



KEPMANN  
CARRIGNATHIELL  
ARGYLLSHIRE  
SEAWEED.



Glasgow

JAMES MACLEHOSE

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1872.

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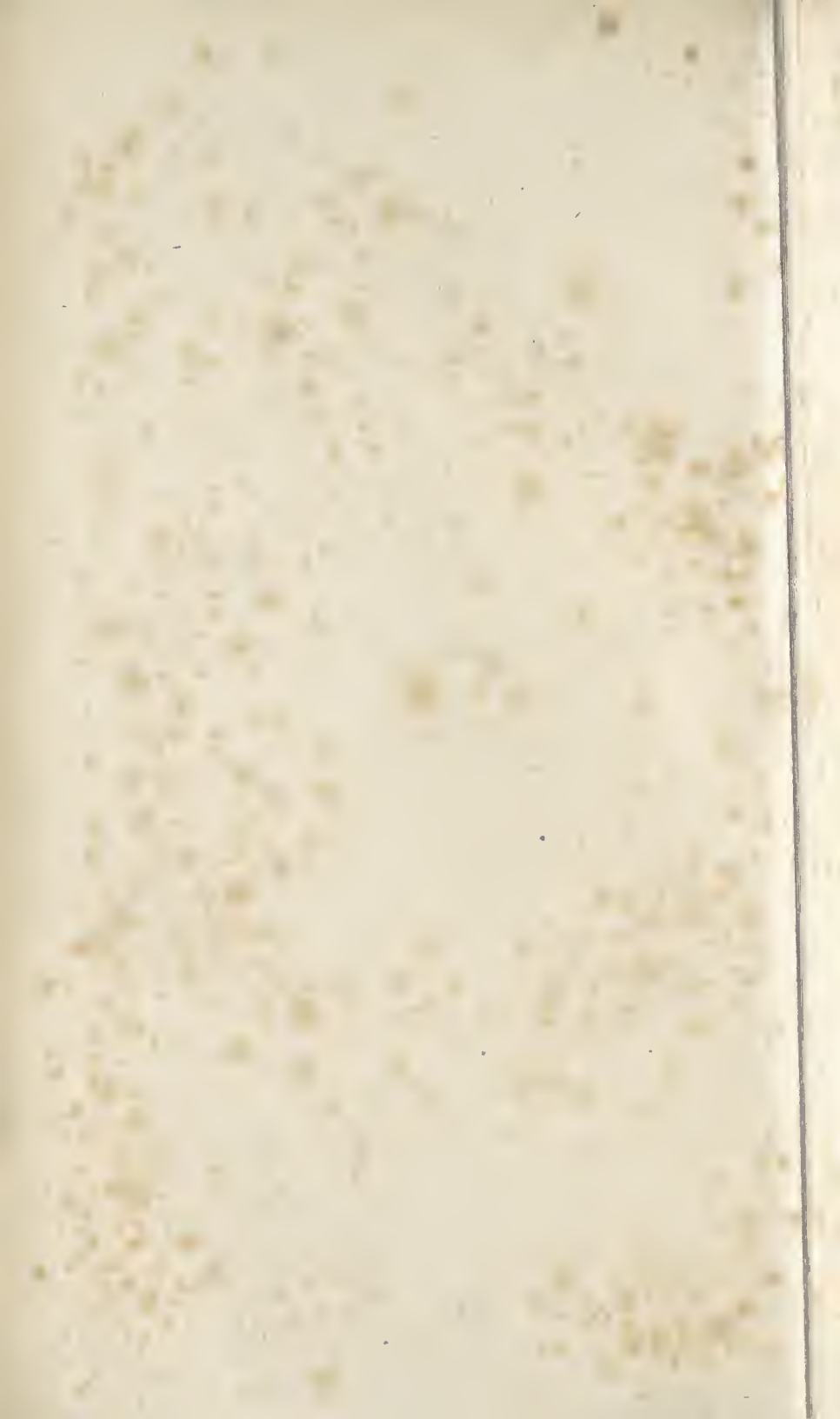


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Seamainn Carraghaidhiell

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X

# Feamainn Carraghaidhiell

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## ARGYLLSHIRE SEAWEED

BY

THE RIGHT REV. ALEXANDER EWING

LL.D. GLASG. ; D.C.L. OXON.

BISHOP OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH  
OF SCOTLAND



Glasgow

JAMES MACLEHOSE, PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

1872







FAMILIÆ OPTIMÆ  
ET IN OMNIBUS OFFICIIS,  
QUÆ CIVES ERGA PATRIAM  
QUÆ FIDELES ERGA ECCLESIAM  
DECEANT, EXEQUENDIS,  
PROMPTÆ ANTE OMNES, BENEVOLÆ, MUNIFICÆ,

MALCOLM DE POLTALLOCH

IN ERGAD. COMITATU,

HÆC QUALIACUNQUE OPUSCULA  
PRO PLURIMIS IN SE SUOSQUE BENEFICIIS  
ANIMO CERTÈ STUDIOQUE GRATISSIMUS

DAT, DICAT, DEDICAT

ALEXANDER EWING

ERGADIÆ ET INSULARUM

EPISCOPUS.







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*THE CELTIC CHURCH OF THE WEST  
HIGHLANDS.*

THE most interesting portion of the Episcopal Church is probably to be found in the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, and in that of Ross, being, in many respects, akin to that early Scottish or Irish Church which begins so greatly to attract the notice of ecclesiastics and historians. It may be, that these primitive Episcopalians have an earlier history than that simply Jacobite body which was called into being by the Stuarts, and which still remains in some parts of Scotland; forming, however, a very interesting portion of the Episcopal Church as connected with the nonjuring and later national history. But the West Highland Church-people may be more than this. The Gaels of the West Coast may have a connection with the primitive Celtic Churches, through a tradition the links of which had become lost or obscure. It is probable, that the tradition of the early and



original Celtic Church had not entirely disappeared, and had been handed down among them.

The Primitive Celtic Church of the West Coast, like all the rest of the Western world, had long become subject to, but it had an origin distinct from, Rome. Originally it was not under that obedience, as its early records clearly show,—a great portion of its history being occupied with the Roman controversy. Neither was it a Presbyterian body, for that body, as a system, took origin at a much later date. What was the character and constitution, then, of this original Celtic Church? Notwithstanding the peculiarities of Iona, the general organisation of the Celtic Churches cannot have been essentially different from that of the rest of Christendom; for, as a matter of fact, we find their members holding ecclesiastical and episcopal offices throughout the whole of Europe; whatever their differences with Rome may have been, they were not sufficient to prevent communion. What, in the main, then, was the character of this early Church, and whence did it derive its origin?

Like so many other subjects of the day on which light is dawning, these questions will probably be better answered hereafter than they can be now. It is but recently that dispassionate and intelligent inquiry has been directed to the subject. We cannot do more than indicate the outline which seems most correct; we can but point out the way to those who wish to pursue the enquiry farther. Briefly, then, we may say, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, we find a Christianity which was not of Roman origin;



vigorous, efficient, and apparently pure, emanating from Ireland and the Western Isles, and overspreading Western Europe. Its members and missionaries were called Scoti, not so much from the land they inhabited (for Scotland was then Albyn, and Ireland Hibernia), as from their being members of a tribe, or a nation, of that name, which then inhabited Ireland and the west of Scotland. Driven out from Ireland, or diminishing there in numbers, and increasing in Albyn, they finally gave to the latter their own name of Scoti. That their civilization was high, although peculiar, we gather from the traces of it that they have left behind them. Their gold and silver ornaments, taken from bogs and mosses in Ireland and Scotland (as those of Etruria from sepulchres and tombs), evince higher civilization than, without some such evidence, we should have been able to credit them with. But their great and peculiar characteristic, and that which lifts them above all other early western races, was not their civilization so much as their religion; the strength and purity, that is, of their creed. This drove them forth to evangelise the world, as the early Apostles had been driven before them; with this difference, that whereas the Apostles came from highly civilized and well-known countries, these Celtic and Gaelic missionaries came from unknown, barren, and remote regions. We find them extending their missions from the north to the south of Europe. In Ireland, in Germany, in France, in Italy, in Switzerland, their traces are found; and to this day many of them occupy the place of Patron Saints, founding or refounding Christianity in places far distant from their native land. St. Kilian



in Franconia, St. Boniface in Germany, Lupas in France, St. Gall in Switzerland, Columbanus in Italy, all were apostles of this Celtic Christianity. Whence, then, got they themselves this their Christianity? It is not certain, but most probably they had it from the Celtic colony in Galatia, in Asia Minor. There was a Gaelic colony in Asia, keeping up connection with its western progenitors through Celtic Gaul by Lyons, Armorica or Bretagne, and at last to Ireland and Caledonia. Celtic Christianity always claimed an Eastern origin, attributing its formulas and observances to St. John. Such portions of its liturgy as remain seem to confirm this opinion. It may, as second starting-point, have had its immediate origin in Britain and Ireland, from the Gaelic or Galatian head-quarters of Vienne, in France, established by Irenæus, the disciple of St. John. Unquestionably, its existence and peculiarities are too great to be ignored, and while not sufficiently great to be called the predominant Christianity of the fifth and sixth centuries, it is sufficient to form a very considerable portion of the Ecclesiastical History of the times.

This Celtic Christianity we think to be somewhat represented, if not altogether preserved, in our Highland and Island Episcopal Churches. They have something of the primitive nature of the Celtic Churches, and the same absence of identity with Rome. Long may their primitive condition and existence last! It is a strange thing, the general absence of interest which exists among English Churchmen regarding them. We fear it arises from the fact, that unless things come before our own eyes,



or form part of our own interests, they have but little hold upon us. And these churches are far off from most of us. But these ancient Church-people are surely more interesting than any other sect,—at least, in the British Islands,—whether historically, ecclesiastically, or personally considered, and yet the existence of these Vaudois of the Episcopal Church is all but unheeded and unknown to most amongst us. Little has been done by Church-people for these congregations,—their true and humble character, their Christian gentleness and sobriety, their courage and steadfastness, are quite unknown, and yet they are our Zion and our Israel; and what is done for them? In recent times but one thing of any importance,—the translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Gaelic and English. By the bounty of the Christian Knowledge Society, and by the labours of the late Archdeacon Mackenzie, this has been done, and it is a monument of the late Archdeacon's character. He himself certainly did something for these Highland congregations. In his far-off glen, and in his small parsonage, from his printing-press and with his own hands, he issued many small Gaelic publications of value, now unfortunately rare; and he preached and travelled throughout an extensive district for many years. Would that such as he were left among us! Since his time, however, more clergymen are in orders who speak the Gaelic tongue, and it is hoped that by their exertions the shortcomings of the past may be overtaken ere it is too late.

But what with the neglect of the past, the exertions of other Christian communities, and emigration, it is



too much to hope that the remains of these most interesting and ancient portions of British Christianity can be restored to what they once were. But no doubt exertion could be made; at least, by Churchmen and Episcopalians. Alas! that the living, moving, and feeling Highland hearts should have so little remembrance. If "*fuimus*" is now their motto, and the Celt is despised, there was a time when it was not so; when England and Europe, again submerged in darkness, owed their regeneration and light to Celtic missionaries; and the life and energy now so characteristic of the Saxon, was the characteristic of the Celtic races; and civilization and religion, which had fallen before the Goth, were all but restored to Europe from Iona. How it came to pass, that from so remote and barren a region, such a spring and current should flow, it is hard to say. It is probable, however, that the mighty wave of learning, civilization, and religion, driven westward by the irruptions of the barbarous northern tribes, flowed forward northwards and westwards, until it could no farther go; and then returned to revive and regenerate the desolation before which it had itself advanced, carrying with it its own converts from the Gentiles, as its avant couriers and first-fruits.

Pushing southwards and eastwards over Europe, these eminent men rekindled the light of the Gospel, and lifted it again to many an abandoned altar, and advanced its brightness through many a forest, and over many an Alpine chain. And it is touching for any one from the north to come upon the traces of these his own countrymen and long-forgotten sires



among far-off people, and distant places of the south, to which their zeal had carried them far away from their own land. It is touching to find the traces of the Highland hand among the manuscripts of Bobbio, or to come upon the Celtic dead in the Cathedral of Tarentum. Gazing on the Gaelic commentaries of some follower of Columbanus, at Milan, we can feel how oft his heart must have turned from the plains of Italy to the hills of Morven. Everywhere, and often where we least expect, we come upon the traces of our early fellow-countrymen; and few things are more touching than to find ourselves at home with them in a far-off land, where no one even knows anything of them but ourselves, and where their names are less familiar to those among whom they be than to us. In Switzerland they still pray for the Scotch and the Irish, not knowing why; we know—and it is pleasant to stand at St. Gall and to think that he who first brought Christianity hither was one of ourselves, one to whom Lochaber and Armagh may have been, and certainly Iona was, familiar. The very names, although disguised, are Gaelic—Cataldo, Macantius, and Muiredachus—for are they not Cothal, Mac-ian, Murdoch? Everywhere, throughout western and central Europe, we find traces of the Celtic missionaries from Iona; and, no doubt, in those eastern portions of it still unexplored, traces, when they are explored, will be found also. Let not their descendants disappear unthought of from our shores. Now they are passing away; and they who hereafter may know Lochaber, shall not know them.

It is the fashion to disparage the Celts, as we have



said. It is not a just disparagement. As a race they were once as advanced, or more so, than any other, and still they retain marks of high distinction. That delicacy of mind, which all acknowledge they possess, still remains an evidence of their civilization, as that was, we think, the product of their Christianity. It has been well said of chivalry that a gentleman is the next thing to a Christian; that next thing they still are, and, let us hope also, the something which is beyond. Few of them, however uneducated or unaccustomed to society, are without self-respect, and that unselfish bearing which marks a gentleman; and this distinction of the Gael, were there no other, is one, we think, which should go far with us not to allow the race lightly to perish from among us.

In the wars of the past generations, the Highland soldiers were mainly drawn from these shores; and in the Jacobite rising who does not know the fidelity with which they adhered to the fortunes of the house of Stuart? A fallen cause, but not the less supported by those men, who, following in the steps of their natural leaders, doubted not that they were treading right. And who does not know that, when hunted by his enemies as a wounded deer is tracked upon the mountains, Prince Charles Edward was preserved and unbetrayed by those poor people when sums were set upon his head that would have elevated any family of them beyond the condition of their highest hopes? It is a noble race even in its decline. It is a people who deserve to be cherished. By-and-bye, we shall seek, but we shall not find them; and the place which now knows them, shall know them no more for ever.



"*Cha till mi tuilich*" is heard in every glen. He who sails along the shores of Argyll, and lands in any of its mountain coves, in the still of an Autumn morning, and finds, as he may in almost every bay, the ruins of an ancient chapel, sees that which he will not see elsewhere, and that which it is probable he will never forget. Small and weatherworn, and unroofed, as it is, it is yet the church of one of those Celtic Fathers, and his cell is close at hand. They were solitaries, those saints, Brandon, Finian, Fillan, whose names now mark their church, or the well beside it of that clear water peculiar to Argyll. There, among the grassy knolls, or under the cairn overgrown with ferns and ivy, and through which the foxglove and wild rose lift their heads, sleeps, and for a thousand years has slept, a Christian Apostle and his congregation. His Celtic missionary brethren are sleeping the same sleep in the corn lands of England, in the fair fields of France, amidst the snows of Switzerland, the cities of the Rhine, or the fair Italian plains. These men were our brethren.

They were Apostles in the best sense—Apostles but of Christ. They had no system to support—no Pope, no king, no temporalities, no splendour. They knew nothing apparently but Jesus Christ—Jesus Christ, and Him crucified. They seem, as far as we can know, to have known nothing, and had nothing to know but this. It is by this alone, at all events, their memories have come down amongst us. Although to some it may appear a defect, they do not appear to have had any great preference for methods of Church government. Their headquarters was under a Presbyter, yet



they recognised bishops. They were disliked by the Church of Rome, and yet they were sainted by her as her most eminent patrons. The rule of the Mother Church was monastic, but in many places we find them bishops of sees, and electors of bishops, canons of chapters, married and unmarried; fathers, naturally as well as spiritually, sons of missionaries being in the holy ministry. If this Christian brotherhood broke down before the phalanx of Rome, few, we think, do not feel the victory was one of system against life,—of organisation over the Spirit,—of the fleshly over the Spiritual kingdom. Let us hope that removal is but for a time. Let us hope that the obscuraton of the Celtic Church is not to last for ever, but that light, and truth, and power, again may come to her. It is prophesied that it will be so,—“That Iona will be as once it was.” This may not apply to the island itself, but to those Celtic races and the Celtic Church, which has gone forth east and west, and south and north, to the far ends of the earth,—to Canada, to Australia, to New Zealand. These may restore the glory of the Celtic Christianity, even if the cross of Iona remains on the island alone. At present it all but does so.

But there is more than one island. On the sweet lochs and dreamy shores, which are characteristic of the west of Scotland, where the islands lie asleep, as it were, upon the main, there is more than one Iona—more than one green bosom, that is surmounted by its memorial and monumental cross, that round-headed cross, with its mysterious interlacing and runic knots—a mixture of commemoration;—emblems of religion, of



warfare and of the chase, of priest and people, of prey and its captor, of Pagan and Christian, strangely mixed together, but where all are equally in repose, and silence reigns unbroken. There are many such, but as a rule the islands are all but desolate, and it seems useless—nay, a desecration, to seek to awake even the echoes, were it even to restore the past. Everything there seems gone; the dwellers on the mountains and on the isles are equally departed. Here and there, however, there is a remnant. In the district of Appin, on the shores of Glencreran, on the banks of Loch Leven, in the valley of Glencoe, on the borders of Loch Linnhe, there are still some representatives of the past,—some blood of the ancient races,—some worship not unlike the worship of Iona. They are brethren in Christ,—the sons of those who were “in Christ” before us, whose piety and zeal conveyed the blessed name all over Europe, when it had been extinguished there. There name grows faint, there fame diminishes; in a little while all will have perished from among us, unless we can detain these,—detain a spark among the Highland hills,—a spark which still burns with fire from Iona.

*Oban Times, Feb. 1872.*



*ADDRESS TO THE VOLUNTEERS AT  
BALLACHULISH.*

As we stated last week, the Right Rev. Alexander Ewing, D.C.L., Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, delivered an address to the Volunteers of Ballachulish, who, to the number of 80 and upwards, under their commandant, Captain Cornwall, attended service in St. John's Episcopal Church, on Sunday, July 24th. The day was beautiful, and large numbers of Episcopalians from Glencoe, and strangers from a distance, were present. The fine appearance of the men, dressed in the tartan of Argyll (which, however, being the Campbell tartan, called forth some remarks), excited general admiration. The service was read by the Rev. Donald M'Kenzie, the incumbent.

The Bishop took for his text the narrative of the struggle of Jacob with the Angel, related in the 32nd chapter of Genesis, which he characterized as a remarkable description of a real event, and one which was typical of that which takes place in the life of man ; and, after dealing with the subject as practically useful, in the sense of its being an exhibition of the



striving of the Spirit of God with the soul of man, he adverted to the presence of the Volunteers, and the request which had been made to him to address them, in something like the following terms :—

War was a subject which no Christian man or minister, and, still less Bishop (who gave, or ought to give, the key-note of the ministry), could advocate. War, with all its horrors and consequences, could never be the subject of a Christian mind, except as one of terror and reprobation. Happily, in this country, we had had no practical experience of it, though some of us might have seen the effects of its ravages in other lands—in the graves of the slain, in the desolated village, in the widow and the orphan whom it had made. But these things were but the memorials of war, the shadows of its dread realities. One shuddered to think of the sanguinary battle-field, and of the rapine and violence which too often followed the sack and the siege. The existence of war, in an enlightened, and, still more, in a Christian age, was almost inexplicable; but we looked for a time when men should not “learn war any more,” and it was our duty to strive to hasten the fulfilment of that prophecy, and to promote the cause of universal peace. But, it might be asked, how could the Bishop, whilst reprobating war, and advocating peace, have consented to address and encourage a body of armed men? He did so, and that gladly; because it was the object of those whom he addressed to prevent, to discourage, and to oppose the things of which he had been speaking. The British Volunteers had, for their object, to prevent the enemy from



getting footing on our shores, to defend their country from invasion, to cut war off at its source by stopping its flow. This, if he mistook not, was their object, and this he could encourage and applaud, and could pray for its success. The Volunteers were defenders not aggressors; defenders of their own homes and hearths, of the throne and the altar, of the property, lives, and faith of the country. We could not tell how soon these might be assailed, nor how soon we might be drawn into that whirlpool into which the nations of Europe were now being absorbed, through the combined vanity and rapacity of those whose office it should have been to keep the nations out of these things.

The Bishop was not there, he was not the person, nor was that the place to pronounce any cathedral opinion on the merits of the contest about to be waged; but he must say that he could not believe that the peasantry and artizans of France, her labourers and vine-dressers, still less her professional, mercantile, and manufacturing classes, had any interest or wish to review the memories of the losses and defeats of the first Napoleon, whereby France twice saw her capital in the hands of strangers. Yet the same pride and vanity was now probably to bring about the same end. Germany had no wish to enlarge her boundaries, but would, as he believed the French nation would, rather be let alone to thrive and increase in peace. But it was not so to be. The dogs of war had been unkennelled; who should say who was to lead them home? How many, or whose they should be, which should return? It was not for him to prophesy or to speculate, and our



nation, he trusted, would be exempted from sharing in the contest, the danger and the loss. But we must be prepared, and prepared in the best way, to repel invasion, and to preserve the peace, security, and quiet of our homes. These preparations must be of the best—the best arms, the best drill, and, above all, the best men—men of character, men of skill, who know what depends upon them, who have moral as well as physical courage, intellectual as well as animal powers. Such a force was eminently that National Guard called the Volunteer force. Such soldiers were men of tried and known character,—not men taken by chance at an unlucky moment, nor by the compulsion of conscription, but men who offered themselves, and did so because they deemed it their duty to come forward in the defence of their homes and country. With such men Cromwell overthrew all opposition, as did also the soldiers of the first French Revolution, and, more recently, the Landwehr of Prussia, who were of the same class and description.

And now, said the Bishop, any day, Great Britain may be involved in the vortex of that war which had unexpectedly broken out on the Continent. At this moment, therefore, the value of such men as the British Volunteers for the defence of our homes and hearths was to us incalculable. It gave him pleasure, he said, to see so many of the family of Appin and Ballachulish join the ranks of the National Guard of Scotland; and, although it had been needful for them, as belonging to one regiment, and might be a trial to some of them, to wear the colours of a clan which at one time was an enemy,—for, in days gone by, every



glen and district had to defend itself from its neighbours, who were often its bitterest foes, till the time had passed away, if not for forgetting the past in the sense of proud and pleasant memories, yet for forgetting it in the sense of enmity. Argyll was now one family, although the names in it were and would be different. Scotland itself was merged into Great Britain; and the best badge they could carry was the common flag of their common country, and they ought to consider all uniforms as one. Yet would he have given a difference of some kind,—such a distinction as the “White Cockade,”—in memory of the “White Rose,” and the self-devotion and losses sustained by the men of Appin for the house and race which they deemed it their duty to follow, and which was still upon the throne,—the Royal Stuart of England and of Appin, whose flag they carried, and were faithful to, when others fought against it.

The Bishop concluded by invoking the Divine blessing upon them, and then returned to the more special and spiritual consideration of his text. That text, the Bishop said, is the type of the constant and beneficent struggle of the Spirit of God with that of man, by which God is educating and training man in the right way, and for a higher existence—a struggle which gives man the only true knowledge of God and of himself,—enabling man to know God not merely as a name, but as a nature. A name in a creed, however true, is but little to us, he observed, until we have received the meaning of its nature—its nature, that is, into ourselves; until, as it were, we ask no *name*,



having received that which the name signifies. This, no doubt, at times was a baptism of blood and tears, but with that also was brought something which wiped away all blood and tears for ever; as changed, as in the text, from Jacob he became Israel, or a Prince with God, a Prince in right of that one and divine and blessed nature, which the initiating and continuous love of God bestows, and now pours out upon us in the revelation of Himself by the gift of His Son and Spirit in Christ Jesus.

*Oban Times, August 6th, 1870.*



## *ADDRESS ON THE WAR,*

*DELIVERED AT THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTION,  
BALLACHULISH, 16th Sept., 1870.*

THE Bishop said: It may seem an over-bold, and perhaps an uncharitable thing to pronounce an opinion, or to venture on any application of principles in connection with the acts of nations, or the results of transactions as yet incomplete; and it is incumbent, especially upon a clergyman, to remember the words of the Lord: "Think ye that those on whom the tower of Siloam fell were sinners above all that are in Galilee?" Nevertheless, there are laws and rules which are eternal, and which no amount of exceptions can annul, and which we are bound to observe; principles which are given for our guidance, and which it is our wisdom ever to follow. Some of these are visible in the causes and conduct of the present terrible war; and we should be untrue to ourselves, and to the providence of God, if we did not observe and profit by their observation. To some of them, and to their working, I wish to direct your



attention to-night. To discover them, let us look at the history of the two great nations now engaged in war, and study that history as productive of the present collision. We cannot but have sympathy with both nations. First, with the French, a gallant and intellectual nation, whose great Revolution, if marked with sad excesses, was, no doubt, the cause of the present rise and regeneration of Europe. Their demand at that time for Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality (although badly urged), was a true and righteous demand. It was, no doubt, in its *root*, a loving desire for that which would be the glory and happiness of mankind to obtain. True Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity—those rights of man for which they contended, but failed to obtain, are real rights and privileges in which the happiness of mankind are involved. Even the first and but imperfect realisation of them in the dawn of the first French Revolution sent a thrill of life throughout mankind, and created, as it were, a new world. France then missed the mark, by the blind antagonism of Europe forcing on them a succession of wars, which, under the leadership of the first Napoleon, culminated in but a military despotism, and turned the nation from its first demand to dreams of vanity and military glory, until the rights of man, for which they at first contended, came to be such as were given alone to them by victorious Frenchmen. But they started well.

So much for France ; let us now look at Germany. The Germans are a nation unlike the French in many ways, and more like unto ourselves. They are a



people rather strong and patient, than chivalrous or brilliant; but yet they are gifted with remarkable intellectual powers. From Germany we got the Reformation—that is, the principle and duty of exercising our private judgment, not merely on religious, but with, and from this, on all other points. This liberty of private judgment, if it has led to aberrations, is yet the only way by which any real apprehension of truth can be reached; and beginning with it, this principle in Germany has given so great a strength and solidity to the nation, that although they have never reached to an high theoretical demand for freedom, yet, in truth, they are absolutely free. Their progress has not yet reached any high state of freedom in civil government, but that which they have, they have truly; and from that they have, they doubtless will reach on to obtain more. Thus far, at anyrate, they have attained; *i.e.* to know that truth and reality are necessary above all things.

Having glanced at the history and character of both nations, let us now enquire into the causes which have brought them into collision. During the conquests of the first Napoleon, Prussia banded herself with Austria and Russia, to put an end to his aggressions and dominion. She was therefore attacked, both singly and with the others, by Napoleon; and at the battles of Jena, Friedland, and Wagram, was entirely overthrown. Bonaparte overran Prussia; and by the severities and cruelties which his troops exercised, and which were signally directed against their young and lovely Queen, Louise, laid the foundations of an enmity and resentment which have never been allayed,



and which even Leipsic and Waterloo, where Napoleon was subdued, have not destroyed. After Waterloo, the forty years of peace which have ensued, one would have thought, would have effaced these old animosities, but it is not so; but probably, however, it would have been so, had it not been for the presence of another cause which we shall now discuss.

Two opposite and antagonistic principles had come to be represented by the two nations—progress by Germany; conservatism by France. Looking at the original demands by France for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, one would have been apt to think that the cause of progress was represented by her, but, in truth, it is not now so, at all events. And her first demands, if true in quality, were devoid of sufficient foundation. For all true liberty, while in its nature free, must have, as its strength, unison with an higher or eternal nature; that is, the Divine nature as seen and given to us in the Revelation of Jesus Christ. France had not this apprehension, nor the means of having it, from a reason which we shall afterwards notice. All the liberty she ever attained to was that of being freed from the restraint of others. She did not go on to the realisation of her own original demands. She did not rise to anything out of herself, to that Eternal good of which we speak,—her liberty, therefore, soon became licentiousness or blankly objectless; and all the religion she had was that which does not require the assent of reason, but is, indeed, opposed to it; and which bases its authority on a denial of those demands for Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, and the rights of man, with which she



started, and for which, at first, she contended with so great energy ; and the reason of her doing this is not far to seek. For at that Reformation of Christianity, which took place in the sixteenth century, while Germany, Great Britain, and Switzerland joined in the movement, the Latin races, with France at their head, rejected it, and in rejecting it, rejected the root and cause of all our spiritual true liberty. And the consequence has been that France, and all those nations which have done this, have not sufficient force for their own regeneration or the apprehension of true liberty at all ; and, missing it in its root, have missed it in all other things, until finally France, in falling from her first demands has become, instead of the representative or advocate of freedom, that of the very reverse of it, in fact of authority, despotic, infallible, not allowing itself to be questioned, deposited in one hand, culminating in religion, in Papalism, and in civil government, in Cæsar, or Imperialism. Germany, on the contrary, although not demanding so much in name, because holding the foundations of liberty, in holding the principles of the Reformation, has become the true representative of liberty. These two opposite principles are now represented by these different nations which are now come into collision.

But, no doubt, it is difficult to realise that the principles of freedom are represented by a military power like Prussia, which is controlled, for warlike purposes, by an absolute despotism ; and it is impossible to forget that the religious history of Germany has passed through an epoch when the liberty of enquiry has led to the denial of cardinal truths, which



France and the Latin races have continued to retain. But as there is no real belief, save that which is based on enquiry, and that that is no true faith which is but a submission of the understanding to authority, so enquiry on the part of Germany, if it has led to a diminution of belief, has left that which has remained of so real a character, as to be far superior to that mere assent to authority possessed by France and the Latin races, whose belief, when it comes into collision with the other, succumbs and is swallowed up by it, as is now shown and seen.

And it is probable that, with the issue of the present war, the present military aspect of Germany will determine and cease, and give place to some other and more liberal form of civil government. And in regard to its present military system, it may be interesting here to observe that it is already based upon the principles of freedom, as it is the nation as a whole which now goes to war, and not a separate class or standing army kept apart in the hands of a despot, to be used by him but for his individual purpose. And in connection with the former observation, that a real belief, if limited to fewer points, is yet of more value than an unreal of a greater number—the influence of religion has been shown to be greatly in excess in the German armies and nation, in the fact that the troops have embarked in this contest with gravity, solemnity, and reluctance, using the voice of prayer and praise, and singing their chorale hymns up to the verge of death or battle. Absence of all religious belief seems to have characterised the conduct of the opposite army; the Prime Minister of France declared at the



outset that he went into the war with glee ; and the Emperor sent a most uncalled-for challenge, which was the cause of bringing together those thunder-clouds which otherwise might have been kept apart. But we are here far from wishing to assume the part of an advocate ; nevertheless, we have a duty to perform to truth, and to us it is apparent that the principles of the one nation were sound, and of the other unsound. If we stand on the one side, it is because we believe its foundations best ; if we did not do so, we should stand on the other.

Having now looked at the principles and their application, let us look at their place in the Providential government of God. Our minds are appalled by that which is now passing before our eyes in the neighbouring nations of France and Germany. We ask if there be a Providence at all ; or if so, if that be good which is going on ? It would be a simple matter to say it is bad, and to settle the question offhand by saying that men are sinners, and, being such, they will war and fight. This does not satisfy us, nor remove the difficulty. Death and warring, Geology informs us, were present in the world ere man appeared ; and we cannot doubt that in this matter Providence is working out great and beneficial results. One nation has outgrown the sense of truth and reality, and has come to live for show and appearance—to take the sign for the substance, and to be angry if it be not allowed that this is substance ; another has worked out by degrees and by self-denial an higher reality. Coming into collision, the weaker goes to the wall ; the more real wins ; the weaker has to learn reality,



and to become stronger by attempting less. Thus truth takes the place of untruth; and the Providence of God appears, and that is good.

But, no doubt, our hearts fail us. Looking closely, how terrible is the revelation! Each of these dying or dead men was one who made part of a happy home. He was a husband, a brother, a father, a son—perhaps the winner of bread for a family, perhaps the sole stay of a mother, or wife and children. We lose all this if we but look at the results in the lump; and how often do we not do this! How often, by looking at men in the lump, do we not forget what mankind is! How often, as we drive down long lines of streets, do we not forget that each of these houses is a happy home! And how many of these are now and at once broken up and desolate in France and Germany! If this be inevitable, even for good, in the mode of Divine government as now in force,—and the facts prove it to be so,—how terrible it is, how solemn!—what is the lesson? Assuredly, to cultivate those dread realities, soberness, humility, earnestness, truth, and righteousness,—without which, in the end, so terrible a working-off must come of these baser elements until the better are put on! The struggle is terrible. An angel of death is now telling us that God is not a name, but a stern reality—a tremendous nature of truth, to whom death and suffering are nothing in the way to higher good. It is awful. Yet terrible as the sights and sufferings are, let us not forget that man is immortal, and that the death which seems so readily inflicted by Providence is but a door of which we here see but one side, while He sees the other also. No



one falling or warring aright, according to his light, in this fearful strife, can lose by dying ; he must gain. Those only lose who shun to die if needed, who shrink from danger and self-sacrifice, and who, subsiding into themselves, and keeping out of the way, die a slow and moral death. For these we ought to pray, while with them we have no sympathy. It is well, no doubt, with the others ; they are at rest : they need not now our prayers. Let us, however, pray that a true spirit may enter into all.

One thing I think, as a nation, we should greatly avoid, and that is hugging ourselves on a superior wisdom which keeps out of these terrible things ; a superiority which, while it dispenses medicines, and food and clothing, with a lofty magnanimity, is also supplying, *or allowing to be supplied* (which is the same thing), at the same time from our shores, weapons of destruction to the combatants. If this be true, as is asserted, how terrible our hypocrisy ! There is something terrible in this, if true, as there is something we think unpleasant in an aspect of repose or ease which we too often present at times like these, and which is very galling to those who are sacrificing and losing all that they have for public reasons. We have had this spirit and assumed this aspect too often before ; and our Continental and American brethren complain of it with reason. Our true aspect at such times no doubt should be—while we do not for a moment shrink from avowing our sympathy with principles when at stake and with a policy when it is tested—to have the aspect of real and truly sorrowing brethren and humble fellow-men, to whom the like



might well have happened, and no doubt would happen if the same causes had been at work. And if that be true, as alluded to above, regarding the supply of arms to the combatants by this country, and which could no doubt at any time have been prevented (by an Order in Council), we shall not be allowed eventually to escape without our natural and due retribution.

The aspects of our times are solemn to the highest degree. If, indeed, anything can ever be more solemn than the ordinary and common aspects of humanity,—Man, a helpless and intelligent being, alone in a vast universe, surrounded with silent orbs and the spaces and magnitudes of infinity; alone on the unresponsive bosom of the sea; alone in the wail of the winter wind; whose very loves are more his torment than his blessing; torn from that to which he clung, and out of sight of it, knowing not where or ever they shall find one another again. Filling oneself with animal life; blinding oneself with mental employment; chancing it or resting on a blind fatalism is no deliverance or protection. Alone in the midst of silence—seeking and not finding—crying and no response—scanning the far-off Heaven for help and not finding it there;—is it worse to go down in the roar of the battle or to be crushed, as so many now are, under the wheels of the flying artillery, or to be expiring on the bed of an hospital? We know not. Looking at these things and at such catastrophes as the present, one is tempted—like Gibbon at the earthquake of Lisbon, where 60,000 perished at a blow—to abandon the belief in Providence, and to say, “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die: I must not love for fear of conse-



quences, I am not loved, and it is better so." It is a great strait and a great temptation; and we must not meet it with honied words and smooth conventionalities. Job and his friends, and that which God approved in his case, is the true course for us to observe. We must meet the difficulty face to face. But the difficulty is great, and yet there is a deliverance, and it comes out of this, that there are greater difficulties on the other side. "Is it possible that I live and am as I am, and that there is none other higher and better than I am, in that in which I am highest and best—my love and justice? Is it possible that these mighty orbs which fill all space, and the mighty laws which govern them, and the wondrous provisions which I see everywhere around me in Creation, contemplating the greatest good of the greatest number—every one of which laws and provisions are based on and tending to beneficence—is it possible that I am what I am, and an exception to these?—able to understand these things but not to attain to them—imperfect, and not to be perfected, conscious I am not what I might be, and what there might be and that it is nowhere and never is to be. That these are what they are, yet not *sufficient*? That that which is so much is yet not more or enough? That that which is so nearly complete, and so vastly, on the whole, prepondering in good, is not wholly so, if we understood it? If this is impossible, and that it is impossible imperfection can attach to the plan as a whole, may it not be that they which seem exceptions are yet not so, but are the preparations and arrangements for special instru-



mentalities by which a future and general rise are to be effected? And at all events, if they are exceptions, can any amount of exception overrule the eternal nature, that good is good, and right, right; or that, however long deferred, they and theirs must, and cannot but have, a final victory, were it for no other reason than that they are eternal, and must have the final survivorship? Let us not doubt this, but believe it, and cleave to that which is good,—and that is God who is the living goodness, or goodness alive, the life and cause of all things.

And here we are met by a wonderful corroboration, which, if we had not otherwise been able to discover that what we have felt is true, as to good, reveals to us openly that it is so,—we mean the revelation of Good and the true good in Christ. In this we have a revelation of the true nature of God and that which the true good is, and how out of lower, higher things are generated. For what appears to us as evil is not so regarded by Him,—that is, in the sense of something to be avoided. That is, Christ does not look on pain or suffering as real evil. He submits to them as part of a way to an higher good. He Himself, we read, “is made perfect by sufferings;” and for the joy set before Him (joy in seeing a multitude of others benefited), suffers shame and death. It is part of a way, apparently an inevitable way. A corn of wheat (He says) if it falls not into the ground and dies abideth alone, but if die it bringeth forth much fruit. He accepted death as no evil if the way to something better. It did not shake His confidence in the true good, or in God the Father: He shrank from suffering,



but He accepted it, saying "Even so, Father, for so it seemed *good* in Thy sight." Good therefore, and not evil therefore, were it in His eyes, and therefore to be accepted.

It is easy, perhaps, when the evil is not upon ourselves, to see and acquiesce in this—even in the case of Christ. It is easy, no doubt, for us to conclude and to say such things sitting comfortably by our own firesides. It would be very different, no doubt, if we were over the Channel, and in the roar of the guns, among the feet of the flying cavalry, or amidst the ruins of falling houses; or, still worse, by the bedside of the wounded and agonised, and among the weeping women and starving children. Yet, no doubt, this is the true principle, and ought to be our guide,—a guide to be sought and found by us everywhere and always, else we shall alike perish, whether by calm or storm. And the principle and guide are those which have been brought to light in the Cross. Our guide and principle must be the life and death of Christ, without which we shall as assuredly perish at home as in the field; that is, as to all that makes life precious, equally at home as in the battlefields of France or in the siege of Paris.

Man does not live by bread alone, and to many it would be far easier to go out to battle and to death than to sit down absolutely to the conclusion that there is no good Providence at all. This we must believe to have any real life. Exemption from suffering is not only not indispensable, but may be a hindrance to it. God therefore, every now and then, as at present, breaks through the ordinary laws of ease that an higher life may come in. Let us pray, however,



that this breaking through may be short, and that we and others may learn that which is required as speedily as possible. Let us not cast away our faith in God's good providence, however trying the sights and sounds may be. There is to be a reign of peace, but not until there is first a reign of righteousness ; and that has not yet come,—at present there are few signs of it. But it will come. We see not the kingdom ; it has not come, but it is on the way. We see not all things as yet put under Jesus, but we see Him, and in Him a pledge of that which shall be. For it is as impossible that that which is Divine shall not have the victory, as that that which Jesus is is not Divine. Our hearts respond to this by all that is highest and most divine within them. Let us look to Jesus, therefore, and be at peace. All the sealed books of creation are sealed with His seal,—all the shut doors of providence are opened with His key. Let us lift up our hearts in faith, hope, and (more) in assurance of victory. Yet let us pray. We cannot tell what prayer can do. Yet something it *must* do. It is an instinct, it is natural, it is enjoined, it was the constant posture of our Lord. Let us pray, then ; pray for brethren now wandering, for our sisters now suffering ; pray that this passage may be short, and shortened, and that out of it righteous, and more righteous, kingdoms and nations may be developed.

*Oban Times, 17th Sept., 1870.*



*ADDRESS ON THE EVENTS OF THE  
PAST YEAR,*

*DELIVERED AT THE MECHANICS' INSTITUTION,  
BALLACHULISH, Sept. 14, 1871.*

THE Bishop said—I have been requested to address you here, as I did last year, upon the current subjects of the day. Such an address, of course, must be more secular than religious; yet, as the great object of our lives ought to be the introduction of the eternal into the temporal, it is not, I think, unbecoming my office to look at the outward currents and to attempt to describe them to you with this object in view. For, indeed, the practical use of religion is to apply it to the improvement of common life, and to do this efficiently we must first study life as it passes before our eyes. The main subject of the Prophets of Israel was ever the events of their own day; and in our day it may be that we miss something of the duties of our office when the clergy, and especially the Bishops, do not address themselves to the public conduct and character of the nations to which they are sent to be preachers of righteousness, as much as



to be ministers of the Gospel. And in my own case, it gives me much pleasure to do so, and, by so doing, to be yet more bound to you than I am already in Appin, that is, on the week days as well as on the Sabbath—in ordinary life, that is, as well as in the pulpit. Deprived as I am by bad health, and the necessity of frequent absences in warm climates for its alleviation, from being so much, as I would otherwise be, in the midst of you—of those, that is, who have so much claim on the affections and interest of a Bishop of our Church, and on me, as your own Bishop, I feel every opportunity grateful which enables me to be still more with the faithful and loyal, and long-suffering Christians and Churchmen of this locality.

It is possible that the fact of my frequent absence in foreign countries, and being able to see ourselves and others, as it were, with other eyes, may give me some advantage in addressing you on general subjects, and especially on the events of the bygone year. I have seen foreign nations more closely, and seen ourselves as looked upon by foreign eyes. In speaking as they do, if at any time I seem to you to use language in some sense of blame to ourselves, you will remember, I am sure, although I may do so, that I am but speaking as they speak, and that I myself, at all times and places, feel as a true and loyal British subject, and in Highland things as the most Celtic of the Celts.

#### THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR.

First, then, in general as to the year that has passed since we met together in this place, I need not tell you that it has been indeed a marvellous year—an



*annus mirabilis*, as our fathers would have said—that it has crowded into the short space of twelve months events which in other days would have occupied a lifetime or even centuries. It would seem as if the acceleration of speed in our day to physical had extended to moral relations, that the rapid mode of transit, of communication by telegraph, and the distances in space we can now command for the destruction of life, have also accelerated mental and moral conclusions. But let us look at the events of the bygone year in order, and let us take them one by one, and in the following sequence—the greater and general first, the lesser and local afterwards. First, then, we shall look at the great French and German war; then at the loss of the temporal power and commencement of the downfall of the Papacy; then at our own domestic affairs, with some lesser but stirring events at home among ourselves—the Inverary marriage and the Scott centenary. Last year, when we met in this place the great duel had just reached its height between the nations of France and Germany. Since then we have seen the capture of Paris and the triumph of Germany. Last year, when we met here, the Papacy was endeavouring to awaken the sympathies of Europe, and to strengthen itself by a general Council; since then we have seen it deprived of its temporal power, and the Roman Catholic Church, by an act of moral suicide, lay herself in one day in ruins at the feet of Europe, in a manner more complete than could have been accomplished by centuries of attack by others.

We shall first glance at the leading events in the



French and German war, with the general conclusions to be drawn from them. When France burst over the German frontier, in her march on Berlin, the sympathies of this country were naturally enrolled on the side of the party attacked. But as the war went on, from compassion for the vanquished, and from other causes, the sympathy of Britain turned towards France. At least it so appeared to foreign beholders, and the large export to France of arms from this country seemed to warrant the supposition. Yet if we look at the conduct of the war, it will be difficult to justify this change of opinion on our part, if it really existed. For Germany—the power attacked—but repelled an invasion, and carefully and slowly, and with great patience and self-denial, rolling back the invading army, and, without unnecessary violence, forced it to return to its own capital, or would have done so if before this had not occurred an event unprecedented in all history, namely, an emperor and 500,000 men laying down their arms and surrendering themselves as prisoners to a not much larger opposing force, and being carried by them (as prisoners) within the invaded boundaries. Such a surrender by such numbers, with an Emperor at their head, and to a force not superior to their own, is without example in history, and bids us seek for the causes of such a demoralisation on the one hand, and of superiority on the other. And they are, no doubt, to be found in an over-weening self-confidence on the one part, and cautious preparedness on the other, mixed with some other more profound moral causes, to which we shall by-and-by advert.



The regular army and Government being beaten and overthrown, France attempted by a levy of its population to accomplish that which her army had failed to accomplish—and Germany advanced to Paris, which surrendered. Germany, however, spared the capital, but its own inhabitants, by a useless defence and party vengeance, all but destroyed it as we know themselves, afterwards. I need not detain you with the history of the Commune and the successive acts of the French drama from the fall of Paris until now, because all these have been detailed to you, and you are fully acquainted with them from the newspapers. What I should like to consider with you here, and endeavour to see, are the causes which led to, and explain, the catastrophe on the one hand, and the victory on the other.

#### THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE.

But ere doing so, we must turn to look for a moment at the Papacy, as we shall find, I think, after having done so, that the same principles and results were at work there as had caused the catastrophe in France. Some time before this catastrophe the Papacy had begun to find its temporal power in danger, and had applied to Europe, and especially to France, for countenance and support, and from France the Papacy obtained it. But before, and more profoundly, than this, the Roman Catholic Church had long felt a growing necessity for some act which would help to settle the increasing uncertainty in the minds of men, not only as to her own authority, but for that of revelation also. The ultimate authority for the facts and doctrines of revelation had before been supposed



to be found in the universal consent of the Church, expressed in a General Council, or in Holy Scripture. It had come to be felt in Rome that this was not enough, that something more was necessary—something more tangible and available. The Pope therefore summoned a Council to declare where this certainty was to be found, and the Council decided that it was to be found in his own personal infallibility; that as the Roman was the most original and continuous and largest portion of the Church, so it was that only section of Christendom entitled to be called distinctively by the name of Catholic, and that the mouthpiece and exponent of this Church was the Pope, and the Pope alone, as the ultimate reference. Before this, however, the Pope had issued sundry letters (or encyclicals) and a syllabus, as it was called, in which many of the most cherished discoveries and truths of modern times were impugned and discountenanced, and the dogma afterwards promulgated of his infallibility made their condemnation, of course, binding on Roman Catholics. Alarmed at the new position of affairs, various crowned heads in Roman Catholic countries expressed opposition to the decisions of the Council and the papal declarations; and, of still greater consequence than this, opposition arose among the Roman Catholic clergy themselves. First, Father Hyacinthe, the great preacher in Paris, and a monk; and afterwards Dr. Döllinger, the learned Professor of Munich, and others with them, protested against the new decrees, and were excommunicated. Thus the matter now stands, with a growing increase of dissentients in the Roman Catholic countries. The future



of the Roman Catholic Church is unquestionably on a different foundation now from that in which it has been at any previous period; and as that foundation is both more narrow in itself and more alien to the progress of the world, so it is probable that her decay and dissolution will be much more rapid than the growth by which, from less to greater, she finally overshadowed, and still shades, the greater part of Christendom. What that future precisely will be, it is impossible to tell. It may be a congress of national Churches; it may be one uniform and differently constituted Church from any which we have yet seen. It is very improbable that in the South it will assume any of the—although they are many—forms of modern Protestantism.

#### THE COMMUNE.

We have said that the causes which underlie the late calamities of France and the Papacy are one and the same.

So far as France was at one with the Papacy—and she constituted herself its champion—the causes which were the ruin of the Papacy itself were also, of course, the cause of its ruin in France—or the ruin of France, so far as engaged with the Papacy, and that which was the ruin of both was the assumption of autocratic power. But France had another cause of ruin within her besides—the Commune—the Commune, which seems antagonistic to the Papacy, and which, in one sense, it is—yet, which although it may surprise you if I say so, and it seems a paradox to say, has one and the same root. And the



root, were it not vitiated by one fundamental error common to both, namely, the attempt to produce by force that which, if produced, can be produced alone by free choosing, is good. That which both the Commune and the Papacy were striving for, was the best thing possible, and the right thing for us to seek and to attain to, if it can be done in the right way, namely, the realisation of a higher and better life than man generally has or can be accomplished by following the ordinary rules of life here, but neither of these attempted it in the legitimate way. The Papacy, starting from the religion of Christ, thought to produce His kingdom of peace and holiness by the means of a hierarchy, and of sacraments binding men to one another in a graduated obedience, and conveying, by a material tie and channel, a perpetual unison and supernatural strength. It was supposed to be life and light to be of its members, and that all outside were in death and darkness. For the sake of their own souls, men were to be made members of this communion at every risk and sacrifice, and its enemies or deserters were to be met and followed with severity and punishment, and, if need be, even with death. The Commune had the same theory, but was to accomplish its ends in another way, for it had no connection with the religion of Christ, and it too attempted to reign by force. Struck with, and feeling and resenting the great inequality of conditions in the lives of men, in property, in advantages of social life, and even in necessary things, the Commune thought to obtain the requisite equality by an arbitrary rule and force, reducing all, or levelling up all, to one uniform degree.



And the object of the Commune was good. It is that set forth in the Acts of the Apostles in various places (Acts ii. 44, 45 ; iii. 34, 35), as that which the Apostles and the early Christians had in view and achieved. But the Commune forgot, or did not know, that the accomplishment of such things cannot be, and is not to be by force; that the abundance or enjoyment of things is not in themselves, but in what we feel about them; that things we get by force give no pleasure; that the only pleasure in anything is from the freedom or love which attaches to it; and that, as this was the effect, so was it the cause of that which is described in the Acts of the Apostles. The principles of the Commune also labour under two fundamental errors in addition, that the idle and industrious are equally rewarded, and that it is a fact that no man will work so well for another, or for a joint-stock, or produce so much thus, as for himself. The Acts of the Commune were, therefore, a failure, for this reason, and also from that which must accompany the announcement of any such principle as theirs, as a law or general policy, viz., the influx into its ranks of all the surrounding idle and refuse of mankind, who wish to, and would make, an evil profit of any such arrangement. The Papal error is free from this latter danger, but it attracts to it in exchange the alliance of despotic rule, and all that of Government which appertains to force; as it also, in the same way, errs doctrinally in making that by obligation, which must be by choice to be at all; so that, in point of fact, by this process it denudes itself of that which it is its province to give, and which it is here to bestow.



I have used no terms of reprobation in speaking of the Papacy or of the Commune, evil as have been the fruits which both have produced, because it is not needful and it is not wise. Evil seed will produce evil crops; but, in searching for, and discriminating and marking seed, it is not needful, and it is unwise, to do so with passion. That which alone is needful is to know and describe the seed. And if it is evil, and if the evil is seen and plainly shown, few will afterwards use the seed, which is all that a teacher has in view to teach. The fruits of the Papacy are evil and great, and are to be seen in many lands, and extend back through many ages; those of the Commune are more limited and recent, and its leaders have this excuse, that even as to the national monuments (as they were called) which they destroyed, and which was their great offence—the Tuileries and Vendome Column,—they rather saw in the first the abodes of profligacy and vice than the seat of a National Government; and in the other the memorial of one who had dragged their fathers to whiten with their bones far-off and foreign lands for his own glory, rather than a memorial of the glory of their fathers.

#### PROTESTANTISM AND POPERY.

So much in justice to them both. Let us now turn to the application of these things to ourselves, or to our domestic affairs; and here I shall endeavour, as I have said, to look at ourselves as we have been seen by foreign eyes throughout the great transactions of the bygone year. And the first thing which is visible and striking is that to which I have already adverted—the



apparent inconsistency of this country in first disapproving of the conduct of France, and then disapproving of that of Germany, with the support which the Church of Rome received from Great Britain, or, perhaps, I should say, from England. Ireland I do not reckon, as that country, I may say, is more Papal than even the Papacy itself; and the interest felt for France by Ireland is alone evidence sufficient of the identity of the causes of France and the Papacy. Now, we must not be offended if this inconsistency is commented upon. There has been, no doubt, notable exceptions to it, and that is the case of some of our leading journals, especially of the *Times*. But this inconsistency of the country is very remarkable, and the apparent absence in it of any clear and fixed principle or policy, is a fact which is singularly confirmed if we look at the position of its two representative heads—the respective leaders of our two great and opposing political parties.

The head of the party now in office has moved on from point to point in the graduated scale of civil liberty, a convert as he goes, while retaining a more than conservative feeling for the principle of authority in religion; the other, conservative and hesitating in all that appertains to the State, is progressive in religion, and strongly opposed to the ultramontane or reactionist school of thought in this, and is one who has done more to destroy the influence of the Church of Rome in this country, among the classes where it was strongest, by the authorship of a popular book ('Lothair') than all the writings of the theologians. In their case, as in the play, Hamlet and Mercutio



have exchanged swords in the matters of civil and religious liberty, or rather each has as it were, now two swords, and swords of opposite character, in one and the same hand. Whether the nation has been really indifferent to the result of the contest and changes which have taken place abroad during the last twelve months (which her inconsistency of opinion would seem to show), or only apparently so, it is hard to say. I myself do not think the indifference to be real; but that Great Britain merely required some sufficient national mouthpiece or occurrence to give expression to the true feelings which as a nation she entertained. But her silence is certainly remarkable, and I hardly believe that she has fully realised as yet that which has taken place abroad.

For the war which has just been waged, has been simply that of the principles of Rome against those of the Reformation, of private judgment against authority; and the victory which crowned the German arms is simply the victory of the Reformation. It is the custom to accuse Germany of Rationalism; and, no doubt, the application of reason to revelation was first made use of there; but this in itself is no obloquy. If it is meant that the German nation is unchristian, the accusation is untrue. No nation can pour out, as Germany has done for the last 300 years, such a continuous current of sacred Christian song, and be averse to Christianity. In fact, no other such current of living Christian and new life has poured forth during that time from any other nation of Christendom at all, least of all from any of the Latin or Roman Catholic portions. The spirit of Luther is



still the spirit of Germany, as the battle-songs of her soldiers lately showed,—of Luther, and not of Strauss. Had the victory been the other way, had the Turco and the Zouave been enthroned in Germany, how different would now be the future of Europe! The Pope would be re-established in all his former power, Italy be again dissevered, and the licentiousness of France and the swagger of her soldiery be the rule and key-note to all Europe. All this has been prevented, and prevented by the exertions of men, not drawn as youths by chance conscription to serve as soldiers, not embarking by choice on the glory and gain of a soldier's life, but by men taken from the office and from the counter, from the field and the garden, fathers of families and bread-winners of households, simply to repel and put down so horrible an evil. It was done effectually, but it was done mercifully. That army, headed by its old king and commanded by its native princes, advanced from point to point, encountering shot and tempest and winter's storm, thanking God (as the old king did at every step) for their deliverance. Europe at large saw what had been done, and what the battle was which had been fought and won. Britain alone seemed strangely indifferent. The old king's prayers were made a jest of here. The young prince, who married the eldest born and highest of Great Britain's Royal daughters, came to this country, immediately after the peril and the work, in the natural joy and thankfulness of a grateful heart. But none among us rose to say "God bless him." It was a strange reception and strange oversight surely, after a deliverance for civilisation and religion,



wrought out by him and his, not less than by that of Waterloo and over the Spanish Armada.

And as to the fall of the Papacy, we have also been strangely unmoved. The young clergy of England are still busy with what they call "the Catholic revival," and are greatly gratified at hearing that it is Dr. Döllinger's impression that they possess the apostolic succession; while those of Scotland are indifferent, believing the Papacy is a thing which has outgrown its time, and is a matter of infinitely less importance than the matters at issue between the United and Free Presbyterian Churches, forgetting that Europe, Asia, Africa, and America are still served, and, in many places served alone, by Roman Catholic clergy, and that their faith is, in the majority of places in the world, the sole religion; while in England it seems to be forgotten that the Catholic principle, as it is called, is possible to be reasonably identified alone with the Roman Catholic Church; and that when pushed to a logical conclusion, as it has just been in her hands, this theory of Catholicism has been proved to be worse than useless as the exponent of Revelation.

I have commented on the comparative indifference of this country to the events which have occurred abroad during the bygone twelve months. Such indifference cannot be counted a small thing, if real, seeing the events are intimately connected with that which ought to be the deepest springs of our own life. I have said, however, that I do not consider it to have been real, but rather that while a strong feeling was present in the nation it was not outwardly



expressed. But no doubt to some extent it was, and is, a real indifference; and I fear that what an ancient prophet said of a Jewish tribe, "Ephraim is a cake unturned," may be said of us. Delivered from personal danger by our belt of ocean, and prosperous as a nation beyond all precedent in the year just gone by, security and luxury have made us selfish. We must awake to this, else God in His mercy will arouse us by chastisement; for although it seem not so, yet it is true, that selfishness and indifference, sloth and luxury, are greater evils than death and suffering; and God frequently, in mercy, interposes with these rods to awaken men to the thought of the needs of others, and to arouse and awaken those who are falling asleep solely wrapped up in themselves and desirous to be left to their repose,—to higher things.

#### DANGERS OF REVOLUTION.

We have not much to dread from foreign foes, perhaps, if we are true to ourselves and our principles. But in what these consist it is not at present, probably, easy to say, for the same double idea of things is present among us as to our own affairs, as we have seen to be present with us as to the affairs of others; and, no doubt, we live in an age of change when opinion is only in a state of formation. The nation is growing both in Church and State. "The old order changeth, giving place to the new;" yet we have no cause to fear that which is to come, if we recognise that it must be good, if dealt with lovingly and wisely.

We, in this part of Scotland (Appin), used to be the



representatives of the first principles of loyalty in the State and in religion. In the State we coupled it with the king, and in religion with the Bishop, simply because these had come down to us from our fathers; and we received them as that which it was right for us to follow, because they came to us thus. We supposed they were given to us from above for this purpose, and we took them accordingly. We did not inquire whether either, was the best system or not, but took it because we found it, and thought it appointed for us by God for that reason. It is the same principle which rules the relations of parents and children. It is the first state in religious and civil society—the simplest and the most sure. But it cannot continue. Men grow, and, growing, come to ask and inquire, and seek and choose. It must be so, and it is better so, because it is a progress to higher things. We now are in a condition of growth as a nation—both here and elsewhere,—in a state, that is, of progress to maturity. It is a less easy and more dangerous state than the past or one of rest,—it is full of hope, but it is also full of peril. Let us be sure we exercise our liberties with faithfulness and caution. In this, no doubt more advanced state, it will be sad if we find, in our case, the words of the poet true,—

But now 'tis little joy,  
To know I'm further off from Heaven  
Than when I was a boy.

But our present position is inevitable, and will be followed by one, no doubt in time, where, secure of truth, as old men and experienced, we shall be



able to teach and lead on others after us. Many recent changes have forwarded our present stage greatly—the political enfranchisement of the people, the spread of education, the increase and enlargement of heart in some of our churches. But still we are far behind that which we ought to be in the most important matters, and few of us are able to judge of the highest questions. The education of the people is very far behind; and until this is complete, putting great questions into unprepared hands is only putting fire into the hands of children: we must not, therefore, press on too fast.

It may interest you to know how we stand in this matter of education, compared to other countries. I shall give you the statistics, taken with much care, from the Government Returns, by a friend of my own, of great capacity and integrity, Professor Tommasi Crudeli, of Rome. He says, in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for July, 1869;—"Of married persons who cannot read and write, the proportion to every 100 in Italy is 69; in France, 34.5; in Great Britain and Ireland, 26.5; Germany, 5.2. Under the last head, the Saxon Minister-of-War announces as an extraordinary incident that two recruits were unable to read; but that he would not mention their names, in order not to expose them and their families to opprobrium!

Although we do not stand so low as Italy and France, it is evident that we are far behind Germany in the education of our people, and, therefore, so much less fit for the discharge of self-control, or a more popular, or universal government. It is hoped, how-



ever, that measures will soon be adopted for bringing education to every door; and not only so, but for making the education of his children obligatory on every parent, sufficient assistance being given by the State to enable him to do so without personal burden. This is the method adopted in Germany, and, no doubt, one of its fruits has been the extraordinary advancement of that nation; and this will be its result, we believe, with us.

## THE COMMONS AND THE LORDS.

The events of most importance which we have witnessed in the year gone by in our internal policy, and as indicating future changes, are the alteration in our military system, and the collisions which have occurred between our two Houses of Parliament, ending in the suspension of the Acts of the Upper House by a decree of the Crown.

The alteration of our military system, however, is too big a name to give to a change which simply involves the non-payment by officers of money for their commissions. The loss of this money is a loss of nearly £8,000,000 to the country, which, if officers chose to give, was just so much gain to the country. It is a mistake to suppose that this change will give us another sort of officer. For, in a country like this, there will only be one fighting class, and that is the aristocracy; others do not desire, and will not take to the occupation. If any will undertake this business for a nation, surely it is great gain. And the aristocracy have done this, and will continue to do it,



because they have nothing else to do. And by the aristocracy, I mean those who have nothing to do, and money or friends sufficient to enable them to do without other labour. But military or naval employment, such men accept, and they do their work well. It is to them we owe Blenheim, Waterloo, the long glories of the Spanish peninsula, and, last and most of all, the Great Dominion of India. Let us do justice to them in this respect. But the military alteration we require is not a matter of pay or non-payment for commissions, but that all the nation should be able to serve as soldiers, if required, and go through a regular, if short period, of service, and not leave our foreign and ordinary military requirements to chance or spasmodic action, and our home defences to the energy of one small portion of Volunteers, leaving the lazy and mean-spirited to have their work done by others. And it is too probable, from the impossibility of frequently massing the Volunteers in drill together in large numbers, and absence of sufficient discipline, that this force will be of little avail in the time of invasion or of war.

The collision of the two Houses, and the suspension of the acts of one by the Crown, is a thing which no doubt carries in its bosom the possibility of future alterations of government, although it is to be hoped that these will not include anything very fundamental. For our present system of Crown, Lords, and Commons is one which we cannot replace with advantage; nor is the nation ready for any fundamental change, even were it to be to what some may deem one of a more perfect kind,—that is, where



there is not one King and Chief priest only, but where all are kings and priests. For this we must wait till we are all king and priest-like men. And the House which has apparently incurred the displeasure of both Crown and Commons—that of the Lords—is a branch of legislature we cannot well or wisely postpone or abolish. Senators, older men of experience, noblemen, men who have shown themselves noble, links to connect the past with the present of a nation, an upper House to review the acts of the younger and lower, has always in every nation been deemed either a necessity or an advantage; and no doubt it is such, and must remain to be so to every nation.

It may be that the present House requires some reconstruction; for it scarcely holds that position which we have vindicated. If we read the list of its members,—while we find some of the great names which have made Britain famous—Percy, Howard, Stanley, Cecil, and some modern additions, Nelson, Wellington, St. Vincent, and some few others—the greater proportion are names unknown to the country, and wherefore they obtained a place of honour in the nation it is hard to say. There are men there, no doubt, who have done well for themselves; but have done nothing specially for the nation, and a nation's honours are due alone to those who have done something special for the nation itself,—something, that is, in the way of peril and self-sacrifice. And as to Scottish names of mark, the representation is even more unsatisfactory than in England; for there is, in the House of Lords, as to Scotland, an all but total absence of the names



of those who have done most for, and are best known to the country. No doubt it will surprise many of you, but the great names of Argyll, Buccleuch, Hamilton, Home, Morton, Moray, have no place in the House of Peers. If these Peers are there, they sit either but as delegates from, or representatives of, as it were, a foreign peerage; or if in any other way, then as it were but for some obscure English locality, of which the name is unknown to fame. So completely has this put our Scottish Peerage in abeyance, that its most famous names are not known in England to many, of which I cannot give you a better proof than a story which is within my own knowledge. Some years ago, an English gentleman, of the name of Ducie, was made a peer, and he chose the title of Moreton. On being remonstrated with by the bearer of that title in Scotland, for having chosen a title already in existence, in all simplicity he replied, "that he was not aware it was;" to which the Scottish Peer (the 19th Earl of the name, and the lineal descendant of the Regent of Scotland), with a proper sense of the achievements of the House of Douglas, replied, that "then he could not have read the history of his country."

Some changes, no doubt, are desirable, such as should admit those ancient names to their rightful place, and they are among the oldest and wealthiest portion of our Peerage—and some other changes also in another direction—ere the Upper House can truly represent the nobility of the nation; and that direction is this, that it should include those men of noble



character who, in other regions than the field of battle, have sacrificed themselves for their country.

Now, we have many eminent lawyers promoted—bankers, brewers, merchants—of whom it would be as impossible to say that their lives were not of great use, as it would be impossible to say that they had sacrificed themselves for their country. But some I know who have done so, who have obtained (and they did not expect any) no national recognition, but who have done so much for their country in the way of sacrifice as to deserve recognition; such men I should, from time to time, elevate to the House of Peers—for noble, truly, they are. Such men as these, for example:—During the cotton famine, when most of the mills were stopped, because it was ruin to their proprietors to go on, some still were kept open. I said to one of the proprietors, “Are you not working at a great loss?” “I have lost,” said he, “in one year all I made in five; but,” he added, “I will lose every farthing I possess before these workmen be turned adrift with their wives and families.” Now, should not such men be made peers? We cannot truly ennoble them, and they do not need it, they are noble already; but we may mark our sense of our estimation of them, by placing them among the notables of the nation. Would that it were possible to disenfranchise those who are only noble by title, but who are not so in any other way, and to put such as these in their place. But we must proceed.

Whatever changes are made in the details of our Government, it is very desirable that no fundamental



change should be made on the ancient constitution of our country, such as suppressing one House, or blending it with the other. Nothing is more important for a country than a thorough mixture of its classes, and an absence of caste distinctions; while still it is very desirable that some means should exist for rewarding, or making more specially available, distinguished merit or important gifts, and that there should be a flow upwards into this, and down again into the less distinguished circles, so that the higher qualities should insensibly go to leaven the whole. Our present constitution amply provides for this. Our Lower House is half composed of Peers, in truth (though classed as commoners), and their connexions; if the Upper contains members who strictly ought not to be there, we must set these off against the others, and add to them perhaps in the way which we have proposed; for if it is all-important for a nation, as we have said, that there should be a thorough fusion of classes, it is equally important that there should be a tendency ever upward. And it is a healthy sign of a nation when this is the case—when the set of the tide is not to pull others down but to lift all up. This, I think, is *our* present condition. And towards this true commonwealth of liberty, fraternity and equality, we have just had one remarkable and important contribution, in the descent of royalty itself to a marriage with one of its subjects.

#### THE ROYAL MARRIAGE.

And, with some little allusion to this, and one or



two other lesser or local (as I may say) events, I must conclude what I have to say to you at this time. And, first, of this marriage—the Inverary marriage, as it has been called. The great rise of the Clan Diarmid, and its recent alliance with royalty by marriage, is a matter, no doubt, which some time ago would have carried alarm into our habitations here. It would have engendered fear in Appin and Lochaber, and made the shores of Mull, no doubt, resound with warlike preparations. Happily, those old times are over, and we can look on this rise and the alliance of the Clan Diarmid with royalty, without a thought of Inverlochy on the one hand, or of Glencoe on the other.

Foremost to welcome the future M'Callum Mhor and his royal bride, we saw the chiefs of Lochiel and M'Dougal, and the representative of Clan Gillean; and, if the house of Appin was unrepresented, it was because the house of Appin is no more. Alas! to a great extent, we may say, that the old cause, like the house of Appin, is extinct amongst us, and no doubt "Fuimus" and "Lochaber no more" is the motto and lamentation of our glens. Where are the 5000 men who followed the standards of Lochiel in 1745? where those who in more recent years have left the shores of our islands? where are the 21 lieutenant and major-generals, the 48 colonels, the 600 commissioned officers, the 10,000 soldiers, whom (we read) the one island of Skye alone sent forth to meet the needs of the wars of their country with the first Napoleon in the Peninsula and at Waterloo? All gone, and in



their places there is but the cry of the red deer and the bleating of the sheep !

We have, perhaps, however, more remnants of the men of the past in Appin and Lochaber than elsewhere, and of the old spirit of the old race ; but the glory of Appin must be sought, I fear, in its fathers and not in us. There is no scope now for it on our part,—it is in the past, and the past can return no more. Yet, if it cannot return, no man can take it from us ; and if, as in old Rome, the patricians were those who could show the busts and statues of great ancestors, so we in Appin may claim that mark and rank,—a place of which no subsequent history can deprive us.

All that remains of the past here, is our Church—I speak, of course, to Episcopalians—and on that also Time has laid a heavy hand, in the loss of many of its members. Most of the men we knew and loved are gone, and the children have not yet succeeded to the place of their fathers, and the Church itself lies under disadvantages which time does not remove, and some of which it is a marvel that it does not. For injustice, I think, is done to the Episcopal Church, in Scotland ; and this, I think, more from forgetfulness than ought else ; for while all seem to remember that we had an Archbishop Sharp, few remember that we had also an Archbishop Leighton in our history. It is possible that the increasing enlargement of heart and mind now going on in Scotland on the subject of religion, may tend, however, to a truer recognition of the proper place and claims of the



Episcopal Church among us, and that other children beyond her own may come to understand and realise the value of her teaching. For that which is, in truth, the key-note of her teaching, is one which Scotland sadly wants, namely, the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, and His just and loving dealings with all His offspring; and it may be, that men may also come to feel that a solemn liturgy and a graduated ministry are not hindrances but helps to Divine worship, and a security for the provision of the various requirements of the Christian faith.

But now let us return to the festival of Inverary, and the marriage of the Princess Louise with the roof-tree of the house of Diarmid. At first, I would say of him, that the Marquis of Lorne deserves thanks from us all, and a welcome from us here beyond that which it is often in the power of any to claim from others, and for this reason, which some of you will remember. Last year, when the men of Appin had assumed, as loyal men and brethren, in the Argyllshire Regiment, the tartan of clan Campbell, Lord Lorne,—although the next to the head of the house of Campbell, and who is himself, as we have said, its roof-tree,—took steps to enable the battalion of Appin to bear some distinctive badge to mark the heroism of their fathers, in the time now past, when they supported the House of Stuart against the claims of a rival house, of which the Campbells were the allies. It was a graceful and generous act on his part, and one never to be forgotten, I am sure, by us. We can best repay it, I believe, when *she* comes among us,—as no doubt



she will, who has chosen to be his bride,—by remembering that she unites in herself a double claim to reverence the white rose of Stuart and the red of Lancaster, and that she is now, therefore, both the representative of hereditary right, as well as of that which consists in being chosen of the people. For it is true that our Queen now represents the house of Stuart (save for some vacated rights of the house of Savoy) as well as that of Hanover. When the claims of choice and duty are thus united, we can be at no loss for a proper attitude, and we can now therefore fairly offer those hearts and hands which once, no doubt, fought on the other side, but which may be and now are as ready to fight for her and hers, as once they were against hers and theirs, and none the less so that she is brought among us by one who in former times we should not have received here without alarm and misgiving.

#### THE SCOTT CENTENARY.

And now, finally, let us turn to our last subject—the late commemoration of the centenary of the birthday of Sir Walter Scott. None owe more to Sir Walter Scott than this part of Scotland. His first, and perhaps, his best novel (*‘Waverley’*) was the fruit of our traditions here, and, if they helped to make Sir Walter, he well repaid the debt. Scotland, some say, owes its origin to Sir Walter Scott; but this is a mistake in any true sense, for it was the picturesqueness of its history and of its shores which produced Sir Walter. He it was, however, who had the eye to



see and the heart to feel what others had not seen and felt, although living in the midst of them. He revealed Scotland altogether, we may say, to those far off, but he revealed her, also, to those near at hand. This great debt we owe to Sir Walter. He was our seer, our painter, and our poet—"the Ariosto of the North, who sang of lady-love and war, romance and knightly worth."

It was when he passed his boyhood here, at Inner-nahyle that he was imbued with those Jacobite traditions, and heard of those adventures of the lairds and people of Appin (then all but recent), which afterwards took shape in 'Waverley' in so many characters—in Fergus M'Ivor and the Baron of Bradwardine, in David Gellatly and Evan Dhu. The escape of the Baron of Bradwardine from the troops sent in pursuit of him, owing to the ingenious device of David Gellatly, had its origin in a real escape of the Laird of Ardsheal, in a similar way, to shelter in a cave in the neighbourhood—well known to most of you here, I dare say—under the waterfall opposite to Ardsheal, in Duror. Dear Sir Walter! as the honey-bee going from flower to flower, he gathered and laid up a store of which others after him have reaped the fruits; extracting honey from all he saw or heard, and not poison, as too many others often do. We owe him much, and our children will owe the same debt as we do. May we and they not grudge to pay it.

I have often been asked—"Did Sir Walter teach men religion?" Without going so far as one of the great-



est writers of our day—the Dean of Westminster—who says “he was the chief theologian of our time,” and without saying that Sir Walter was formally what we call “a seeker after God,” Sir Walter has done essential service to religious theology by insisting on this great truth, namely, that the spirit of a thing is the truth of a thing; that it is the spirit which profiteth. I shall explain best what I mean by an example. One of the chief speakers at the Glasgow celebration (I think Dr. Norman M’Leod), asked there, “Who was now the Lord of the Isles—was it not Sir Walter Scott?” or words to that effect. And is it not true? For who is anything but he who has the spirit of the thing? Do we not often see a man, for example, with some great historic name, but who, on speaking too, we find to be but a poor creature, devoid of that spirit which made the name.

I have mentioned to you that some of our greatest historic names have no proper seats in the House of Peers. But are they less Peers for that? And would they not remain Peers did no *House* of Peers have existence? Macallum Mhor, Lochiel, M’Leod—yea, though fallen from their old estate, a greater chief historically than any, M’Dougal of Dunolly; he who, as an equal king, treated in 1260 along with the King of Man, with Haco, the great King of Norway. These, indeed, have no seats now in the House of Lords; yet, are they not Lords for all that? and such Lords as no house could make or mar in them. Why? Because they inherit and recall a noble spirit—noble works which raised their fathers,



and the memory of which still ennobles them among us. For it is the spirit which profiteth, which mars and makes. Without it, the flesh signifieth nothing. Not only because man's life (that is, the joy of a thing to him) is only in the spirit of it, but that the existence of the thing itself depends on this. This is both Scriptural language, and true philosophy. But some will say it is but sentiment, and despise it; being practical men, as they call themselves, who look at facts or matter. But what is it which makes the fact, and shapes the matter? Is it not sentiment or desire? No doubt. It is this which has constituted the unity of Italy, caused the rise of Germany, and led to the fall of France; it is this which leads to the rise and fall of all churches and policies. Nothing but this; nothing, that is, but the ideal, whether good or bad. To miss or be without such, is to miss or have the thing itself, whether for good or evil.

You have all heard of the temporal power of the Pope, and the fuss he has been making about it. That is, about a little patch of land around Rome, about as big as Arran. Now, does any but the Pope, and one or two more, suppose that this, or fifty times as much, can make or mar such a thing as the Papacy? The Papacy is a tremendous power still, with an agency for religion (that is, for the Pope's religion) in almost every parish in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, South America, and generally all over the world; and in many parts there is no other religion and no other minister of it but his. Does any one, then, imagine that, for such a Power as this, that patch of land in



Italy, or Italy itself, can really signify? The Pope's power is spiritual, and as a representation of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, how enormous are its powers? It is a false representation, and so the issue is evil, but any way it is a mistake to base it on a temporal foundation. Now, this finding the true nature of things, and that it is in their spirit which we are to find it, is a fact which has been much strengthened and brought before us by Sir Walter Scott, who, by giving us the spirit of past ages, by representations of character, has brought those ages and countries so before us that we know them better by these representations than by the historic events themselves—characteristics which are universal and eternal.

#### CONCLUSION.

And now I must close this review of that which has taken place among us both at home and abroad during the bygone year; and I thank you much for your kind attention, and the desire expressed that I should thus address you (as in the year gone by) on these things. If spared another year, I shall be glad to review with you, as now, that which has passed before us; and if such reviews do nothing better, they strengthen at least the personal and affectionate ties which bind us together. But I trust that they will do more than this; for I cannot but think, if I have drawn the picture at all accurately, that we have seen before our eyes, in God's providence, as exhibited in the past twelve months, not only an evidence of a Providential government, but that it is conducted on loving and



righteous principles; that there is evidence in it of a purpose on the part of God, for the constant elevation and final triumph of humanity. And if we have seen this, we may lift up our heads, for what God has purposed He will assuredly perform. Amidst the fall of empires and the remodelling and disappearing of Churches, to this compensating and purposed meaning we may look with hope, and rejoice to think, if the fact of purpose and progress is certain, as we think it is, that we in our time and measure are to be borne along with it. When David, we read, had served his generation he fell asleep. But not before. He had to make, and he did make, his subscription to its progress. We, then, must do the same. Our happiness depends on doing it, and that of others also, for God has so willed all things and bound them together, that thus it must be. Now, what is that future *we* have to look to, and the subscription *we* have to make? What, in short, is that ideal for every man, that which he has to be, and that which God intends him to be, and is pushing him on to? What is that ultimate man, or mankind to which we are all rising, subscribing and to be conformed? What is its type? A Julius Cæsar, a Louis Napoleon, a Lord Byron, a Baron Rothschild? The type, the head of every man is Christ. The final man, the King whom God is to set upon the throne of Zion, is Jesus Christ,—the Christ-like, the followers of Christ,—the just, the good, the meek, the gentle, but also the strong to rebuke vice, and to lay down their lives, if needed, for the truth's sake. This is the true man, who is to be the



companion and worshipper of God in time and eternity; for it is what God is, and what man therefore ought to and shall be. For the man of the future, that to which we are called to be, that to which through God's grace we are to be conformed, is Christ. That is our goal, our ideal. Let us then keep ourselves from idols, whether of rank or wealth, or Communism, and look at the likeness to which we ought to attain, viz., the likeness of Christ; that is, seek to be like Christ,—Christ, our Head and King. Here surely a great kingdom is open to us,—a kingdom with a King, one come already, a King and kingdom,—now in some sort invisible, yet no less real and hereafter to be more visible—visible and glorious, and which is to absorb all kingdoms and persons into itself.

*Oban Times, 16th September, 1871.*



*NATIONAL BIBLE SOCIETY OF  
SCOTLAND.*

THE annual meeting of the Society was held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on Tuesday, 28th January, 1868, at One o'Clock.

His Grace the DUKE OF ARGYLL, President of the Society, occupied the Chair.

After a preliminary address, and a consideration of the operations of the Society at home and abroad, His Grace continued,—

I find it stated in the Report—which will be laid before the members of the Society—for the present year, that so late as the year 1853, “The British and Foreign Bible Society had to mourn the banishment from Austrian Territory of every copy of the Scriptures in its depots of Güns, Pesth, and Vienna. Three hundred and twenty-nine bales and cases, containing 58,087 copies of the Holy Scriptures, were conveyed beyond the frontiers under a guard of soldiers. In 1868 there is no portion of this empire in which Bible colportage cannot be employed.” Considering the great extent of Europe over which the Austrian empire



extends, this is surely a great gain to the free Christianity of the world. I observe, also, that in Italy the operations of this Society are freely extended over almost the whole of that peninsula. We have agencies in Leghorn, Pisa, Florence, and various parts of Tuscany, in the ancient kingdom of Naples, in Piedmont, of course, which has long been free, in the Marshes of Ancona, in Lombardy, in Venetia, and in the island of Sicily. But I need hardly point out that as regards Italy there is one great exception in this list. I do not find in the list of the cities and towns in which we are free to circulate the Scriptures the name of that great city which has been so long the capital of Italy, and is considered by many the capital of the Christian world. There is no freedom in the city of Rome to circulate the Holy Scriptures. Now, ladies and gentlemen, considering the fact to which I have just referred, that there is complete toleration for the circulation of the Scriptures over almost the whole of the rest of Europe—considering that France is in the main a Roman Catholic country, that a great part of Belgium is a Roman Catholic country, that a very large part of Germany is also a Roman Catholic country, and that Austria is certainly predominantly a Roman Catholic country—we cannot fairly say that the Roman Catholic governments of the world, so far at least as the laity has influence over them, are now reluctant to allow the free circulation of the Scriptures. It is only in Rome, where the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church has its capital and its head, that we are still excluded as regards the operations of this Society. I make this observation,



ladies and gentlemen—and I think I am entitled to do so—because in this country and in Ireland our Roman Catholic brethren are daily claiming perfect civil and religious equality with ourselves—a claim which I think they have a right to prefer, and which I trust will be granted to them in all things in which it is right to grant it. But when that claim is made in our own country we have a right to say to them that, so far as their principles are represented by that Government to which they look as representing the authority of the Vicar of Christ on earth, they do not practise towards others those principles the application of which they demand for themselves.

I trust this Association will uniformly be founded on the principle, that the duty of spreading the Holy Scriptures is a duty paramount to every other, and that all the different churches of this country ought cordially to unite in that great duty, whatever may be their differences in regard to other matters. And yet, it cannot be denied, we are not heartily supported by some of the great religious denominations of this country. This is the first occasion on which I ever had the honour of feeling myself supported on this platform by any high dignitary of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. I rejoice to see my right reverend friend who presides over the Episcopalian communion in Argyllshire and the Isles thus intimating to us his opinion, that, whatever may be the value he sets upon the Episcopal system of government, or upon those doctrines which may be peculiar to the Episcopal Church of Scotland or the Established Church of England, he, at least, recognizes it as possible for him



to unite with his Presbyterian brethren of the Established, of the Free, and the Dissenting Churches upon the platform, in the circulation of the Holy Scriptures. But at the same time, it is true that those who set, as I think, an excessive value upon the features that distinguish the various Christian communities of this country from each other, are comparatively cold in their support of this Society. Now, I do not think it is to be denied that we cannot count securely upon the circulation of the Holy Scriptures as tending to unite men altogether into one Ecclesiastical system, either as regards dogmatic definitions or as regards forms of government. I do not think we can expect that will be the result; but I believe the main doctrines of the Scriptures and Christianity are so clearly laid down, that all which is essential to salvation can be gathered by the reading of that Scripture alone, and that upon its authority all other doctrines and all other teachings must be based.

I consider all other matters subordinate; all questions of government, and all questions of dogmatic definitions, to be entirely subordinate, and all opinions in regard to them, to be defended only, in so far as they can be defended, upon the authority of the Holy Scriptures. These are the foundation principles upon which this Society proceeds; and I trust that, in the course of future years, these principles will unite more and more firmly the great body of the people together in support of this Society.

Before I sit down, allow me to say this, that although I do not believe that the effect of circulating the Holy Scriptures will tend to produce union among



Christians in that sense,—that is to say, complete agreement in such documents, for example, as the Westminster Confession, or as the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, or under any particular form of government, whether it be Presbyterian or Episcopalian,—yet I do believe that the circulation of the Scriptures is the best antidote to that other extreme of religious opinion to which many men are now tending,—that Christianity can be supported as a mere religion of sentiment, without any dogmatic belief, or intellectual belief whatever. We have all seen lately an attempt made by some very eminent and distinguished men to set aside all dogmatic definitions whatever, even, I may say, going the length of setting aside all intellectual conceptions in regard to religious truth, to form what they call the New Church upon mere vague religious sentiment alone. I believe that the best antidote to that error is the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, because, undoubtedly, from the very first line of the Old Testament to the last line of the New, this is implied throughout, that religion can only be founded upon certain things believed and known respecting the character of God and His dealings with man. I believe it to be as great a philosophical error as it is a religious error to suppose that any church can long exist, or any religion long be maintained in the human heart, without some intellectual conceptions with regard to definitions of religious dogma. The Church of Christ may be more or less subdivided according to the different opinions of men upon points of comparatively small importance; but I do not believe the



Church can ever exist as a powerful body, or Christianity itself be maintained in the world, except on the foundation of something which is revealed and known respecting the character and attributes of God. This I take to be expressed in the text, that those who come to God "must believe that He is, and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him."

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Ladies and gentlemen, allow me again to express the pleasure which I have derived from the fact that to-day, for the first time during the period I have had the honour of being president of this Society, we have had the active co-operation and support of a Bishop of the *Episcopalian Church of Scotland*. I am afraid that, owing to the delicate health of my right reverend friend, which prevented his voice being very distinctly audible to this large assembly, a considerable part of the important matter which fell from him was lost to this meeting. I can only say that I rejoice to hear from him in his high position, the declaration of the principle that the authority of the Scriptures is paramount to all other considerations whatever, and that the high order of the ministry to which he belongs must be considered only as an instrument for the furtherance and promotion of those doctrines which can only receive their ultimate authority from the Holy Scriptures. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I know very well,—at least, I think it highly probable,—that in coming to this assembly my right reverend friend has braved the opinion of a considerable portion of the religious body to which he belongs. In doing so, I believe he has done a very brave act, because it is



always difficult for us to run counter to the religious tendencies and opinions of the society and the church to which we may ourselves belong. Allow me only to say, that I cannot understand the ground upon which any Christian communion, or the members of it, or the ministers of it, or the bishops of it, can hold aloof from the simple duty of spreading the Word of God. Allow me also to say this, that I believe the time is past when the circulation of the Scriptures can be impeded by the opposition of any religious body whatever. It is perfectly true that we see now an appearance of re-action towards the old Roman Catholic doctrine of spiritual authority, from which the Reformation was supposed to have freed us. But I believe that this is only the current of a temporary eddy, and not the main current of the stream; and depend on it, ladies and gentlemen, any religious communion which holds itself aloof from the duty of disseminating the Word of God, will be under the suspicion,—and will be held by the religious world to be justly under the suspicion—of being afraid of the doctrines of the Gospel, because they are unable to maintain their own opinions in the face of its free circulation. If all our religious communions desire not to be under this suspicion, they ought, in my opinion, earnestly to join the operations of this society; and whether their opinion may be that Episcopacy is a matter of Divine right in the Christian Church, or that the Papacy is founded upon the Word of God, they ought all—and must all—submit to the final appeal; for I believe that on no other basis will their, or can their, success be founded.



The BISHOP OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES moved the second resolution,—“That this meeting desires to render thanks to Almighty God for the measure of success which has attended the operations of the National Bible Society of Scotland during the last seven years, and to recognize, in the growing demand for the Holy Scriptures, and the increased facilities for their diffusion in many countries, a renewed call for united, zealous, and prayerful efforts to disseminate the Word of Life throughout the world.” I think myself very highly honoured in having been asked to take part in assisting to disseminate a volume which, under whatever name we designate it—of Bible, Holy Scripture, or God’s Word—is the conveyance to man of the revelation of another world, and of a life beyond the grave, of which it is the only authentic record. Keeping in memory this fact, and that all denominations of Christians find the most sure account of their religion and of its origin in this Record, it has always been to me matter of surprise that so many office-bearers in Christian churches, and these of high degree, should stand so much aloof from a Society whose sole object is the dissemination of the credentials of their religion; and I can only explain it by the supposition, that some mistaken conception exists on their part, that the order of their ministry is of more importance than the objects for which the ministry itself exists.

I have been entrusted with a subject to which I wish I could do more justice—the importance of disseminating the Scriptures on the European Continent, and the encouragement which there is for this



Society to do so. On the Continent a general impression prevails that Scripture is not a book for (what is called) the laity, or cannot be understood—that is, without a special guide; and the prevalence of this belief (symbolized by the word Catholic) renders the access of revealed truth in itself, or directly, impossible. This obstacle must be dealt with, and removed, ere we can have any real success in supplying the Holy Scriptures; and it may be of use to ourselves also to consider in what this conception finds its root. ,

All Christians, no doubt, in a general way, agree that the best account of their holy religion is to be found in the Sacred Scriptures; and, putting aside here, for a moment, the question of Inspiration, it is plain that it must be so, when we remember that no other account is of equal value either in point of time or of authorship. No other authority can be of equal value, for it is all but a contemporary record by the actors themselves of the facts on which revelation itself is founded. No subsequent age can add to these facts, no subsequent authority equal that of the actors. It contains all that we require, else more would have been given; and it can be understood by us as it was by those to whom it first came, for its meaning must be within itself. In a general way, all Christian men agree to this. How come, then, our divisions, and the system to which we have alluded as coming between revelation and our direct apprehension of it?

Holy Scripture, by some, is practically put into a lower position than it should be. It is called the voice of the Church, being, as they say, but the



expression of that voice at a particular epoch, and to be interpreted by that voice at all future time. By others, Holy Scripture is looked upon as the communication of specially gifted men, to be interpreted by individual man in all future time, in the Holy Spirit by which it was given—and that between it and all other communication of Revelation there is a great gulf. The first are called Catholics; the second Protestants. The first require what is called Catholic consent; the second, the use of private judgment. Let us look at and compare the methods. The first gives a definite and visible order and guidance, but then it requires a continuous and uniform chain and teaching, which, historically, we believe does not exist (and for such proof, history is everything), while the search for this, also, involves more search and embarrassment than the use of Scripture alone requires. And in this search the principle of Protestantism is involved, only it is stopped where it becomes of value. And historically such unity of guidance does not exist. The expression "*Athanasius contra mundum*" is received everywhere as setting forth an historical truth; and the Church of England declares that "General Councils have erred." But we must go farther. The adoption of this principle prevents the reception of truth in its own strength—by which alone it can communicate its benefits. This is the first method: let us look at the second. The second method gives a less visible order, but it gives that for which order itself exists, and so sets itself above the need of external witness by giving that for which it is required. By this, Revelation stands by its own strength, and is



seen by its own light. And strictly speaking, by this method it is alone possible to receive the benefits of revelation; for God the Spirit cannot be brought into contact with our spirits save by direct spiritual action and apprehension. Private judgment is the only way whereby we can communicate directly with God. This mode of apprehension requires exertion, but it is one within the compass of all. And no religion worthy of the name can stand otherwise; for the more that a religion proposes to satisfy our highest needs, so will its demands in proportion be. And this, no doubt, is the case with Revelation; for, as without inquiry, we do not receive truth directly, so, without inquiry, we cannot properly be said *beneficially* to have received revelation at all. Revelation is given: we could not have that which it gives without this; but it is given that we may have it, and when given, we must *so* have it that, when we have it, we are to have it as if it were our own, so that even if our teacher were to leave us, we should still retain it. We are to possess it as we do the propositions of Euclid—from the author, in the first instance, no doubt; but then afterwards by their own strength. We get Revelation on authority, but we are to have it afterwards for ourselves, so that, as St. Paul says, “If an angel were to preach anything else, we should not receive it.” As your Grace’s illustrious clansman, our Glasgow townsman, Mr. Campbell, so well says in his *Thoughts on Revelation*, Scripture is only ours if we have, and so far as we have, its meaning. It is no magic charm to hang round the neck, no words to wipe off and to drink, as the Arabs do the Koran: it must be had in its mean-



ing, if we would have it in its power, and its power is by its meaning.

But further, to be productive, truth must be received spontaneously—it must commend itself to our reason and conscience—we must receive it with a good will, that is, if fruit is to follow ; otherwise truth lies outside of us as dead ; while, if force be used, the spirit is destroyed. This is the meaning of receiving Revelation by the use of private judgment. It is our method. Our religion is contained in the Bible, the search for it there makes us that which we are. The Bible contains the Religion of Protestants. But it is the creator of Protestantism also—the greatest praise which Protestantism can receive.

But it will be said, and especially at the present moment,—Is there not danger that private judgment be carried too far ?—beyond, that is, an inquiry into that which is the meaning of Scripture, into the question of the authenticity of Scripture itself, and even beyond that, into the fact of its being a Revelation which it contains ? No doubt. But we cannot shrink from such inquiry, and there is no peril, if it be reverently conducted. The peril is to avoid inquiry, and to remain in indifference or half-belief. For without inquiry there can be no true belief. Inquiry cannot be refused, and it need not be feared. It has been carried to the highest point ; and we are safe to say that, so far from being unsatisfactory, it has yielded the best and most satisfactory results, and results which could not have been obtained in any other way. It is not, indeed, needful that all should minutely inquire : it is not possible. But all should



know how this matter of inquiry stands—what has been its result; and all may know this. The result has been achieved by fully competent and well-known hands. At the time of the Reformation, inquiry was made into the nature and claims of the (then so-called) Church. They were found to be unfounded or exaggerated, and they were relegated to their own place. Now inquiry is carried into the nature and the claims of Scripture and of Revelation, and I do not doubt that a true place will be accorded to these. Nay, already it has been done, and it is not a lower, but a higher place which has been accorded to them. We have been brought by this examination into a closer acquaintance with God. His nature and dealings with us have been discovered through this inquiry to be larger and more profound, and His care for us, so to speak, more anxious. By this inquiry we have come to know that a longer continued use and adaptation of means and modes suited to our needs has been adopted by Him than before we knew of. We have discovered the pursuance of a long and continuous and constantly enlarging plan for our education and progress, God teaching us and speaking to us with the voice of man, as man was able to bear it. This inquiry has been conducted under the most favourable conditions by men of consummate learning, of open minds, and freedom of position; and the result has been not only to establish the authenticity of Scripture, but also that that which it contains is Revelation indeed, and this by proofs which we had not before.

Because we can receive it, Revelation was made to us; because we have not already that which it gives,



it was sent; but the things revealed are of so high a nature that although we can apprehend, we could not have conceived them; they must have been given to us, therefore, from above, from One that is higher than ourselves in that in which we are most high—that by which we come nearest to that which is above us; that is, God, who is still further shown to be its Author, when we consider its marvellous adaptation to that, our own nature within us, which there can be no doubt that we have from Him.

But besides this, proof of another kind is given to us by this inquiry, although indeed, at first sight, it might seem to point the other way. We discover in Holy Scripture, when we examine it, that which at first sight might seem to disprove its heavenly, by showing us marks of its earthly origin. Yet when we consider these, we discover that they indicate an original and heavenly source, that it has been God speaking to us in a human fashion; and no less God that speaks, although by human organs, and teaching as man was able to bear it—leading him on from stage to stage in a one continuous and progressive education, of which the duration and continuous character alone are sufficient to show that the source and superintendence are divine. The Sacred Books are God's educational library, leading man on from stage to stage. The Divine Guide is treading with human steps, lest we lose His tracks. He leaves the footmarks along the road, to show where He has been. We have heavenly treasure in earthen vessels—the human shone through by a Divine Light: two things present, the greater swallowing up the less. There is Inspira-



tion, but it is an inspiration for a purpose, of which the whole is greater than the parts, and has another and higher value. In Revelation and its Record we have the human mingled with the divine, somewhat (as it has been well said by Dr. Hannah in his "Bampton Lecture") as we find the human to co-exist with the divine in the person of our Lord. There are different natures, and a junction between them; there is a haze at the junction—an impossibility of severing the earthly from the heavenly without injury to each other. We must not attempt it; but if we stand at a little distance, the dimness disappears. The light then shines with a single burner, and we know that the radiance is divine. It shines by its own light; it manifests its heavenly nature by its own power, giving us that which before we felt after, but could not find; that which, when we find, we find to be ours, ours by the nature of things; that which we required and sought, but yet which we could not and did not have, until it was given to us in this way.

The light of Revelation was light accompanied by supernatural signs; but it did not require these signs to show that it was divine. They were answers to prayer, or, so to speak, vibrations of matter concomitant to the energies of the Divine Spirit then so poured out, such as what we might suppose our Lord to allude to when he said, "If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." Of these miraculous proofs the apostles speak but lightly, and as of things of course; they warn us against trusting to such, or depending on such acts as proof of spiritual truth, for they warn us against false miracles,



and the reception of teaching, even although that of an angel, if it be not according to truth, as seen by its own light. We must realize that truth does not depend for its stability upon external things. Miraculous signs are integral portions of the record of revelation, and must not be separated from it. But they are not the proofs that the teaching is divine. They were conterminous with the great supernatural and spiritual light of the time, closing at the gulf which separates the New Testament from all subsequent periods, and remarkable accompaniments of its intensity, or signs of its high nature, but no more. We must not confound them with that which constitutes the force of truth, which is its own intrinsic power.

But further, Holy Scripture is not the record of a series of sayings, or of curt directions or proclamations; it is the record of the teaching of mankind by a life—the life of a nation, the life of a Divine Man, God present in the flesh, and a revelation in this way of the truth of God. They who are partakers of this Revelation, and who “*compained with Jesus*,” lived in a light and breathed a Spirit which, regenerating them, communicates itself to us; and as we read its record, we feel that Divine afflatus and are renewed thereby. Scripture thus educates the Christian conscience, which it also awakens and calls out, until it is so educated that in its turn it can look to the “*rock whence it was hewn*,” and discerning the instrumentality used, discriminate the human from the Divine. As the greater swallows up the less, so the higher draweth the lower into itself, until, filled at last with



the Divine light, those who live in it, seeing light in God's light, do not require the voice of many, nor of any, to tell or confirm to them the nature of that they see; they are enlightened by "an unction from the Holy One, and they know all things." They would deem it unfaithfulness to doubt, or darkness not to know, that which they see. Seeing truth thus, they deem it no want of humility to say they see it, more than they would a mathematical proposition which they knew; and it must ever be so. Where Christ is known, and His peace is present, Revelation is known, and it is but loss to demand further guide or proof. If more proof is ever asked for, it is where Christ has not been found. He is set forth in Holy Scripture. If He be not there found, then nothing else will give Him. I should not think it needful to speak so much of this, were it not that there is a tendency at present among ourselves to seek for truth beyond this, and to seek the confirmation of Revelation by majorities of men, or of church authorities, as if Revelation were true by external force, or truth was detected by majorities. Nay, we have seen it put forth, that were the Greek, and Roman, and Anglican Churches united, truth would be certain as the product of their votes! Nay, more grotesquely still, we have been asked to believe some things *provisionally*—deferring their certainty to the meeting of a General Council!

If what we have is not enough, in the way of Revelation, what we add to it of ourselves can give no strength, and may be productive of mischief. And not seeing and feeling the sufficiency of Revelation as we have it, and the sufficiency of truth by its



own strength, and zealous for its establishment by external force, what mistakes and crimes have not men committed, to make sure that, which, if not sure by its own strength, cannot be made so by any other. Using such means, truth has not, indeed, been established, but prevented, and hearts have been made sad whom the Lord had not made sad, and counsel darkened in this way, even by blood. When force has been used to make that accepted or true, which, unless freely accepted and true before, is not true or accepted at all, the basis of the spiritual world is subverted. When men use Cæsar's weapons and put them into the hands of Christ, how great is the darkness and reversal of the order of truth! Yet this has been done. And that throne which of all others is symbolic of physical force,—the throne of Cæsar,—has it not been taken in the name of Christ, and appalling figures seated thereon, killing by that which was to make alive, drenching the earth with blood. Nay, meaning perhaps, at first, but a true conservatism, this figure has taken the place of that which he was to protect, and by external and mechanical means has been supposed to give birth to truth. *Parlo Vaticano ed ecco una donna concepta sine labe*; a well-known proclamation issued from the headquarters of this system at the decision as to the Immaculate Conception means something like this—a position not now thought untenable among ourselves. Not knowing the liberty wherewith Christ makes free, and that true liberty comes from Him, men seeking liberty otherwise have not found it; and true and loving hearts, like Montalembert's, have found but sorrow;



and great intellects, like Voltaire's, have found but licentiousness, and this from beginning at the wrong end. Religion must ever precede and be the basis of all other liberty. In Spain, in France, in Italy, the reversal of the order of true liberty has taken place; and, accordingly, true liberty has not been found. Liberty, to be true and stable, must commence with liberty of the Spirit—liberty in spiritual things, that is, in religion. If not so commenced, it does not really live, and cannot permanently stand. Witness this in the countries just named,—Spain fallen to the dust; Italy bringing to the birth without strength to bring forth; France decaying inwardly, whose only idea of power is men in arms. If we have not truth in the higher things, we have it not in the lower; we must have it first in religion, that we may have it then in politics. Without this, we place our pyramid on its apex, and it is soon overturned. Real liberty is shut out on the Continent by this means. It is not allowed as to Religion, and therefore it fails in other things. A system comes between man and Revelation—the Catholic system; and where this prevails, religious truth is impeded and liberty has no root. And where Christianity is superseded by Catholicism, Christ is dethroned and another reigns in His stead. Unless this be got rid of, the possession and dissemination of Scripture is useless. The Catholic system takes away the key of knowledge and hinders the entrance of truth. But how are we to get rid of it? I fear there is no method but that of giving Scripture by itself. I say “fear,” because this takes time and requires education. Something might be done by Evangelists and



publications explaining wherein revelation and the true mode of access to it consist ; but for any great effect we must wait for the operation of Scripture only. This method is slow, but it is sure. It was this alone, (and God's grace with it) which regenerated Germany, the United Provinces, Sweden, Norway Great Britain, (I wish I could say Ireland), Switzerland, and America. It is this alone which gives these countries their pre-eminence and prosperity among the nations. As they lose the blessings of Scripture and free inquiry, liberty succumbs and falls. Let us act accordingly. Alas ! when Revelation is not seen and possessed in its simplicity,—that is, with direct access,—how terrible is the loss, how sad the travesty, how profound the ignorance of Christianity itself ! Nothing but this can explain or excuse the events of the bygone year in Italy, and, alas ! of many bygone years, in those countries where the Bible is excluded—the exercise of physical force, that is, for the maintenance of Christianity, so called, or, as it is and ought to be called, of Catholicism. The error that external force is permissible or essential to the knowledge or acceptance of Revelation is the cause of all the mischief. It is not the actors themselves who are so much to blame ; they are in other respects wise and good, men of like passions, hopes, fears, loves, and sorrows with ourselves ; but their reception or support of this false conception has made them do that which their own simple and better natures would shrink from and stand aghast at, if left alone. The Christian sentiment of the world has been lately shocked by one calling himself the Vicar of Jesus Christ imbruing his



hands in the blood of his fellow-creatures, and by his own and foreign weapons covering the Italian hills with slain—boys, who thought to render unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's by seating the Italian king upon the Cæsars' throne,—a not unnatural idea and desire :—Young enthusiasts now sleeping their last sleep under the cyclamen of Tivoli and Mentana ; their poor faces so torn with the Chassepot bullets as to have made them unrecognizable by their own mothers,—by the “ Rifles of Christ ! ”

I should wish to be just unto the Papacy, for I remember it has been said that “ we have two weights and two measures in this country for that and for its things.” I think, therefore, that it should be known why it is that so many of us sympathize with Italy in this matter. We think that the Papacy errs when it calls itself the representative of a power which is not of this world, and claims to be that also of one which is of this world. If it chooses the spiritual, it ought to let go the temporal power, and this it has usurped a thousand years too long already. Let the Papacy be an Established Church if need be, but let it and all such hold their property subject to their Master's law : “ If any man will sue thee and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.” The weapons of the Spirit must be those only of the Spirit ; there is no real victory by any other ; and to think of the terrible results which have come upon humanity by this principle of seeking to establish truth by force, and to discover and to convey truth by a system which either shuts it out or substitutes itself for it, which takes a conveyance for the thing conveyed and a key for the



treasure to which it opens—what shall we say? Let us not look on it in anger, although it may well provoke it, when we think of the fields of blood, the massacres of Languedoc, Piedmont, and the Netherlands, the stakes of England and the fagots of Spain, the circumcision of St. Bartholemew! Alas for the blindness of humanity! Nay, was not our Blessed Lord Himself the victim of this attempt to maintain spiritual truth by force? It was in defence of Moses and the prophets, as he thought no doubt, that the High Priest delivered up Jesus to Herod, calling in the secular arm of his day, even as now we see another “Herod” (as Louis Napoleon has been called by a Roman bishop) called in by another High Priest.

But I would not dwell so much upon this subject were it not that the Papacy is the great representation and embodiment of the conception that spiritual truth may be established by force, or ascertained by mechanical methods,—a system which now finds favour, alas! among ourselves. But can it be so! Is it so known? Alas! I remember when I lived in Rome being much pressed by a friend, who was in intimacy with the Pope, to go and see His Holiness; for, he said, “he is head of the Christian religion.” “Then,” said I, “I shall go, for I wish to ascertain much on the nature of the Atonement.”—“Ah, but,” said my friend, “he does not know about that—he does not know about these things—but he will tell you where to go for them.”—“Ah,” said I in return, “then I need not go.”—“You should go,” he said, “however.”—“Why,” I asked.—“Oh, because he is so very agreeable; he is quite charming.” I do not doubt a good man, the victim of



a false conception. Alas ! when he goes to his solitary room at night, and feels the woes and darkness of his own poor nature, does he feel that he is infallible, and infallibly giving us the truths of God ? I am sure not. He has, to do so, to fall back upon some conception, such as,—“It is but when I sit on a certain seat, and am clad in certain vestments.” Alas ! can the despairing energies of humanity farther go, than when, in their need, any can erect such an idol, and bow down to it, and make (as the Pythoness was of old) a place, a person, an apparatus, a *calculating machine*, the mode of obtaining, or the test of spiritual truth. It is melancholy, indeed ! It makes one feel, perhaps, that the true method to deal with the conception is that indicated by the story of a discerning and witty Scottish proprietor, who sending his gamekeeper to confront a ferocious bull, saw him with astonishment put it to rout with an ignominious knock, and the man return to him and say, “Folk spile them bulls by bein’ frightened at them.” Yes, it is not fair to the Papacy, nor to ourselves, to be so frightened. No doubt it has shown itself fearful in human history, realizing (but in another sense) Cardinal Donnet’s late words in the French Assembly—“Should he be driven from Rome, and so Christianity be decapitated ” (said the Cardinal of the Pope), “the earth would tremble under the steps of the mighty exile.” Yea, as he passed through the Vaudois valleys, the plains of Languedoc, the United Provinces, Smithfield and Spanish squares (where the Inquisitions and *auto-da-fes* were held), I do not doubt that the earth *would* tremble, and, it might be, “the graves open, and many



bodies of the saints which slept, arise." But I blame him not: he is the slave of a system which places something between the soul and truth, by way of knowing and securing it, and in defence of which he naturally regards all executions on its behalf simply as we do those of the civil power for civil order, as sad but necessary evils. But spiritual things must stand by opposite means—by the laying down of force, by the laying down, and not by the use, of external pressure. Let us look to this.

But although we regard the resurrection of Spain and France as impossible, under their present mode of accepting religious truth, and that Italy is likely to break down, from seeking her liberty not in heavenly things first, but in earthly, still that liberty, so long as it lasts, gives an entrance for the truths of revelation on their own merits, and we ought to take advantage of it, and it ought to be cherished by us. The Scriptures, if accepted at all, can be read, and fructify there at present. There is, no doubt, little desire for sacred things, but let it be our endeavour to awaken more. Our hope is among the laity. As to the priesthood, there is no doubt a greater capacity among them for the apprehension of spiritual things; but they have been so separated from truth on its own merits, and are therefore so little able themselves to leave it, or trust it to stand alone, that, with few exceptions, when they receive it, they cannot retain it, and in the time of persecution they abandon it; fear comes upon them, and they return to whence they came. Emasculated from childhood, they cannot act as men. Yet, it is not



strange that it should be so. If we consider the last declaration which has come from their headquarters, the syllabus of the present Pope, and its enunciation of the principles on which human souls are to be cured and lifted up, how can a priesthood brought up on such principles ever recover itself! A regard to truth obliges me to say, that however wild and above our heads the proclamations of his late assailant have been, the utterances of the great Italian, Garibaldi, have been light itself compared with the darkness of the syllabus. Nay, however mistaken the weapons which he used, however imprudent, as it is called, was his late attempt (yet nations do not throw off a foreign yoke by prudence), the ages after us will look back with respect, if it must be with sorrow, on that fair human flower, who, in simplicity of heart, attempted to restore his land to her place among the nations; who declined a southern Crown and the Dictator's wreath in the Roman Republic (1848), that Italy might be free and united; and who, in the loss of all he had, is still rich—the first Italian, and not the last of Romans,—of whom, when he dies, Italy itself will be the monument, even if it be the will of God that Italy shall not rise again. And so long as the Papacy lasts, Italy certainly cannot rise, for the Papacy weighs her to the dust;—she cannot be free while it exists, for it is the eternal foe of freedom. But let us contribute to Italy's resurrection with the best member which we have; not, that is, with men and weapons, or force, but with that which is much better, with that which will dissolve force, and turn men and weapons into brethren and peaceful habitations,—the Word of God, standing by



its own strength, and seen by its own light. It may be that Italy thus may rise. It is the only real hope: there is no other. Until Religion is free, she will not be free.

Alas! there is one country near at hand which I must still call foreign—our poor neighbour of Ireland—where the same system has produced the same results: where truth, removed to a distance, and a foreign power enthroned in the highest place, has degraded the people and destroyed their allegiance. I am not ignorant that at this moment the priests are on the side of authority. They like no secret societies, indeed, save that of their church; and at present they are astonished at the fruits of their own hands. They wish to call their hatchings back from the alien element to which they have betaken themselves. But it cannot be; they will not return. They have sown the wind, and they must reap the whirlwind. For 300 years allegiance has been inculcated to a foreign power, and disaffection to that at home. *They* may be—we are not—blind to the results, and to the true cause of the present evils. It is always so; if allegiance in the highest things goes to a foreign head, it must make allegiance on lesser things go likewise. It is seen to be so in Ireland at this moment. But the same thing is also felt in a lesser way by the secular authorities of foreign lands—in a lesser way, because they think it their interest *there* to compromise and subsidize this foreign head and agencies. We have not done so, and I trust never shall. On their idea of truth, they think it right in their highest things to seek guidance from a foreign quarter. Their first duty is there, accordingly;



and I have never seen (with two or three remarkable exceptions, from the heart winning a victory over the head, no doubt) that conversion to Rome did not at once mean alienation from Great Britain. "I am first a Catholic," as a noble convert lately declared (at a meeting convened to buy weapons for the Pope), "and then an Englishman"—Rome first, Britain second. And it always must be so. Why are Scotland and England one? Because both are Protestant; the minor divisions of ecclesiastical polity are swallowed up in the unity in greater things, that is, in matters of faith. Are not the glories of the Reformation common to both countries? Is it not these which make them one? But that which makes us what we are—the glories of the Reformation and free thought—are displeasing to those whose head is bruised by these glories, and loses by our gain. There is indeed but one true way of unity and brotherhood for all—the common basis of a common humanity made nearer and dearer in Christ Jesus; not defined, refined, and subdivided, or removed from individual apprehension, and relegated to external and foreign guidance, but simply and lovingly set forward and found by each and all as we find Him in Holy Writ. Let us accept Revelation thus ourselves and convey it thus to others. It is a great privilege and responsibility. We may be presumptuous, perhaps, to claim such a task for Scotland. I myself am a Scotchman, and am therefore free to say what now I say, and it is this, that Scotland is not that which once it was; not from lack of Bibles, but from the Bible not now occupying the place which once it did. Once the "Cottar's Saturday night" and



“the great ha’ Bible” was the usage of all the land, in the rural and Highland parishes at any rate.

“Stately speech, such as grave livers do in Scotland use ;  
Religious men, who give to God and man their dues,”

was the rule, but now it has too much passed away. In politics and religion men do not seem to know that which they ought to do—what to lay hold of, or what to let go. This is true of Britain as a whole. It is so in Politics, and it is so in Religion. All things go loose, yet one thing is certain—I do not use the term in any canting sense—the Word of God, not as a magic charm or guide to a *future* heaven merely, but as the guide to a true and blessed life—of the life of God in the soul of man, of the life of man in connection with that of God, now and at once possible for us, and eternal ; and this is with us now. If we recognize and avail ourselves of this guide, we shall know where to go, and how to do it, and both save our country and ourselves, and be able to help, to elevate, and to deliver other and less favoured countries also—others which are now less privileged than we,—but thus only. Let us help to circulate the Holy Scriptures, which set forth this way of life, and endeavour that they have free course to come into contact with and have a direct entrance to the soul of man, to illuminate it by their own light, and to kill out and dethrone there all minor and evil guidance. Abroad, by means of col-porteurs, and such explanations as they can give, and by such publications as exist or can be prepared, on the use and need of private judgment, and by the substitution of the word Christian for that of Catholic, let us get



at the individual soul and conscience, and endeavour to get it interested and awakened. (And here I must take occasion to say that there is great want on the Continent of books or tracts explanatory of that which the Scriptures are, and that which the right of private judgment means. The Italian colporteurs of the National Bible Society are permitted to carry such books and tracts. They sold last year 82,588 copies.) Thus real good will come, and real liberty and regeneration—liberty of Church and State, religious and civil liberty. In the war of nations, too likely ere long to arise, may we be guided by the same principle; and further, in our educational programme for the nation, whatever else we adopt, let us not dethrone the Bible. Let it be taught without note or comment. But let it be taught; otherwise our liberty will have no real foundation nor high purpose, and we ourselves eventually shall fall from our place among the nations.

I have to excuse myself for so long a detention of you; I pray you to forgive it. I feel that we have in a Society for the circulation and preservation of the Bible a guide and a bond of union which will direct and keep us together, and afford us a gathering place for holy and united work at all times, when all outward, and other and mechanical ties may fail us. We all love; let us all be held together by the Word of God. So shall we stand on a rock which will not fail us. This is a plain and ready mode of union, one which cannot be mistaken, and cannot be wrong. It is at hand, it is with "brethren whom we have seen," and with whom, in any practicable way, we are ever near.

But ere concluding, I must explain, lest anything I



have said may not be consonant to the views of this Society, or to those of any of its members, that I do not mean in anything I have said to represent or bind others. Nor in these days of divided churches do I venture to speak for more than that portion of the Church of England which looks with reverence on its ancestral martyrs—Cranmer, Latimer, and their brethren—and those who wish to follow in their steps. And I may also say, for those who walk in the steps of Leighton, our own great Archbishop, who died in exile, a confessor for the same truths. Seeking to follow in their steps, holding forth the Word of Life—that food for young and old—to be seen by its own light, and interpreted by its own (that is, the Holy) Spirit, God's Word in our hands and hearts, which “whoso that hath ears to hear, may hear,” let us hasten to seek to raise and regenerate our own and other countries. May we not be ashamed of the name of Protestant, of our Protestant forefathers, in and by whom, under God, all our greatest victories have been won; and let us dearly cherish that Revelation which contains their principles, and that Record which is their cause!



THE PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION ON  
THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

A CHARGE DELIVERED TO THE EPISCOPAL CLERGY OF  
ARGYLL AND THE ISLES IN CHRIST'S CHURCH  
LOCHGILPHEAD, 16th Sept., 1871.

You will agree with me in feeling, my brethren, how difficult a thing it must be for a Bishop to address, or as it is called *charge* his clergy, when he is well aware that many of them are more experienced in spiritual things than himself; for that which he says is to give the key and pitch of their spirituality, —“Be thou for the people to Godward, and thou shalt teach them” (Exod. xviii. 19, 20); and when it is said to him, when he accepts his Episcopate, “Thou shalt feed my people Israel” (2 Sam. v. 2). Once a year, in our Church, he is to give the tone to his diocese. What naturally occurs to him? Is it to be by a sermon, an exhortation, the news of the Church at large, the state of the diocese? All or any of these things will do. But, no doubt, the chief thing must be to lift up the hearts of the clergy and people



to the things which are most high ; and, that whatever his subject, it must be worthy, and worthily handled—sacred fire brought to the dwellers in the sanctuary, it must be worthy of the occasion, and of the hearers,—it is an high occasion, a great opportunity ; many of the hearers come from far at a great expense, and for a solemn purpose. The subjects must be varied annually to some extent, else are the tones monotonous. Now, “who is sufficient for these things ?” Yet, the very remembrance that they are so high, lifts one somewhat to the occasion. May it be so now, my brethren, and what is deficient your charity, I hope, will supply ; for, I am but as it were your elder brother sent into the spiritual world before you, to provide maintenance for those who come after him. Having, as we do at the meeting of the Church Society which succeeds this, to consider the local affairs of the diocese, I have on this occasion—as the events of the current year have been so truly momentous—chosen for the subject of my Charge, the State of Religion on the Continent, the occurrences which have taken place there being of so great importance to the Church at large, that sooner or later, and even now, they are not without a direct bearing upon the affairs of our own small community.

For it is impossible now, from the direct intercourse which the whole of humanity has attained to by means of the telegram and the press, that anything which affects one portion should be unknown or unfelt in any other ; that is, if the events are of importance, and this year they are of the greatest, especially to Churchmen and to Christians. I allude to the new and altered



condition of the Church of Rome from the attitude assumed by the Papacy in the syllabus and encyclical letter, and its confirmation as a sole and sufficient authority by the Vatican Council. And although remote from the immediate scene of these events, we must not suppose that we are unconcerned spectators. Remote as we are, we are yet ministers of one and the same Christianity (let us hope we can still speak of the Roman as a common Christianity)—we are ministers and teachers expressly set apart to know and discriminate all that concerns our common ministry, and through such as we it is that eventually a larger number come to know; and the few who know, and are in earnest, ever eventually come to influence the many who are ignorant and indifferent.

And if it be any equivalent to you, I myself, your Bishop, from the frequency of my forced absences from you, my brethren, in search of health, have at least the power of bringing this advantage back with me, that I myself have seen and been present at many of those aspects and changes among the Christian communities of the Continent, of which we are about to speak, the most remarkable and recent of which, no doubt, is the alteration which has taken place in the past foundations of the Church of Rome. It will be convenient to consider these subjects under separate divisions—1st. The different aspects wherein the same religion presents itself, and is accepted by the Latin and Teutonic races; 2nd. The different grounds on which it is accepted by each of them, and the natural consequences which flow from this; and, finally, the bearing which these things have upon ourselves.



Let us first of all, however, consider the subject in its general bearing, viz., the state of religion on the European Continent.

The state of religion on the Continent can never but be of interest to us in this country, as it is from the Continent that we receive our changes in religion, even as it was from the Continent that we received our religion itself,—for we received our Church from Rome, and its Reformation from Germany. I do not need to do more here than allude to a previous British Church, which left no succession, nor the sub-reformation of Calvin, which came under the shield of Luther. It is from Italy and Germany we have received our faith, as they from Asia. It may seem that France is unduly left out however, in this estimate, occupying, as she has done, so much of the history of modern, and particularly of the most recent times. But if we look at it carefully, France has contributed nothing to our religious history, save in the direction of the Church of Rome. Her other and distinct achievements have been the work of a sceptical and irreligious movement, which has a bearing upon religion not altogether injurious to it, but which it would be impossible to call a contribution. This special agency of France, however, while it deserves a very serious notice, cannot come under our present head.

The state of religion at this moment on the Continent is of the greatest interest. Christianity is, as it were, held in solution throughout all Germany, dissolved, absorbed, present, but without form or crystallization. In France and Italy it is present, but only as crystallized. In the first we have the fluid



without the substance ; in the second we have the substance without the fluid. The blood is in Germany ; the bones with the Latin races.

You are all aware to what issue the present Pope has brought the Roman Catholic or Latin view of Revelation—that it is hereafter to be found but in the utterances of the Pope ; that God has commissioned a particular man to be His permanent mouthpiece, whose word is to be true because it is he who speaks it, he being commissioned for that very purpose. I am not going to find fault with this decision as to the Pope. On the contrary, I am convinced that, on Roman Catholic principles, the issue to which this has brought the question is the true one. If the mouth by which a fountain emits its waters is the test of the nature of the fluid, the Pope is right. If the proof of the truth of the Christian religion lies in the external authority which sanctions it, the Pope is not wrong. If the Church is the giver of Revelation, I for one, however much it might cost me, would consider the Pope the ultimate authority for its utterance or identification. No other body of Christians can claim to be so large, so original, and so continuous a portion of the Church as the Roman Catholic. None can compare with that Church in these respects. It would be extremely difficult, therefore, on these grounds, to say that that is not Christianity which she announces ; or again, that is that to which she is opposed ; and the mouth-piece of the Church of Rome is unquestionably the Pope. I do not, however, myself believe the Christian religion to stand upon such a basis, but what that basis is we must reserve for a later stage in our considerations.



In the meantime, we shall only say that the Pope has brought the question to this issue, that all that claims to be of revelation must now depend upon his word; he gives the sense of the old revelation, he enunciates articles of a new: and he may so enunciate the new, as to cancel that which is old. He now gives and sums up to the Roman Church all authoritative utterances of Christianity, and it is plainly said, and this by his best defenders, that that which was true as a revelation in the past may be superseded by something which is new for the future; for that which we require is not a past, but a present revelation—a living voice which shall be infallible, and if so, that is if infallible, the past must take care of itself. And no fault can be found with this reasoning, if the premises are sound. But we cannot think they are so. For the root conception on which this theory is based, on which the Roman Catholic Church now stands, is that the ultimate sanction of revelation is force—that intrinsic light or reason is of no value, that Revelation stands on external authority alone. If any one asks, “Must it not do so, for was not the Church at first constituted by force—that is, by external signs or miracles, supernatural signs, to compel belief?”—let us ask in return what this means. Our Lord and His apostles certainly wrought miracles, but not as grounds for faith. Our Lord’s miracles were evidential of moral qualities, as were those of the apostles, and no doubt they exhibited force; but the force was not made a ground for belief in the doctrine which they taught. False miracles, if successful, in this respect would be as evidential as



true. And against false miracles, and even against the word of an angel from heaven as a proof of the truth, we are warned, if it is to force or power we look for confirmation. What, then, are these things? Heralds, but not more. They are not grounds for belief; they are not the foundations of Revelation or of the Church. By-and-bye, therefore, we see such disappear. The signs wrought by the early Church dropped off as they ceased to be needed. And we are warned against such things as proofs of spiritual truth, and clearly the apostles set no store by them. What our Lord and His disciples taught was true in the nature of things, and required no external force to make it true; and no external force could have made it true could we suppose it to have been false. It may have been an altogether new revelation, or a revelation of what was before in the nature of things, or in the heart of man, but unperceived, and then brought to light with such vigour as to be as it were to be considered new. But, whatever it was, it was not made what it was by the external signs which accompanied it; nor were they its sanction—they were merely its heralds. This will be quite evident if we look at the nature of that which is true in ordinary things. Six times six is 36—no miracle could make it 37; and if no miracle could make it 37, it does not require a miracle to make it 36; it is, and stands as this, by that which it is in itself. Spiritual truth and spiritual discernment do not stand by authority, but authority by them. They stand on what they are in themselves. Authority is based on spiritual truth, not spiritual truth on authority; and





when authority is made the test of spiritual truth, instead of being made to be dependent on it, the true nature of things is reversed, so that the eternal distinction and difference between good and evil is obliterated, and the nature of things is destroyed, as we ever find to be the case where this rule is not attended to.

It does not alter the fact to remove the issue to another region—to say, for example, that it is different with things supernatural, and that the supernatural overrides the natural. For we have no means of discerning the supernatural but the natural; and if, in order for such discernment, the laws of the natural are overruled, we have no certainty of discovering the supernatural at all, nor do we know that there is any supernatural. All that then remains is but a residuum of external force, which is no test of spiritual truth, not being itself of the nature of spiritual things. And as all moral and spiritual truths stand on the same foundations, and must do so everywhere, in this sense it is not true to say that there *supernatural* is different from natural truth at all. Having a premise which makes force the test of truth, however, it is not wonderful (especially when we consider that it believes that all such power is committed to itself), that, standing on such a basis, the Church of Rome sets herself in antagonism to many intellectual and moral truths to all others certain. Based on the platform of force, it loses the distinction between good and evil, making the test of either but that which she herself enjoins. Arbitrary herself, she thinks all else is arbitrary. Coerced by this principle, Rome does not



view good and evil as different principles, eternally opposed, but only as arbitrary distinctions, made what they are, that is good or evil, first by Almighty God, then by His delegates on earth, of which the sole delegate, now sufficiently accredited, is the Pope. This, no doubt, was taught before, for Cardinal Bellarmine says:—"If the Pope were to err by prescribing sins or forbidding virtues, the Church would be bound to consider sins good and virtues evil: unless she chose to sin against conscience."—(Janus, pp. 109, 110.) And so error in that Church ceases to be error, and evil ceases to be evil, because it is for the Church, she says, to make the one or the other as she pleases; for wherever the Church is, there the truth is, and the head or speaking voice of the Church is the Pope.

Intellectual truths she has frequently overruled before. As in the case of Galileo, where we all know that she did not hesitate to set herself against the most certain physical truths, holding them to be errors which put on the fallacious appearance of truth, as says Archbishop Manning in his '*Privilegium Petri*,' (Essay iii., 130-3). And so, in the same way, Rome has set herself against the most certain truths of political experience, as we see in the Encyclicals and Syllabus of the present Pope (p. 60)—where, for instance, he says that "the Catholic religion should be treated as the only religion of the State, all other worship whatsoever being excluded; that men should not be allowed the use of their own worships who migrate into Catholic countries; that the civil liberty of all worships, and the full power granted to all of openly



and publicly declaring any opinions or thoughts whatever, conduces to more easily corrupting the morals and minds of people, and propagating the plague of indifferentism ; that they are in error who say that the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile and harmonise himself with progress, liberalism, and modern civilisation, for they are (as says a well-known authority, Janus, p. 20) in damnable error (according to this Syllabus) who regard the reconciliation of the Pope with modern civilisation as possible or desirable, for (as says Dr. Manning in his '*Privilegium Petri*') it is for modern progress to reconcile itself with the Pope.'" Considering these things, and the powers assumed by the Papacy of defining, and, in a way, creating, good and evil ; and looking at the position taken by it in regard to Revelation, and that on the Pope now actually rests all our warrant for the truth of Revelation, and stating what it is—for it is or is not true, just as he is inspired to declare it so ; and again, that what he may enunciate on one point is equally of the truth as that on another ; that the existence, for example, of the One true God, of His attributes, of the Trinity, the Atonement, the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the Resurrection of the Lord, and His Ascension to heaven, all stand on the same basis as the beatitude and assumption of S. Philip Neri, S. Rose of Lima, and of the twenty-six Japanese martyrs who were lately canonised by the Pope—all now standing on the same basis (Clissold's '*Christendom*,' 68)—is it not true that the old foundations of the Church of Rome are changed, and the foundations of Revelation also, and is it a wonder that, such being



the case, the foundations of faith in Revealed Religion are shaken in Catholic countries ?

Basing the ultimate test and condition of truth to be in power, the Church of Rome has naturally ever urged the employment of force for the dissemination and maintenance of her creed, and at this moment acts as if all depended on and were lost on the loss of it—behaving on the loss of her temporal power in Rome like the Jews in Jerusalem, who, if they could not preserve their sovereignty, cared nothing for the offer of Titus to save their Temple. (Clissold's 'Christendom,' p. 95.)

The result of this false basis for belief in Revelation has been, first, that monstrous errors have been taught as truths : and, then, that on this ground, and on that of the falsity of the basis itself, thoughtful and earnest men have long ceased to believe in the teaching of a Church so acting and constituted, and careless and thoughtless men have thrown off all signs of religion whatever. Pious men and women, no doubt, frequent the churches, but this only from the feeling and need of some religion. All this long accumulating doubt and unbelief in the Church of Rome, has now been brought to a head by this decree of the doctrine of the Personal Infallibility of the Pontiff ; and all, save those who urged the Church on to this conclusion, are beginning to ask whether there may not be some means of escape from so great a darkness, some truth on the subject of religion besides the things which are taught in Rome, and to ask where it is. This is true of the Catholic parts of Germany, in general of Italy, less so of France, scarcely perhaps



at all of Spain ; but, no doubt, in all of these countries some such religious process and progress are going on, either outwardly or in embryo, and in all the axe is laid to the root of that old tree which so long overshadowed Western Christendom, and which, in truth, at first shed down fruits and flowers among our own islands, although these, no doubt, were rather the offspring of the grafts induced from other trees than the genuine products of the natural roots which, so far—as in the main they were—rooted but in outward authority, were destitute of that heavenly sap, whose strength is in that which it is in itself, and whose sanction is its produce.

Out of all this confusion has come that wide-spread movement now going on in the Roman Catholic Church, ultimately brought to a crisis by the late declaration of the Pope's Personal Infallibility, and which found its expression in the great Conference lately held at Munich, and which cannot but engage our warmest interest and expectations. That it prognosticates, as indeed it forms, a great alteration in the mode of action of the Roman Church and of its constitution there can be no doubt ; and a change, we believe, has already begun which cannot fail to develop a very different history for the Church of Rome in the future from that obtained in the past. Perhaps that which will strike us most in this country, however, is the fact that that Church has been able in the face of all her later developments to hold together so long as she has. For the declaration of Personal Infallibility in the Pope was, to use vulgar language, only "the last straw which broke the camel's



back ;” but the previous outcomings of that Church, one would have thought, would have been enough to have broken up that Church long before ; and while we render all due thanks to such men as Father Hyacinthe and Dr. Döllinger, our honour is mixed with surprise that they should not long ago have rejected a system which led them—as such men could not but have recognised—step by step ever onwards into both moral and intellectual error. They must have recognised that the demand with which the theory of the Church of Rome started was as able to require all things as any thing—the relinquishment of all reason, the non-recognition of every morality, that is, outside of the reason and morality which she laid down, and which was true, because hers ; and it is strange they did not. Startled by this last demand, however, they have resolved to refuse it at any rate : but as yet it does not appear that they reject the basis on which it was put forth. We can scarcely recognise in their present action, therefore, any great advance beyond the recognition of a stumbling-block on the way ; they do not as yet appear to recognise the error of the way itself.

It is true that the “movement” is making itself more deeply felt than any spiritual movement on the Continent since the days of Luther. But this is rather to be ascribed to the fact of the alarm which Temporal Governments have felt at the claims and declarations of the Pope, set forth in his previous Encyclical Letters and Syllabus, and which cut at the root of the progress and independence of all Civil Power, than at any deep feeling of the immorality and inconsistency with Revelation of the doctrines of the



Church of Rome, themselves as such. All Temporal Governments can recognise a Jael coming towards them with the nail of the Syllabus and the hammer of Infallibility, and arouse them from their repose; few, however can or do the greater danger of a false religion and spurious morality for their people.

How, then, can we reconcile the long continuance of such men as Father Hyacinthe and Dr. Döllinger in the bosom of a system which we cannot but believe has long presented to such as they many great points of error? No doubt, from the difficulty, to them insuperable, of losing hold of the ancient system without discovering anything sufficient in a new. They could not make up their minds to Protestantism. And no doubt the reconciliation of Catholicism with Protestantism, is the great question of our day; but if the solution is not plain to us who have been working at the problem for 300 years, we cannot blame them if it is not so to those who have not been occupied on it perhaps so many days. And, in fact, in one sense, the reconciliation is impossible. Progress cannot be absolutely reconciled with Conservatism, nor the demand for truth with the demand for the surrender of reason.

Such being pretty nearly the state of the Latin Church in Italy, Spain, and France, where the principle and dogma of the late Council have been accepted, what is the condition of things in the Churches of the North, which cannot be called Latin, although they received their commission at Latin hands?

WHAT IS THE STATE OF THE TEUTONIC CHURCHES?

Where the two meet or overlap, as in Germany, a



great disturbance naturally takes place, as at present we see in Munich. What the end of this may be it is difficult to foretell. At present the Latinised portion of Germany, in the persons of the Professors at Munich, reject so much and accept so much of the existing state of things in Latin Christianity; but it would not appear that they reject the principle on which Latin Christianity is founded, that of external authority or force, or receive along with it the German, or that of the internal authority of light or reason. What will be the final result of the great movement now going forward on the Continent it is hard to guess. Many, to whom the unity of the Church has been the dream of their lives, no doubt expect that by means of this breaking down of the Papal hindrances, a universal and united Church will be the result. Many such have this hope at heart, both because their loving natures desire union and peace, and because they believe the unity of the Church or of man to have been one of the main ends of Christ's redemption; and also, because, without a united Church or some one body sufficient to show where the main substance of Revelation lies, they do not think that there are (on their premises) sufficient means of authenticating Revelation. To those in this state of belief and expectation, the present movement, as being likely to lead to such a union and manifestation, is full of hope. We do not ourselves anticipate that this loving expectation will be fulfilled, at least in the way on which they reckon. For how is it to be fulfilled? An external visible Church entirely united, we can never expect to see again more fully displayed or realised than it was once already—



namely, in that of Rome of the Middle Ages, and it was not effectual. The theory, when pushed to its logical end and meaning, as it has been by the late Council and decision, has been found to be absurd. In point of fact, the conception of an external force as the means of finding or showing forth spiritual truth, as we have already said, is altogether fallacious, whether it present itself in the form of a Church or in that of a physical miracle; and surely it is a fundamental error to suppose that the living spouse of Christ can be any organism and not rather a living soul. Yet let us suppose another attempt in a kindred yet somewhat varied direction, as some among us believe would be the thing to lead to a solution, were tried—namely, a return to that which is called “Primitive Episcopacy,” or the Church *governed*—as it is supposed by some to have been in the early ages by Diocesan and Independent Bishops. If this system once existed, and was then proper and sufficient, why does it not continue now? and why does it not continue to exist everywhere? If it existed before, and was not then sufficient, have we any satisfactory reason for supposing that it would be more sufficient now? And if not authoritatively revealed, have we any warrant for its exclusive sufficiency?

But the Anglican Church, it will be said, is constructed on this model, and has hitherto answered its purpose sufficiently, or preserved, at any rate, a fair amount of coherency and truth. No doubt. But is it not to be considered how much of this is owing to its connection with the State, and whether this truth and coherency would be retained were the State connection



severed? We believe that it would not. If it had not been for the ligature of the State, assuredly the Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Philpotts), for example, would not have remained in communion with the then Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner). In the Colonies, where the Church is free from State connection, and stands alone, as at the Cape of Good Hope, does the system or experiment answer? Certainly not. Did it answer among ourselves in the North here, when we attempted, by excommunication and by trials of brother Bishops, to preserve what we thought the truth entire? Does the system obtain the sympathy of the higher minds and piety of Christian America? It is to be doubted. Do we, then, condemn it? Certainly not; but we must not expect too much from it.

Will, then, the Presbyterian, or other like systems, supply the need? Presbyterianism, like Mahometanism, has won many mighty victories, but this, we think, to have been mainly owing to the same cause—to the doctrines of fatalism with which they have been linked, rather than to any inherent strength in the Presbyterian system. The doctrine of election, as laid down by Calvin, was the main weapon which overcame Rome in Switzerland and Scotland—even as the fatalism of Mahomet was too much for the decrepid Churches of the East.

But neither victory can be ascribed to a theory of church government. Nevertheless, there is so much in the doctrine of an eldership and Presbyterian purity, its Christian homogeneity and the necessary absence and negation of a priesthood, in its theory as



also in Christianity, its basis being that liberty, equality, fraternity, which are deep-seated and true instincts of the human heart, that were it freed from the doctrinal adjuncts of fatalism we should pause ere we said that neither will this be the future form of Christianity. But we do not think it will, at least exclusively. What, then, do we suppose that future expression of visible Christianity will be? Not one form, but many—many forms in one federation. It is impossible to find a form which is equally good everywhere, always, and for all. For all forms are not equally good at all points. Some forms are best in one point, and defective in others. No form has all the perfections—no form is absolutely needful, none equally commends itself everywhere, and liberty of choice must exist—must exist for the sake of life, of which it is the expression and not the mother—else the life will die, form in the result and not the cause. Many forms, we think, will exist in future, and none be able to arrogate to itself all the good, while all, if truly Christian, will acknowledge a common life and origin. The bond will be life, not its expression; and the means federation, not uniformity. This, we believe, will be the aspect in which the Christianity of the future will manifest itself—a Christianity of many members, but one body. That this united and common life may have an expression of its own by which, as in civil combinations, where, as when a commonwealth is composed of various parts, and the commonwealth is expressed by one centre of unity, as in America, there may be these, but in truth one Church and a maintenance of the various forms of the



one Church life by the State, forming, in fact, thus one National Church, is very possible, and we would it were so. But that must be as the future will have it. We ourselves feel that such maintenance would be an advantage, but we know not that all will feel it so, and it is probable that the feeling for this method of support is also on the decrease. However that may be, time alone can show as to this; it is a matter which can be, and alone will be, decided beyond our time. But it may be said, holding such a view as this, can one be true to the Church to which he belongs when he holds it to be only one among the many, and all equally right and true? We do not hold that all are equally right and true; some we prefer to others, and this because we deem them superior, and one superior to all—that to which we belong, else we should assuredly belong to some other. What we believe is that there will be and must be differences of form, and preferences accordingly, by people at different times; but then we think there are superiorities, and that in the end that will win which is supremest, as men are able to discern and to receive it.

Having this belief, and believing in that aspect of Christianity which we have chosen, we adhere to it, and trust by setting it forth to the best, that it will win, as any other competitor can only fairly and eventually win,—namely, by the superior advantages and excellence which it possesses. The higher and truer and nobler and most loving light will and must ultimately prevail. We do not become untrue to, but show our trust and belief in, our Church



when we put it thus into competition with others, and risk it, as it were, against them. And to this mode of building up and completing the one Church, we have now, we believe, come; and it is the phase, we think, on which visible Christianity is just entering. But it will be asked, no doubt—"Is this issue all that we were led to hope for from the terms in which the one Church is spoken of in Holy Scripture, and the promises made to her?" Is this a sufficient consummation? Probably in this present world, where unity in diversity can alone be found,—liberty being the first condition of living souls,—it is all we can aspire to, and all that we can at present expect to have; and it is no doubt a higher state than that which is past, or that which supposes truth and unity to be the product of force, and to consist in the possession of similar externals. Beyond this state, then, to which we are coming, and on which we have now entered, there is not, we imagine, anything farther or higher until the Church is glorified and triumphant and spiritually united in heaven. At present our goal must be the perfecting of the different Churches and individuals in Christianity, through Christ being received as the head of both. This, I think, must be our goal and chief object of exertion, and we believe it to be enough.

I do not take a hopeful view of (that which is called) the Döllinger movement, as being likely to lead to one visible unity. I do not think external unity is to be expected from the movement. I do not think the present movement there will take the form of union with any of the Protestant bodies. I do not think it will do more than set up another variety of the many



forms into which Christianity, or its outward expression, is already divided. I think, indeed, that the Papacy, as the recognised head of any great body of intelligent Christians, is not likely to continue much longer, and that good will come out of its present downfall. But, then, I do not think that it will lead to the outward reunion of Christendom in externals. Its not doing so, will, I am sure, be a grievous disappointment to many hopeful and excellent souls. But we must not expect it for these reasons:—First—among the Latin races, or in the Church of Rome strictly so called, the bulk of men in Italy, Spain, and France, are mainly unbelievers. They not only do not care about the Papacy itself, but they do not care about religion at all. Some of them may take part with the Döllinger movement, but this is not because they are impressed by it in any way as a spiritual outlet or assistance to their souls, but only because it is a help towards getting rid of the Papacy. They identify Revelation with the Papacy. The Papal is the only idea of Revelation they possess, and they think that such a thing is not worth preserving; and they think that it and the Papacy should go together. The religion of such men is not that of Revelation, but of the Commune. Never having had any other gospel, can they be blamed for taking to this? It has much of a gospel sound in it, and men *must* have *some* gospel,—some ideal, that is,—some outlet for the heart and the imagination beyond the circumstances and experiences of their ordinary weary life. And especially is this true of men of science and workmen devoted to physical pursuits. Such men in the Latin



Churches, having no other gospel, find it in the Commune. If they have no religion they find their idealism in politics. This is true, also, I think, of men of science in every country,—that is, men of science who have no religion,—but it is especially true of those of France. In the revolt from such a travesty of politics and Christianity as she had in that country before the time of her first Revolution, and in her repudiation of these, France has been at a loss, as yet, for anything better or sufficiently satisfying. Turned from reform by a military mania and despotism, she has never advanced beyond her first contribution, that of destroying evil crops. She has, as yet, found nothing much better than that she destroyed before. Vibrating between the Commune, her political Utopia, and Ultramontaniam, or the Utopia of superstition, France staggers on her blind and bloody way, a giant deprived of sight.

But we are by no means forgetful of the attempts which France has made, from time to time, towards a consistent religion or the combination of worship with intelligence. Bossuet, Madame Guion, the writers of Port Royal, particularly Pascal and Arnauld, Abelard, St. Bernard, all were Frenchmen. But it is impossible not to see that the progress and endeavour came to an end with the expulsion of Protestantism under Louis XIV. For the expulsion of Protestantism is the expulsion of the application of reason to religion. And from that day to this the spiritual history of France has been downward; her energies (as we have already said), of a spiritual order,—because turned out of their true



and legitimate channel—being all directed to inferior and temporary objects, the acquisition of military glory, and the luxuries of civilisation. We do not forget the great importance of her legal and scientific contributions, nor that Leibnitz may be called a Frenchman; but, upon the whole, we think the conclusion to be drawn is, that whatever religious feeling ever and anon sprang up—and it could not but spring up frequently—was crushed and extinguished, being met by the fiat of the Church of Rome, “hitherto and no farther;” reason was stayed, and the inquiring and intelligent minds of Frenchmen, naturally desirous of meaning in religion, and finding none presented to them, turned away from all religion in disgust. The very excellence of Fenelon, when he submitted his teaching to the Pope, and deferred his better reason to his authority, militated against Revelation. And so will be the case when we see the same proceeding again at work, as it is this day. Who can doubt that the Daupanlous, Marets, and Gratrys, who have convinced themselves and their hearers by irrefragable arguments that the present attitude of the Church of Rome is false, can doubt, now that they have turned, and without any sufficient reason given call that which before they showed to be false now to be true, simply because Papal authority has obliged them—who, I say, can doubt for a moment that they have inflicted another deadly wound upon the faith of France, and not only upon Rome but upon all religion, and upon themselves, and upon all belief in common truth, in common honesty and integrity in the matters of daily life. They have had a victory. But such victories are but momentary—they



last but for a time. Authority ruling what is false can only do so while force is present.

What Mr. Froude says upon this subject in the concluding volume of his *English History* (from p. 533) ought to be written over the doors of all men who base faith upon authority, and not upon light. Speaking of the possibility of the Spanish Armada and the Roman Catholic Church having succeeded in their attempt upon the Church and liberties of England, he says :—

“ It would have still been but a question of time. “ Violence may constrain the outer shell and form of “ things. It can win the acquiescence of fools and the “ applause of parasites. It can kill those who dispute “ its commands. But it cannot make truth into false- “ hood, or falsehood into truth. It may replant a “ dead tree, and insist that it shall be considered as “ alive, but it cannot give back to the tree its vital “ functions, or arrest the law by which it has been “ sentenced to destruction. That which is dead is “ dead, and that which is dead decays, and the skil- “ fullest embalming will not save it from falling into “ dust.

“ But if force cannot restore departed vitality, it can “ check the growth of what is springing up, and distort “ the form which it shall assume. To the countries “ which rejected the Reformation, freedom never “ offered itself again in the dress of a purer religion. “ It returned upon them as revolution, as the negation “ of all religion. In Austria, in Spain, in France, in “ Italy, the Church has been stripped step by step of “ its wealth, of its power, even of its control over the



“ education of the people. Practical life has become  
 “ secularised, and culture and intelligence have ceased  
 “ to interest themselves in a creed which they no longer  
 “ believe. Doctrine may be piled upon doctrine. The  
 “ laity are contemptuously indifferent, and leave the  
 “ priests in possession of the field, in which reasonable  
 “ men have ceased to expect any good thing to grow.  
 “ This is the only fruit of the Catholic reaction of the  
 “ sixteenth century, of all the efforts of the Jesuits and  
 “ the Inquisition, of the Council of Trent, the Massacre  
 “ of St. Bartholomew, and the religious wars of  
 “ Philip II.

“ If the same phenomena are beginning to be visible  
 “ in England, they have appeared as yet in a less  
 “ aggravated form. They are manifesting themselves  
 “ at present, coincident with the repudiation by the  
 “ clergy of the principles of the Reformation; and if  
 “ the clergy are permitted to carry through their  
 “ Catholic ‘revival,’ the divorce between intelligence  
 “ and Christianity will be as complete among ourselves  
 “ as it is elsewhere: but we have been exempted  
 “ hitherto by the efforts of those brave men whose  
 “ perseverance and victory it has been my privilege in  
 “ these pages to describe; and unless we are unworthy  
 “ or degenerate, it is not yet too late for us to save  
 “ ourselves.

“ Religion is the attitude of reverence, in which noble-  
 “ minded people instinctively place themselves towards  
 “ the Unknown Power which made man and his  
 “ dwelling-place. It is the natural accompaniment of  
 “ their lives, the sanctification of their actions and their  
 “ acquirements. It is what gives to man, in the midst



“of the rest of creation, his special elevation and  
“dignity.

“Accompanying our race, as it has done, from the  
“cradle of civilization, it has grown with our growth,  
“it has expanded with the expansion of knowledge,  
“subject only to the condition that when errors have  
“been incorporated in religious systems, they have been  
“exceptionally tenacious of their ground. Rituals and  
“creeds, created by the piety of constructive and  
“devotional ages, have become so precious when once  
“accepted, that it has been held sacrilege to touch  
“them. They have been guarded by superstition, and  
“sealed against change by anathema. The eternal  
“nature of the Object of our reverence has been  
“attributed to the forms under which it has been  
“adored, and unable notwithstanding to escape the  
“changes which the development of knowledge im-  
“poses upon it, religion has advanced, not by easy and  
“natural transitions, but by successive revolutions,  
“violent leaps, spasmodic and passionate convulsions.  
“Opinions formed, or facts believed, in the imma-  
“turity of experience, become incredible when seen to  
“be out of harmony with larger and more exact infor-  
“mation. Piety, the twin brother of science, tends at  
“such times to be the guardian of error. Love of  
“truth is forced into unnatural hostility with the  
“virtue which is only second to it, and then come those  
“trying periods of human history, when devotion and  
“intelligence appear to be opposed, and the metal of  
“which men and nations are composed is submitted  
“to a crucial test. Those who adhere at all costs to  
“truth, who cling to her, though she lead them into



“the wilderness, find beyond it a promised land, where  
 “all that they sacrifice is restored to them. Those  
 “who, through superstition, or timidity, or political  
 “convenience, or pious feeling, close their eyes to fact,  
 “who cling to forms which have become shadows, and  
 “invent reasons for believing what is essentially no  
 “longer credible, escape a momentary trial only that  
 “it may return upon them again in a harder and  
 “harsher shape. They surrender themselves to con-  
 “scientious emotions, and they forfeit those very  
 “emotions, for which they are sacrificing their intel-  
 “lectual honesty, as the object of their reverence  
 “becomes more palpably an idol. While the Church  
 “of Rome is losing the countries which it persuaded  
 “to refuse the Reformation, it exults in the converts  
 “which it is recovering from the nations which became  
 “Protestant. It fails to see that its success is its  
 “deepest condemnation. Protestantism alone has kept  
 “alive the sentiment of piety which, when allied with  
 “weakness of intellect, is the natural prey of super-  
 “stition.”

But nothing can save the Church of Rome. She has laid the axe to her root herself. Few out of England, we believe, but are of that opinion—there, however, the minds, at least of some of the aristocracy and many of the clergy, seem to hanker after a regrafting on her stem. I doubt whether the belief of the Vatican itself is not that its days are numbered, by all there, I suspect, save by the brave old Pope himself, whose good and bad qualities have alike contributed to this consummation.

Many in England have been moved of late, to



return to this mother as they begin to call her. And, no doubt, it has been mainly the work of converts from England that has brought about the present overthrow,—their conversion was Rome's latest glory ; if they have caused her downfall, it is a Nemesis which has followed with no halting step, for Rome now is but a voice and nothing more. St. John again cries in the wilderness ; but now, from the Lateran, wild birds sing from its cornices, the illiterate multitude already have scrabbled over the dogma of Infallibility fixed upon its doors—doors where the proud motto still is legible, “*Orbis et urbis ecclesiarum mater et caput*,”—now a little world, and but one city. “*Tu es Petrus*” and “*Hoc est corpus*,”—the Jakin and Boaz of the Papacy totter to their fall. And it is time—Italy is weary to death of the Papacy and of all belonging to it. They hate the very name of Religion, because of it they shrink even from that of Christ ; it is to them, for the same reason, all “*Roba di Roma*,” and *Roba di Roma* is associated, and long has been, not only with folly and absurdity of belief, but with so much oppression and civil tyranny, that the chief gain of all their revolutions seems to them to be that they have got rid of Rome, if with it also Religion altogether. They are in no search in Italy of a Religion ; they have no desire there for reforms in the Church ; “no Döllinger movement” is of interest to them ; no representative goes from Italy to Munich ; even Pere Hyacinthe in Rome commands no audience. Hyacinthe, Döllinger, all are alike to them ; they care for nothing in the way of reform of Religion, because so many have ceased to believe in Religion altogether. Italy is not in search



of a Church, but of a God. To such a pass does a Religion based on authority, with no response from conscience or reason, bring a nation. Yet, it would be unfair to the Italians, to say that they are not interested in higher things than the animal life ; their country, honesty, integrity, the happiness and progress of mankind, have become a religion to them, and in his way, because they had no better, the unselfishness and heroism of Garibaldi gave him for a time the worship of a Saviour. The children of Vico, Giordano, Bruno and Arnold of Brescia are not without spiritual interests and emotions ; give them a sufficient object and they will live and die for it. Their fathers conquered the whole known world ; their engineers and artizans were the first in the armies of Napoleon, himself Italian ; but they have had no worthy object for their creed in these latter days, and their faith has failed for want of nourishment. Such faith in Revelation as now they have, is but a superstition,—a fear which will not allow many, though repudiating their Church, to die without a confessor. The cry, "*Libera Chiesa in libero stato*," does not mean with them the independence of each as it has been thought to do by us, and by some who wish unwisely to make it our motto, as it is theirs. There it is but a polite formula for getting rid of the questions of Religion altogether.

But it is more than time that we should turn to that other aspect of Revelation which divides, with that which we have been now considering, the greater part of Western Christendom—the other and more progressive portion—the aspect embraced by the Teutonic races, and which, in its main outlines, is our own—at



least, it was supposed to be so. An aspect so different in its character and results as to give to one and the same religion an appearance of being different. And in truth its foundation although the same, is so differently that accepted by the different races, as to make the religion practically different. It will be most correct, however, to state it thus:—‘The Teutonic is the second stage of the Latin religion. For both religions are the same in origin; they are both based on one foundation, but they build so differently upon it as to make it appear a different building. The Latins accept Revelation literally, the Teutons spiritually; the Latins receive Revelation on authority, the Teuton on its inward light. The first bases his acceptance on force, the second on meaning.

It is manifest that the two aspects are but portions of one thing,—one thing in different stages, for in the case of a Revelation it must ever be accepted first on authority, and then go on to its meaning. A child is taught by authority, but, until he sees the meaning of that which he is taught, he has not learned the teaching. The Latins are in the first, the Teutons in the second condition.

Luther is perhaps the best example, as he was perhaps the inaugurator of the second aspect. In his time, at least, the door was first opened among the nations to the second stage of the Christian or Church’s progress. Luther had been taught by authority. He had received all that the Church had to give. She gave it to him, but he found no meaning in it. We all know his struggles and his despair while trying the usual methods of his time for his soul’s liberation. But he



found no help until he fell upon demanding what was the sense of that which had been taught,—not its authority, but its sense. And a light broke in upon him of the meaning of the words “forgiveness of sins.” He saw that it meant what it said—that all fulness was in God: that it was that which was in God, not that which was or was not in himself, which was his ground of hope and peace: that he became just, or got into his right state with God, just as he found this—just as his trust was: that he was justified by faith: this came to him as light, as *the* light, or sense, or meaning: this made to him a standing or falling Church a standing or falling man.

It is commonly said that what Luther did was to discover the value of Holy Scripture, and to base his faith on that, and not upon the Church. But this is not exactly true. It was from Scripture he got his help, but this not because it was Scripture, not, that is, because it was authorized. It was because of and from what he found in Scripture, doubtless, but it was because of the light, the meaning, the power, he found *in* Scripture. It was not because of its external authority, else would he not have called that of St. James “an Epistle of straw,” but because of what he found to be in Scripture in other parts. It was the Baconian philosophy applied to Revelation,—the positive philosophy applied to Scripture although Bacon and Compté had not then written. But the Baconian philosophy was on its way. Roger Bacon had seen its truth in physics, as had Galileo, and Francis Bacon was about to show it forth in England. Coming events were casting their shadows before, and the light was casting the



shadow of Luther across the Northern Continent. But Luther did not know this, yet from that day to this, the light of Luther and the method of Luther have been the rule of the Teutonic nations, and the shadow as well as the light. For it is plain there is a shadow. What is light to one will not be light to another. What is light at one portion will not be at a further in the same spiritual career. Nay, as such a process has no limits, why should it not dissolve away the whole subject matter of faith? To those who never apprehend the light in it, it seems to dissolve away the elements, yet, not altogether so, not truly so. This is never the case where there is a substance of truth, and the inquiry is real.

We are not here to beg the question, and say that Revelation is true. But this much we shall and can truly say, that although the system of Luther has been tried to the uttermost for nearly 300 years and most of all in his own country, and while it is but fair to say that that system of inquiry, analysis, criticism or whatever similar name we give it, has done much to alter the form and shake the conveyances of Revelation, it has left its substance unimpaired, and not only so, but cleared and benefitted, we believe, by the process which it has undergone, a previous surrounding which had given us not only much that was unnecessary, but much which was positively mischievous and deleterious. The main history, literature and prophecy of the Hebrew race remains as before, as that race remains itself, and so does its object, for the main object of the Hebrew race was, to announce and to convey a Saviour to humanity; well that object has



been accomplished and the Saviour remains to us in the fair form of Christ, delivered from the wrappings and deformities with which He had been surrounded, and this mainly by the energies of the Saxon race. A process which has elevated themselves likewise, making truth and integrity the first of all qualities, and courage, which is their daughter, a consequent heir. In spite of all that is urged by those who are not sufficiently acquainted with the results, the religion of Germany is more than anywhere else the religion of Revelation, and the spirit of Luther has not been overcome by while it has learnt from the spirit of Strauss. To see, as we have seen, the results of this in the great war of our time between the two antagonist principles and races, light and authority, Teuton and Latin, wherein the two opposite theories were engaged, we cannot but see that all doubt as to this is solved—a lesson which can be read by all, and never, we trust, to be forgotten by ourselves. The hymn-book in the German knapsack, and the cards, or the religious medal of the Frenchman, spoke loudly of the causes variously at work in the several nations.

But we are far from attributing any intrinsic superiority to races. It is to the principles that superiority is due; and we believe that these have given a superiority to the Teuton which would have been attained by the Celt had he had the happiness of possessing them. But the latter, receiving all things of faith on authority, and having had but authority for his test of truth—a test often contradicted by reason, as in the case of the Eucharist, having to take all on trust, and his trust being equally obligatory even when



sense and sight contradicted it—how could it fail, if truth to him was made untrue in the highest things, that all truth was put in abeyance, and nothing taken as assuredly true. In such a case all value for truth goes, and it needs no prophet to see that, with the failure of truth, all things else must fail also, all physical, moral, and intellectual knowledge, all certainty, and all that is consequent thereon. To this cause alone may be attributed, we think, the fall or the decadence of the Latin races.

For we do not think there is any intrinsic superiority in the Teuton save in that he has had the sense to recognise the higher principle, or rather that he has come into the world at a later stage, and has had the advantage that the world had passed its childhood ere he had to come on. We do not think that there is any intrinsic superiority in the Teuton, for the highest examples of human intellect and conscience are not so marked or exhibited, indeed, in the Teutonic, as in the mixed or in the purely Celtic races, with perhaps the exception of Luther himself. Kant, Leibnitz, and Fichtè are inferior to Plato, Aristotle, and Bacon; Goethe and Schiller to Scott and Shakespeare. Newton and Galileo, Columbus and Vasco de Gama, have contributed more to the world's progress than any of the sons of Arminius. And, unquestionably, in the arts, the Latin or Celtic races, whether in sculpture, painting, or architecture, have excelled the Teutonic, with, perhaps, the exception of in music, and also, no doubt, in some respects, in architecture, as in the Gothic Cathedral. But here, again, it is his elevation in the religious element which



has given him the advantage. He has risen to the high, the imaginative, and the spiritual, and beyond the merely correct and formal. Yet both the elements are needful to perfection, and both start from the same foundation. The Teutonic is, as we have said, rather at the second stage on the same journey, than on a journey by a different road. But the Latins have come to a standstill, and the Teutons have gone on. Whether this is the final stage of the Latin races, and they cannot go beyond, remains a problem still unsolved—a problem which the present state of Italy, Spain, and France, perhaps on different grounds, inclines us to solve in the positive, and we cannot be confident of any great future before them. “Dead nations,” as Longfellow powerfully expresses it, “do not live again;” and although the political life of Italy gives some sign of life, yet when we see the form into which their mind has now curbed and stereotyped itself in its highest phase—that is, religion—it would look as if the fiat had been pronounced, “Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther.” The superior position of Northern Christianity is derived from its having gone on by inquiry to apprehend the meaning of Revelation, and, with its meaning to obtain its power. The Latins, fearing inquiry, and so coming short of meaning, have stopped *en limine*, and, in denying entrance to others, have also destroyed themselves. Preventing inquiry into meaning, all interest in religion is taken away, and, deprived of interest, it is deprived of life. This fear and denial of inquiry in the Church of Rome, however, is a phenomenon now beginning to show itself among ourselves. Afraid—as Mr.



Froude has so well described it—of dangers to the faith, and yet not realising the meaning of the faith it has, men begin to hold on by that which is their ruin, like a drunken mariner, who, falling overboard, seizes on the weeds at the bottom for security. Piously anxious to preserve us from danger, men warn us off from that which alone can give us life, and by formidable words and cries seek to turn back the invader. As the Chinese, they inscribe threatening mottoes and figures on their banners, and sound gongs or cymbals during an eclipse, Alas! such gongs will not hinder an eclipse of faith, nay, they rather produce it. As it was the wont in Rome, so now it is in England, by the use of the word “Rationalist” men are sought to be warned away from knowledge. Justly dreading the lengths to which an unscrupulous inquiry and impiety have led some in Germany, but ignorant of the precious fruits which a reverent inquiry has likewise there brought forth, and the establishment which it has given to faith by the use of reason, without which it could not be established—all use of reason is forbidden, or is restricted to such limited use as authority will permit; forgetful that authority itself is based on reason, and that it is reason alone which can assign its powers. As children we begin with authority, but in religion, as in other things, we are not to remain children always. The fact is, that until we know the meaning of our creeds, they are to us but as alphabets, or hieroglyphics or swords which are in their scabbards. If, as is now too often visible, the drawing of the sword is supposed (by those who know but the scabbard) to be its destruction, all we can



say is, that it is evident that to such the use or meaning of the sword was unknown. And so we have Creeds which are not Beliefs in the sense of belief from knowledge. Nothing short of this ignorance of meaning will explain the worship paid to words amongst us. Such worship as now we see, when in the same breath, for example, it is said that they describe things beyond our knowledge or "great mysteries," and yet demand their use on peril of salvation. It is evident, that save on the supposition of ignorance this only can be done, for were the true nature of the fact realized, it would be seen to be profane to insist on descriptions of the person of the Almighty. But to the use of words, a magical power has been attributed from the time of Solomon downwards, and that not confined to Tales of Arabia, but even within the bounds of Christendom, mainly, we believe, from that professional handling of sacred things, which, in the clerical, as in the medical profession, too often induces an use of words, which to those who have not the professional ear seem immodest or profane, a fact which, while it is an apology and explanation, is one which should forbid the unnecessary use of such words, at least amongst the ignorant. In sacred places silence is surely a greater adoration than the use of such words or language.

Let us value our conscience, reason and understanding above all our earthly treasures, for it is by means of these we have communication with God. It is by means of these He enters into communication with us. Whatever violates or darkens these, or whatever is dark to these cannot be from Him, or is not appre-



hended by us in the sense which He intended. For He made us in His image that we might be able to know Him. And He revealed Himself in Christ for this purpose. He has given us an understanding to know Him that is true, and by means of this knowledge eternal life. It comes to us by giving us fellowship with the Father, that is by knowing the Father, and by knowing having sympathy with Him; sympathy through the knowledge of God given in the face of Jesus Christ.

What we know of God thus is true knowledge; it may be in degree less than that which God is, but it is the same as He is in kind. It is by our reason we come to Him; by this only. Let us not, then, be afraid of reason, and be driven from its use by terrific words. The use of it is now called Rationalism as a disparagement. But Rationalism is the abuse of reason. We must not confound this with reason, for the use of reason is absolutely needful for salvation by Christ. If without faith it is impossible to please God, without knowledge true faith is impossible; and we know who it was that arrogated salvation to the Jews on the express ground that "they knew whom they worshipped." Where Reason ends and Rationalism begins is a line which must be drawn by every man for himself; and according to the measure of reason which is in him, so will he draw it. But that some amount of reason as well as of inquiry is required, is self-evident when we remember that the source of all authority itself in matters of Revelation—Holy Scripture—bids us not to believe an angel from heaven if he does not preach the Gospel, which infers, of course,



that we are capable of knowing it ; warning us also against “ false teachers ” and “ false miracles ” in both cases, leaving the inference that we are able to “ judge of our own selves that which is right ; ” yea, warning us against “ false Christs,” which (as Dr. Campbell admirably says) can only be done on the supposition that we can know, and do know, the true. And, indeed, God has brought all other tests of knowing truth, but that of its own light, to nothing. The Tower of Babel, whereby men were to climb to heaven by an outward form, was destroyed by a confusion of tongues, just as the authorities of councils have been. When one sets against another, a majority is not in the right. St. Athanasius was alone against the world ; yet he prevailed, and why ? By the superior light, no doubt, which was in him. And now we have seen the Roman Church aware of this ; but because, on her principle, viz., that authority, and not light, is the test of truth, to make all sure she is reduced to the necessity of decreeing that but one mouth and one man is to utter it—a test of truth which, so far as it goes, is sufficient, no doubt, but then it goes no way whatever to the Revelation of truth, although it may for a time produce a mechanical unity. The shadow of Peter passing by has indeed blotted out all other things.

But I must now conclude. I had purposed to make an application to our own case of what has now here been advanced, and to our own position as a Church, by an examination of that reaction, now so fashionable among us, called the Anglo-Catholic theory, and which professes to be the basis of our



Church, being a junction of the two systems we have had under consideration, giving us the truths contained in both without the errors of either. If by this is meant that the Church of England holds the ground common to both, it is an excellent position; but if it means that peculiar to both, then it is not defensible; we cannot combine inquiry and non-inquiry, reason and no reason. But if by *Catholic* is meant what has been from the beginning, and by *Anglo* inquiry into its meaning, all is well. For then "*Catholic*" to be real would take us to a very narrow but sufficient ground, the Baptismal Formula or the creeds of early Rome or Aquilism, and reason exercised on these would give us all we need. But this is not what is meant. But into this we cannot go at present, but we trust to have another opportunity, if God so will. Meanwhile, commending you to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified (Acts xx. 32), I pray my beloved brethren that He may ever have you in His Holy keeping, as I most firmly believe He has, and that you may have the full comfort, also, of ever realizing it.



### *THE GLENGARRY CASE.*

THE Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Winchester having preached in the Parish Church of the Establishment at Glengarry, which is in the Diocese of Argyll, and fault having been found thereat by many members of the different churches, the Bishop of Argyll thought it right to address the Archbishop of York as follows :—

Bishopston, Lochgilphead, October 2, 1871.

“MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I do not know that any letter from me can be of use at this moment, but as I believe that Glengarry lies in this diocese, and not, as has by mistake been supposed, in Moray and Ross, it may be that I am called upon to say a word on the subject ; at the same time, as I claim no territorial jurisdiction in the district save over those congregations which submit themselves to my Episcopate, it may seem superfluous to express any opinion as to that which takes places in other Churches. But as to some people this may not appear to be the case, and as I am called upon for an expression of opinion, I cannot but say that



your Grace's officiating in the Parish Church of Glengarry gave me well-founded pleasure; for I looked upon it as a step towards that great goal to which I hope all churches alike are tending, where the distinctions of their various ministries shall be lost and swallowed up in the common objects for which they were instituted. And I am the more confirmed in this my satisfaction at your Grace's act when I look at the tremendous questions which now affect the fate of Christendom, and even Revelation itself, and to which I believe the principle of love alone is any adequate solution, among ourselves. And I conceive that all which ministers to this principle helps to forward that solution, as all that impedes it must necessarily be an hindrance, and in its essence also anti-Christian.—I am ever, my dear Lord Archbishop, most truly yours,

(Signed) ALEX. EWING."

The Bishop afterwards received the subjoined copy of Minute by the Presbytery of Abertarff, in which the Church of Glengarry is situated :—

EXCERPT MINUTE—PRESBYTERY OF ABERTARFF.

"At Fort-William, on the 28th of November,  
 "1871 years, which day the Presbytery of  
 "Abertarff, being met pursuant to adjournment,  
 "and being duly constituted, sederunt, &c., &c.,

"*Inter Alia*,

"The Presbytery took up consideration of the letter  
 "of the Rev. Alex. Ewing, Bishop of Argyll and the  
 "Isles, in the Episcopal Church in Scotland, dated



“9th November current, enclosing a letter dated  
 “2nd October last, addressed by Bishop Ewing to His  
 “Grace the Archbishop of York, and submitted to  
 “them through the Rev. A. Clerk, Minister of  
 “Kilmallie, at Bishop Ewing’s request.

“The Presbytery, on considering this letter, resolve  
 “to record their thanks, as they hereby do, to the  
 “Rev. Bishop Ewing, for communicating it to them.

“They are glad to find that he entertains the same  
 “views with the Church of Scotland on the subject of  
 “a free exchange of ministerial services among all  
 “Churches which are sound in the faith. They entirely  
 “agree with him in the conviction that the manifesta-  
 “tion of brotherly love among the followers of Christ  
 “is the only effectual guard against the crying evils  
 “which, in the present troublous times, threaten to  
 “destroy alike the usefulness of the Church of Christ  
 “and overturn civil society; and they earnestly pray  
 “for the hastening of the day when this brotherly love  
 “shall be manifested by all true believers.

“They instruct their Clerk to send an Extract of  
 “this Minute to the Right Rev. Bishop Ewing, with  
 “the expression of their sincere Christian regards.

“Extracted on this and preceding two pages, from  
 “the Records of the Presbytery of Abertarff,  
 “this 29th day of November, 1871, by

“PATRICK GORDON,  
 “*Presbytery Clerk.*

“To the  
 “Right Rev. ALEX. EWING, D.C.L.,  
 “Bishop of Argyll and the Isles,  
 “Bishopston, Lochgilphead.”



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