come through special awakenings. The most successful pastors, and the growing churches, have looked for the mightily quickening presence of the Holy Spirit, exciting believers to increased efforts, and converting many souls at one time. They have believed in extra and continued meetings for

prayer and preaching, by which impressions might be deepened, and Satan and the world foiled with weapons of earnestness and persistence superior to their own. The doctrines to which our Church is so pre-eminently devoted that its governmental name has become their most noted designation are emphatically the reviving and awakening truths of the Bible. The earnest preaching of them has built up our congregations. The persistent proclamation of them still, in connection with those special efforts to which the Spirit leads, will be the means of continued power.

IX. UNION.

Philadelphia once consisted of a number of independent municipalities, with conflicting interests and antagonistic movements. But the steady growth of their population, and the pressing together of their compactly built houses, welded and consolidated them into one great municipality. The older inhabitants have now almost forgotten, the younger have never known, the boundary lines between the city proper and Southwark, Moyamensing, Passyunk, Kensington, the Northern Liberties, Spring Garden, Blockley. And instead of Penn's original idea of a town with "nine streets, two miles in length, running east and west from river to river, and twenty-three a mile long intersecting them at right angles

from north to south," we have a solid mass of about 130,000 buildings that first crept slowly away from the Delaware, and then leaped over the Schuylkill, and spread beyond Germantown.

In this formerly divided country, as in the country at large, Presbyterianism also had its diverse settlements. Its adherents came from England and New England, from Scotland, Ireland and Wales, from Germany, Holland and France. They brought with them different languages and religious peculiarities that had grown out of old national questions. By these they were crystallized into separate organizations. One of these organizations, moreover, twice divided, but twice found it could not remain divided. In this city the struggle which attended the second disunion, as well as the first, was sharp. Here the doctrinal controversies which helped to rend the national body were brought to a focus. Here, in the churches, the presbytery, the synod and the Assembly, there was for years a contest which excited the feelings of our ministers and people, and consumed power that should have been used in aggressive work upon the world. Here sat the two antagonistic Assemblies in 1838. Here was carried on the strife in the civil courts for legal recognition. But here, also, amid the enthusiastic hospitality and the beaming joy of our people, met the one reunited Assembly of 1870. The

reunion then consummated is seamless. No man can mark the line where the once separated parts are joined together. This reunion increases the craving for a wider union, the consummation of which we fervently pray the Lord will hasten. And these services are an earnest of it. On this memorable day, in the Seventh Church, whose Ranstead Place edifice was the scene of strife thirty-four years ago, not only those who were then torn apart, but members of the other branches of the denomination, unite in commemorating great events which make us feel that, with all our minor differences, we are one. The memorials of Knox, of the St. Bartholomew martyrs and of the Wandsworth Presbytery remind us of the historical grandeur of our common name. In *faith* and in *order*, in *heart* and in *purpose*, we *are united*. The occasion is a great and inspiring one for our cause in this old and permanent and growing stronghold of our system. But grander will be the day which shall witness the *organic consolidation* of us all in one PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

PRESBYTERIANISM

IN

THE UNITED STATES.

BY THE

REV. J. B. DALES, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE SECOND UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF PHILADELPHIA.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

TWELVE years ago, next month, there convened in the oldest Presbyterian church in this city one of the largest assemblies that was ever gathered here from that branch of the Church, to commemorate the first meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. That first Scottish assembly was held in the city of Edinburgh on the 20th of December, 1560. With its six ministers and thirty-four ruling elders, it then began, in a thoroughly organized form, that work which—in its never ceasing to originate or foster general education, free institutions, civil liberty and the enlightening, evangelizing and thus elevating of all to whom it comes—has already long made Presbyterianism to be a name and a power of mighty import throughout the world. Most appropriately also has *this day* been set apart for the commemoration of that event which occurred at the little village of Wandsworth, on the Thames, about four miles

from the city of London, when on the 20th of November, 1572, eleven elders—some teaching and some ruling—gathered together and formally constituted, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the first presbytery in the history of Presbyterianism on purely English soil. That event was rapidly followed, in some of the most marked and effective senses, by the spreading abroad of the simple word and ordinances of grace, the raising up of a band of many of the ablest and noblest of ministers, the infusing among the masses of the people the great ideas of civil and religious rights that have been the crown and the glory of the British name, and finally the convening (through the Parliament of England and the largely moulding influence of the five commissioners from the Church of Scotland) of that assembly of divines which met in Jerusalem Hall, Westminster Abbey, July 1, 1643. That assembly, in the five years, six months and twenty-one days of its course, formed and gave to the world the confession of faith, those memorable catechisms and that directory for worship which, with some modifications and scarcely any serious omissions, have in their subordination to the holy Scriptures constituted the broad and unshaken platform and bond of union for Presbyterianism in every age and on every shore of earth where it has lifted its standard since, down to

this hour. All hail, then, this day, and its great work three hundred years ago!

But passing to the subject more especially assigned for this hour—viz.,

THE HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN THESE UNITED STATES—it may be stated here that, as if God would have this then comparatively new-found continent prepared, almost from its first occupancy and by the character of its earliest settlers, for becoming, as it has since so largely been, one of the models of the world for liberty of conscience, for general education and for universal equality in civil and religious rights, he so directed in his Providence that a leading and mighty element for it all should be in thorough training and ready to act well its part when it should be called for. That element we believe was simple Presbyterianism—the Presbyterianism that glowed in its letter and spirit upon the sacred page, and that helped to make the early Christian churches the lights of the world. After the long night of the Middle Ages under the Roman Anti-Christ also, and as most, in the very nature of things, in identity with that great system of truth which Calvin drew from the Bible, it was formally set up by him in Geneva, by Farel in France, by Knox in Scotland, and it is believed would have been introduced largely by Cranmer in England if he

could have done it. It was a system that, independent alike of the State and all prelatic assumptions, and aiming at freeing the masses everywhere from the shackles of religious superstition, from general ignorance and from all spiritual despotism, sought only to educate and really elevate men to their best estate. While pointing to the horrid atrocities of France and Holland, to the fires of the Bloody Mary at Smithfield, to the little less than fiendish persecutions of the minions of Charles in Scotland, and to the unprincipled and outrageous wrongs perpetrated upon the nonconformists of England in England's shameful and dark Bartholomew's day—August 24th, 1662—it showed itself the unalterable enemy of all these, and that it possessed an unshrinking and mighty power to hold to truth, to freedom and to God—never so firm as in the conflict, never so really great as when in the fire.

This was the element called for; and accordingly, at a time when prelacy, with its kingly affinities, its aristocratic ideas and its Church exclusiveness, and when Romanism, with its often lamb-like beginnings for later deadly workings, were already in the field or preparing for it, God seemed to sift the Old World that he might gather out the most severely tested and tried to settle the New. Such were the Huguenots of France, the Reformed

of Holland, the Puritans of England, some of the Germans of Central Europe and successive generations of many of the noblest and best of Scotland, and in still larger numbers good men and true from the north of Ireland, whom he manifestly led to find homes for themselves and their long lines of descendants, and thus to plant the Presbyterianism of their Church and their love in the midst of the New World. That these representatives of different nations were Presbyterian is beyond any question.

In the case of the Protestants of France, besides owing very largely their knowledge of the gospel to Calvin and his associates, it is a well-attested fact that at the first meeting of the synod of the French Protestant Church, which was held on the 25th of May, 1559, in the city of Paris, the form of church government adopted was thoroughly Presbyterian in all its parts. The ruling as well as the teaching elder was distinctly recognized. The perfect parity of all ministers was as distinctly declared; and in the constitution of the church courts, the "consistory," which was required to be elected by the people over which it was to rule, corresponded exactly with the session, the "colloquy" with the presbytery, and the "national synod" with the General Assembly.

In Holland also not only was the whole system of theology and church polity, as given to the

world by the synod of Dort in 1618, and declared to be the doctrinal basis of the Reformed Church of Holland, thoroughly Calvinistic, but it was as decidedly Presbyterian. Its "consistory" was identical with the session and its "classis" with the presbytery. So, too, the Puritans of England were long after their rise unquestionably largely Presbyterian. Robinson distinctly affirmed that his church at Leyden—the mother church of the Plymouth colony—was of the same government as the Protestant Church of France. Fourteen years before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, Brewster was chosen an elder by the congregation; and when, nearly two years afterward, or in 1609, he was chosen also to be an assistant of Robinson, he declined to administer the sacraments expressly on the ground that the ruling elder's office, which he held, did not entitle him to do that which he believed belonged only to the minister or teaching elder. With this office and with these views, Brewster came to this country with the Pilgrim colony, and thus he helped to form the Plymouth church. Thenceforward for a long period, acting on this principle, the early churches in Salem, Charlestown, Boston and elsewhere in New England, had ruling elders, while, in 1646 and 1680 respectively, all the ministers and an elder from each church met in synod at Cambridge, and by dis-

tinct act recognized the Presbyterian form of church government. They went so far, especially in the synod of 1680, as to adopt the confession of faith of the Westminster Assembly of divines. In high loyalty to Presbyterianism also, as no one ever doubted, was every emigrant to this country from the Church of Scotland, and that no less noble body, the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.

Such were the leading men, in their general views of doctrine and church government, at the times they successively sought the settlement of this Western world. However much these views may have since been modified and changed, and even disapproved, by some of their successors, in the lapse of these 300 years, yet such were always largely the well-known Huguenots, who, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the perfidious Louis XIV., on the 22d of October, 1685, emigrated in considerable numbers to this country, and settling more especially in the city of New York and its vicinity, and in South Carolina, laid the foundations of some of the earliest Presbyterian churches and gave to the country some of the noblest names that have adorned its pulpit and honored its national halls. Such unquestionably were the early settlers from the Reformed Church of Holland, especially in New York and New Jersey; such also in good degree

were even the Pilgrim Fathers, as seen in the further fact that even down to these days, in various parts of New England, "Presbyterian," "Independent" and "Congregationalist" are terms interchangeably used; and such were largely the Protestant emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, who settled in various parts of New England and more generally in the Middle and Southern States, showing that the Presbyterian element had much to do in the settling of the largest and most influential portions of our country.

From all this, however, we turn gratefully today to trace the Presbyterian system as it so earnestly and with such important results flowed to this country from the Presbyterian churches of Scotland and the synod of Ulster in Ireland. Doubtless at first the early coming of Presbyterianism hither was largely in the person of individuals, sometimes seeking an improvement of their worldly condition, sometimes longing for a freer air and a wider range of spiritual privileges, and sometimes forced, as by the savage heartlessness and cruelty of a Claverhouse and Dalzell, when, set on like hounds from the kennel of a royal Charles and a prelatic Laud, they hunted for the life's blood of many of the most eminent saints of God. But from whatever cause, they came, sometimes singly, sometimes in families, and sometimes in congregations, as when, on the 16th

of May, 1764, the Presbyterian church of Ballybay in Ireland rose up, pastor, elders and members, and sailing as they were, about 300 in number, from Newry, came to this country and settled down in Salem, Washington county, New York, and never to this day have had any other organization than that they then brought with them.

Early, however, from these emigrating bands, as they remembered the ways of Zion from which they had been so far removed and longed to be led again by the still waters and in the green pastures of the means of grace that had so gladdened their early days, and to which under God they felt they owed their all, there now often went back earnest and entreating calls for ministers to come over and help them. Nor were these calls in vain. Touched with the pressing necessities of the case, and in many instances yearning for these people as for far-off sheep of their flocks, ministers themselves sometimes rose up; and though it was felt, and probably was, in reality, of far greater hazard and hardship to undertake that mission then than it would be now to go to the heathen world, yet many good and faithful men did it, and came. Sometimes, too, church courts solemnly appointed men to this work, and so rigidly did they exact compliance with their appointments that again and again they severely disciplined those who failed to go as the destitute had called,

and as the courts of the Lord's house had commanded.

Nor was this course without its weighty fruits. Almost all the early ministers were from abroad. In the very first Presbytery that was organized, five of the only six ministers that composed it were from the Presbyterian churches of Ireland and Scotland. More than half a century afterward every one of the first members of the Associate, the Reformed Presbyterian and the Associate Reformed presbyteries, and indeed of all the earlier synods of these churches, was directly from these old churches of the fatherlands, while all their doctrinal and ecclesiastical features bore the clearest impress and type of their stern and noble originals. Nor is this all. Much as is the credit due to other religious systems and to colonists from other lands, yet never will the United States fully know how much is owed to these men and their immediate descendants in the early integrity of the people, in the stern and unyielding form of our Republican government, in the originating and fostering of the highest style of liberal, educational and reformatory institutions, and in the enunciation and maintenance of the principles of civil and religious freedom of the most ennobling character and for the largest numbers of the masses of the people.

In that long list was the Rev. Francis McKemie

from Ireland, a man whom no blandishments of favor or threats of prisons by the prelatic governor of New York could either entice or terrify; an Anderson, who, when Episcopacy would not grant (as lately as in 1720) an incorporation to Presbyterianism in the now magnificent metropolis of our country, and would not allow even the ground upon which it might build a house for the worship of God, boldly took it himself and made it over to the Church of Scotland, to be held by it for a Presbyterian church in New York; a Gillespie, whom the godly Allison of this city styled "that pious saint of God"; a William Tennent, of whom Whitefield said, "I can say of him and his brethren as David did of Goliath's sword 'none like them';" and later a Witherspoon that towered among his fellows in almost unequaled splendor, whether he be viewed as a herald of the cross, a signer of the Declaration of American Independence, or as president of the College of New Jersey. Then came Marshall and Annan and Proudfit and the Masons, father and son, two men among the wisest and ablest that have ever filled an American pulpit or pastorate, or adorned a theological chair; and then a Dobbin and McKinney and Black and McLeod and a Samuel B. Wylie, who so lately still walked among us esteemed and honored of all. Still later we have the living men

of this day and of not less mighty strength—a Hall, whom the electric telegraph so recently brought from Ireland to fill one of the best of pulpits with the simplest but weightiest preaching of the cross, and that other honored name with Scottish blood that this day stands among us one of the very first in the list of able educators and great men that have presided over Princeton's Nassau Hall.

But why particularize further the men who, crossing the wide ocean that separated us from the Old World, started at the first and ever since have fondly cherished, in deepest sympathy with all the right-hearted and good of our own country, everything that was truly inviting and promising in letters and morals, in State and in Church, for all in this land and to all the world?

Nor is it of less marked interest to trace the commencement, progress and present state of Presbyterianism in its several branches in the United States. Branches, we say, for on this day of grateful comminglings of hearts and hands it is to be mentioned with regret that as scarcely sooner had Protestantism emerged from the long night of Dark Ages, and taken form as it did in the beginning of the great Reformation, than there began to be differences of views, and at length parties and separate bodies, as was seen in the churches of Germany, France, Holland and Brit-

ain,—as, too, in later times, the Presbyterian Church that had stood forth so nobly one in Scotland in 1560, became divided into several parts,—so here, even while the colonial governments were still existing, these separate branches or parts of the originally one Church were found taking type from the churches in the mother countries and starting up in this land, sometimes too with a lamentable degree of rancor and distance from one another such as should never have characterized those that had so often rallied together in the conflicts for truth, for freedom and for right under the blue banner of the Church of Scotland and Presbyterian Ulster, and to the heart-rousing cry, "For Christ's crown and covenant."

First in this list in date and deserved prominence and influence stands the Presbyterian, or as many love in the depths of their hearts to hail it now, THE REUNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. Its *first presbytery* was organized in this city some time between the years 1698 and 1705, and embraced six ministers, four of whom exercised their office on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, one in New Castle, Delaware, and the other in this city. It was a day of small things, but time passed on, and on the 17th of September, 1717, when that one presbytery had swelled out into three—viz., Philadelphia, New Castle

and Long Island—then nineteen ministers, and more or less of ruling elders with them, convened in this city and formed the *first purely Presbyterian synod* in these United States—the synod of Philadelphia.

Again time passed on, and on the 21st of May, 1789, when the one presbytery had grown into sixteen, and the one synod into four—viz., New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia and the Carolinas—thirty-one duly appointed delegates, consisting of 21 ministers and 10 elders, met in the Second Presbyterian church in this city. After a sermon by the venerable Dr. John Witherspoon from 1 Cor. iii. 7, *the first General Assembly* of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was constituted, and the Rev. Dr. John Rogers, of New York, was chosen the first moderator.

Still time passed on, and now, though there have been trials that have sometimes shaken to its foundations almost every ecclesiastical organization, and agitations and strifes that at times have wellnigh overwhelmed the country and its government, yet that Church has held on her way until this day, her heralds preach the gospel in nearly every State and Territory in all this land, her influence is felt to the ends of the earth, and her organization is among the first and mightiest of the Presbyterian bodies in forming one of the

brightest and most widely-shining and nobly useful lights of the world.

Next in order of time and in present numbers is THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. This church is composed of the Associate and Associate Reformed churches. In the Associate the first ministers to labor in this country were Alexander Gellatly and Andrew Arnott, who came under appointment from the Anti-Burgher synod in Scotland, and on petitions urgently sent from New London, Octorara and other places in Eastern Pennsylvania. They landed in Philadelphia in the summer of 1753, and in the following November organized, as the synod had instructed them, a presbytery entitled the "Associate presbytery of Pennsylvania, subordinate to the Associate synod of Edinburgh." Most earnestly thence did they devote themselves to their work, and others steadily joined them. On the 20th of May, 1776, their number had grown to thirteen. The presbytery was then divided into two—viz., Pennsylvania and New York. And now a crisis came. On the outbreak of the war of the Revolution, it was found that communications could not be kept up with the mother Church at home, that ministers could not be had from abroad to meet the pressing calls for them on every side, and that the feelings of patriotism which so largely glowed in the bosoms of ministers and people for the country of

their adoption could not be repressed. It was deeply felt that they should have a separate and independent existence—an existence adapted to their condition and necessities in this land. Accordingly, negotiations were entered into for a union with the presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Church—a presbytery that had been organized in 1774 with three ministerial members, one from Scotland and two from Ireland. These negotiations were partially successful; and at length, at Pequa, Pennsylvania, on the 13th of June, 1872, a union was consummated, and the new organization stood forth with a name from its two composing parts combined, viz., THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED CHURCH.

Unhappily, however, this union was not complete. Each body had its opposing parts, and thus both the Associate and Reformed Presbyterian bodies were perpetuated.

But that Associate Reformed, or, as it was long and widely termed, "the Union Church," held on its way and did good service. In October, 1783, its three presbyteries and fourteen ministers were organized into a synod called "The Associate Reformed Synod of North America." At its meeting in Green Castle, Pennsylvania, May 31, 1799, this synod issued its formal standards, consisting of the Westminster Confession of Faith, unchanged except in regard to the civil magis-

tracy; the catechisms and the directories for church government and divine worship, simplified or adapted to present circumstances; and then the whole was styled "The Constitution and Standards of the Associate Reformed Church in North America."

Three years afterward the synod was divided into four, and in May, 1804, delegates from each of the eight presbyteries—viz., Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Big Spring, Kentucky, Monongahela and First and Second Carolinas—met at Green Castle, Pennsylvania, and formed the General Synod of this Church. At this its first meeting it was resolved to establish a theological seminary.

On the first Monday of November, 1805, there was formally opened, in the city of New York, that theological institution which thence, under Dr. J. M. Mason, gave to the American Church J. M. Matthews, W. W. Phillips, George Junkin, Samuel Findley, David Macdill, John T. Pressly, D. C. McLaren, Joseph McCarrell, and many other expositors of the word of God and educators of men as able as any whom this country has produced. Thence through successive changes this Church pursued its course, at one time nearly consummating a union with the Presbyterian Church (in 1822); then at a later day gathering up all its own scattered fragments, with the single exception

of the synod of the South; and in May, 1855, it entered into a happy General Synod again. It had theological seminaries at Newburgh, New York, Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, Oxford, Ohio, and Monmouth, Illinois, and prosecuted well its work both in the home and foreign field. At length, when three-quarters of a century had rolled away, and nearly twenty years of prayerful negotiation had been carried on, this Associate Reformed and the Associate Church (from which in fact it really came, and with which it was ever largely one in psalmody, communion and other great matters of faith and practice) now, with great cordiality and new life, most happily flowed together in the city of Pittsburg, and on the 26th of May, 1858, formed "THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA"—a Church that has now 8 synods, 55 presbyteries, 641 ministers and licentiates, 755 churches and 72,896 communicants, with boards of home and foreign missions, education, publication and church extension, 593 Sabbath-schools, with 53,288 scholars in them, property valued at $4,096,000, and a total of contributions during last year of $869,136, or an average of $11.92 from each member, and an average salary of $898.29 for every pastor within its bounds.

Next in the Presbyterian family stands THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. Its first minister was the Rev. John Cuthbertson, from

the Reformed presbytery in Scotland, who landed in this country in 1752. Its first presbytery was organized in 1774. In 1782 all its ministers united with all the Associate ministers, except Revds. Wm. Marshall and Thomas Clarkson, in forming the Associate Reformed Church. But other ministers came from both Scotland and Ireland, and in 1798 the presbytery was reorganized under the title THE REFORMED PRESBYTERY OF NORTH AMERICA.

Ten years passed away, when with a good increase of devoted ministers, and the one presbytery grown into three, the synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church was organized May 24, 1809; and in 1825 the General Synod, a body to be composed of delegates from the several presbyteries.

Eight years afterward, or in 1833, an unhappy division took place in this Church, mainly on the question of civil government, one body styling itself the Synod and the other the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. In the former, "The Synod," there are 100 congregations, 90 ministers, 403 elders, 221 deacons, 8782 communicants, 4581 Sabbath-school scholars. Its total of contributions for the past year were $201,532.11, and it has one college, one theological seminary, together with an influential mission at Latakia and its vicinity in Syria. In the

latter, "the General Synod," there are nearly 50 congregations, 42 ministers and licentiates, one divinity school and a very useful foreign mission, in connection with the Presbyterian Church, in India.

With these branches of the Presbyterian family there should also be mentioned THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED SYNOD OF THE SOUTH—a body that was originally one of the four synods of the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church. Since 1821 it has been an independent synod. At present it has 70 ministers, churches in nearly every State in the South, and a college and theological seminary at Due West, South Carolina.

Besides these branches of the Presbyterian stock, there is also THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. This church had its origin in difficulties within the bounds of the presbytery of Transylvania, in Kentucky, near the beginning of this century. Its first meeting of presbytery was held February 4, 1810. Its first synod was formed in 1813, and its first General Assembly in May, 1829. Last year it had 1116 ministers, 1863 congregations, 96,335 communicants, 26,466 children in its Sabbath-schools, and five colleges and theological seminaries.

It only remains to say that the General Assembly of the PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, generally known as the "Southern Pres-

byterian Church," a thoroughly Presbyterian body, has had a separate existence since the year 1861. It had its origin in the state of things that accompanied and was due to the late unhappy war. It embraces a most important section of country in the Southern States of our Union, and is doing a good home and foreign work. It has at present 11 synods, 56 presbyteries, 912 ministers and licentiates, 1545 churches, 91,208 communicants, 55,943 children in its Sabbath-schools, and last year raised an annual contribution for benevolent purposes of $1,034,390.

Such is the Presbyterianism of these United States, and, in brief, its history and present condition. Here we might close, but that injustice would be done to the Church that bears this name and to this occasion, if we did not notice for a few minutes some of the characteristic facts in its history. I refer to the "Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."

1. Its Origin was in a marked sense of God. Its early ministers were almost without exception asked for of God and of the mother Church at home. In some instances seasons of solemn fasting and prayer, with the single burdened desire of the worshipers that God would send them ministers. God heard their prayers, ministers came, churches were organized, and thus it was largely in answer to prayer that the Presbyterian

Church was thoroughly planted, on what, under the blessing of God, has richly proved to her the fruitful soil of this western world.

2. This Church has been emphatically one of PROGRESS. In their ordinary privileges the first members of this Church were exceedingly limited and tried. Even their privileges were in the most meagre forms. Says Dr. Wines: "Their first temples were the shady groves, and their first pulpits a rude tent made of rough slabs, while the audience sat either upon logs or the green turf. Not even log churches were erected until about the year 1790. Even in winter the meetings were held in the open air. Not one in ten had the luxury of an overcoat. The most were obliged to wear blankets or coverlets instead." Now there are thousands of well-built and convenient houses of worship, some of which are among the most magnificent in the country. In numbers, too, what a change has taken place! At the first meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, May 21, 1789, there were 4 synods, 23 presbyteries, 177 ministers and licentiates, and 419 congregations. Now in the same body there are 35 synods, 166 presbyteries, 4441 ministers, 323 licentiates, 4730 churches, and a membership of 468,164 communicants. Then there was not in all its bounds a single Sabbath-school, in the modern sense of the term; now there are

large numbers of them, with 485,762 scholars. Then the whole sum reported at the first meeting of the assembly as contributed during the previous year was £176 7s. 6d.; now, at the meeting in May last, the sum reported was a total of $10,086,526. Even the minutes of that first General Assembly, as published, are comprised in a printed abstract of six pages, while those of the assembly of May last swell out into a volume of 464 pages.

Nothing behind this have been the signs of progress in other branches of the Presbyterian family. At the first meeting of the Associate synod, which was organized in Philadelphia, May, 1801, there were 17 ministers in all, in 4 presbyteries—viz., Philadelphia, Chartiers, Kentucky and Cambridge. In the Associate Reformed Church, at the time of its first synod, which was held in Philadelphia in October, 1782, there were 14 ministers and 3 presbyteries. At the time of their union, however, in 1858, there were in the former body 21 presbyteries, 198 ordained ministers, 293 congregations and 23,505 communicants, and in the latter, one General Synod, 4 synods, 28 presbyteries, 253 ordained ministers, 367 congregations and 31,284 communicants. At the first meeting, in 1782 and 1801 respectively, there was not in either of these synods a single religious publication of any kind or any foreign mission,

and only one theological seminary. At the time of their late union there were in them together, 2 monthly periodicals and 4 weekly newspapers, 4 foreign missions, with 9 foreign missionaries and their families, and 4 theological seminaries.

In the Reformed Presbyterian Church also, which in 1782 was left without a single minister, and at the reorganization of its presbyteries in 1798 had only 3 ministers in all its parts, there are now 132 ministers, about 150 congregations, 15,872 communicants, and a total contribution during the past year to the cause of Christ of about $300,000.

While, however, these contrasts may well be gratefully noticed, yet it may be questioned for a moment whether all this progress has been in every respect a real or even a desirable gain. For instance: while of the 1116 ministers of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church last year only 241 had pastoral settlements and 876 were without *pastoral* charges (though largely with charges, as stated supplies), and while this unsettled, non-pastoral state characterizes a large body of the ministers in several of the Presbyterian bodies of this day, yet in those early times nearly every minister had his congregation as a pastor, or was thoroughly engaged in the evangelist's hard work over widely-extended sections of country. While now there are often strong temptations for minis-

ters to preach in the essay and perhaps sensational style, then the aim seemed to be, under a deep sense of the awful responsibilities of the ministerial office and the necessities of the hearers, simply to expound the word of God, and with that word, as the only sword of the Spirit, to deal with the consciences and the souls of men. While now the candidate for the ministry often seems to have little more to do than listen to lectures and have the professors do much or perhaps most of the hard studying, then young men were largely taken in the charge of particular ministers and trained by the very hardest toils and trials in the practice as well as the theory both of the pulpit and the pastorate. In one word, then religion had far fewer attractions in its outward forms and far less of ease in the performance of its manifold duties. But it may well be asked whether it had not, in the hands of a McKemie, a Davies, a Finley, a Tennent, a Marshall, a McMillan, a McLeod, the Masons, and a host of others of like precious faith and zeal, more of a living, mighty reality and power within and without—in the pulpit and in the world.

3. The Presbyterian Church has ever had a deep concern for general EDUCATION, and especially for an educated ministry. In no sense could she have been true to her noble descent from the synod of Ulster and from Scotland had it been

otherwise. Almost from the very beginning of the organization of any of her bodies in this country, steps were taken in this direction. Hence Tennent was early at work in his Log College on the Neshaminy, Blair at Fogg's Manor, Pennsylvania, Finley at West Nottingham, Maryland, and the gradual foundation of the College of New Jersey was laid first at Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1746, then in Newark in 1747, and finally at Princeton, 1757.

All these, with similar institutions in Western Pennsylvania and as far south as Kentucky and the Carolinas, were Presbyterian, and all aimed specially and first of all, besides promoting general education, to raise up a well-trained ministry. So with theological seminaries also; for while for a long period young men studied with certain ministers privately, under direction of presbytery, yet as early as 1784 the Reformed Dutch Church took steps for the founding of a theological seminary, first in New York and afterward in New Brunswick, New Jersey, appointing the Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston to be its first professor. The Associate Church in 1794 founded its first seminary at Service Creek, Beaver county, Pennsylvania, with the happiest results, and placed the Rev. Dr. John Anderson at its head. The Associate Reformed Church in 1805 founded in the city of New York, under Dr. John M. Mason, a semi-

nary that was long prolific in producing able ministers. The Presbyterian Church did the same in 1812, at Princeton, New Jersey, under the excellent Dr. Archibald Alexander, whose praise and works are in some measure in all the churches. And thus it has continued until this day in the various Presbyterian bodies. Besides almost countless academies and seminaries for the higher training of both sexes, there are now in these United States no less than 33 formally incorporated colleges and universities and 19 theological seminaries under the banner of Presbyterianism.

4. This Church has ever been signally a missionary Church. Very largely it was the missionary spirit that brought its early ministers to this country from the Old World. Almost commensurate with their work then of looking after the emigrants, or early settlers from abroad, was the idea among many of them of having the gospel preached to the Indians.

Foremost in the ranks of the first formal missionary organizations, "The New York Missionary Society," formed about the beginning of this century, were the several branches of the Presbyterian family. Scarcely had the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" been organized in 1810, when ministers and elders of these Churches gave it their sons and daughters to become its missionaries, and its substance to

help forward its noble work of evangelizing the heathen. And how mightily has this spirit developed since that day! On one evening about the year 1831 three good and now sainted men, two of them honored ministers and one a ruling elder, were walking in deep thought together on the broad vestibule of the First Presbyterian church in this city. One of them said it was deeply impressed upon his heart that the Presbyterian Church in this country, in her own place as a Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, and if she would be true to her Lord and herself, should be engaged in the work of sending the gospel to the heathen. To his grateful surprise, each of the others responded that the same idea had been deeply impressed upon him. "Then let us rise and to the work," was the spontaneous cry of them all; and pledging themselves to Christ and to one another, from this day they went forward. What they did will never be fully known until seen in the light of the great day, but it is a marked fact that on the 24th of September, 1831, the synod of Pittsburg, to which they all belonged at the time, organized the Western Foreign Missionary Society. At the meeting of the General Assembly in 1838 that society was made the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and now that branch of the Presbyterian Church alone has 114 missionaries in the foreign field, with 33

ordained native ministers and 59 licentiates, at 61 mission stations, with 4203 communicants in native churches, 10,681 scholars in mission schools, and during last year alone had $431,334.84 put into its foreign mission treasury.

Nor was this portion of the Presbyterian Church alone in this great service. In 1843 the Associate Church, and in 1844 the Associate Reformed, entered upon the foreign work, and now the United Presbyterian Church has its missions in Syria, India, Egypt and China. Later still the Reformed Presbyterian Church in its own independent character followed; and at this time every branch of the Presbyterian family in these United States is engaged directly or indirectly in endeavoring to comply with the ascended Redeemer's last command, by bearing the word of life throughout the world, and in doing its part in helping to gather in God's elect from the four winds of heaven.

Finally, this Church has ever been a UNION CHURCH. While, true to their national instincts, Presbyterians have, of all men, pre-eminently thought and acted for themselves, and never more so than in matters of faith, doctrine and worship, yet the aim of the Presbyterian Church as a whole in this country has ever been toward union. In less than 20 years after McKemie landed on this continent the scattered Presbyterians were

united in the first presbytery that was organized. In less than 9 years from the time when, in 1741, the old synod of Philadelphia and New York was so sadly and, as many felt it, bitterly divided, movements were made by yearning hearts for a reunion, and in 17 years, or in 1758, that reunion was most happily consummated, which became the rich germ of the General Assembly of 1789.

The Associate Reformed Church, which long stood out before the world as a most useful branch of the Presbyterian Church, was itself the fruit of that union of Associate and Reformed Presbyterians which was partially effected in 1782. The United Presbyterian Church now lifts its banner to the world and hastens to unfurl it over destitute districts of our own and foreign lands, as the result of the union of the Associate and Associate Reformed Churches in 1858. The Reunited Presbyterian Church presents this day the beautiful spectacle to God and the world of two bodies that, amid all the threatening thick gloom of a long dark night, parted from one another in 1838, and then after long and anxious years had passed, and as new light and a far better, brighter day seemed to dawn, came together again most happily in 1870, for glory, it is believed, to God in the highest, and that under his hand and far more widely than ever before there may be, through

her instrumentality, peace on earth and good-will among men.

And now, on this auspicious day, who may not hope for and anticipate still better unions in times coming? Only let there be increased confidence among all the various parts of the Presbyterian family in one another, a growing and more and more generous and faithful regard for each other's convictions, interests and work, and a more and more widely manifested and thorough co-operation with one another in all benevolent and Christian, and especially Presbyterian, movements for good to men and for glory to God in all this land and throughout the world, and then there will a time draw on—and God grant it speedily may!—when in all the long lines of their different national descents and ecclesiastical names, all Presbyterians in these United States, of German and French, Holland and Dutch, English and Puritan, Scotch and Scotch-Irish,—all, all, shall be everywhere and in everything one,—one in name and in fact, in spirit and in work, in devotion to the truth and in zeal for the cause of the living God, and stand together side by side, hand in hand and heart with heart; while under the rich baptism of the Holy Ghost, in their strong love for one another as brethren, and in their working together for the maintenance and diffusion of the common truth and for the salvation of the world,

the one name of the whole as a true and most useful and glorious part of the city of our God shall be everywhere and onward to the end, *Jehovah Shammah*—"*The Lord is there.*"

All hail the blessed day! The Lord hasten it in his time.

THE WALDENSIAN SYMBOL.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN FOREIGN LANDS.

BY THE

REV. JAMES McCOSH, D.D., LL.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN FOREIGN LANDS.

ALL Americans are anxious to visit Europe at least once in their lifetime. I propose to take those who are disposed to go with me to the land of their "fathers' sepulchres." I undertake to convey you across the ocean without any of the usual inconveniences of a sea voyage. But on reaching the other side I am not to guide you to the scenes and objects visited by the vulgar crowd of travelers who, I am sorry to say, do not raise the American character in the estimation of the Old World. As all travelers of taste rush to Switzerland, I would conduct you thither; not to visit those towering mountains which, as they shine so purely white in the sunshine, are more contiguous to the sky than the earth; but to notice the still grander objects presented in the character and works of the Reformers of Religion in the sixteenth century, who convey us still nearer the heavens. I do not profess to be able to lead you to Calvin's grave, for (so I believe) "no man knoweth his sepulchre unto this day." We are to contemplate not the dead but the living man

who might say, *si monumentum requiris circumspice.* I am not to seek to whiten "the sepulchres of the fathers," but to call your attention to their still living spirit walking abroad through many lands.

It is the peculiarity and the excellence of the Reformed Church that it took its doctrines, its government and its discipline directly from the fountain of the Word, and not from the streams of tradition which have become polluted with earthly ingredients in their course through time. Calvin is acknowledged to be, *par excellence*, the exegete of the Protestant Church, and his Commentary ranks as high now as it did the day of its publication. His Institutes, and the kindred works of the age on theology, all profess to draw their systems from the volume of inspiration. Searching the Scriptures for the form of church government they found that there was a sanction given to councils guarding the truth and watching over the general interests of the house of God (Acts xv.); that the phrases bishop (Episcopos) and elder were interchangeable (Acts xx. 28); that there was a parity among ministers, and that besides those who labored in word and doctrine, there were others, not teaching but ruling elders (1 Tim. v. 17), who had a place in the discharge of the business of the church.

It is a circumstance worthy of being noted and

remembered that a form of government virtually Presbyterian was adopted by all the Reformed Churches, with the exception of the Church of England and the Scandinavian churches, and these adopted Episcopacy to keep up a connection with the church from which they had separated. From Geneva the Word sounded over many of the Cantons of Switzerland, over the most intelligent provinces of France, along the Rhine and on to the Netherlands and Holland. The Reformed Churches have had a chequered history in each of these countries. In France and the Netherlands they were exposed to terrible persecutions, which they endured in the spirit of the martyrs of the early church. It is said that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, and I am convinced that the blood of these men lies as a seed in the soil and will yet spring forth in a new life. The remembrance of the courage and adherence to principle shown by them will inspire others to follow their example. France, which promised to stand so high among the nations, has been characterized internally by instability, and has had to come through one convulsion after another ever since she expelled her best citizens, the Huguenots, the salt of the land, from her borders. I am convinced that she will not reach rest, that she will be driven from a slavish superstition to a scoffing skepticism, and from a

despairing infidelity back to an unsatisfying credulity, till such time as the great body of the people have the Bible to instruct them, and a Sabbath on which to read it.

Without seeking to disparage the character of the great Continental Reformers we may discover some defects in their views and conduct. I regret that neither Luther nor Calvin uttered so certain a sound as they should have done in regard to the obligations of the Sabbath. Anxious that it should be kept, they fell into the grievous mistake (so I regard it) of founding it not on the granite rock of Sinai, but on a shifting expediency which might be blown like the sand by the wind of personal taste and convenience, or of popular demand. When I travel on the continent of Europe, and see so many of the people toiling at all kinds of works on the Sunday forenoon, and then dissipating in the beer and dancing gardens on the afternoon and evening, I ask what time have they for reading the Bible and for serious reflection; and I am told in reply that even the Protestant people, having no Sabbath, do not read the Scriptures so habitually as in this country, nor incorporate its teachings with their opinions and life.

Many in this country will be apt to detect a further defect in the theoretical belief and practical accompaniments both of the German and

Swiss Reformers. They will tell you that they allowed too close a connection between the spiritual and temporal kingdoms; in other words, between the Church and State. No doubt it will be said, on the other side, that as both of these are under the one God, they may lawfully unite for common ends. It will be urged further, that when Protestants were few and scattered and poor, in the midst of powerful and bitter Romish adversaries, they needed the protection of kings and queens, who were predicted as becoming nursing fathers and nursing mothers of the Church. Isa. xlix. 23. Without entering on this controversy of ages, and without venturing to pronounce a condemnation on the great men who labored to bring the two powers into union, I feel myself called on to deplore that the Church should ever have consented to become subject to the State in the spiritual matters committed to it by Christ. Statesmen, failing to distinguish, perhaps incapable of distinguishing, between truth and error, countenanced error quite as readily as truth; nay, often, specially fostered error, especially in the form of rationalism, as in no way likely to trouble them with its zeal and its courage. The great body of church members would never have contributed of their substance to support the cold Socinian ministers, who on account of their indifference were warmly cherished by politicians.

From whatever cause, rationalism with its withering influence spread extensively for ages in the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, Germany and Holland; and state support kept together men who believed and men who did not believe in the divinity of Christ, men who believed and men who did not believe in the inspiration of Scripture. But whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the wisdom of the Reformers, there will be none in this assembly as to what should now be the action of the Continental Churches. In former ages many were afraid that if the scattered churches were severed from the State, they would be crushed under the heel of civil or ecclesiastical despotism. But there is no risk of this in our day. Even Bismarck, great man though he be, must be taught that he has no right to dictate to the churches, Popish or Protestant, but must leave them to their free action, claiming only to punish those who disobey the civil law of the country, whether they be lay or ecclesiastical.

Let the churches of France, Germany, Switzerland and Holland be made to feel that they are to depend on the living members of the church, and I venture to predict that in an age from this date rationalism and infidelity will die out for want of support in the professing Church of God.

For ages past the Protestant Church of France had its fervor cooled and its energy crippled by

the dreadful corpse of infidelity, to which it has been tied. But thanks be to God, the living Church has cast off the dead incubus and is ready to go forth in newness of life on all Christian enterprises. Lazarus has come forth from the grave, and what is now required is that we loose him and set him free. The French Evangelical Church, delivered from an unnatural connection, will be brought into natural and hearty communion with her sister evangelical churches throughout the world. There must surely be something of a like process to separate the living from the dead in the churches of Germany and Holland, so crippled by rationalism. For years past there has been in Holland a devoted band of men who have come out from the Established Church with its rampant infidelity.*

The transition from Geneva to Scotland is an easy one, and there we meet with John Knox, worthy of being placed alongside of Luther and Calvin—greater indeed than either in action: the "reformer of a kingdom," as Milton called him, one "who feared not the face of man." The character of Knox, appreciated by the best (but not by the worst) of Scotchmen, and thoroughly defended by that most accurate of historians, Dr. McCrie, has been misunderstood by others, espe-

* The Reformed Churches in Austria (especially in Hungary), amounting in all to two thousand, are in a very interesting state.

cially Episcopalian Englishmen, who have taught us to look upon Knox as a vulgar bear, and I may add, upon Oliver Cromwell as a hypocritical fox. But a strong reactionary tide has set in of late among literary men. It was set in motion by Carlyle, who certainly has no sympathy with the principles of Knox, but greatly admires his heroism. The first Englishman who understood the character of Knox was Mr. Froude, who has proclaimed him a man of tender feelings and a perfect gentleman, and the most far-sighted statesman of his age, who not only sustained the Church of Scotland in its infancy, but by his firm policy maintained Protestantism in England when it was in imminent danger. Knox impressed his own character upon the Scottish Church and through it upon the Scottish character. Henceforth we have a Church distinguished beyond any other for its principle and for its fearlessness. It held, as all the Churches of the Reformation did, that the State should support the Church; but it held as resolutely that in spiritual matters the Church should be independent, free to follow the Master's will as revealed in the Word. The Covenanting struggle, in which the ministers and the best of the people combined to resist the attempt to impose a lordly prelacy upon them, and had in consequence to submit to twenty-eight years of persecution, was the most memorable occurrence in

the history of the country (Sir Walter Scott never understood this), and the main agent in giving a character to the nation. English historians—such as Macaulay, who speaks lightly of the Puritans as standing up for the rights of conscience—have not yet come to see the importance of that Covenanting contest. While the Puritans of England contented themselves with passive resistance, the Covenanters openly resisted the tyrannical measures of the house of Stuart, and held up the blue flag on their mountains till the English people had to demand a Revolution.

In the following century two bands, the Secession (in 1733) and the Relief (in 1752), left the Established Church, or rather were driven out of it, because they would not submit to have the nominees of Patrons thrust upon congregations contrary to the will of the people. These two bodies united in 1847, and now constitute the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which has upward of six hundred congregations. In 1843, between four hundred and five hundred of us, after a ten years' contest for the spiritual independence of the Church and the liberties of the people, gave up our livings and formed the Free Church of Scotland, which has now nearly nine hundred congregations, and by a scheme devised by Dr. Chalmers, aims at securing in an unendowed church what an endowed church provides, a

decent sustenance for an educated ministry in the poorest districts of great cities and among the scattered populations of the rural districts.

The Church of Scotland thus consists of three considerably large bodies: the Established Church, the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church, besides a devoted band of Covenanters, who did not see their way to join the Established Church at the Revolution Settlement.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND was greatly weakened by yielding to the encroachments of the civil courts and by the disruption that followed. But it still holds a considerable portion of the population of Scotland—not one half, but more than one third. It has within it a body of able and accomplished ministers, and some of its professors of theology are expounding the old doctrines in a clear and faithful manner. But the Church is in an ambiguous position, holding the State endowments with only a minority of the people adhering to it. Since the disruption of the Church of Scotland, and especially since the Church of Ireland was disestablished, every one sees that the days of Established Churches in Great Britain are numbered. To uphold them, certain ministers of the Scottish Church have been drawing toward and aping the character of the Broad Church party in the Established Church of England, and have been asking such men as

Dean Stanley and Professor Jowett to preach in their pulpits. When the party shall be fully developed, it will resemble, as much as a body in the nineteenth century can resemble a body in the eighteenth, the *Moderates* who for two or three ages so restrained the earnest piety of Scotland. Meanwhile, it is pleasant to reflect that the Church retains its old standards, the Westminster confession and catechisms, and I believe that nearly all the children of its members are instructed in the Word of God and in the Shorter Catechism.

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH is an active and energetic body, having influential congregations in some of the great cities (such as Glagsow) and villages. Though as a Church it has not adopted Voluntaryism, yet the great body of its ministers and members are opposed to the union of Church and State in any circumstances. It is heartily in favor of an organic union with the Free Church, and longs for fellowship with all evangelical communions.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—I confess that I cannot speak of this Church coolly. I still regard it as in a sense the Church to which I belong, albeit that I am now an office-bearer in the Presbyterian Church of America. It was my privilege when a very young man to take part in the struggle, first when a student defending the cause in the Theological Societies of Edin-

burgh University; and then as a minister, seeking in concert with the Rev. Dr. Guthrie and a few young men to excite an interest in the cause in an important district in the east coast of Scotland. When the crisis came, I gave up my living, one of the most enviable in the Church of Scotland, and labored to plant churches in the surrounding country. That Church has been holding on its course resolutely and consistently for nearly thirty years. It is said, by those who know it best, to need a special outpouring of the Spirit, to rouse it from formality and keep it from trusting in the sacrifices it has made.

You Americans wonder that the various branches of the Scottish Church do not unite. Let us look at the difficulties, real or supposed, in the way. The Church of Scotland has always regarded it as one of its highest offices to hold and defend the truth, which is one and the same in all ages, and it insists that the truth should be maintained all the more resolutely in times of prevailing defection. It cannot be doubted that it has done a mighty work by its firmness in this respect. Those who sacrifice truth for the sake of union will find that the union is not a lasting one, or a profitable one while it lasts. The office-bearers of the Free Church, when in the Established Church, held by the doctrine of a State Church, and some of them feel it to be

inconsistent to join a church the great body of the members of which have abandoned this principle. The answer is, I believe, complete. First, they are not required, in joining the Union, to abandon their principle. Secondly, those whom they join hold as resolutely as they do—and I may add that the American churches do the same—that every government should honor Christ and his laws. All acknowledge that every existing Established Church is Erastian and corrupt, and the controversy turns on the theoretical point whether the principle of State Endowment is so important that those who hold it may not lawfully enter into a union in which they are allowed to hold the principle, but in which are some who do not hold it. In spite of the difficulties which have arisen, I am convinced that the Union will at no distant date be accomplished. The United Presbyterian Church and the Covenanting Church, and the great majority of the ministers, elders and members of the Free Church, are in its favor.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN ENGLAND had considerable power in the seventeenth century. A large body of the Puritans were attached to it. But they were hindered from meeting as Presbyteries, and the ministers satisfied themselves with the liberty allowed them to preach the gospel; and the religious life took the Independent form of gov-

ernment. During the whole of the last century and the first half of this, Presbyterianism had to struggle in England against very adverse circumstances. But it has all along had a place, and it has now a firmer hold than ever, having more than doubled its numbers during the last few years. The Presbyterian Church of England is a self-governed body, but is in close fellowship with the Free Church of Scotland. The United Presbyterian Church in England is still a part of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The two bodies in England are on the very best terms. They have not united simply because they have been waiting for the union of the parent churches in Scotland. But as the mother churches have been slow in their movements, there is a prospect of the daughters taking the matter into their own hands, and uniting at once. If they do so, the act will, I believe, have a powerful reflex influence on the people of Scotland.

THE WELSH CALVINISTIC CHURCH has had a history full of stirring incidents, of labors and trials, of difficulties and success. It has now a thousand churches. It sprang up in a country in which the Church of England exhibited its worst corruptions. Bishops and clergymen who would not have been tolerated in England were sent in the last century to Wales, where they were not so fully under the inspection of public opinion. The

praying peasantry felt that they must do something to strengthen what was ready to die, and God raised up such heroic men as Howell Harris, Daniel Rowlands and Howell Davies, who preached and prayed and suffered obloquy in the spirit of Whitfield, who visited and encouraged them. Taking their views directly from the Bible, they became Calvinistic in doctrine and Presbyterian in government. In Wales preaching exercises a greater influence than in any country with which I am acquainted, reminding us of the effects produced by eloquence in ancient times and in the early Church. Fifteen or twenty thousand may gather at their Quarterly Meeting; and when John Elias used to preach, the mighty mass was moved and bowed down as the trees of the forest are by the tempest. The Church has not been able to secure everywhere an educated ministry, but they are busily employed in setting up Theological Seminaries and Colleges in Wales; and they are longing, as I can testify, for a closer connection with their sister churches throughout the world.

THE IRISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH is the oldest and one of the fairest of the daughters of the Church of Scotland. The American Presbyterian Church will not forget that it is through the Irish Church she claims descent from that Church, which is the mother of us all. Having

been connected with that Church for sixteen years, I can speak with a full knowledge of its workings, and I am able to testify in the strongest manner of the spirit by which it is actuated and the zeal which it manifests. Many of its younger ministers were my pupils. I watch their career with deep interest, and am delighted to observe some of them occupying the very highest positions in the Church. It long clung to the Royal Bounty bestowed by the Crown, but three years ago it was deprived of this, and has not felt the loss. It has organized a General Sustentation Fund, out of which the ministers receive more than they did from the Government. That Church has a great work to do in Ireland, and I believe it will do it. You will meet nowhere with a more devoted ministry. They do their work with all the life of the Irish character.

THE COLONIAL CHURCHES of Scotland and Ireland. These are to be found chiefly in Canada and Australia. Set up by the individual churches at home, they were at first inclined to perpetuate in the Colonies the divisions of the old country. But they have been gradually driven from this by conviction and the force of circumstances, and in each of the colonies in British America, in Australia and in New Zealand, the churches are organized into one. Having shown an enlarged and truly liberal spirit in joining with one another,

they are prepared, I believe longing, to be delivered from a state of isolation in their remote spheres of action, and to unite with the other Presbyterian churches. The Presbyterian Church of Canada is the largest in the colony next to the Romanist; and I have long thought that much good might arise from a closer association in fellowship and in work between it and the Presbyterian churches in the United States. The ministers in these British Colonies have, in many places, a rough and self-sacrificing work to perform, but they are doing it in the same manner and spirit as your ministers in the Far West. To make their churches permanent, and to give them more of a native and less of an imported character, they are establishing Colleges and Theological Seminaries, and are everywhere promoting education after the example of the mother church. You will remember that this country was once a colony of Great Britain, and I cherish the idea that the Presbyterian Church of Australia may, at the antipodes, do a work similar to that which has been done by the Presbyterian Church in this country.

In this extensive journey we have been obliged to travel—as most Americans do—very rapidly. It is reckoned that if you sum up these churches and then add to them those of America, they amount to twenty thousand congregations, and a population of thirty-four millions. If you add

the Lutherans who, in many parts of Germany, are one with the Reformed, and who are nearer to Presbyterianism than they are either to Episcopacy or Independency, we have a population of fifty-five out of one hundred and seven millions of Protestants, or an actual majority of the Protestants of the world. I insert a valuable statistical table taken from "The Government of the Kingdom of Christ, an Inquiry as to the Scriptural, Invincible and Historical Position of Presbytery, a Prize Essay by Rev. James Moir Porteous."* This is a very valuable work containing a defence of the Presbyterian form of government, and full information as to the state of the Presbyterian churches all over the world.

What a power for good, every one will say, if only these churches can be made to combine in their action. In inquiring what we should do as we look to this immense community, I think we should have three grand aims before us. The first is to separate the Evangelical Churches from that Rationalism which is so marring the usefulness of Protestantism all over the Continent of Europe. The second is to deliver them, if not from State connection, at least from State control, which has ever been protecting Rationalism with its coldness and its deadening influence. A third

* Edin.: Johnstone & Hunter; London: James Nisbet & Co.

GENERAL STATISTICS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

National Branches.	Synods.	Presbyteries.	Churches	Ministers.	Elders.	Deacons.	Members.	Population.	LUTHERANS. Churches.	LUTHERANS. Minis's.	LUTHERANS. Population.
Scotland	36	198	2,711	2,841	16,611	10,657	843,455	3,218,613	.....	.....	.....
England	5	37	1,268	1,017	4,447	1,549	135,037	664,685	.....	.....	.....
Ireland	7	41	566	656	2,478	6,195	116,656	558,238	.....	.....	.....
America, U. S	59	320	9,163	8,235	.....	.....	857,461	3,050,714	2,128	1,644	757,637
Canada	4	45	651	604	1,665	2,608	65,203	471,946	.....	.....	29,651
West Indies, etc	1	4	54	27	.....	.....	5,188	20,752	.....	.....	.....
Africa, W. and S.	5	12	228	198	.....	.....	17,803	71,212	12	12	1,200
Australasia	12	36	418	330	300	.....	38,661	177,922	.....	.....	445
China and Japan	1	8	20	62	11	.....	1,418	2,000	.....	.....	.....
India	1	11	37	114	.....	.....	1,836	11,145	.....	.....	.....
Syria	...	...	5	17	.....	.....	50	500	.....	.....	.....
Belgium	2	...	10	10	.....	.....	500	12,500	.....	.....	.....
Holland	...	...	1,826	1,826	.....	.....	2,096,146	2,100,000	.....	.....	.....
Scandinavia	...	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,030	.....	5,113	3,615	7,626,449
Austria	8	61	2,050	2,050	.....	.....	1,912,153	2,000,000	933	933	1,865,829
Italy, Spain, etc	1	...	50	50	.....	.....	1,000	3,000	.....	.....	.....
Russia	...	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,000,000
France	3	107	1,060	721	.....	.....	630,000	1,000,000	232	303	303,000
Switzerland	...	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,567,003	1,567,003	.....	.....	.....
Germany	...	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	18,415,876	18,900,000	1,514	1,531	5,995,557
Piedmont	1	...	16	16	16	.....	26,920	30,000	.....	.....	.....
Total	146	1,180	20,133	18,774	25,528	21,009	28,735,396	34,351,857	9,932	8,038	20,579,768

PROPORTIONS OF PRESBYTERIANS TO THE PROTESTANT POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

It is generally estimated that the Religious Population of the World is—Jews, 7,000,000; Greeks, 89,000,000; Protestants, 107,000,000; Mohammedans, 161,000,000; Roman Catholics, 196,000,000; Pagans, 200,000,000; Buddhists, 620,000,000; Others, 177,000,000.

Protestants.....107,000,000
Presbyterians..... 34,351,857
All other Protestants..... 72,648,143

or

Protestants.....107,000,000
Presbyterians and Lutherans..... 54,931,625
All other Protestants.....52,068,375

and a grand effort must be made. We must combine the scattered energies of these thirty-four millions for the overthrow of the powers of darkness and the spread of the Gospel throughout the world. Let us pray for this end, and at the same time labor for it.

It has long been a favorite idea of mine that all the Presbyterian churches might be brought together at a Pan-Presbyterian Council, at which each of them might be represented. Let it be understood that I do not propose breaking up the separate churches of British and Continental Europe, or of this country. I would no more think of this, than I would of separating the States of our Union. In our General Government and in our State Governments, we have a model to which we might look, in settling the relation which the several churches might bear to the central church organization. Some grand principles might be agreed to; let them be few and simple. Of course there must be a doctrinal basis. But this should not consist in a new creed or confession. Let each church retain its own standards, and be admitted into the Union only on condition that these embrace the cardinal truths of salvation. There must also be certain principles of church order pre-supposed: such as the parity of ministers, and government by representative councils, in which ministers and elders

have a joint place. But the mode of carrying out these principles must be left to each organization—in this way securing that we have in the church, as in all the works of God, unity with variety. The Grand Council should have authority to see that their fundamental principles of doctrine and of government are carried out in each of the churches, and might cut off those that deliberately departed from them in act or in profession. But beyond this it need have no other disciplinary power. Without interfering at all with the free action of the churches, it might distribute judiciously the evangelistic work in the great field, which is the world: allocating a sphere to each, discouraging the plantation of two churches where one might serve, and the establishment of two missions at one place, while hundreds of other places have none. In this way the resources of the church would be kept from being wasted, while her energies would be concentrated on great enterprises. When circumstances require it, the whole strength of the church might be directed to the establishment of truth and the suppression of error and prevalent forms of vice. More important than all, from this heart of the church might proceed an impulse reaching to the utmost extremities, and carrying life to every member.

I believe that the idea of such a union has oc-

curred to many within the last few years. I do not claim to myself any superiority of wisdom; but for the last ten years I have been speaking and writing on this subject in a variety of quarters. I was met with a right Irish cheer when I proclaimed it in the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterians. I unfolded my views more fully in an article in the *Weekly Review*, an able organ of the Presbyterian Church published in London. I believe I spoke of it at the meetings of both General Assemblies at St. Louis in 1866. I scarcely expect to live so long as to see it accomplished; but there are some here, I verily believe, who will see it with their eyes.

My Scottish partialities would lead me to think that Edinburgh, the city of Knox and of Chalmers, might be the most appropriate place for the first meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly. But if our common mother there say that her children are not yet prepared to meet together, then let one of her daughters open her house for the reception of the family. Let the largest Presbyterian church in the world issue the invitation, and let the meeting-place be the City of Brotherly Love.