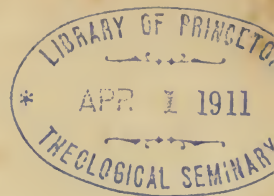


BW4026

.B16



[SIXTH THOUSAND.]

THE PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

OF

CHRISTIANITY

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

WITH REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA; AND ON THE
INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BRITISH AND AMERICAN CHURCHES,

BY

✓
ROBERT BAIRD,

Author of "Religion in America," "Protestantism in Italy," etc., etc.

+ Speech (75 pages)

LONDON:

PARTRIDGE AND OAKEY, PATERNOSTER ROW.

R. THEOBALD, PATERNOSTER ROW.

EDINBURGH—JOHNSON AND HUNTER; DUBLIN—P. DIXON,
HARDY, AND SONS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS

BY JAMES H. BLACK

JAMES BLACK, PRINTER, POWIS STREET, WOOLWICH.



INTRODUCTION.

THE greater portion of this pamphlet, as the reader will find, consists of a Report, of a statistical character in many respects, on the state of Christianity in America. This Report was read before the British Evangelical Alliance, Saturday, August 30th. At the suggestion and request of several English, American, and Continental friends, it is published in this form, both for the purpose of giving it entire to the public, and also to have it printed, at least the statistical part, before the author leaves London, in order to secure as great a degree of accuracy as possible in a document where there are so many figures, and so much depending on them.

In the year 1842, the author prepared, at the request of many friends in Europe, a work entitled: **RELIGION IN AMERICA**, which was published in a large octavo volume, illustrated by maps, by the Messrs. Blackie and Sons, of Glasgow. This work has been translated into French, German, Dutch, and Swedish. It will appear in modern Greek and Armenian. The author takes the liberty of recommending that work to such as desire to obtain a full account of the Religious History and Economy of the United States, to which this Report is in a sense supplemental. In that work a full notice is taken of the colonization of the

country, of the Colonial era, of the changes made by the Revolution and Independence of the country, of the progress of christianity up to 1842, of the history of every Evangelical branch of the Church, and also of the Non-Evangelical, the modes of supporting public worship, revivals of religion, missions, etc., etc. The author flatters himself that those who will take the trouble to read that book in connexion with the present Report, will find much to interest them in a country which ought to be known and respected by Britons, for it is one of their own planting, and with whose interests and destiny those of England must ever be closely intertwined.

In the latter part of this pamphlet the reader will find a "Speech," "Remarks" and a "Supplement," in which the author has ventured to remonstrate against the course of vituperation and exclusion which some in this country have been pursuing in regard to the people of the United States, on account of Slavery, and to express his deep conviction that great evil and danger will result, if this course be continued.

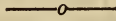
London, September 6th, 1851.

* The present issue of this pamphlet (the 6th Thousand,) contains important additions, both in the text and in the notes, made by the Author after his return from the Continent.

ENGLISH EDITOR.

London, November 25th, 1851.

R E P O R T .



THE EARLY COLONIZATION OF THE COUNTRY.

1. THE SOUTH.

A PART of the Atlantic coast of the continent of North America was discovered by the Cabots, John and Sebastian, father and son, (the former a native of Venice, the latter of England,) who reached it on the 24th of June, in the year 1497. By this event a very large and important part of that continent was secured to a country which, within less than half a century, was to throw off the chains of Rome, and to become, in due time, the most powerful of all Protestant kingdoms. It was in this manner that He who "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation," had resolved to prepare a place to which, in ages then drawing near, those who should be persecuted for Christ's sake might flee and find protection, and thus to form a great Protestant nation. And yet how near, if we may so speak, was this vast plan to being defeated! Had De Soto, when he sailed from Cuba, a year or two earlier, turned his prow to the east of the peninsula of Florida, instead of the west, he would have discovered the Atlantic coast of what is now the United States, and that great country might have had a Spanish instead of an Anglo-Saxon,—a Roman Catholic, instead of a Protestant,—population. It is said that a very trifling circumstance decided him! But all was ordered by that Being who knows how to make the most insignificant as well as the greatest occurrences subserve His glorious purposes.

The first successful attempt made by the English to plant colonies within the limits of what is now called *The United States of North America*, was made at Jamestown, on the James River, in the present State of Virginia, on the 13th day of May, in the year 1607. This colony was composed of friends of the Stuarts, the then reigning dynasty of England; and, as to religious faith and ecclesiastical order, it was Protestant and Episcopal. The Church that was planted in it, and for a long time the only one tolerated, was an offshoot of the Established Church of England, and for one hundred and sixty-eight years was under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of London. In fact this state of things lasted a hundred and seventy-eight years, or from 1607 till 1785, ten years after the declaration of independence, when the Episcopal Church in America for the first time had bishops of its own.

The Colony of Virginia became in a sense, the mother colony of all the southern portion of the country; for Maryland, which was at the beginning, and for a few years, a Roman Catholic colony, soon fell very much under its influence, and Episcopacy became there the dominant, though not to an equal degree the exclusive Protestant form of ecclesiastical doctrine and polity. In process of time the colonies of North and South Carolina were formed; in which also Episcopacy and a population similar in character to that of Virginia, became prevalent. And finally, the colony of Georgia was planted, which formed the fifth and last of the original Southern colonies, about one hundred and fifteen years after the planting of Virginia. Although Georgia least of all possessed in earliest years, a southern character, and never was to the same extent under Episcopal influence, yet it received a southern type in the lapse of time from the operation of the same causes, one of which was the immigration of planters from the other and older southern colonies.

Such was the original colonization of the southern portion of the United States. Let us now speak of

2. THE NORTH.

In the year 1620, a part of the Rev. J. Robinson's church emigrated from Holland, and founded New Plymouth, in Massachusetts,—so called from Plymouth, in England, where they stopped awhile on their way to the new world,—which was the first colony planted in New England, the north eastern portion of the United States. This colony was composed of those who have been, *by emphasis*, called the PILGRIMS. They were Independents in religious polity.

Eight years later a larger colony was planted on the opposite side of the Massachusetts Bay; and two years later still a far larger one at the head of that bay, both of which were composed of PURITANS,—of people who were members of the established church whilst in England, but became *Independents*, or as they are called in America, *Congregationalists*, almost as soon as they arrived in the new world.

As Virginia became the mother colony in the south, so did Massachusetts in the north. Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, were all in a great degree colonized from her; the two latter were not provided with separate governments whilst the colonies were under the government of England. There were thus four original colonies in the north, and five in the south. Widely different were these two families of colonies. Protestant both, but whilst the one was chiefly planted by colonists who sympathized with the "Cavaliers," and the Established Church and Monarchy of England, the other consisted of staunch Independents of the political school of the "Round-heads," were far more jealous of the prerogatives of the British Crown, and sympathized with the Commonwealth, in its day. It would be difficult to conceive of Protestant colonies, speaking the same language, from the same country, and that a very small one, that could differ more in character, manner, and opinions on the subjects of religion and the nature and extent of obedience due to the mother country.

3. THE MIDDLE DISTRICT.

Between these northern and southern groups of colonies lay a broad and important portion of the coast, which is now covered by the States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. Holland claimed the whole of this great section of the country, and had planted an insignificant colony, or rather trading-post at the mouth of the Hudson river, where now stands the City of New York, before the "Pilgrim Fathers," reached New Plymouth. Some thirty years later a Swedish colony,—which had been projected by the great and good Gustavus Adolphus,—was planted on the banks of the Delaware, in the southern portion of that middle territory. But England, in the commencement of the reign of Charles II., took possession of the portion of the country which Holland had held, and obtained by treaty and cession that which Sweden had colonized, and so completed her possession of the entire coast. Out of this increase of territory grew up the four additional colonies of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania:—Thus making up the whole THIRTEEN, which was the number when the memorable struggle of the Revolution commenced, that was destined to create an independent nation, under a federative and republican form of government. Of the four middle colonies episcopacy prevailed in New York, and was partially "favoured," at least for a time, in New Jersey and Delaware, but was never, properly speaking, established by law in either of them, or in the colony of Pennsylvania, of which William Penn was the founder.

It will be seen from this brief statement, that the northern and southern colonies were of English origin,—the former exclusively so, and the latter had at the outset but few settlers that were not from England, and these few (mostly Irish Roman Catholics), were in Maryland. The first colonies in the middle section of the coast were Dutch and Swedes. But English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh emigrants, entered this part of the country soon after it had been taken possession of by England, and established themselves at many different points.

The original colonization of the United States was, in its lowest or primary stratum, from the British isles, with the exception of a few thousand Dutch and Swedes. The Swedish element has disappeared, being absorbed in the Anglo-Saxon race. The Dutch, although far greater, may also be said to have been absorbed, for it is scarcely to be found any where, save in the Dutch names which many families in New York and New Jersey, and elsewhere still wear.

Over this substratum there spread emigrations of greater or less extent from several countries on the continent of Europe. First of all there were the Huguenots, who came from France about the epoch of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which occurred in the year 1685. These excellent people settled in Boston and one or two other places in Massachusetts; in New York; in Virginia and the Carolinas. To this day several streets and many families—some of them greatly distinguished—in Charleston, in South Carolina, bear the names of those who in France, suffered the "loss of all things for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus."

Shortly afterwards, or rather about the same time, German Protestants began to emigrate to America, first from the Palatinate,—whence they were driven by the myrmidons of Louis XIV, who ruthlessly laid waste their country,—and then from other parts of the glorious land of Luther. The stream of emigration from Germany to America, with some intermissions, has continued to flow ever since, and is now become as it were, a mighty river.

In the earlier part of the seventeenth century there came a company of some two hundred Protestant Poles, under a Count Sobieski, and settled in New Jersey and New York, and about the same time six hundred Waldenses, who settled in New York. There were also emigrants from the descendants of those Bohemian and Moravian christians, who received the gospel at first from Constantinople, and for long ages endured persecution at the hands of Rome.

From ten different countries of Europe did the men come, who either planted or enlarged the colonies in the United States, before the Revolution. From most of them, persecution for righteousness' sake was the primary cause of expatriation. For this reason, and for the pious and excellent character of very many of them, the celebrated Cotton Mather, one of the most widely known of the earlier writers of New England, said, that God seemed to have sifted the nations of the Old World, in order to bring the best of His wheat to the New. Although there was a great difference among the colonies which came from the British Isles, as to religious character,—the northern far surpassing the southern, as will be readily comprehended by all who are acquainted with the religious history of the two great parties in England from whose ranks they came,—yet it is true that there were many excellent men in all. What is very remarkable: the charters of several of the Southern as well as the Northern colonies contained clauses in relation to the christianizing the "Salvages," (as the Indian aborigines were called), as being an important expectation and object of the enterprize. There were some excellent christians among the Dutch colonists; probably a greater number relatively among the Swedes, the Poles, the Waldenses, the Moravians, and the Bohemians. There was a great deal of piety amongst the first German immigrants. But there were no emigrants from the continent to America who could compare with the simple-hearted and pious Huguenots, or Protestant exiles from France,—driven from that beautiful country by the dragoons of Louis XIV, and the priestly cohorts of the pretended successor of the Fisherman and vicar of Christ. With the exception of the German, all these colonies were completely absorbed in the English, and almost every trace of their languages obliterated before the American Revolution.

Such was the original and such the secondary colonization of the country now called the United States, extending over a period of one hundred and sixty-eight years, from 1607 to 1775. This was the COLONIAL ERA of the country.

During this long and important period, the infancy and early youth of the nation, the history of the Churches in America contains many a bright page,—setting forth the visitations of the Spirit, which purified and revived them and augmented the number of believers; but many a dark

one also, in which those periods are treated when religion sadly declined. Alas, there were several such,—the causes of which may be stated in few words.

1. The very removal of the colonists to a new and comparatively unknown world, three thousand miles distant from the civilization and other advantages of Europe, and their settlement in a land which was literally a wilderness, and possessing a climate which was eminently fatal to the first comers, and indeed to all until they had undergone a process of acclimation. The anxieties, the fatigues, the sufferings, the sickness, and sometimes the pressing want,—amounting almost to starvation, in some cases,—were decidedly unfavourable to religious prosperity.

2. It was not many years till nearly all of these colonies had to endure severe and dreadful conflicts with the aborigines. I do not stop to inquire who were to blame for this. In many cases the fault may be laid at the door of the colonists themselves; for, however excellent was the character of many of them, it could not be expected that there would be no bad or imprudent men among them. On the other hand, it is certain that the savage tribes were often the aggressors,—sometimes it is believed, at the instigation of white men, of whom I shall presently speak.

3. They were repeatedly agitated by wars with their French and Spanish neighbours, especially the former, who during the greater part of this period possessed the Canadas and the entire Valley of the Mississippi. These wars were the more dreadful, because of the Indian auxiliaries whom the French had in great number, through the superior influence and tact of the French Jesuits, who had missions among many of the more powerful tribes. Even the foreign wars of the mother country, and in a portion of the period, the three Revolutions which that country underwent, agitated the colonies, and retarded the progress of religion.

4. The introduction of slavery greatly hindered, and in many ways, the progress of religion, especially in the southern colonies, whose climate was more favourable to the health of people from Africa, and whose productions were such as to render their labour more profitable than those of the north. In consequence of this, the number of slaves in the southern colonies soon became incomparably greater than in the northern. But slavery was injurious, to a greater or less degree, in *all* the colonies,—for it existed at the declaration of Independence in all of them,—and in divers ways impeded the triumphs of the gospel.

5. The union of the Church with the state was also a hindrance. This was more manifestly the case in the north than in the south. In both it was at first intolerant, and even exclusive. It engendered bitter feuds among the people, and occasioned innumerable embarrassments to the governments. It laid the foundation in the north, for some of the most dangerous heresies,—such as Socinianism and Universalism—which, however, did not receive their full development till a then future day. The union of the Church and State in Massachusetts was of the most extraordinary character, with which nothing can be compared but that of the Hebrew Commonwealth. It was a *fusion* of the two powers

or institutions, the ecclesiastical and the political, rather than a union. In one form or another, and in a greater or less degree, the Church was connected with the State in ten out of the thirteen colonies, during the whole, or the latter part, of the period under review.

6. And lastly, the difficulty in getting good ministers of the gospel, was a great hindrance. In the northern colonies this was not so much felt; for their wise founders set about the creation of institutions, which would raise up pastors for their churches, as well as capable administrators of the government. Public schools were established almost immediately, and Harvard College, now a University,—not only the oldest but the best endowed in the United States,—was founded only eighteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. But the Episcopal churches in the south, and indeed in all parts, had to obtain their pastors from England; or, if they trained up young men of their own, they had to send them over to the Bishop of London, to receive ordination. This continued till after the Revolution. Some of the men whom the Bishops of London sent over, were unquestionably excellent men,—but many were far otherwise. One of these bishops, (I forget which) writing to a friend in America, complained that he had great difficulty in getting any at all, and that most of those whom he did find were unfit to be sent!

And yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Truth did maintain a noble stand in America during the colonial era. God raised up such men as the Mathers, Edwards, Davies, Finley, the Tennents, and others, whose labours were greatly blessed. And the angel-visits of Wesley and Whitfield, did much in the way of co-operation.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

The second period of the history of the Church in America extends from 1775 to 1815. This was a very important era, but it was one of great perturbations. There was first the war of the Independence, which lasted from 1775 to 1783, a period of eight years. As the struggle extended from one end of the country to the other, and from the sea to the Alleghany Mountains, the entire nation which numbered about 3,500,000 souls, was agitated, and that almost continually, to its inmost recesses. Under these circumstances it was not to be expected that religion should flourish. Next succeeded a long period of agitation, from various sources,—the unsettled state of the country; the want of a central government; the efforts to form a constitution and to organize a general government; the difficulties which beset the path of that government; the collision with England and France, and a brief war with the latter; continued difficulties with several countries of Europe, and a war of three years, from 1812 to 1815, with Great Britain. During this period several severe wars occurred with the Aborigines. Take it as a whole, it was a period, extending through forty years, that was not favourable to a very extensive progress of the gospel, and yet it was within that period, namely about the year 1800, that those gracious effusions of the Holy Spirit recommenced, which have so greatly blessed that country. In the early part of this era, the union of the Church and the State came to an end in the southern States and in New York.

It was during this period that the vast territory of Louisiana was purchased from France, out of which have been formed the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa, and leaving still the extensive territory of Nebraska, the large Reservation for the Indians, and what is now called Oregon,—containing in all more than a million and a quarter of square miles. By this purchase the extent of the United States was more than doubled.

Even before the Revolution emigration commenced from the settlements east of the Alleghany Mountains to the country westward of that range, which is now called the great central Valley of the Mississippi, or that vast country lying between the Alleghany Mountains on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the west, the Lakes that separate the United States from the British Possessions on the north and the Gulph of Mexico on the south, embracing more than a million and a quarter of square miles. The part of this vast country which lies east of the Mississippi had been ceded by France to England in 1763. There were a few thousands of Anglo-American people settled along the western base, or rather in the western skirts, as it were, of the Alleghany range as early as the year 1765, in the States of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. There were probably not more than 100,000 inhabitants of English origin there when the war of the Revolution began. During the period which we are now noticing, this emigration increased rapidly, especially during the latter part of it; and before the year 1815 the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, as well as Louisiana, (whose population was chiefly French,) were admitted into the Union, and two or three territorial governments organized.

This great region was claimed and held by France for more than a century, by right of discovery. This claim she maintained against the charters which the kings of England had granted to the earlier colonies planted by the people of that country. Some of those charters were remarkable documents in several senses, one of these was the great ignorance which they display in relation to the country which they undertook to parcel out. Several of them over-ran each other. Some of them conveyed to the patentees territories that stretch from the Atlantic to the "South Sea," as the Pacific is called.

France had discovered the country about the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and commenced the planting of colonies in what is now called Canada about the time when England began to colonize the coast. Quebec was founded the year after the planting of the colony of Jamestown in Virginia. From Canada, La Salle, Hennepin, and others explored the Valley of the Mississippi, and thus secured that vast country to France, although De Soto, the Spaniard, had long before visited the southern part of it.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

The third and last period extends from 1815 to 1851, and has a length of thirty-six years. This has been in many respects the most prosperous era in our history. It has been especially so in regard to religion. Within this period the last ligaments which united the Church and State were sundered; in Connecticut, in 1816, and Massachusetts

in 1833. With the exception of a few commercial crises, one or two of which were very severe, the country has enjoyed great temporal, or material prosperity. There were no wars that greatly troubled the country. There were a few Indian conflicts of no great importance; a war of a few months with one of the Barbary powers, and one with Mexico of some two years' duration. The last named war, although it produced some excitement, cannot be said to have agitated the country very greatly, because the scene of it was remote. It was much deplored by many of our best people.

During this period the area and population of the country greatly increased. In the year 1819 Florida was purchased from Spain. This gave 57,750 square miles to the territory of the United States. By the annexation of Texas, that territory received a further enlargement of 325,500 square miles. And finally in 1848, Mexico ceded to the United States, for the sum of 12,000,000 dollars, and other considerations (making the entire sum equivalent to 15,000,000 dollars), the provinces of New Mexico and Upper California, containing 526,075 square miles. By this accession of territory, the area of the United States was made to reach the extent of about three millions and a quarter of square miles; of which not one half is in the occupancy of civilized men, and no part of it is densely settled. The population, which was 3,929,327 in 1790; 5,305,925 in 1800; 7,239,814 in 1810; 9,638,131 in 1820; 12,866,920 in 1830; 17,100,572 in 1840; had reached 23,225,000 in 1850. At the end of each of the six decades which have passed since 1790 (and there was no census of the whole country taken before that epoch) the increase of the population was ascertained. In the first, that increase was 1,376,598; in the second, 1,933,829; in the third, 2,398,317; in the fourth, 3,228,789; in the fifth, 4,233,652; and in the sixth, 6,124,428. Even at the ratio of the last decade, the increase of the next—from 1850 to 1860—will be 8,346,872; and that of the decade from 1860 to 1870, will be 11,341,700. This calculation gives us some idea of the rapid growth of the population of the country, and of the greatness of the Church's responsibility, and of the work to be done. At the ratio above stated, the population will be 50,712,999 in the year 1875, and far more than 100,000,000 in the year 1900.

The period under notice, from 1815 to 1851, was one of great spiritual as well as material progress. During that time, the increase of our churches and of the means of religious instruction was wonderful. There were many instances of the outpouring of the Spirit in all parts of the country. It was the era of the formation, or of the principal growth; of our societies for spreading the gospel at home and abroad; for increasing the staff of the ministry, for the promotion of temperance; for the reforming of the criminal;—in a word, of great progress in all that concerns the moral and religious, as well as material, interests of the nation.

The immigration from foreign lands increased within this period, from some twelve or fifteen thousand per annum, up to 315,000. During the present year, it is expected that it will far exceed 400,000—probably come, but little, if at all, short of half a million! And whilst,

on the one hand, the immigration from the Old World has been steadily and rapidly advancing, on the other, the tide of our population has been rolling in immense volume into the Valley of the Mississippi, and is even now spreading along the coast of the Pacific Ocean. Since 1815 no less than nine States have been formed in that great central region; namely, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Mississippi, and Alabama; besides Florida, bordering on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico; Texas, which borders on the same gulf; and California, which borders on the Pacific. Before many years pass away, several new States will be organized out of the territories of Minnesota, Nebraska, New Mexico, Utah, and Oregon.*

The entire population of the States and Territories west of the Alleghany mountains now exceeds ten and a half millions; in 1775 it did not exceed 100,000; and was not half a million in the year 1800. These figures show the wonderful increase of the population of the United States, and the rapidity with which it is expanding itself over the immense central and western regions.

In proof of the material prosperity of the country, it may be stated that the tonnage employed in the foreign and coasting commerce of the country (including the fishing and whaling vessels) was in June, 1850, 3,681,469. That of the lakes was 167,137 tons. The exports were 136,946,912 dollars, and the imports 173,308,010 dollars. The number of steam vessels of all descriptions was estimated, at the commencement of this present year, to be 2,000, and their tonnage 500,000; and it is calculated that on the 1st of January, 1852, the aggregate length of railroads will be 10,618 miles, built at a cost of about 350,000,000 dollars.† These facts may be taken as indices of the advance of the United States in what concerns its material interests.

In connexion with this topic, we may state that the cause of Education has made great progress, particularly within the last forty or fifty years. Public school systems have been established by law, securing the advantages of education for all classes, in at least twelve of the States in the northern and north-western portion of the country, and the subject is waking up much interest in almost all the others. There are now one hundred and twenty colleges and universities, most of which are in the hands and under the direction of religious men, and a solid instruction is imparted in the principles of a Protestant Christianity. There are thir-

* When the word "territory" in this Report, commences with a capital letter, it then signifies a defined district, that is not yet a State, but is in process of becoming one. This will take place when the population be comes sufficient, and a constitution has been formed by the people through their representatives chosen for the purpose, and approved by the President and Congress. Until this is done, the government of the "Territory" is carried on by a Governor, Judges, and other officers appointed by the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate.

† The English reader can in a moment convert into pounds sterling, any of the sums stated in this document in dollars, by dividing them by the number five. This will at all events give the value in English money with sufficient accuracy for ordinary purposes. Strictly speaking, five dollars are seven pence more than a pound sterling, or sovereign.

teen Roman Catholic colleges, and two or three may be said not to have any decided religious character, although I know of none that have an infidel character. In the year 1801, there were but twenty-five colleges in the country. There are thirty-seven medical schools and twelve law schools. Many of the colleges are new and very imperfectly endowed; but many of the old ones may be said to be well established and supplied with efficient teachers. In founding the institutions, the State Governments have usually given more or less aid; but their greatest assistance, in the way of endowments, has come from the benevolence of individuals.

We come now to the consideration of the progress and present state of religion in the United States, so far as it can be ascertained and determined by statistical inquiry. On this subject it is very difficult to obtain all the data which are desirable, but I think I shall be able to reach a reasonable approximation to the truth.

I. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The oldest branch of the Protestant Church in the United States is the Protestant Episcopal. Its history commences with the planting of the colony of Virginia, in the year 1607. For a very long period this church laboured under many disadvantages. One of these has been alluded to—the difficulty of obtaining ministers from England, where all had to be ordained. Another and very serious difficulty arose from the disputes which occurred in relation to the manner of their support. And, to complete the catalogue of hindrances, at the commencement of the Revolution, a large number of the ministers of this body, being Englishmen, felt constrained, by their views of duty, to return to the mother country. It was not till years after the Revolution, that the real prosperity of this Church commenced. From the most authentic accounts which I have been able to find, I think that there were in the year 1800, 320 churches, 16,000 communicants, 260 ministers, with 7 bishops. In 1819, there were 17 bishops, about 500 churches, and 25,000 members. In 1850, there were 28 bishops, 3 missionary bishops, 1,504 ministers, 1,550 churches, and about 73,000 members. During the first half of this century, the Episcopal Church in the United States has, therefore, more than quintupled its clergy and churches, and nearly quintupled its members. The population of the United States has increased during the same period something less than fourfold and a half, it being relatively, at the epochs of 1850 and 1800, as 439 6-10ths to 100.

II. THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

The Congregational branch of the one true Church of Christ may be taken next; for though the Reformed Dutch Church may have had some preachers on the ground before 1620, it is not certain that there were any churches of this body before 1624. The increase of this body has been steady, almost from the first. I have no means of knowing what were its statistics in the year 1800. But, in the year 1850, there were 1,971 churches, of which nearly 1,400 were in the six New England States, and the rest in the other States, chiefly Ohio, Illinois, Michigan,

Wisconsin, and Iowa. The number of ministers was 1,687, and of the communicants, or members, 197,196. In this statement no churches are included but those which are now called Congregational in America. The Congregational body of churches has not increased as fast as the other great communions, and for the simple reason that it was for nearly two hundred years confined to the six New England States. The emigrants from those states who had been brought up in the principles of the Congregational system, usually joined the Presbyterian churches in the middle, southern, and western states. This practice still continues, although not so much as formerly. Within the last fifteen or twenty years a large number of Congregational churches has been formed in the States of New York, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and a few in others,—composed for the most part of people from New England. Had the emigrants from New England and their children, dispersed over the other States and Territories, and who are believed to be almost if not quite as numerous as the actual inhabitants of the land of their origin, all cleaved to its ecclesiastical polity, and every where organized churches on that basis, the Congregational churches in the United States would have been more than 3,000 in number, instead of 1,971, at this day.

III. THE BAPTIST CHURCHES.

The Baptist branch of the Church of Christ comes next in order of time.

For a long period, the Baptists ministers encountered much opposition, owing to the intolerance which prevailed both north and south—an intolerance which was a vice of the age. They often suffered imprisonment in Virginia, from the hands of the civil Government, and they were banished from Massachusetts, and compelled to found the colony of Rhode Island. At length, however, better views prevailed in both portions of the country. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, they never experienced opposition, so far as I know. In the year 1791, there were 1,150 churches, 891 ministers, and 65,345 members. In 1850, what are called the “Regular,” or “Associated” Baptist churches were believed to be 10,441, the number of ordained ministers 6,049, and that of the members 754,652. If we add to these the Seventh-day Baptists (Sabbatarians), with their 60 churches, 46 ministers, and 7,000 members; the Free-will Baptists (who are Arminian in their theological views), 1,154 churches, 823 ordained ministers, 49,215 members; the Six Principle Baptists, and one or two other small branches, who have about 200 churches, 100 ministers, and 11,000 members; and the “Disciples of Christ,” or “Reformers,” as they call themselves—a large body embracing in 1850, about 1,600 churches, 1,000 ministers, and 127,000 members—who have adopted the sentiments of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Campbell, which have been considered too speculative and cold, and not sufficiently operative to the renovation of the heart and life;*

* I am happy to say, that from various quarters I have received information, that spiritual life is increasing in this branch of the Baptist body. This is indeed a cheering fact—one that, perhaps, should have been expected. Dr. Campbell thought he saw the truth exposed to danger from a certain

we shall have an aggregate of 13,455 churches, 8,018 ministers, and 948,867 members. This is an immense increase since the year 1791—sixty years ago. In the year 1750, one hundred years ago, there were only 58 Baptist churches in the whole of what is now the United States; and in the year 1768, there were but 137. It appears that in sixty years the Baptist churches have increased tenfold, their ministers ninefold, and their members more than thirteenfold!

IV. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.

The next of the large Christian bodies which arose in the United States was the Presbyterian. The first ministers of that body were from Scotland and the North of Ireland, and were joined by ministers from New England, who came into the middle and southern States, where Presbyterianism first gained a foothold. In the year 1705 a presbytery, consisting of seven ministers, was formed: from this beginning the body has steadily grown, until it now ranks among the most numerous and powerful of the land. In the year 1800, it is believed, the number of ministers of what is now called the Presbyterian Church, was about 300, churches 500, and communicants, 40,000. This is, at all events, as exact as we can make the statement, and it cannot be far from the truth. The two great branches in which it now appears—for a division took place in the year 1838—stand thus: The Old School General Assembly has 23 synods, 134 presbyteries, 2,027 ministers, 618 licentiates and students, 2,675 churches, 210,306 members. The New School Assembly has 21 synods, 104 presbyteries, 1,489 ministers, 204 students (in theological schools only) and licentiates, 1,579 churches, and 140,060 communicants. Taken together, the two branches of the Presbyterian Church name 44 synods, 238 presbyteries, 3,516 ministers, 822 licentiates and students, 4,254 churches, and 350,366 communicants. From this it appears that this body increased nearly twelvefold so far as the ministry is concerned, eight and a half fold as to the churches, and nearly ninefold as regards the members. But if we add the smaller branches, none of which amounted to much in the year 1800, and the largest of which did not exist at all, the increase of the Presbyterian body becomes still more striking. They are as follows: 1. The Associate Presbyterian Church, which had, in 1850, 1 synod, 16 presbyteries, 120 ministers, 214 churches, and 18,000 communicants. 2. The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, with 4 synods, 20 presbyteries, 219 ministers, 332 churches, and 26,340 members. 3. The Reformed Presbyterian Church, with 2 synods, 7 presbyteries, about 80 ordained ministers, 100 organized churches, and 12,000 communicants. These three bodies have at least 160 students and licentiates. 4. Reformed Dutch Church, which is only Dutch in name at present, for the English is used in all their pulpits, and spoken by all their people. This body had, in 1784, only 82 churches, and 30 ministers. In 1850 it had a general synod 2 particular synods, 24 classes (or presbyteries), 293 ministers, 292 churches, and 33,553 communicants. It had also

quarter, and it was quite possible for him, in these circumstances, to go to the other extreme. But it was natural for a proper equilibrium, or something like it, to be reached in due time.

32 students in theology. 5. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church. This body arose in 1810, in the State of Kentucky. In polity it is Presbyterian, with the addition of the itinerating system of the Methodist Church. In doctrine it holds a sort of medium ground between Calvinism and Arminianism.* It has a General Assembly, 12 synods, 45 presbyteries, 350 ministers, 480 churches, and more than 50,000 members. This body is most numerous in the south-western and western States. It has but few churches east of the Alleghany Mountains.

From this it appears the Presbyterian family of churches speaking the English language and having a British origin, (except the Dutch Reformed) consists of 4 general assemblies, 65 synods, 360 presbyteries, 4,578 ministers, 1,014 students and licentiates, 5,672 churches, and 490,259 communicants. And almost all this is the growth of fifty years, or the era from 1800 to 1850. During that period the Presbyterian Church may be said to have increased nearly elevenfold.

V. THE METHODIST CHURCHES.

The last in order of time, of the larger religious bodies mainly of Anglo-American origin, that arose in the United States, was the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was not till the year 1784 that this Church was organized—under the superintendence of the Rev. Messrs. Coke and Asbury. Up to that time, those who followed the doctrines and measures of Wesley remained in connexion with the Protestant Episcopal Church. At the date of its organization the new body had 83 ministers and 14,986 members. In the year 1800 it had 40,000 members. Its subsequent increase has been immense. It now spreads over all the country, and its “conferences,” “districts,” and “circuits,” cover the whole land. Its itinerating system is admirably adapted to the extent and wants of so vast and so new a field. In the year 1844, a division took place in this body, occasioned by the subject of slavery. In the year 1850, the Northern branch, called the “Methodist Episcopal Church,” had 4004 ministers in its regular service, and 666,310 members. The “Methodist Episcopal Church South,” had 1,642 ministers, and 504,520 members; making in all, 5,646 regular ministers, or those on the circuit, besides a large number of local ministers, and 1,170,830 members. There are several small Methodist bodies. 1. In the year 1828, there was a secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church, on account mainly of the exclusion of the lay representatives from the annual and general conferences; and the Protestant Methodist Church was organized. This body had in 1850, a general Conference, 22 annual Conferences, 1,200 travelling and local preachers, and 62,000 communicants. 2. There is what is called the Wesleyan Methodist Church which was another secession, on the ground of slavery and the episcopacy, in the year 1842. It has several Conferences, and 20,000 members. 3. There are some Primitive Methodists in America, but their societies are neither large nor numerous. 4. There is a small Christian body of coloured people, called the African Methodist Church,

* It is rather a *mixture* than a *medium*, for whilst they reject the doctrine of *Election*, they hold to that of the *Perseverance of the Saints*.

which has about 20 circuits, 30 preachers, and nearly 3,000 members. And, 5. There are some 20 congregations of Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. By combining all the churches above mentioned, it will be found that there are quite 6,000 regular preachers, at least 8,000 local preachers, and more than a million and a quarter of members! There is reason to believe that the membership of this communion has increased much more than six times as fast as the population of the country has done since the year 1784!

VI. THE GERMAN CHURCHES.

We come now to a group of Churches of continental origin, and which still employ more or less the German language. Hitherto we have been speaking of churches which have been founded by emigrants from the British Isles, and which speak the English language, and employ it, with few exceptions, in their public services. These exceptions are some Welsh churches—probably not short of a hundred in all—which are mostly Congregational, Methodist, or Presbyterian; a few Gaelic churches, that are Presbyterian; some Swedish and Norwegian churches, chiefly Lutheran; and some German churches, which belong to the Methodist, Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, Baptist, &c. Whilst all the earlier emigrants from other parts of the continent—such as the Dutch, the Huguenots, the Waldenses, the Swedes, &c.—have long since lost their languages and become merged in the Anglo-American population, those from Germany being much more numerous, and constantly sustained in the use of their maternal tongue by the never-ceasing flow of the immigration from Germany, have retained, in many places, their old language, and employ it in their religious services. 1. The largest of these bodies is the Lutheran, which in 1850 consisted of a general synod, 19 district synods, 663 ministers, 1,603 congregations, and 163,000 members. The increase of this Church since the year 1800, has been very great, but I have no means of measuring it in a statistical manner. Not only has its numbers greatly augmented, but there has been a great resuscitation of true piety and spiritual life. 2. The next German communion, in point of size and influence, is the German Reformed Church. This body, like the Lutheran, has received great enlargement in the United States within the present century, though both existed long before in portions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. It had last year about 260 ministers, 600 congregations, and 70,000 communicants. This body has been troubled of late years by some speculations, which have been pronounced to be kindred to those of Dr. Pusey, but it contains many excellent men, and is rapidly increasing in numbers. 3. The United Brethren in Christ. This denomination arose in the latter part of the last century, from the union of some excellent people, who had belonged to the Reformed, Lutheran, and Mennonist Churches. Their first conference was held in the year 1800. They had last year nine annual conferences, 4 bishops, or superintendents, 250 itinerant ministers, 350 local preachers, 1,800 churches, and other places of worship, and about 67,000 communicants. Their doctrines and modes of worship, are essentially the same as those of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 4. The Evangelical Association,

founded in 1800. This is another sect of German Methodists, and is similar to the Methodist Episcopal Church in doctrine and church polity. It has 2 bishops, a general conference, 4 annual conferences, 112 travelling ministers, 200 local preachers, about 900 places of preaching, and 17,000 communicants. 5. The united Brethren or "Moravian Brethren," as they are often called. They have several settlements, chiefly in Pennsylvania, 1 bishop, 23 churches, 27 ministers, and 3,000 communicants. 6. The Evangelical Church, of quite recent origin, an offshoot of the Evangelical Church of Germany. They have a synod of some 25 or 30 churches in Missouri, and are increasing. 7. The Mennonists, a small body, who are often classed with the Baptists; but they rather pour, than either sprinkle or immerse. They worship chiefly in private houses, and their congregations, estimated at 400, are small. They have about 240 ministers. They can hardly have more than 30,000 communicants. 8. The Tunkers or Dunkers. A small sect of German Baptists that appeared in America more than 130 years ago. They retain some customs which are quite Oriental and primitive, such as washing the feet and giving the kiss of charity. But little is known of their numbers, as they publish no statistics. It is believed that they have as many as 250 preachers, and 8,000 or 10,000 members. They are generally farmers, and are most numerous in Pennsylvania and Virginia. They have lately had a great religious meeting in the latter, to which they came in great numbers and from afar in their waggons. They are a simple-hearted, industrious, quiet, worthy people. 9. The Winebrennerians, a growing sect in Pennsylvania chiefly, of good people, founded by Mr. Winebrenner, of Harrisburg, in that State; I know not their numbers. 10, and lastly, there is a small German, Seventh-day Baptist Church, much attached to monastic life; but of their statistics I have nothing that can be depended on. They are not believed to exceed a few hundred in number, and their ministers may be as many as ten or twelve. It appears from this statement that there are no less than ten German branches of the Protestant Church in America, almost all of them offshoots of German bodies in Europe, and that they have about 1,827 regular ministers, 550 local preachers, 5,356 congregations, many of which are very small, and 333,000 members.

VII. THE FRIENDS.

It only remains that I speak of the Society of Friends, whose "meetings," or congregations, are estimated at about 500, of which 300 are supposed to be orthodox, and 200 "Hicksite," from one Elias Hicks, who was a celebrated preacher of that body some twenty years since, and taught doctrines of a very deistical character, which in process of time, led to a complete disruption of the body. Whilst it is not doubted that there are many excellent and truly pious people in the orthodox portion of this denomination, it is thought that the society is not increasing, at least, not perceptibly. Many of the Hicksite branch, especially of the young people, are falling into Infidelity, in which some will probably continue to wander: whilst many, it is believed, will ultimately be merged in the other Protestant Churches.

THE SUMMARY.

The result of all the investigation which we have been able to bestow on the subject is, that there were last year in the United States, in the several branches of the Protestant Church, which may be termed Evangelical—first, 23,614 ministers (besides the local “preachers” of the several branches of the Methodist Churches, who are not less than 9,000 in number); second, 58,304 congregations, or assemblies; third, 3,292,322 communicants. Given in a condensed tabular view they stand thus:—

| Denomination. | Ministers. | Congregations. | Members of Churches. |
|-----------------------------|------------|----------------|----------------------|
| Protestant Episcopal Church | 1,504 | 1,550 | 73,000 |
| Congregational body | 1,687 | 1,971 | 197,196 |
| Baptist body | 8,018 | 13,455 | 948,867 |
| Presbyterian body | 4,578 | 5,672 | 490,259 |
| Methodist body | 6,000 | 30,000 | 1,250,000 |
| German Churches | 1,827 | 5,356 | 333,000 |
| Friends or Quakers | | 300 | |
| Total | 23,614 | 58,304 | 3,292,322 |

A few remarks are needed by way of explanation :

1. When we pronounce all these churches to be evangelical, we do not affirm that they are equally so. There are some of the small German denominations about which we are not so well satisfied as we could wish, and there may be two or three others, all of whose members are not as sound in their religious belief as they should be. What we affirm is that, to the best of our belief, not only are their Symbols of Faith orthodox, but that the ministers and people sincerely believe the great doctrines of salvation; such as the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, &c., and that “repentance towards God,” and “faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ,” are held by them to be the only terms of salvation.

2. Although we cannot doubt that there are many who are self-deceived—some even that are hypocrites, though the motives for a hypocritical profession of religion, since no special honour, or temporal advantage presents itself, cannot be considered great—yet taken as a body, the members of our churches give as credible evidence of being christians as can reasonably be expected. With all their deficiencies, they will compare well, I think, in point of intelligence, proper walk and conversation, liberality and zeal, with an equal number taken in the same way in any other country. Almost all our churches endeavour to maintain discipline among their people, and require a good “reason of the hope that is in them.” Still we must acknowledge that there is much to be desired in regard to the spiritual life of our churches. But where is this not the case?

It is very difficult to ascertain the exact number of those who are preaching the Gospel. We have given the number reported, on the best authority that we can find in each religious body. And although it is certain that a considerable deduction should be made from the numbers given—for superannuated ministers, professors and teachers, missionaries, &c., yet all this is far more than made up in the great number of licen-

tates, or young ministers, who are not settled, many not having finished their theological studies—of whom there are not less than two or three thousand. Besides all this, there are at least 9,000 local preachers in the several Methodist Churches, all of whom do less or more in the way of preaching and holding meetings for prayer, conducting Bible classes, superintending Sabbath-schools, &c., &c., as well as various forms of pastoral labour. This would make the number of Evangelical preachers more than 32,000.

4. There has been no portion of this investigation attended with more difficulty than that relating to the number of individual churches. I have found it to be impossible to attain entire accuracy. The number given is rather that of the congregations or assemblies. Large as it is, it is certainly much under the mark. The several branches of the Methodist Church, and also the Cumberland Presbyterians, have their circuits, each comprehending, for the most part, several places of worship. They may be church-edifices, school-houses, court-houses, or private houses. If all the places where the Gospel is occasionally preached by pastors and others, but where there is no church organized,—because not necessary,—were to be added to those in which a church or body of believers is organized, the entire number of places where the Gospel is preached would, it is believed, be found to exceed one hundred thousand!

5. There are various ways of measuring the progress of religion in a country. One of these is statistical, and this we may legitimately apply, at this point, to the country of which we are speaking. It is impossible to ascertain with entire precision the number of Evangelical ministers, churches, and communicants in the United States at the epoch of the Revolution, seventy-five years ago.* We cannot ascertain the number for the year 1800 with strict accuracy; but we can ascertain enough, and I have already given the data, to show, that while the population of the United States increased something less than fourfold and a half, from 1800 to 1850, the number of Evangelical ministers of the Gospel, churches, and members of the churches, has increased nearly, if not quite, tenfold! As to other modes of measuring the advance of the truth in the United States, I shall speak of them presently.

* In another work,—RELIGION IN AMERICA, (Book III, chapter 1st.)—I have stated that, after much inquiry, I had come to the conclusion that there were in the year 1775, fourteen hundred and forty-one ministers, and nineteen hundred and forty churches, in the United States. This statement included twenty-six Roman Catholic priests, and fifty-two churches. According to this estimation, there was one minister on an average, for about 2,429 souls,—supposing the population of the country to have been at that epoch 3,500,000, which is probably not far from the truth.

If we suppose the number of the ministers of the Evangelical Churches alone to have been 23,614 in the year 1850, and the population 23,250,000, then we shall find that there was one minister for 984 individuals! Making all proper allowance for the increase of ministers and churches from 1775 to 1800—and that increase was not very great, in fact the number of Episcopal ministers was less in the South in the latter of these epochs than in the former,—we come to the conclusion that the number of ministers of the Evangelical Churches alone,—and of the churches and members too, we doubt not,—was twice as great in proportion to the population in 1850 as it was in 1800. If we include the NON-EVANGELICAL bodies, this increase becomes still more astonishing.

NON-EVANGELICAL BODIES.*

These differ very much in their relative abandonment of what is usually called the Evangelical Faith, or System of Doctrine. They are the following :

1. The Swedenborgians. Of this well-known sect there are about 40 small churches, 35 ministers, and 10,000 people.

2. The Unitarians, chiefly in New England. They count about 300 churches, 250 ministers, and 30,000 members. There are two parties among them: the serious and inquiring portion, who have still a deep reverence for the scriptures; and the party of progress,—rationalistic, pantheistic, transcendental—headed by Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and men of like views. Among the former there are many worthy and excellent men.

It is probable that Unitarianism in the United States will disappear in process of time very much as it arose—*gradually*. The more serious will return, if proper measures be pursued, to the Evangelical churches—many have done so within the last twenty years. Those who have embraced the transcendental and pantheistic views will go further astray, until they end in downright infidelity and deism. Indeed that is their present position, so far as concerns their opinions of the Inspiration of the Scriptures and the Divine Nature.

3. The Christians, or *Christ*-ians, as they are commonly called. They were at the outset a warm-hearted, zealous, rather fanatical sect, which arose at various points almost simultaneously, some forty years ago and more. These deny the Trinity, but hold to salvation by Christ, “by whose sufferings, death, and resurrection,” they say, “a way has been provided by which sinners may obtain salvation.” They report 1,500 churches, as many ministers, and 150,000 members.

4. There are some German Lutheran churches in Eastern Pennsylvania and in other parts, that are Socinian, but I have not been able to ascertain their number. A portion of the Friends, or Quakers, must be placed in this same category.

5. The Universalists. This is a sect of English origin. Its first apostles and propagators were Murray and Winchester. They were serious men, and held the doctrine of Restoration. At present there are very few among them who believe in any future punishment. They have 540 preachers, 550 churches, and 875 societies.

6. The Roman Catholics. This body had in 1850, 4 archbishops, 30 bishops, 1,073 churches, 1,081 priests, and a population of 1,650,000 according to the Roman Catholic Almanac. I shall speak of this body, and their position, in another place.

Of all these Non-Evangelical bodies, the Roman Catholics and Unitarians are alone of much account. The former have their perfect organiza-

* I use this term as, on the whole, the best that can be employed, and least likely to give offence. That there are truly excellent people in some of these bodies, who seem really to love the Saviour, and to rest alone in His merits, we must believe. How far the “faith that saves” may consist with many errors, and obscure and uncertain views respecting the Divine nature, and the true character of the Saviour, God alone knows. Whilst we should be charitable towards others, let us hold fast to truth.

tion and consummate tact; the latter their cultivated intellect and taste, their wealth and influential social position. The *Christians* and *Universalists* have no elements of cohesion and life, and they cannot resist long when the Truth makes a vigorous onset. None of these systems satisfy the demands of the soul. Unitarianism is scarcely maintaining its ground at present; or if it increases, it is doing so at a slower rate relatively than the orthodox denominations.

RESOURCES OF THE GOSPEL.

Let us next speak of the resources of the Gospel for self-sustentation in the United States. The general Government pays the salaries of two chaplains every session of Congress for opening each House daily with prayer, and for preaching to that body on the Sabbath; it also pays the salaries of twenty-four chaplains in the navy and fifteen in the army. It helps to civilize and Christianize some of the Indian tribes, by paying annuities to missionary societies for the promotion of education, and a knowledge of the mechanic arts among them. This it does according to treaties made with those tribes. Besides this it does nothing. Several of the State Governments pay the salaries of chaplains to their prisons, and a very few pay the ministers who open the daily sessions of their legislative bodies with prayer. This is all that the State does with us, or has done, for many years, for the support of public worship. This duty, therefore, devolves upon the people; and after an experiment which may well be pronounced to be sufficient, the sentiment is universal with us, that we would on no account have this task placed in other hands. Let a few facts confirm our confidence in the resources of the Church, or of the Gospel rather, under God's blessing, for this work.

First. After the most careful inquiry which I have been able to make, I have come to the conclusion, that our congregations paid, last year, to their ministers, in the shape of salaries, parsonages, or glebes, and other perquisites, at least 7,670,150 dollars. I am convinced that this is a low estimate—much too low,—although it includes only the Evangelical Churches.

Second. There is, probably, nothing that tries the voluntary principle with us more effectually than the building of churches to meet the demands of the country. Last year, the population increased nearly, if not quite 800,000 souls. This would require the building of churches to accommodate at least 400,000 persons; for room is not needed for more than half the population in places of worship, in any country. Dr. Chalmers once told the writer that he should not think any country adequately supplied with "church accommodation," if it had not sufficient room in its places of worship for one-third part of the population. I think that I cannot be mistaken in my estimate, that more than one thousand edifices were erected last year in the United States, by all the bodies of Christians, Protestants and Romanists, Evangelical and non-Evangelical. Indeed, the Evangelical denominations alone certainly built 950.* And

* This does not require that as many ministers be furnished every year; for, in many cases, and especially in the newer parts of the country, one preacher may minister to two or more congregations.

although some of these were erected to replace old ones, yet there is reason to believe that the rest quite came up to, and even exceeded, Dr. Chalmers' demand. It must also be kept in mind that in very many places (especially in the newer districts), religious worship is kept up, for a time at least, in school-houses, court-houses, and private houses. The cost of the church edifices built by the Evangelical Churches, including the entire of the expenses for the *matériel* of public worship, such as fuel, light, sexton's wages, &c., &c., must have been great; for although such houses can be built with us in the interior villages and rural districts for 1,000 dollars, 500 dollars, and even less, yet in the large towns they often cost three, four, five or more thousand; whilst in the large cities they often cost twenty-five, thirty, forty, fifty, and sometimes one hundred thousand dollars, and even more. We may fairly put this item of annual expenditure at the sum of 3,000,000 dollars.

Third. Large sums are raised every year to build and endow colleges, of which there are now 120; all of them under Protestant influence, save thirteen (the Baptists have thirteen, Episcopalians ten, the Methodists thirteen, Roman Catholics thirteen, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists seventy-one), and theological seminaries, of which there are forty-two Protestant ones, with 120 professors, and 1,537 students. But I can make nothing more than a conjecture as to the amount. It may be safely put down at 200,000 dollars.

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

Another mode of measuring the progress of Religion, in the United States is to consider the growth and operations of Societies organized to propagate the Gospel.

I. BIBLE SOCIETIES.

| | Founded. | No. of Bibles & Test. from begng. | Lst yr. | Receipts. dol. c. |
|---------------------|----------|-----------------------------------------|---------|----------------------|
| Amer. Bible Society | 1816 | 6,980,535 | 633,395 | 284,614 0 |
| Amer. & For B. S. . | 1837 | 794,398 | — | 41,625 0 |
| Amer. Bible Union. | 1850 | — | — | 13,300 0 |

II. TRACT SOCIETY.

| | Founded. | No. of pubs. | No. of pp. from begng. | Receipts. |
|---------------------|----------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| Amer. Tract Society | 1824 | 1,528 | 2,433,793,562 | 308,266 0 |

III. HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

| | Founded. | No. of Miss. | Places of wor- ship supplied. | Receipts. |
|------------------------------|----------|-----------------|----------------------------------|-----------|
| Amer. H. Miss. Soc. . | 1826 | 1,032 | 1,575 | 157,160 0 |
| Presb. Brd. of Dom. . | | | | |
| Missions | — | 570 | 1,461 | 79,049 0 |
| Protest. Episcopal | — | 96 | — | 30,657 0 |
| Methodist (North) | — | 464 | 437 | 58,070 0 |
| Methodist (South) | — | 273 | — | 60,871 0 |
| Bapt. H. Miss. Soc. | — | 118 | — | 30,369 0 |
| Bapt. Brd. of dom. | | | | |
| Miss. (South) | — | 50 | — | 10,692 0 |
| Evan. Luth. H. M. | | | | |
| Society | 1845 | 22 | — | 697 0 |
| Free-Will Baptists | — | 50 | — | 5,525 0 |

IV. SUNDAY-SCHOOL SOCIETIES.

| | 1824 | Pubs. | No. of | | |
|---------------------|-----------|-------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| | | | Schls. | Scholars. | |
| Amer. S. S. Union* | 1824 | 2,000 | — | 157,000 | 259,915 0 |
| Methodist Episcopal | — | 1,885 | 7,334 | 400,000 | †5,150 0 |
| Protestant | 1826 | 300 | — | — | — |
| Massachusetts | more than | 3,000 | — | — | 25,732 0 |

V. EDUCATION SOCIETIES.

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| American Education Society, founded 1816.—436 young men received aid in 1849—50 | 30,181 53 |
| Society for Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education.—6 Colleges aided | 44,653 31 |
| Board of Education of Presbyterian Church.—373 young men, &c., 100 Parochial schools, 32 academies, 11, colleges (7 assisted) | 35,975 0 |

VI MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

| | Miss. | Asst. | Stat. | Com. | Schlr.s. | |
|-----------------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|----------|--------------------|
| Amer. Board C. F. M. | 157 | 360 | 134 | 25,875 | 22,824 | 251,339 35 |
| Amer. Baptist Union. | 56 | 250 | 155 | 12,500 | 2,772 | 87,537 20 |
| Presb. Board of Miss. | 55 | 43 | 28 | 232 | 1,709 | 126,075 40 |
| Episcopal | 10 | 9 | 8 | 95 | 656 | 36,114 11 |
| Methodist Missions | 34 | several | 8 | 1,511 | — | 38,193 14 |
| Amer. Miss. Associat. | 12 | 31 | 10 | 380 | — | 26,849 66 |
| Lutheran Missions | 5 | — | 2 | — | 263 | 4,230 42 |
| Assoc. Presb. Church | 5 | — | 2 | — | — | 3,152 32 |
| M. E. Church (South) | 5 | — | 2 | — | — | 6,000 0 |
| Baptist Church | 12 | 24 | 12 | — | 320 | 23,697 70 |
| Baptist Free Mission. | 2 | 5 | 2 | — | — | 6,571 81 |
| Free-Will Baptists | 3 | 7 | 2 | — | 130 | 4,433 5 |
| Seventh Day | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | 1,200 0 |
| Amer. & For Ch. Un. | 100 | — | — | — | — | 45,942 64 |
| | | | | 40,744 | 28,674 | 2,148,878 64 |
| | | | | | | or, £429,775 12s.† |

It appears then that the receipts of these religious societies last year amounted to 2,148,878 dollars, or 429,775*l*. There are some of them that deserve a passing remark or two, as showing what can be done to meet the demands of our rapidly-increasing and widely-spreading population.

1. The American Home Missionary Society, supported by Congregational Churches and the New School Presbyterians, employed 1,032 missionaries in the home field; the Old School Presbyterians, through their Board, 570; the Baptists, 168; the Episcopalians, 96; the Methodists, 737; in all, 2,603, at the cost of 426,868 dollars.

2. The American Bible Society distributed 633,395 Bibles and Testaments; that Society and the American and Foreign Bible Society have circulated 7,774,933 since the commencement of their operations.

* This is the number only of the schools, and scholars in them, which were visited by the Agents of the Society last year,—not of the entire number of the schools which have relations with that Society.

† From donations only.

‡ These receipts were for the year ending with May 1st, 1850. They show an advance of more than 150,000 dollars, (or £30,000 beyond those of the year 1848,—49, the receipts for the year ending May 1st, 1851 shows a decided increase upon those of 1849,—50.

3. The American Tract Society circulated last year 269,984,615 pages of tracts, 886,662 volumes, and employed 508 colporteurs during the whole or part of the year, who visited 428,000 families, of whom 44,800 were Roman Catholic. Its monthly paper, the *Messenger*, has a circulation of 200,000 in English and 10,000 in German.

4. The American Education Society and the General Assembly's Board supported, last year, 809 young men, who were preparing for the ministry.

5. The American Sunday-school Union has issued 2,000 different publications, mostly books for Sunday-school libraries; the Methodist Sunday-school, 1,885; the Massachusetts Sunday-school Union, 3,000; and the Episcopal, 300. It is estimated that there are now more than 2,000,000 of children, youth, and adults, in Sunday-schools in the United States, taught by more than 200,000 teachers, among whom are to be found many of the best of our young people, and even members of Congress and of our State Legislatures, judges, lawyers, mayors of our cities, and other magistrates, and of our "honourable women" not a few.

6. The several Foreign Missionary Societies and Boards sustained in the foreign field 358 missionaries, 729 assistant missionaries at 366 stations, and have 40,744 communicants in their churches, and 28,674 pupils in their schools.

In this notice of the receipts of religious societies we have not included those of the Colonization Societies, Anti-slavery Societies, and several others of that class. It results from this statement that the sum of 12,999,139 dollars, or 2,599,827%. was contributed in the year 1850 by the Evangelical Churches of the United States, for the support of the gospel at home, and its propagation abroad. The sum that was expended abroad was about 675,000 dollars, or 135,000%. If we add the amount contributed by the Non-Evangelical bodies for the support of their churches, &c., the entire amount will not fall short of 15,000,000 dollars, or more than 3,000,000%.* All this was given voluntarily for the promotion of religion. It was really a privilege and a blessing to those who gave this sum to be permitted to do it.

CONCLUSION.

There are several subjects of much importance, on which I must say a few words in bringing this Report to a close; otherwise it will not do justice either to the Churches or to the Country to which it relates.

1. *Christian Union.* There is a great deal of Christian intercourse between brethren of the different branches of the Church of Christ in the United States. All standing on the same platform, so far as the government and the laws are concerned, they have little occasion for envy and jealousy. Ministers of different denominations preach often

* I am quite sure that the statement in the text comes much short of the truth. And as to the sum given, great as it may seem to those who have lived in countries where the State bears all, or a very large portion of the expense of public worship, it is really small when the number of the members of the churches and other serious and well-disposed persons is considered.

for each other. In many of the smaller towns, the pastors meet once a week for social intercourse, consultation, and prayer. Several of the branches of the Protestant Church have suffered much evil from division.* This state of things is usually of not very long duration; better feelings triumph, and a kindly fellowship returns. In the meanwhile these internal difficulties seldom interfere with a pleasant intercourse between christians of other bodies. Several of our religious and benevolent societies often bring brethren of different Churches to act together, and in this respect serve as evangelical alliances.

2. *Influence of Christianity upon the Government.* Although there is no union of the Church and the State with us, it is far from being true that Christianity has no influence upon the State. It is true that the number of the actual members, or communicants, in *all* the Churches, is hardly a sixth part of the whole population, and that of the Evangelical Churches scarcely a seventh; yet the influence on the Government has been often felt and seen. It could not prevent the recent war with Mexico, for the nation was precipitated into it without a moment's warning; but it compelled, or induced rather, the Government to carry it on, on principles much more just and humane than those on which wars have been hitherto carried on in an enemy's country. One of these was that the army should pay for what it received from the enemy in the shape of provisions; so that military requisitions were seldom made. Christians are not willing, with us, to be held responsible for all the acts of our Government, for there are many which they have not had the ability to prevent. Does not the same thing happen in Great Britain, in France, and other countries in Europe, very often?

That christianity exerts a vast influence with us in securing obedience to the law, without the use of the bayonet, is certain. That there are sometimes riots and murders—alas! too often, indeed—is undeniable; but if we look at the newness of the country, its great facilities for concealment and ultimate escape, and the great influx of ignorant, irreligious, and in many cases very depraved people from abroad, † we shall see

* The subject of Slavery has been one of the elements (as in the case of the Methodist Episcopal Church) of division. How far division, from such a cause, will serve to hasten the overthrow of slavery in the Southern States, is not a question for remark in this place. Other causes have led to the dividing of some of the Communions (as, for instance, the Presbyterian Church) into two bodies. In the case of the large bodies, this division is far from proving an unmitigated evil. It leads to greater watchfulness and exertion, and diminishes evils which result from overgrown organizations.

† That a very large number of our most desperate criminals are foreigners is a well-known fact. From all parts of Europe they come to us, and of late even from Australia. Often have I been applied to by Christian friends in Europe, to advise and aid persons who have committed forgery and other crimes in Europe, and have escaped to America, in order that they might be induced and enabled to return to the paths of virtue and usefulness. Nor has any such application ever been made in vain. Thanks be to God, I have in most cases been successful in my efforts. Even whilst this Evangelical Alliance has been holding its sessions, I have received a letter of thanks from an English Father, for my efforts in behalf of his son, who had been sentenced, for *homicide*, committed in America, to many years' imprisonment but who has received a pardon, and returned home, a *renewed man*, through the grace of God.

reason to be astonished that there is not more violence and crime. That vast country, with its 24 millions of people, could not be governed as it is,—without a military force worthy of mention, excepting, indeed, for its littleness,—but for the wide-spread influence of the Gospel on the minds of men.

In some of our States, an unwise and ill-regulated philanthropy has led to efforts to abolish all capital punishment, even for the greatest crimes, and in one or two of them this step has actually been taken. The injurious influence of the propagation of erroneous opinions on this subject, has been widely felt of late, in the more frequent occurrence of horrible crime and especially of murder. It is to be hoped that the public mind will be roused to better views on this very important subject. In general, the pulpit and the religious press have taken and held the right ground in relation to it.

3. *The Temperance Cause.* Although the population of the country has been almost doubled since the first Temperance Society was formed on right principles, yet there is less drunkenness by far than there was then. The cause of temperance advances favourably, upon the whole. It is a never-ending work. No relaxation can be allowed without detriment. The happy influence of the cause is now seen and felt in many of our ships. And we cannot but be thankful that the use of intoxicating drinks, as a beverage, is almost completely banished from the tables and the houses of Christians with us. The contrast is great between such a state of things and that which one sees in some other countries.

4. *The Observance of the Sabbath.* On this subject we have much to cheer. Although there is still enough to deplore, we have much to be grateful for. There is a far better observance of the Sabbath than there was a few years ago in many parts of the country. Whilst there is still too much violation of the sacred day in the suburbs and neighbourhood of our large cities, it is pleasant to see that the streets of none of them (so far as I know, unless it be New Orleans) are disturbed by the rambling of omnibusses.* All of the States, I believe, have made laws to enforce the observance of the Sabbath. This has been done on the avowed principle that we are a Christian nation. That doctrine we hold. And though the State requires of no man that he should attend this or that church, or any church at all, or do any thing to support any form of worship; yet it does require him to desist from labour, at least from such labour as interferes with the sacred employments and enjoyments of others. It seems so near to a dictate of Natural Religion and of Common Reason, as well as Christianity, that man and beast should rest part of their time, that our lawgivers do not seem to have had any misgivings on the subject; and yet the enforcement of the law is seldom resorted to. A better way is pursued—that of enlightening the people by the press and the pulpit, as to their duties and their privileges. A few gentlemen have employed the Rev. Dr. Edwards,—the originator of Temperance Societies on the present plan,—for several years, to visit the chief

* Through one of the main streets of New York, the passenger trains on a railroad, drawn by horses, are permitted to run on the Sabbath. Even this, though there is but little noise, is considered a nuisance, as well as a violation of the sacred day.

places and preach before Legislatures and Congress, and so influence the leading minds of the country, as well as to employ the press for that object. The success of this quiet and effective course has been great. There is not a car running on any of the railroads in New England, I believe, on the Sabbath, nor is the mail carried there on that day. A similar change is going on in the middle and other States. The carrying of the mail on the Sabbath was discontinued on 80,000 miles of road last year, through these quiet efforts. Dr. Edwards visits the officers of the government, legislators, and directors of railroads, and sits down and talks the matter over kindly with them as a christian man and a gentleman should; nor does he labour in vain,—for he has to deal with men who, almost without exception, respect religion, and not a few are religious men.

5. *Infidelity.* There is but little infidelity of the old fashion, among the well-educated classes in the United States. Among our public men,—the men at the head of the General Government, and our statesmen generally,—as well as our influential lawyers and physicians there is incomparably less infidelity than there was fifty years ago. There is a considerable amount of a refined, transcendental Spiritualism, among certain classes of a certain cultivation, in portions of New England. The thing is rather fashionable there at present. But the worst forms of infidelity are to be found among the Germans, the French, the Swiss, the Italians, and other foreigners from the continent, who are to be found in our large cities. The vilest attacks upon christianity are to be found in German papers published in New York and other cities. And what is a great difficulty, we cannot yet reach them, for the want of the right men,—men who speak their languages. Europe sends us few such men.* M. Cabet and his Icarians are trying such an experiment at Nauvoo, as Frances Wright and her sister tried in Tennessee twenty-five years ago, and as Robert Dale Owen at New Harmony, in Indiana, and others have tried in other places,—namely, to get up a sort of Christless, and even Godless community in which Human Nature may have a fair chance to develop all its good qualities without any interference from the Superstitions of a Benighted Antiquity. At the same time the Mormons, driven first from Missouri, and afterwards from Illinois by an outraged community, are building a city at Salt Lake, in the territory of Utah, on the road from St. Louis to California. Already they have fifteen or twenty thousand deluded followers, at or near that spot, and some communities elsewhere, and their missionaries are traversing these British Isles, (where they boast that they have made no less than 30,000 converts), and penetrating into every country on the con-

* We shall be compelled to raise them up from among ourselves. Blessed be God, this good work is now fairly commenced, so far as the German population is concerned. The Lutheran and German Reformed Churches have five theological Schools in which about 80 young men are preparing for the ministry. They have also two colleges. We are beginning to obtain, for the Canadian population which is entering our States that border on Canada, young men, missionaries and colporteurs, from the seminaries of Grande Ligne and Pointe-aux-Trembles in that country, and which our churches have assisted in founding.

timent, in order to gain converts to one of the silliest and basest of all delusions that arch-villainy ever attempted to propagat, from the days of Mohammed to this present time. But the economical advantages of the scheme, in connexion with the license which it is believed to give to the strongest passions of the corrupt heart of man, will secure great success for a time. In the mean while the government of the United States treats the whole movement with utter indifference. It contents itself, and properly so,* with requiring that the projected Mormon State shall be organized on the same republican principles that underlie the other State governments. and Truth will find its way, in due time, into the midst of the corrupt community, and overthrow the absurdities and impieties of Joseph Smith's pretended revelations.

6. *The Aborigines.* The first colonists found the whole country possessed, or rather occupied, if the word may be used, by many tribes of Aborigines, speaking different languages, and hostile to each other in many cases, and living by fishing and the chase. The number of these people was small in comparison with the extent of the country. Wars and pestilential diseases were steadily diminishing them in some regions; in others they were perhaps slowly increasing. It was the desire and intention of the colonists, as expressed in the charters of most if not all of them, to christianize these people. Some attempts were made at the outset, but with very partial success. It was not long till wars began between them, as we have elsewhere stated, and with the exception of the efforts of Elliot, the Mayhews, and others in new England, in the seventeenth century, and of David Brainerd and his brother John in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and of Zeisberger and others in Ohio, in the eighteenth, there was nothing done worthy of mention until the present century; nor even then till about the year 1816. Since that time missions and schools have been planted in many of the tribes, and civilization and religion have made much progress, especially among the Choctaws, and Cherokees, and some of the smaller tribes. The Gospel is also gaining a foothold among the Creeks, one of the largest of all the tribes. The General Government has for several years been collecting the tribes which were within the limits of the States, upon a large territory west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri, which may be their own as long as they choose to maintain a national or tribal existence, and so get clear of the conflicts which so often arose whilst they were within the limits of any of the States. This work has advanced very much, and the worst of the evils attendant on the removal of so many people, partially civilized, have, it is hoped, passed away.

* It would be the greatest of calamities for the General Government to interfere with the religious opinions and movements of these people, save to the extent spoken of above. Their expulsion from Missouri and Illinois did much for them; it created a sympathy for them as for a persecuted people, at a time when their doctrines and manners were but little known beyond the neighbourhood of their residence. The temporal advantages which they offer constitute the great inducement to poor and ignorant people to join them. Their leaders are playing a deep game. But Time will show that Truth will destroy even this vile imposture—the invention of a profane and wicked man.

The United States Government pays to these tribes large sums of money, in the shape of annuities, being either interest of the purchase-money for the lands which they sold to the Government at their removal, or instalments of that money, agreeably to treaties made. Out of these moneys,* large sums are now appropriated by the governments of these tribes to the maintenance of schools and academies, and for the promotion of the useful arts.† A large number of these Indians, especially among the Choctaws and Cherokees, can read, and some are well-educated men, and would do themselves credit in any legislative body. There are respectable newspapers in the Cherokee and Choctaw languages. Civilization is steadily advancing among them. There are several thousand members of the churches planted among the several tribes by Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Moravian, and other missionaries. The Cherokees are about 18,000; the Choctaws 15,000; the Creeks, 22,000: and there are several small tribes which have been removed to the same extensive territory. The entire population of that territory is quite large enough to make a respectable State; and it is sincerely to be desired that these tribes may one day unite and form a regular member of the American Union. Diversity of language and the influence of the chiefs, who now have the government of each tribe very much in their hands, are the great obstacles to this plan at present. The English language is, however, gaining ground, and will one day—though comparatively distant,—supplant all others. These tribes, now that civilization has gained so great an ascendancy among them, are, it is believed, increasing instead of diminishing.

A great deal has been said about the wasting away of the Aborigines of America before the European races. That this has been the case, to a considerable extent, is true; but not to the extent that is often supposed. The remains of former tribes have been greatly absorbed in other and larger ones. It is possible that Civilization and Christianity may save some of the tribes,—Cherokees, Choctaws, etc.,—for a long time from annihilation, or absorption in other tribes; but it is certain, I think, that all of them will, sooner or later, be absorbed in the European-American population. To this destiny every thing infallibly points. And probably it will be seen to be the best arrangement in the long run. The United States seem to be destined to be the scene in which a more complete fusion of the races is to take place than the world has hitherto seen. I know an excellent man, born in Virginia, who represents the four continents, as it were; for in his veins is the blood of the European, African, Asiatic, and American (aboriginal) races!

7. *Slavery.* What has Christianity done for the African race? The first of these people that came to our shores were brought by a Dutch ship in the year 1620. The slave-trade soon commenced, and for a hundred and fifty-five years it was carried on by English ships, and exclusively so, so far as the English Colonies were concerned, and indeed so far as all the American Continent was concerned for many years, has

* Amounting to about a million of dollars annually, at present.

† The Choctaws appropriate the sum of 20,000 dollars annually to educational purposes. They have four academies in operation.

England had a monopoly of the whole trade for a period. At the time of the declaration of Independence, there were more than 500,000 of these people in the country, almost all of them slaves, and chiefly in Southern states.

The colonists at first and for a long time, looked upon these people as heathen and aliens, that had been obtruded upon them, and spoke and acted in regard to them very much as they seem to have supposed that the Jews did about the Canaanites who remained in their country, after the conquest, and whom they were permitted to enslave. It was much the *fashion*, if I may so say, in those days, to speak in that way. For a long time the poor degraded people seem to have shared but little in the protection of the laws, and to have had but little sympathy from the churches. The laws appear scarcely to have contemplated them as coming within their scope. And the Church that was the dominant, and for a long time the exclusive one in the portions of the country where slavery most accumulated—that is, in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas—had not sufficient religious zeal and vitality, though it had many excellent people in it—to accomplish much in a work so eminently missionary, as the labour of converting these people. And let it be remembered that this Church was at that time established by law, as really so as that of England.

The Presbyterians and Baptists had no foothold there, until more than one hundred years after slavery had commenced its existence in Virginia, and the Methodists were fifty years later still in gaining an organization in any of the southern States. The evil was great before these three denominations began to exist in that part of the country. At present the Baptist and Methodist Churches are the great ecclesiastical bodies which exist in the South. The Presbyterians and Episcopalians combined are far less numerous than either of them.

What would have been the state of things at the present day, if the Churches had from the first taken the ground that no slave-holder should share in church-fellowship, I cannot say, for I do not know—it would require omniscience to answer that question. But that was not done; nor was it to be expected, considering what was the then state of opinion in the religious world, on the subject.* Good men in England were engaged in the slave-trade till long after that day. The churches in the southern colonies could hardly be expected to be in advance of the world on that subject, situated as they were. All that they thought of doing,—all that they thought that Christianity required,—was, that they

* Towards the close of the eighteenth century, more than 160 years after slavery had been introduced, and when its roots had become numerous and closely entwined with all the interests of the southern people, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and two other small Scottish bodies of the Presbyterian family made their appearance in the United States. From the outset, the first named took the ground that no slave-holder should be received into its membership. It was not very difficult for a Church composed almost entirely of people recently arrived and their children, to take that ground and hold it. A portion of the other two Scottish Churches have striven to occupy the same ground and succeeded. This was comparatively easy. It was quite another thing to create Churches composed of those whose families had for generations been involved in the evil.

should inculcate on masters and slaves their correlative duties, and do as well as they could under laws which evidently regarded these people as aliens and property which might be transferred from hand to hand, and place to place. I simply state the facts of the case, and I think they will not be questioned.

And now the question returns: what has Christianity done for these people? And we are better prepared to answer it.—It has endeavoured, under laws unjust and barbarous, and in many respects unfavourable for the successful propagation of the Gospel, to inculcate humanity and kindness on the part of the master, and obedience and fidelity on the part of the Slave. It has secured the comfortable maintenance of the slaves, as to food and clothing and lodging,—I speak generally—for I know there are exceptions. It has secured the enforcement of the laws relating to the sabbath, and so given the slave a seventh part of his time as a day of rest. It is certainly a rare thing for a slave to be compelled to work on the Lord's day—especially in those portions of the South where Christianity is most prevalent. It has exerted a very great counteracting influence in regard to the loose and unjust position in which the laws have left the subject of marriage. Whatever those laws may permit in the shape of what often leads to polygamy, Christianity has done much to cause the marriage relation to be held sacred. It has done much to prevent the separation of families by sale; and its influence has been much felt in this respect by christian masters. But so long as the laws remain as they are, death and even debt will often defeat the wishes of the best masters. It has brought tens of thousands of both masters and slaves to the knowledge of Christ. There are probably more than three hundred thousand slaves who profess Christ in the fifteen slave-holding States. It is reported that there are 50,000 in the single State of South Carolina. Christianity has induced many a master to liberate his slaves. There are more than 400,000 free people of African origin in the United States, who are the descendants of slaves, if they were not slaves themselves. These people or their fathers, were liberated through the influence of Christianity. Their present value, if the value of human beings can be estimated by money, far exceeds all that England gave to free her West India Slaves, and all this was the gift, as it were, of individuals. Christianity is steadily advancing in the Southern States, as is demonstrable in many ways. And this is our hope. As the Legislatures of the Southern States have exclusive control, by the Constitution, over the subject of slavery, each in its own sphere, it is only through the prevalence of Christianity in all those States, that we can hope for the peaceable overthrow of slavery in the United States—and of no other overthrow of it will we speak, or can we speak, as Christian men. It is this, in connexion with the operation of other causes—among which may be named its circumscription within its present limits, and the consequent diminution of the value of slave-labour, at no very distant day,—that will lead to its overthrow sooner or later. It will require time; but the great consummation will come. The christian influence in the South, though considerable, is not sufficient to control legislation there. The proportion of the slave-holders,—I refer to men, men of influence,—who profess to be

religious men,—is not great. Many of their wives and children, many poor white men, and many slaves and free negroes are pious; but the overwhelming preponderance of political influence is in the hands of unconverted masters.

But religion is gaining ground in the South, as well as in the North. It is greatly to be desired that its increase may be far more rapid; for the influence which is to overthrow slavery must come *from within* those States, not *from without*. The people of the North cannot liberate the slaves of the South. Of course, the people of other lands cannot. We may grow indignant, and blaspheme, and even curse, if we will; but it will not hasten,—it will only retard the work. The people of the South, who alone have control of the subject, cannot be driven. They may be persuaded, and the cause can be greatly aided by proper means; but those means are not denunciation and malediction, come from what quarter they may.

I have spoken to you my honest sentiments—as God is my witness. I have never held any other, because my reason will not permit it. If I am wrong in these views, I am *conscientiously* so. I am not aware that in holding them I am influenced by sinister or corrupt motives. I have never had but one opinion of slavery itself, however much I may respect many of those who are implicated in it, both masters and slaves; I sincerely pity them. I never made any extraordinary profession or enunciation of my abhorrence of this dreadful evil—this direful curse, which the Old World has bequeathed to my country,—either in England or elsewhere, to secure the favour or friendship of any man, nor shall I.

There are some things about which I cannot entertain a doubt. Whatever may be my opinion about the wisdom of some other measures for overthrowing slavery in the Southern States, I cannot despair of the influence of the Gospel as the grand means of its ultimate removal. I know of no slave-holding State in the Union where we cannot preach the Gospel to slaves, and where they are not allowed to hear, believe and be saved.* In several States, not all, laws were made twenty-five years ago, forbidding to teach the slaves to read. This was done solely through fear, lest incendiary publications might be, as was madly attempted, circulated among them, to excite them to rise and destroy their masters. That these most unjust laws are disregarded by some masters is affirmed, and reasonably enough, as well as by slaves

* There are people in this country who seem to know scarcely any thing that is worth knowing about the United States. I have astonished some of them beyond measure, by telling them that the Gospel can be preached,—salvation by the Lamb—can be preached, as the Saviour and the Apostles preached it,—to all classes of people in the Southern States, slaves as well as masters; and that whatever the trials of the former may be, they are not too great for Grace to enable those who believe to overcome. That their young women are exposed to great temptations, especially those of them that have any beauty, is not denied; but thousands of them resist, and successfully resist, those temptations, through the grace which God gives to those who seek. If one half of what Mr. Mayhew has said about London be true, there are tens of thousands of young women in that city, whose temptations are quite as great as any which our poor coloured girls are exposed to in the South.

who can read. But no law has been made to prevent the preaching of the Gospel. For this we may well be thankful. I have devoted a great deal of my time, from first to last, to teaching persons of the coloured race, bond and free, to read. I have had in the classes I have taught, and in the Sabbath schools I have superintended, at least three hundred of them, in my younger years, before I entered the ministry. I am not indifferent to the importance of reading the Word of God, and I sincerely wish that all, bond and free, black and white, might be able to do it, and have a Bible to read. But so long as the Gospel can be preached to the slaves, I shall not despair of their salvation; for I know that it is emphatically by the preaching of the Gospel that men always have been, and always will be saved. Besides, I cannot but believe the laws to which I have referred must be temporary. In the mean while, those means of religious instruction which can be employed ought to be greatly augmented. And this is perfectly practicable; nor is the subject wholly neglected; as the missionary and other efforts of the Presbyterians, Methodists, and other religious bodies in the South attest. Indeed the interest in it is increasing from year to year. May it increase a hundredfold!

I am not ignorant of the evils of slavery in America. I feel sad when I think of them. The system injures, deeply injures both parties. Where there are none of the meliorating influences of religion, these evils are often horrible. Nothing, in my opinion, but the influence of the Gospel, can mitigate those evils, and finally and completely overthrow the system. The very slave-holders themselves, with us, are the only men who must be induced to overthrow it. Can we hope ever to see them do it, but through the influence of the Gospel upon their own hearts?

But the question is often asked: Can religion make progress in such a population? God has Himself answered that question. He pours out His Spirit and renders His word effective to the salvation of both masters and slaves. No man can deny this, who has any accurate knowledge of the slave-holding States. I have preached the Gospel too often to both masters and slaves, and conversed with both too much, to have a doubt on this subject. Indeed, if I did not feel confident on this subject, I should have no hope for the peaceable overthrow of slavery at all. And if I did not believe that the Spirit of God can renew the hearts of both masters and slaves in America, I should have little hope in regard to the debased and polluted heathen nations of the world. But where is the heart that the Spirit of God cannot change? Here, then, is *my* hope. And I think that the first and greatest duty of Christians in our Northern States is to say to their Southern brethren: "Slavery is a great evil to you, to the slave, to the country at large; we earnestly desire its abolishment; but it is a subject in which you must take the lead; for with you is the power, by the Constitution, to act effectively in it; the South is jealous of the Northern interference;—very well, do you take the lead in this movement, and we will follow and aid you; begin with what is practicable, and let every thing be done which can be done to cause the Gospel to be preached faithfully to masters and slaves; we will help you with our

money and our prayers : where the slaves and free coloured people can be taught to read, let there be no want of schools ; where they cannot be taught in schools, let it be done privately, if that be allowed ; if that be not possible, let them be taught the Scriptures orally, and assembled regularly morning and evening for this purpose, as is done by some excellent masters in Georgia and South Carolina ; where you have slaves who are capable of taking care of themselves, set them free, and if they may not remain in the State where you are, send them to the North, send them to the West, or send them to Liberia if they prefer ; if they cannot take care of themselves, beside clothing and feeding them well, begin to give them reasonable wages, that they may lay up something for the day when they may set up for themselves ; in a word, do all you can to hasten the coming of freedom, and we will stand by you and help you to the uttermost of our power ; we will even bear, if a loss can be proved, our full share of the expense of a reasonable compensation for your slaves,—for the whole of them, in order that you may not be impoverished.”

Something like this is the course which I would have our Northern christians, and indeed all classes, pursue towards the people of the South. Alas, this course has not been pursued as it should have been. It is quite too old-fashioned to suit the views of those among us and abroad, who claim *par excellence* and exclusively to be the friends of the slave. But to something like this we shall have to come, I apprehend, before all is over, if ever slavery be abolished in a peaceable manner ; nor do I doubt that this course will one day be pursued. In the meanwhile, the area of slavery has been limited by the providential arrangements of our Heavenly Father, rather than any efforts of man, in the results of the late Mexican war ; California and Oregon can have no slaves ; it is very certain that neither New Mexico nor Utah will have any ; a portion of Texas has been saved from the evil ;* the slave-trade is abolished in the district of Columbia ; the conviction is growing that slavery is a dreadful hindrance to the temporal prosperity of the States where it exists ; the constantly increasing superiority of the free States ;—all these things, and many more, are conspiring with moral causes to bring on the day when this dreadful evil must cease for ever among us. May God hasten it !

§. *Romanism.* The original Roman Catholic population of the United States was very small, and chiefly confined to Maryland. Even at the commencement of the Revolution (1775), there were but twenty-six priests, and fifty-two congregations. By the acquisition of Louisiana, (1803), a large addition was made to the number of those who belong to that communion. The purchase of Florida (1819) added a few thousands more. But the great source of the increase of that body has been immigration from Europe—from Ireland, first of all ; and next from Germany and France. This increase has been very rapid within the last fifteen or twenty years. It is not easy to say what is the precise proportion of the emigrants from Europe to our shores who are Roman Catholics ; it is believed to be rather more than one half at present.

* And 25,000 square miles more would have been, had it not been for the folly of some of our *soi-disant* friends of the slave.

The number of Roman Catholics in the United States at this time is not known with accuracy. Archbishop Hughes, of New York, estimated it to be, in 1850, three millions. On the other hand, the authors of the Catholic Almanac, published at Baltimore, under the auspices of the late Archbishop Eccleston, made it only 1,650,000, and asserted that they had taken much pains to be exact. We are inclined to believe that the Archbishop of New York is nearer the truth than the Baltimore gentlemen. It is worthy of remark, however, that the increase of the papal population is less rapid from immigration, than would appear from the numbers that reach our shores. A large portion of them are poor, and not well prepared to encounter the exposures and sickness which must be encountered in so great a removal, and to so new a country, possessing a climate differing much from that which they have left. Change of diet also has its effects. And lastly, many lose their lives by rushing on board of cheap but unsafe steam-boats, when they arrive at New Orleans and other places in the Valley of the Mississippi, and on the Lakes. Dreadful loss of life has often happened from this cause.

There are now four Roman Catholic Archbishops, thirty bishops, 1073 churches, and 1081 priests. They have thirteen colleges, and numerous male and female schools. Every bishop has students of theology under his care. Large sums of money are constantly received from Europe—from the Lyons “Society for Propagating the Faith,” from the “Leopold Society” of Vienna, and from other sources. They are building many churches every year, some of which are quite large and costly. A great deal of the money which they receive from abroad is expended in this way.

The number of proselytes whom they gain from Protestantism has not been great hitherto. Occasionally a person of some importance, from his position, or his education and pursuits, or his family, joins them; but it was rightly remarked, recently, by a Philadelphia correspondent of the “Freeman’s Journal,” their principal organ, that where they gain one, they lose many. The Editor of the Journal just named, said a year or two ago, that the defections from their Church, in the United States, were perfectly frightful! They are constantly losing by conversion to Protestantism. And they lose many more, from their young men abandoning their church and becoming infidels. That these persons, or their children will ultimately become Protestants, is quite certain.

Placed on the same footing with the Protestants by the law, and constantly mingling with them, and treated kindly by them, as they almost invariably are, they cannot remain unaffected by the moral atmosphere, as it were, which they breathe. The newspapers, which are cheap and of a popular form with us, exert an influence upon them which can hardly be estimated. Our “free schools” in the Northern States bring their children into contact with Protestant ones, and cause them to hear and know many things which they could not, if brought up in papal countries. Besides, our tract distributing, our Sabbath schools, our city missions,—all combine to bring the truth to the houses and often to the hearts of the Roman Catholics. I am happy also to state that our churches are awaking to combined and systematic efforts in behalf of

our Roman Catholic population, as well as Roman Catholic nations abroad. Our American and Foreign Christian Union, which embraces good men of all the Evangelical Communion, employed last year,—the second of its existence,—more than seventy missionaries among our papal population at home, and thirty in papal countries abroad. Its income was not much short of £10,000. Some of the Denominational Societies are beginning to occupy themselves with missions among Romanists. Encouraging success has attended these efforts on all hands.

Rome will find it difficult to contend with our free institutions, our free schools, our open Bible, and all the other Protestant influences which exist among us. She may send us as many Bishops, Archbishops, and even Cardinals, as she pleases. It will require something more than all this to make headway against the evangelical influences which pervade our Protestant country. As to the triumph of Romanism there, we have no fear of it; provided our churches will do their duty in the way of labouring for the salvation of Roman Catholics. I am happy to say that our christian people are beginning to understand better the work they have to do in relation to Roman Catholics, and the spirit and manner in which it must be done,—that of kindness and love and perseverance.* Our ministers very generally, and often, preach to their people on the distinctive doctrines of Protestantism, and the great errors of Rome, and the mode of encountering them. On the whole, I do not apprehend that Romanism is likely to gain the ascendancy with us. Its professors cannot complain of oppression in any form. This is a great advantage.

9. *Moral and Religious Destitution.* There is no subject connected with our religious state and economy which it is so difficult to make the people of England understand, as that there should be reported so much destitution of the means of grace in the United States by the side of so much religious prosperity. They read of hundreds, and thousands even, of congregations which have not pastors to instruct them; of extensive districts in which there are few or no churches,—and they know not what to make of the matter. And yet a few words can explain it fully to every man who has any correct knowledge of the country.

In the first place: it is a new and vast country, whose population is not only increasing at a most wonderful and unparalleled rate, but spreading over districts of immense extent. Where there are now but a few families—this may be said of hundreds of districts in the West,—next year, or the year after, or at most in five years, there may be a large

* Ten or fifteen years ago, when attention began to be called with some degree of earnestness to the subject of Romanism, we had some men who distinguished themselves in their controversies, oral and written, with the priests. The fierce language of denunciation, of sarcasm, and of ridicule, as well as of powerful argument, was often employed. That those men did some good, even much good, by awaking the minds of our people to examine the errors of popery, and arouse themselves to the conflict with the Man of Sin, cannot be denied,—though their violence was to be deplored. Then too we had our *Maria Monks*, and books of that stamp. But that era has very much passed away with us, and that of kindness to the Romanist, of deep commiseration for his errors and danger, and of prayer and appropriate effort for his salvation has succeeded.

population, large enough for the maintenance of schools and religious congregations, though of course not very large ones. Now it stands to reason, that such being the state of things, there *must* be for a time *destitution*; for the means of religious instruction must *follow*, and not *go in advance*, of the settlement of the country. In no part of the world have churches ever been built, and preachers been sent, before the peopling of that country. There must be temporary destitution of the preaching of the Gospel in our new settlements, and indeed every where, where the population is rapidly spread out in all directions; but that destitution will in due time be supplied. Some Missionary, of one denomination or another, will soon find his way to the neighbourhoods which are forming, when the population has become any way considerable. At first occasional preaching, then more frequent, and finally regular and permanent. Now it is the work of our Home Missionary Societies to look after this very thing. And what can be more beautiful, or interesting, than the fact that those Societies now support more than 2500 preachers annually,—continually taking up new ones, and dropping old ones, as fast as the congregations can sustain them. The appeals for ministers, the reports of hundreds of places without churches, which appear in our papers and reports, are set forth to stimulate to effort to meet the demand. All this is understood with us; but it is not so by those who do not know our country, and the work that is going forward there.

As to the *foreign* population that has come to us from the Continent of Europe, it has been, and still is, very difficult to supply it with the means of religious instruction, because of the low state of religion on the Continent, whence ministers who could preach to this portion of our population have necessarily been derived to a considerable extent. The consequence has been that reports respecting *this* destitution have been circulated in some countries in Europe, and especially in Germany, in such a way, as to give a very erroneous idea of the state of things in the country at large.

10. *Immigration.* The last subject upon which I would make a few remarks is Immigration. This has become a question of the greatest moment. From the Revolution in England in 1688 to the year 1775, a period of eighty-seven years, almost the only emigration from Europe to our shores was from the Continent,—chiefly the persecuted French and German Protestants, and the former during a period of only a few years. It was within this period that the Anglo-American population got a fair start. From 1775 to 1800, the immigration of foreigners was very limited, because of the war of the Revolution, and the subsequent troubles in Europe which made it difficult. During the next decade of years this immigration became considerable; but in the one succeeding it was greatly checked by the war with England. But since 1820 it has steadily advanced until at present it is immense. The emigrants come now from every nation of Western Europe, and even from the Russian Empire. Not only so, Asia is beginning to send to California her thousands of Chinese, and threatens to pour upon our Western shores her polluting heathenism, whilst Europe is sending here a vast amount of her worthless Christianity.

All this is imposing upon us a great burden. As to the poverty of a large portion of the emigrants from the Old World, we do not think much of it; for we can soon put them in the way of supporting themselves. But they are ignorant, many of them, of our modes of supporting religion and promoting education. They have been accustomed—all who come from the Continent, and many of those who come from the British Isles,—to rely on the State for every thing that concerns the support of religion. It takes time, much time,—a generation or two in the case of those from the Continent,—to initiate them into the mysteries of our voluntary manner of doing every thing that relates to the Church. Many of them are slow to learn. We get but little help from this quarter. They seek riches, and will submit to any toil and self-denial to gain them, but as a general thing, they do little for our religious institutions. The two richest men that have ever lived in America were natives of France and Germany; they left millions of dollars; and yet many an American mechanic of moderate means has done more for the cause of Christ among us than both of them! It is somewhat different with emigrants from the British Isles, and yet even they do not equal our people in liberality; *but their children will*. And this is our hope in regard to all: Their children, and their children's children will be thorough Americans, upon whom we may rely for aid in every good thing.

A large portion of the emigrants from Europe are Roman Catholics, Irish and Germans. A large portion are infidels, not only from Germany, but from other countries, as I have stated in another place. It is very difficult for us to provide for the spiritual wants of these people, from the want of the right men. Europe, owing to the low state of a spiritual and true Protestantism in most countries, especially those of the Continent, sends us but few. It is absolutely easier for us to provide for the spiritual necessities of our entire native population than for those of the foreign.

But we are not discouraged. We shall meet all the difficulties which lie in our pathway with confidence in God, the God of our fathers, who has never yet deserted us, notwithstanding all our sins and our great unworthiness. With His blessing, we believe that our institutions will be found equal to every emergency. We have a great work to do in our own vast country, but we are not willing to confine our efforts to our own land. We will aid in sending the Gospel to the Heathen, to the Mohammedans, to the Jews: we will come and help you here, in the Old World, to resuscitate a pure Christianity, a true Protestantism,—in France, in Italy, in Spain, in Russia, and in Ireland too. Do I say, will come? We have come already. For years we have been endeavouring to bring our churches up to this work, and not in vain. And already we are aiding the good work, in almost every papal nation in Europe. We wish to continue to do so; we shall continue to do so, unless you deem us unworthy to work by your side; in that case we will retire, and confine our efforts to our own Hemisphere, and to the Heathen and the Mohammedans.

SPEECH

MADE AT THE

BRITISH EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, AUGUST 22d,

ON THE

HISTORY, PRESENT STATE, AND PROSPECTS,

OF THE

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES.

1 *Preliminary Remarks.*

I know not that I ever undertook a sadder task than that of making the present Address, for it must contain some things which will be heard with pain by all upon whose ears it will fall. It can afflict none, however, more than him who makes it.

It is, perhaps, right that this duty should be performed by me; in some respects there is a special propriety in my undertaking it. In addition to the fact that though an American, I sustain a peculiar relation to this assembly,—for in my veins flows the blood of Scotchmen, Irishmen, Welchmen, Englishmen, and Germans,—I have resided so much in Europe, laboured so much for the cause and kingdom of Christ in almost all parts of it, that without losing an interest in my own country, I feel a very deep one in all those lands which are represented in this meeting. If any thing, therefore, which will cause sorrow must be said about America, it may be fitting for me to say it.

2. *Formation of the American Branch.*

Upon their return home, the American brethren who had taken part in the great Alliance Meeting in London, in 1846, lost no time in calling the attention of the christian public to the subject. Several large and interesting meetings were held in the city of New York, at which the Doctrinal Articles and Practical Resolutions were read, and statements made by those who had been present at the meetings in Europe. Many of the members put themselves to much inconvenience, at that inclement season of the year, to attend the meetings in New York, having to come, some of them from Baltimore, from the interior of Pennsylvania, from Boston, from Bangor, in Maine, and other distant places.

During the Anniversaries in New York, in the month of May, 1847, after much consideration and discussion, the Articles of the General Al-

liance were accepted with entire unanimity, and such resolutions adopted as would, it was supposed, put the dreadful question which was the cause of so much difficulty in the meeting in London, in as acceptable a shape as was consistent with the maintenance of affinity with the General Alliance. Auxiliaries were formed in several places, some of them of more than common promise. Meetings for prayer, in which christians of all evangelical denominations united, were held. In many of the smaller cities and towns, meetings of ministers of all, or of most, of the Protestant churches began to be held, or received a fresh impulse where they had already existed. Many of the religious newspapers were pervaded by the Alliance spirit, in a greater measure than ever before. A monthly magazine, called *THE CHRISTIAN UNION*, which was filled with essays, and articles of intelligence relating to the cause, was commenced with the year 1848, and carried on, chiefly under my editorial management, for three years. It forms three large and valuable octavo volumes. As neither my health, nor my other duties, permitted me to be longer responsible for the work, it ceased at the end of the year 1850. It was carried on gratuitously on my part, and at a considerable loss to the excellent publisher, Mr. Hueston, one of the sincerest friends of the Alliance cause in America; but there is reason to believe that it did much good in behalf of the object which it advocated.

For several winters, public meetings were held in New York, from time to time, for prayer and exhortation in reference to the duty of Christian Union, and were unquestionably and greatly useful. Annual meetings of the Alliance have been regularly held in that city, and the organization still continues. An agent was employed by that body for a considerable time, to visit the churches and preach on the subject. There is abundant evidence that the movement has done much good. The brethren who attended the meetings in London were, I am sure, greatly benefitted. Many have acknowledged that they were made better men by those blessed meetings—the memory of which will be ever precious. Most of those brethren still remain, but some of them, and among them the excellent Emory and Caldwell, have fallen asleep.

3. *The Causes which have hindered the progress of the Alliance Movement in the United States.*

It must be confessed, however, that though the Alliance movement has done some good,—even great good,—in America, enough and far more than enough to justify all the trouble and expense which it has occasioned,—including that of the visit of so many brethren to London in 1846,—yet it has been, in a great degree, a failure. It has accomplished but little in comparison with what was fondly hoped when it was projected,—and little in comparison with what it would have done, if it had had a fair chance.

The brethren from America, who were at London in 1846, returned home with heavy hearts. Some of them had been among the first, if they were not the very first, to propose the movement. They had written much about it; they had prayed much for it, and over it. They had believed that it might accomplish four things without much difficulty. 1. Form, and set forth a brief statement of doctrine, a symbol of

faith, in which all evangelical Protestants could unite. 2. Bring together, from time to time, a great amount of valuable information respecting the state and progress of the kingdom of our Lord in all countries. 3. Promote the communion and fellowship of saints, by making christians better acquainted with each other's faith, character, and trials; and 4. Unite all true Protestants more perfectly in efforts to resist their old enemy, the "Man of Sin," in all the various forms of attack which he may choose to make. They had supposed that all who were members, in good standing, of the several evangelical branches of the one true Church of God might be received as members of this holy Alliance, with the confidence that if there were evils with which any of them were for a time entangled, and which might seem, or might be under certain circumstances, inconsistent with true religion, they would be better looked after, and more certainly removed, by the proper ecclesiastical organizations, than by such an alliance as was proposed. For the same reason they would have left all national and local evils to national and local agencies.

Shocked as they might be, for instance, with the wine-drinking and brandy-drinking habits which prevailed, and do still prevail, among christians and even ministers of the Gospel in some countries, (and which make some brethren far less worthy of confidence than many who are condemned, perhaps even by some such, for their connexion, involuntary, and often unavoidable, for a time at least, with the great evil which occasions our trouble,) they were willing to believe that the sin of the improper use of intoxicating beverages would be removed by the progress of light and through the influence of kindness. They did not believe that the presence of unworthy members was going to prevent either the communion of saints, or communion with the Saviour,—for in that case they could probably be members of no church on earth.

They were willing—if a second instance may be stated,—to meet in the proposed Alliance, brethren of England, brethren of Germany, and brethren of other countries, who hold with the greatest earnestness that the union of the Church and the State is both Scriptural and useful, although there was probably not one of those American brethren, that did not believe in his inmost soul, and I certainly agree with them, that that same union (of Church and State) is the greatest curse that has ever befallen Christianity,—that it has done more, a hundred-fold more, for fifteen centuries, to corrupt sound doctrine, to blend the world and the Church, to subvert the rights of conscience and of religious worship—and in a word, to prevent men from entering into heaven, than all the slavery that has ever existed.* And yet entertaining these opinions,

* The language of the text is strong, but no stronger than the history of the Church, and my own observation will warrant. It was the uniting of the Church with the State by Constantine, (which was not effected, however, without encountering great opposition from some of the best men in the Church at that day), that laid the foundation for the Papacy, with all its unutterable evils in the West, as well as for the domination of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, much less, but still very greatly mischievous in the East. Nor have the evils of this union, wherever it subsists, and it subsists, alas, in *all* of them excepting the United States, been small in Protestant countries. When I have seen, as I have done, how it opens the doors for simony,

they were never guilty of the folly of refusing to meet and acknowledge christian brethren who approve of, and uphold that pernicious union, and share in its emoluments. They thought that the progress of light would in time enable them to view the subject as they do, although it might involve what Robert Hall pronounced to be very hard: namely, *to see through a guinea!* It will certainly demand time for the emancipation of the Church from this dreadful evil; for did we not hear the other day, the invitation from a great Doctor, to appoint a committee of five brethren to go to his hospitable mansion, and at his expense, and there sit down and investigate the Truth on the subject of Religion; and did he not intimate his belief that he could show that the civil magistrate has a right to interfere in the matter of Religion? Although I have no ambition to be a member of the august Committee of Five, who may be appointed to go to Durham, I should be very willing to be an humble attendant, and sit at the feet of this British Gamaliel—I use the expression in no derisory sense, for I consider Dr. Townsend to be the most learned in the Divine Law, of all English theological Doctors,—during twice five days, to hear him demonstrate that important proposition.

The American brethren entertained the views which I have just stated, as to what should be the nature of the proposed Evangelical Alliance, and they hailed it with delight. Alas! they soon began to have fears. A resolution adopted by our British brethren, at a prelim-

makes the way easy for worldly and even ungodly men, to enter the ministry, how it gives to Ministers of the dominant Church, the preeminence on all occasions in which they may think proper to demand it, over their Dissenting brethren; how it frequently makes them treat Dissenting Ministers with contempt, and often renders the latter servile and base in spirit,—men infinitely better than themselves often; how it renders united effort on the part of members of the Established Church, (even sometimes of very good men,) and Dissenting brethren, impossible, excepting on conditions humiliating to the latter,—when I have seen all these evils, and even more and greater ones if that be possible, how can I avoid feeling a profound abhorrence of this dreadful evil?

But whilst I speak thus severely of the *system*, I trust I have the sense and the heart to distinguish between it, and the many excellent men who have been or who are involved in it, for the simple reason, that they are better than the system,—that they are not to be held accountable for all its evils, many of which they see and deeply deplore, and that there may be peculiar and important reasons, that lead them to remain where they are. It would be expecting almost too much of humanity, to hold that men so situated should see this subject in the light in which others do, who have regarded the question from other points of view, and possess better means of forming a right judgment respecting it. How many excellent men have belonged to the Established Church of England, whose names are dear to every well-informed American Christian,—Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Scott, Heber, Martyn, Bickersteth, and a thousand more, that must not be held responsible for the enormous evils of that establishment. No American ever dreams of holding them accountable for them; they were what they were, in spite of the system and its evils. There is probably not one Christian man in England who is more esteemed in the United States than Mr. Baptist Noel, and yet I am not aware that he is more esteemed now than he was when connected with the Established Church, perhaps not quite as much so; for we are inclined to think that it was less easy for him then to be so good a man.

inary meeting gave notice of coming difficulty. Still many came to the great meeting in London, in 1846, hoping for the best. At the very threshold of that meeting they were met with a test, proposed by a National organization which had taken the lead in the movement, that was felt to be not very courteous, as arranging the terms of an Alliance, which was expected to be not for Britain only, but for the world.

But even this was gotten over, and the American brethren entered the great conference. The result of the long and painful discussion is but too well known. The American brethren returned to their country, as I have said, with a heavy heart. That happened which they had feared: it was impossible to make the movement successful among us. Very few of even those who had previously been decidedly favourable to it, would take any part in it. Other causes,* I know, existed, which hindered, but this was the most fatal, as it was by far the most insurmountable.

The restriction was felt to be unjust, inasmuch as it was certain to operate cruelly upon many of the very persons in the slave-holding States who most need, as they most deserve, the sympathy and the succour which Christian union can give. For whilst there are forms of this great evil which no man, at least none that has the light that we have, or think we have,—can hesitate to pronounce to be sinful, in such a sense as to be utterly inconsistent with true religion, or any religion which requires justice to our fellow-men: as, for instance, where it is voluntary, mercenary, and not from the fixed purpose of securing the highest good to the slave, heartless and cruel,—there are many cases where the relation is far otherwise, from the state of the laws, from the position of the master, or the age and condition of the slave. All this was felt, because understood, by many of the best men in America, and they stood aloof from our Alliance. Besides, the whole affair had an unfavourable aspect. There was an *appearance* of foreign dictation. I say, appearance, for I know that the *intention* will be disclaimed, and justly so. And it came from the very last quarter,—I mean from England,—from which, for obvious reasons, no thing of an unacceptable na-

* My esteemed friend, the Rev. Dr. Wilson, of Cincinnati, whilst he agrees with me in the opinion that the subject of Slavery ought not to have been introduced into the Alliance at all, as a term of membership, thinks that I have not attributed sufficient importance to another cause of the comparative failure of our efforts in America: namely, the spirit of sectarianism. It is natural that he should take this view, for he has certainly seen and felt enough of the evils of that spirit, and combatted them too. Belonging, as he does, to one of the smaller Presbyterian Churches, of Scottish origin, which, with all their excellencies have been more exclusive, as it relates to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, than any other Churches among us, with the exception of the Baptists, and withal have been much troubled by divisions within the last few years, he has certainly had much reason to deplore the spirit of sectarianism. But great as that evil is, it is not so great as he deems it to be. It may prevent the sundered parts of the same Church or Denomination from acting together for a while, but it does not prevent these same parts from acting with the other Churches or Communions, at least not to any great extent, so far as my observation has gone; and I certainly have had good opportunities for observing, these last twenty-two years, for my work has brought me more or less into contact with nearly every evangelical branch of the Church of Christ in America.

ture should come to us, if good is to be done. The wounds which two severe and almost fratricidal wars,—and the more severe and bitter, because fratricidal,—had occasioned, have not been long enough healed to admit of any thing but extreme prudence, especially when regarded in connexion with another element of hostile and dangerous influence, to which I shall allude presently.

The result was, as has been stated, in many respects a deplorable failure. I say deplorable, not because we have needed in America, in any thing like a pressing degree, such an alliance for ourselves, or rather for the benefit of our churches. There is no country in Christendom where there is less need of it. Our several Evangelical Churches dwell together in a harmony, for which we cannot be too grateful. All placed on the same footing before the Government and the Laws, all protected, and well protected by those Laws, and truly respected by that Government, there can be no invidious distinctions between them. No State Church overshadows and depresses the others, for none has the *prestige*, or the influence, of the “Powers that be,” to sustain it. We all are equal in this respect, and know nothing of the assumptions, the jealousies, the heart-burnings which exist in some other countries.

Deus nobis hæc otia fecit,

And to Him be the glory and the praise!

4. *The dangers which threaten both England and America.*

But we do deplore the failure on another account, which concerns many of those who hear me as much as ourselves. We deplore it, because we foresee days of evil; nor are they very far distant. It cannot be disguised that the very attempt which we have made to bring the churches of America and of Europe, especially those of Britain, into more friendly and fraternal relations, has ended in putting them further asunder! You have been told that it would hasten the overthrow of the dreadful evil among us, if you would put us out of the pale of your christian fellowship; you have been told what amounts to this,—and you have believed those who have told you so, notwithstanding the remonstrances and the tears even, of brethren who are worthy of your confidence, from their characters, their antecedents, and their position. You have preferred to believe another class of witnesses.—As to the questions: Who they are, and what they are? I shall say nothing. You have believed them; but you have been deceived. You might have known us, by knowing yourselves. And this knowledge would certainly have taught you, that very much that has been done, and still more what has been said, is any thing else than likely to accomplish that great object. Oh, no! The language of taunt and of ridicule and of indiscriminate abuse may wound the hearts of christian men among us, who love their country, and with good reason, notwithstanding its faults; but it will be hurled back with unmeasured scorn, if they deign to notice it, by more than three thousand secular presses. “Let America wash out of her skirts the stain of slavery, and then she will be fit to join the churches of Britain in their noble efforts to give the Gospel to the world.” Such was the language a few years ago, of one whom we have greatly loved in America, and whom we would love more, if he

would permit us. Would you know how that language was received in America, by the overwhelming majority of those who read it? Shall I tell you a few things which were said? Here you have a specimen: "Indeed! And is England immaculate? How long is it since she washed out the deep sin of slave-holding and slave-trading from her own skirts? And do these airs indicate that depth of repentance, which such a long career of wickedness demands? Has she no sins in relation to Ireland, India, China, and the aborigines of Van Dieman's Land, yet to be washed away? And must our American Churches wait till their country be rid of slavery, before they shall be fit to co-operate with British christians in spreading the Gospel throughout the world? Thanks be to God, He does not thus judge of us. With all our sins and great unworthiness, He deigns to bless the efforts of our Churches to send the Gospel even to India, to the Aborigines, to the Islands of the sea, to Mohammedan lands. Are England's missionaries better men, or more successful than our own, Englishmen themselves being judges?"* How often have I heard such remarks in reply to such language as that which I have quoted. Alas, if the robes of us all be not washed in the blood of the Lamb, what will become of us? But I will say no more on this point, for I would not fall into the commission of the grievous fault which I am condemning.

Let British christians pursue their great work of getting every thing right in their own vast dominion, and we will do the same in our great country: and may God crown those who come out foremost in this race! We apprehend that when you have gotten through, we shall not be far behind you. Yes, we shall abolish this great evil, but we must be allowed to take such time and employ such measures as we deem best. We believe that we understand this matter better than you do—I speak it with all deference. We shall get clear of Slavery, but not at, or in consequence of your bidding, or to please you. We shall get clear of it, because the spirit of Christianity demands it; and because the very spirit of our political institutions, and the honour of our country demand it. You placed the coat of Nessus on the young shoulders of our nation; but you cannot aid us in the work of putting it off. It was not

* The language which I used in the Alliance was different from that given above. I prefer not, upon revising my notes, to repeat it. I therefore give other language, which I have often heard and seen, and which will quite as well illustrate my position, namely that severe language on one side will call forth just as severe on the other. A distinguished London minister, at the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held up to ridicule the placing of Mr. Powers' *Greek Slave* in the Crystal Palace, and pronounces it a sign of infatuation, of *judicial blindness*, on the part of the Americans—though not half a dozen of them, probably, had any thing to do with the act. Well, what is said in America, by way of offset, in a newspaper which has 40,000 subscribers, and whose editor is anything else than a friend to Slavery or the South? "And there is the Great Diamond," (the writer who was the editor himself, if I remember rightly, was describing the Crystal Palace), "the Koh-i-noor, what is it placed in the Great Exhibition for? Is it a British manufacture? Has it not rather been placed there, *through Infatuation*, and as an exponent of the most prominent traits of Britain's national character—*Ambition and Rapacity?*"

Republicanism, nor the Voluntary Principle that imposed it, nurtured it for 155 years; and if the Church did not do her duty,—though she did much,—at the time when the evil was young and small, and comparatively feeble, it was when ten out of our thirteen Colonies were enjoying the blessings, as some call them, of an Established Church,—Episcopacy in the South, Congregationalism in the North—the former for 150 years, the latter considerably longer.

Do not, I beg of you, send us such missionaries as one that lately visited us, and who now deceives himself, or rather tries to deceive his constituents, by telling them that his speeches made in this city, since his return, will make a sensation in America,—from Maine to California! Yes, a sensation they may make, but it will be the double one of laughter and contempt. Nevertheless, if you have another John Joseph Gurney among you, let *him* come; he will be heard every where with pleasure; for when among us he visited the North and South, and every where, and whilst he “reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come,” he was heard with attention by all, for he was both a christian and a gentleman.*

No, dear brethren, the course which things have been taking for the last few years, bodes any thing else than good. The unnecessary allusions to American slavery, and the sweeping charges against the American churches, which one now hears in almost every public meeting in Exeter Hall and elsewhere in this city, are working out their legitimate results—not of hastening the overthrow of this great evil in America, but of severing the bonds which hold two great nations together. What do we see already? A few Americans in this meeting, and most of them spectators of your proceedings, not members of our Alliance. “Why is it,” said a brother of this city, now before me, well known and greatly beloved in America,—“How is it, that out of so many American ministers now in Europe, so few are here, or have even called upon us.” That is a serious inquiry. I would prefer to leave it unanswered, but I cannot.

It can be expressed in a few words.—“I am tired,” said one of the best of the American brethren now in this city to me, yesterday, “of going to public meetings in this city, and of being insulted by being made to hear my country, its churches, and its ministry abused, in circumstances where reply is impossible.” Another said to me,—“I was at the public meetings in Exeter Hall, last May, and I did not attend one, in which some insulting remark was not made about the United States.” Even at the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Tract Society, the Sunday School Society—at all, something of the sort occurred; and the presence of an American was sure to be the signal for some speaker, ambitious of catching the applause of a London audience, even if it could only be by the clap-trap of making a fling at American Slavery or something else in that country and its institutions. What effect can all this have upon any American who has any respect for his country? That there are Americans, upon whose feelings such insult-

* His published “Letters to Mr. Clay,” were read after he left us with interest, both in the South and North.

ing remarks would have no effect, I have no doubt is true; but their number is wholly insignificant.

The result will soon be, that you will not be troubled with the presence of American ministers and other christians at your public meetings, or any where else. Indeed this is beginning to be the case already. They will come to England, visit the chief places of interest, your "glorious Exhibition" among other things, whilst it lasts,—hear some of your preachers on the Sabbath, but call upon few or none of you. They will visit the tombs of their fathers, wherever they may be in your realm, but not feeling at home here, they will go over to the Continent, where they will find less that will wound their feelings.

Let this state of things continue to grow worse and worse, as it certainly is doing, and the result cannot but be disastrous in the end. It will alienate the religious people of both countries. They will cease to feel that interest which each country ought to feel in the welfare of the other. And then, how great the danger, if some serious misunderstanding should occur between the governments of the two countries. And how soon such a misunderstanding may take place none of us can tell. It may occur at any moment. The state of the world is very critical. The omens are not propitious in the East. Nor is the horizon in the West entirely clear. There is the affair of Nicaragua, which may give trouble before all is over. And what may grow out of the Cuban affairs, none of us can foresee. We may soon fall upon times which will demand all the prayers and the efforts of the righteous in both countries to maintain peace between them.

But there is another element of disturbance whose influence we must not disregard. There have gone from the Old World to the United States, within ten years, at least two millions of emigrants. More than a million and a quarter have gone since the Alliance Meeting in 1846. Last year there went 315,000, and this year it is expected the number will reach half a million. There had come to New York nearly 150,000 persons between the first of January and the first of July—almost 1000 per day. Who are these people? Mostly Irish Roman Catholics and Germans. Poverty takes many of them to the United States; oppression drives others. Do you think that these people cherish in their hearts much love for the countries which they are leaving? If you do, you are mistaken. The number of such people is increasing at a fearful rate, and their influence is beginning to be felt. Many of the most turbulent and restless people of the Continent—socialists, radicals, infidels,—the very sweepings of Europe,—are going to the New World. Is there no danger in all this for the peace of Britain and the United States? Some of the most dangerous newspapers in the United States are edited by foreigners. The paper that has probably the most influence over the masses in New York is edited by a Scotchman—who has no love for England. That paper has a circulation of 60,000 copies, and is, for the sphere which it aims at filling, conducted with wonderful tact. Its hostility to England is undisguised. And there are other papers just as dangerous. Some of these papers have laid hold for the last five years, of every thing which they could turn to account in stirring up enmity,—the Oregon affair, the Nicaragua question, and

the Cuban movement all have been seized hold of with the view of making difficulty. It required all the wisdom and decision of Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster to arrange the North-east boundary question; and it may task the great abilities and good feelings of Mr. Webster and Sir Henry Bulwer to the utmost, to carry the nation well through the questions which will soon press upon their attention.

Is it a time, then, for the alienation of the Christians of the two countries? Certainly not. Perhaps you may think that you can do without us.—If so, I have to say that we can do without you. (No, you cannot, said the chairman, Sir Culling Eardley.) But we can do without you, as well as you can do without us. (Yes, but neither can do without the other, replied Sir Culling). That is true,—neither can do without the other. We need your help in the work of promoting religion among us, by your raising up good men to labour among the hundreds of thousands of poor Irish Romanists who are coming to us, and for whose spiritual instruction we have so few suitable labourers. You can help us, help us in many ways; and we too can help you in return.

But enough. I have felt it to be my duty to give you the brief statement which I have done in relation to the American Branch of the Alliance, its very partial success, the causes of its comparative failure, and to seize the occasion to express earnestly my apprehensions of the dangers which are likely to grow out of the increasing alienation between the christians of the two countries, which is but too manifest. I have spoken to you with much plainness, but with no unkindness of feeling. No Englishman, no Irishman, no Scotchman, ever visited my house during my long residence in Paris and Geneva, without receiving all the hospitality that I could show him. No Frenchman, or Swiss, or German, or inhabitant of any part of the Continent has ever applied to me in person or by letter for any help or favour, since my return to America, without my doing all I could in the case. These sixteen years and more, a great deal of my time has been taken up, and at great inconvenience to myself and my family, in serving people of Europe in many ways. I cannot be charged with being influenced by unkind feelings in putting before you, with all fidelity, the facts and views which I have stated. I have owed it to my name as an American and to my origin, not to hesitate for a moment to tell you these things. I have attempted to do my duty, to acquit my conscience. I fear that a chasm is opening before us, and I have felt it my duty to warn you of it. Perhaps, however, I have only been performing the part of Cassandra;—be it so, I cannot help it.

REMARKS.

The preceding Address contains substantially what I said to the Alliance on the 22nd of August. The subject was referred, as is well known, for consideration, at the suggestion, I believe, and motion of the Rev. Messrs. Noel and James, to the Council of the Alliance, with the understanding that the American brethren present were to be invited to attend and give their views. This was done in two sessions of several hours; the first on Saturday, the 23rd, and the second on Tuesday, the 26th of that month. The result was the bringing in of the Report and Resolution subjoined,* which the Alliance adopted near the close of its sessions.

In the meetings of the Council, just referred to, the Rev. Dr. Bacon spoke fully on the whole subject, and confirmed in the strongest manner the position which I had previously taken, (and which all the Americans with a solitary exception, held and maintained at the General Conference, in 1846), on the injustice of confounding in one sweeping restriction the worthy and the unworthy of those American brethren, who are so unfortunate as to be implicated in the holding of men in bondage.† We

* The Council report that they have had much friendly conference with their American brethren, in which frank and courteous explanations have been mutually given, which have shown how important it is for Christians, residing on opposite shores of the Atlantic, to have a clear understanding of each other's position, and to assist each other in discouraging national jealousies, and in promoting the interests of humanity and religion; that the American brethren have made no request that the British Organization should not still adhere to its constitution as originally settled; and that the Council are also satisfied that no alteration should be made in it. At the same time the Council recommend that in the intercourse between the Christians of the two countries all uncharitable actions and expressions be avoided; and they desire to encourage their brethren from the United States, to renew their efforts to revive the organization of the Evangelical Alliance existing there, in accordance with the Resolution of the Conference of 1846, in the confidence that by the Divine blessing, the difficulties which have hitherto obstructed their progress will, in answer to prayer, and under the influence of their united wisdom and charity, gradually give way until they are altogether removed.

† It is one of the most difficult things in the world to make foreigners understand fully the state of things in America, in regard to the subject of Slavery. This arises in many cases, from the confused, and consequently inaccurate idea that many have of our Government, and indeed of all government. They cannot conceive that a government is not something, a *unit*, or in other words, that every portion of the people who live under a government are not responsible for the action of the other portions. And yet this cannot be so, it is probable, under any government whatever. It certainly is not under that of Great Britain. Things are done by the Provincial Governments,—things exist in the Provincial Governments of Cana-

both gave cases in which the state of things is made such by the laws of the Slave-holding States,—laws which the Christians in those States, who are a small minority of the inhabitants, could not prevent being made,—that there are Slave-holders there, whom Christianity itself would not allow to liberate their slaves in the present circumstances. Dr. Bacon stated several cases of this sort—cases in which, he affirmed, no man in his senses, could possibly assert that a man could not be a Slave-holder and yet be a Christian; and, therefore, the adoption of a rule to exclude *all* Slave-holders, without distinction, was as unjust as it was unwise. It was such a rule as no man in England would have thought of introducing twenty years ago. They had agreed to come together in that Alliance, Baptist and Pædo-baptist, Calvinist and Arminian, Churchman and Dissenter; but they had brought in a new test, which they knew would be confined in its operation to America, and in his opinion on a subject upon which they were not capable of judging rightly, because they could not judge with discrimination.

As to the effect of this course upon the Alliance cause in America, Dr. Bacon said that he had no hesitation, inasmuch as he had been referred to, in declaring that the moment he read the proceedings of the preliminary meeting in England, in which it was decided that Slave-holders should not be allowed to be members of the General Conference in 1846, he determined to have nothing to do with the matter. And if such was the effect on Dr. Bacon's mind, who was, I firmly believe, the first to propose the holding of such a General Conference—for he named it to Dr. Paton of New York, and myself, in the autumn of 1843,

da, South Africa, India, Australia, and even in Ireland, which the people of England cannot control, and for which they hardly feel, in any proper sense of the word, accountable.

The case of Switzerland is, however, much more in point. There are twenty-two Cantons, each having its own Government, sovereign in respect to what is an appropriate subject for its legislation and government; and over all a General Government, which is sovereign in all that concerns its sphere. Thus it so happens that some of the Cantons are Protestant, and some Roman Catholic, and their laws are very different, and sometimes even opposed. And yet the people of a Protestant Canton do not feel accountable for the laws and conduct of a Roman Catholic Canton.

The same principle is illustrated in all firms, or associations of men,—each man is bound to fulfil his engagements to the firm or company, but no more; nor does he feel accountable for the character of his associates, nor for their conduct, excepting so far as it comes within the obligations of the contract.

So it is with the people of the United States. The Constitution defines the duties of the General Government, and of those of the several States; it establishes the sovereignty of the General Government in its proper sphere, and that of the State Governments in theirs. It results from this that while every citizen is accountable, on the one hand, for what the General Government does, he is accountable only for what his own individual State does, on the other. So that the subject of Slavery, being one of those subjects which each State has control of for itself;—if one State chooses to have slavery, or to legislate after any particular manner respecting its slaves, the people of no other State have any sort of right to interfere in the matter,—in fact are forbidden to do so. It is easy to see, therefore, how slave-holders and non-slave-holders can live in different States, in our Confederation or Union, and yet have no control over each other, or responsibility for each other.

and engaged us to write, the one to the Rev. J. A. James, of Birmingham, and the other to Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, in order to induce them to bring the proposition forward, which they did the year following,—what was likely to be its influence upon other men in America? It alienated very many at the outset, as I have occasion to know full well. He further said that if the question had been proposed to him, when he entered the meeting on the present occasion, whether he was a Slave-holder, he would not have set his foot in it. He would submit to no such test as that, although he had no hesitation in expressing to the persons present or to the whole world, his abhorrence of Slavery. He said that his opinions on this subject were well known in America.

Dr. Bacon expressed without doubt, the feelings which predominate in the bosoms of Americans. It was painfully illustrated in the case of one of them, at the recent meeting of the British Alliance, an excellent young minister of Christ, who, supposing that the meeting would be open to all Christians, according to the invitation which had been published so extensively in Europe, a few weeks previously, in English, German, and French, came from Paris to London expressly to attend it. When he presented himself at the door, and gave his name and place of residence, (which is in one of the Southern States) he was asked whether he was a Slave-holder? His reply was: "Is that a *test* question, upon the answer to which my admission is to depend?" He was told that it was. He then said, "I will not answer it," and retired; and yet this minister of the Gospel has never had any thing to do with Slavery, and is strongly opposed to it. He did not seek admission to the meetings on any other ground than that on which others had been received;—the general invitation that had been given. He did not ask to become a member of the British Alliance; all he wished was to attend the meetings—just as did eighteen Americans, none of whom, excepting two or three, took any part in the proceedings whatever, and they only in the same way that brethren from the Continent did. When afterwards offered a ticket for the *Gallery*, he declined taking it; saying that he preferred not to attend at all, if he could not attend as the brethren from America and other countries did.

The same day he wrote to one of the most influential officers of the British Alliance, and informed him of what had happened. In answer he was told that when the general invitation was given to "all who accept the one and only sacrifice and mediation of Christ," etc., brethren from the Continent were contemplated and not Americans, otherwise, something would have been said about Slavery!

It would seem from this that American Christians, should any of them be in England hereafter, at the time of the annual meetings of the British Alliance, are not to attend those meetings as friends and brethren—a totally different thing from becoming *members* of it, which no American would dream of asking—without first submitting to a test, in relation to Slavery, at the door—much after the fashion that the Rev. Dr. Chickering was treated, at the recent meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. If this be so, it is well that they should know it. I will be responsible for it, that not many of them will ever trouble a meeting of the British Alliance with their presence. Indeed

the words which were employed in the announcement of the character that the recent annual meeting of the British Alliance was to take this year, that "America should be represented, *if desired*,"—or words to that effect,—seemed so extraordinary that Dr. Robinson, Dr. Alexander, and others, hesitated very much about attending even the few times they did. I will only add that if all this has occurred of design, and not through inadvertence, it will not be worth while, in my humble opinion, for the Council of the British Branch to send a Delegation to America, with a Resolution in their hands relating to Slavery or any other subject. If the British Christians choose to exclude slave-holders from *membership in their Branch of the Alliance*, they certainly may do so; but to require a test of this sort from American brethren who desire to attend their meetings, when it falls in their way to do it, is quite another thing. Suppose that the Americans, on their part, should resolve to exclude, not only from membership in their Branch, but even from its meetings, all brethren, come from what quarter they may, who have any connexion with a Church established and sustained by the State, or who are not members of a Temperance Society! What would be said to that? Such a rule might possibly apply to some of the proposed Committee, just referred to. I do not say that they will ever adopt such a resolution,—but no one can tell; there was more than one man among those who were present at the recent meeting in London, that was quite ready for the measure.

On one other point Dr. Bacon spoke very plainly, in confirmation of what I have said in the Alliance, respecting the folly of making the sweeping and indiscriminate charges which are so often heard in England, and even from men who profess to be Christians, against the people of the United States, their churches, their ministers, and members of their churches; and said, that the effect was to produce great exasperation, and cause the utter rejection of all interference in the matter, as being a subject which concerns ourselves, and not foreigners. In these views, Dr. B. apprehended that there was no substantial difference among the Americans present.

These sentiments Dr. Bacon greatly desired to express in the Alliance, but no suitable occasion offered for his doing so, and therefore I deem it proper to produce them here.

I will add that either Dr. Bacon or some other American stated one thing at one of the meetings which greatly surprised me; for I had not supposed that there were men base enough in America to do any thing of the sort. It was in effect, that there are men of a certain class in that country, who considering themselves the Simons-pure, the veritable standards in all that relates to proper feeling and action on the subject of American slavery, and believing they have a right to denounce and, I fear, execrate all who do not approve of *their* modes of speaking and acting on this question, take upon themselves to write over to certain persons in England to incite them to pursue, without relaxation, every American minister and other Christian who comes to these shores, and hold him up to scorn, if he does not belong to *their* fraternity, or symbolize with *their* opinions, and *their* measures! Who these gentlemen are was not stated, nor do I desire to know. I am sorry to hear that

there are such men in America. It is to the same source that the British public are indebted, it is probable, for notices of all instances of cruelty on the part of slave-holders that occur from time to time. And so effectually has this species of communication been prosecuted, that many people in England seem really to believe that every slave-holder has a pack of blood-hounds to hunt runaway negroes, and feeds those poor people on cotton seed! It is also probable that these same correspondents have furnished the garbled extracts from sermons which some of our distinguished pastors thought it to be their duty to preach recently in relation to the necessity of maintaining the laws,—extracts which, taken out of their proper connexion, do the authors great injustice. Who that knows Dr. Spring, for instance, can ever believe that he uttered the bold and unqualified sentence, that “if one prayer of his could liberate all the slaves in the world, he should not feel at liberty to offer it?”

As to the pastors referred to, some of them rank among the greatest and best of our preachers, and it is not likely they would have preached those discourses unless they had good reason to believe them necessary. They are better men than their villifiers. There is not one of them, I venture to say, that approves of the Fugitive Slave Law passed last year by Congress, and passed, too, with extreme difficulty, and only under the belief that nothing short of such a measure could save the Union from disruption, and the country from the horrors of civil war. The law itself is odious in the North, and no christian man will willingly aid in its execution; nor will he obstruct its execution, if he has proper views of his duty to the Government. If the law is bad, let it be changed, or repealed, in a constitutional way. It was a re-enactment of one made during the presidency of General Washington, and was provided for by the Constitution itself. The recent law is more stringent in its measures than the old, and makes provision for its enforcement by the Officers of the United States' Government,—a measure rendered necessary in the opinion of the authors of it, by the action of several of the States, which had forbidden their officers to act in such cases, or their prisons to be used for the guarding of arrested slaves. Such was the opposition to this new law,—a fact that shows how great is the abhorrence of slavery in the non-slave-holding States,—that there was danger of its execution being defeated by lawless violence in many cities. It was on the duty of sustaining the laws, *as long as they are laws*,—in other words, of maintaining lawful government,—that these sermons were preached; and it does not become those who are for ever reproaching the United States for the occasional doings of “Judge Lynch,” to condemn ministers of the gospel for endeavouring to repress such tendencies.

The time, too, was eminently critical. The people of the South were extremely discontented. They had, in reality, lost every thing in relation to the territory obtained from Mexico as the result of the late war; and this widely-detested Fugitive Slave Law was the only thing they gained in the several measures of compromise that were adopted! Upon the enforcement of this law, at least for the present, the peace of the country seemed to depend. That it will soon become a dead letter, as the former one was for many years, is certain. The South will insist upon its fulfilment, *as a test*, for a while; but it must soon fall into ne-

glect. They will soon find it a very costly business to enforce this law—more so than they will be willing to endure. Experience will teach them, too, that it is a dangerous thing to bring back a fugitive slave; for his visit to the North, and sojourn there, however brief, will have taught him many things. Indeed, this matter is well understood in the South. Of the thousands of the fugitive slaves, under the old law, very few were ever reclaimed.

There is no danger that many persons will be called to suffer under the new law. There will be a few cases, for a short period, and that is about all there will be of it. And even in these, the return of the slave to hopeless bondage, in nine cases out of ten, may be prevented, by his freedom being purchased on the spot, or soon afterwards. There are people enough that are ready to do this,—not perhaps, the abolitionists of the school of Messrs. Garrison and Co., for these gentlemen would prefer to send them over to England, to furnish “capital” for augmenting the hatred of America, and to give, I must say it, an opportunity to our English friends to manifest an unnecessary benevolence,—in other words, to be cajoled,—a privilege which they may often have, if they continue to be desirous of it. As to the necessity of any pious slave, whether he be a minister of the gospel or not, flying to England in order to obtain his freedom, I do not believe that a case has often, if ever occurred. The freedom of such men would soon be purchased, if the case was made known in the North, if not in the South. A few years ago, the Presbyterian Synod of Alabama purchased, by collections made in all their churches, a very talented and pious slave and his wife and five or six children, and educated him well. He is now pastor of a Presbyterian church in Liberia, whither he went with his family, not of compulsion, but of choice. Nobody thought it necessary for that man to run away to England.

But it would seem that the *trade* of enlightening the people of England on the subject of American slavery, and participation in the profits of that trade, are not to be confined to fugitive slaves, as has hitherto been the case; for a gentleman has recently arrived in England from America, with an immense quantity of anti-slavery publications, with a view of giving a course of public lectures, in all places where he may find encouragement; so that it may be said that the campaign is fairly opened. It would seem, too, that he has taken pains to qualify himself well for the task. A native of England, he has been a preacher of the gospel in America, mostly in the north-western States, for twelve or fourteen years. A year or two ago, he went into one of the slave-holding States, and commenced an anti-slavery movement. Instead of preaching in public to both masters and slaves, on their relative and reciprocal duties, and of saying almost what he pleased to the former in private,—as any other man, if possessed of common sense, in the actual state of things, would have done,—he soon began to denounce both slavery and slave-holders in the severest and most irritating terms. He was remonstrated with by good men, who told him that his course was unwise; that it was such as would not be tolerated; and that it was especially calculated to give offence, as coming from a foreigner and an Englishman. But all was in vain. He soon was compelled to leave,—

a result which he probably expected, and even wished for, if one may judge from his conduct,—and has come to England to receive the honour and advantage of his martyrdom. No doubt he will find it a profitable speculation; and if so, he will have followers and imitators enough.

I do not give the name of this gentleman, but he will recognise himself (and others will also, it is probable) from the foregoing notice of him; but if he should be at a loss about the matter, I will further say, that he is the man, who, in the Peace Convention, a few weeks ago, in Exeter Hall, descended from the platform, and with a smile advanced among the people, and spoke to an American minister from one of the Southern States, but who has never owned a slave, and has no sympathy with slavery, that had a short time before crossed the Atlantic with him. Upon his return to the platform, he told the editor of one of the religious papers of London—which, the courtesies of civilized life forbid me to mention—that there was such a person present. This led the latter to say in his journal, a few days after, when speaking of an address made by a coloured man on the occasion, “that he did not envy the feelings of an American minister who was present,” or words to that effect,—a fair specimen of the “flings” against Americans which certain London writers take delight in, when they have a chance,—and which was as gratuitous and useless as it was unworthy of the distinguished reputation which he enjoys.

But what good is all this to do? How will it help to overthrow slavery in America? “Oh, it will place a stigma upon it—it will make an impression.” Yes, it will make an impression; and so will the firing of a pistol at the Rock of Gibraltar, if one stand near enough, and if not, an impression will be made on the air! But what sort of an impression? The simple truth is, these people amazingly over-rate their importance and their influence, especially so far as America is concerned. Above all, in their profound ignorance of human nature, they forget that it is possible to attempt to do good in such a manner, and in such a spirit, as will, in the long run, accomplish far more evil than good.*

I am well aware, also, that besides the impulse which their own vanity gives to such efforts, these gentlemen are encouraged to do this by a

* Mr. Gurney, at the last Anti-slavery Meeting in Exeter Hall, spoke of the *sensitiveness* of the Americans; and remarks of a similar nature are often made in English papers. But in fact John Bull is as *thin-skinned*—though the *soubriquet* would intimate the contrary—as Brother Jonathan. Let any thing be said by a foreigner, that reflects upon their defects and faults of character, or that exposes the evils which exist among them, or that holds up to ridicule some of their absurd customs and manners—and a good deal can be said on all these points, as some continental and other tourists have demonstrated—and then our English friends show that they can feel as acutely as other people. They are to be honoured for it,—not condemned. Let us all learn to bear and forbear; for we all live, in this respect in “glass houses,” if not in Crystal Palaces, and should not throw stones—at least not very hardly. If we abuse others, we must expect to be abused in turn, and to be paid in our own coin. There is a homely proverb in circulation in America, which cannot be unknown in England, to the effect that what is “sauce for the goose, ought to be sauce for the gander,” which it may not be amiss to remember.

party in the Northern States of America, who claim to possess all the real anti-slavery feeling in the country, and especially by those who seek that consideration and encouragement abroad which their own rash, extravagant, and denunciatory course has caused them to lose at home. This sort of game has been now playing a considerable time. On the one hand, the gentlemen referred to furnish the proper quantity of new and old tales of injustice and oppression that may form a sufficient basis for an attack upon American christians, American churches, and American institutions; on the other, their friends and coadjutors on this side of the ocean take care that every thing shall be turned to account. But what does all this accomplish? Beyond the exasperation and alienation of Americans who love their country—nothing at all. How could it?

It is now nearly twenty years since the set of men who are, according to the British Senator who has recently returned from his missionary tour in the non-slave-holding States, the only men who deserve to be called the enemies of slavery in America, and who have nearly ruined every cause they have ever touched, began their work; and what have they accomplished? No good whatever, so far as I can see. They did not prevent the annexation of Texas, nor the Mexican war (on the contrary, their infatuated course contributed to hasten both); and if slavery does not gain a foothold in the territories obtained from Mexico at the close of the war, no thanks to them for it; for it has been the discovery of the gold mines in California, and the fact that neither the soil nor the wishes of the inhabitants will admit slavery into the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, that will exclude slavery from those regions. There is even less possibility of carrying the "Wilmot Proviso" through Congress than there was four years ago. The extravagant course of these men has even hindered the movements which good men in Kentucky, and some other Southern States, had hopes of being able to make successful. In fact, I often fear that there is really less sound and effective anti-slavery feeling in both North and South, than there was in 1819, when the "Missouri Question" so agitated the country, and when these modern apostles of abolition had not begun to be heard of. And I have little hope that much will be done, leading to direct and open action, on this subject, until a few years shall have passed away, and these men fall into the insignificance and oblivion to which they must come at last. Other men, who have been hitherto deterred from taking hold of the cause, by reason of the odium and opposition which they have created, will then come forward. I would not be understood as confounding with the "Garrison School" the good men and true who may be in the Anti-Slavery Society.

I suppose, however, that these gentlemen appertain to that notable Society of Abolitionists with whom the Missionary-Senator of England sympathized and laboured when he was with us, and which he says, has absorbed all the real abolition feeling and action of the country, so much so that the Anti-slavery Society of New York, which he pronounces a mere sham, has entirely disappeared! If this be true, I am sorry for it; for certainly there were many excellent men in the Society which has disappeared, and if there now be nothing in the shape of

Anti-Slavery movement in America, but that of which Mr. Garrison and his friends are the leaders, not much good can be augured from it.

I have often asked these gentlemen what they expect to gain by arraying the feelings of the people of England, or even of the whole world, if that were possible, against America, and her churches and ministers? Their answer has ever been: "O it will help greatly to overthrow slavery in that country, to have the indignation of England and of the world, brought to bear upon the country which tolerates it." But it is strange that it does not occur to those gentlemen, as Dr. Bacon rightly remarked, that this course, whilst it may gratify a few, provokes the indignation of the nation. How can any man in his reason believe, that to call, as the British Senator did in his recent speech to his constituents, the American christians "hypocrites and liars," and other names worthy of Billingsgate, can have any other effect than to excite their contempt, and call forth their scorn? This is the effect at the North as well as the South. The simple truth is, these gentlemen display an amazing ignorance of human nature in this whole business. No possible amount of pressure from without, *of this description*, can do any thing else than hinder the work of emancipating the slave. The thing is absurd. Our Southern people repel the interference of our own people of the Northern States; and both the North and the South will repel and do repel all *such* interferences from abroad.* Even if such a course of agitation abroad could by any possibility carry the people of the North in one unanimous movement of abhorrence, not only of Slavery but of the Southern people, (for this blind and indiscriminating feeling would have that character if it were to triumph), what would be gained by it? The South could and would defy it all. They cannot

* It would really seem as if there was a determination on the part of those who are labouring to bring about this state of things (through a real "judicial infatuation"), to do the very things which they ought not. In the fierceness of their hatred of all those who will not symbolize with them in their views and measures, they would have them excluded from the hospitality and confidence of British Christians, especially of those who are the anti-slavery people, *par excellence*. They would, in this way, render it impossible for British friends, even the most zealous of them, to endeavour to enlighten and stimulate, by kind and christian conversation on the subject, those of their poor benighted American brethren that may be found not sufficiently awake to the evils and disgrace of slavery in their native land.

And our British anti-slavery friends, in order to "go ahead" of their American friends, in this career of folly, have resolved to treat all American slave-holders that venture to come to them—although it is certain that at least in nine cases out of ten, those of this class who may desire to make their acquaintance, would be serious and conscientious men, who wish to know and do their duty, and therefore just the men most likely to be profited by right treatment,—as "heathen men" and "publicans." They will exclude them from their pulpits and their communion-tables, *sans ceremonie*; without taking the trouble to know whether there may or may not be, circumstances which may justify the present relation of master which they may sustain, to people whom the law places in the condition of bondsmen to them.

The proceedings at the late meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, in relation to the Rev. Dr. Chickering, were an illustration of the same spirit, and will produce similar results. I am happy to know that they are disapproved of by many excellent men in that body.

be *coerced*, under the Constitution as it now stands, (and there is no possibility, I conceive, of changing it), into the abolition of slavery. The only result of such a movement must be, if it reach the proposed object in view, to do it by *revolution*. And what then would become of both masters and slaves? What but the destruction of a great many of them, amid the re-enactment of the scenes of St. Domingo. I don't think that all the agitation in England, or in the whole world, can bring the people of the North to this, for the simple reason that they believe that the removal of this great evil must, and can be, effected in a better way—a way which will secure the best interests of both slaves and masters. At any rate, they will not relinquish this hope, until they are infinitely better convinced that it is impossible to realize it than they are at present.

It will be hard to make all the people of the United States believe that all this zeal, on the part of many in England, in relation to slavery in America, arises from a pure philanthropy. Very many among us cannot divest themselves of the opinion that an *ancient*, or rather a *hereditary*, prejudice and even animosity, is at the bottom of at least that portion of the interest which manifests itself in clamour and vituperation. It is extensively believed in the United States—and there is too much ground for the belief—that old political jealousies and enmities still nestle in the hearts of very many people in England of certain classes, and that these constitute the

Vulnus sub imo pectore,

that shows its existence from time to time, in mingled ebullitions of prejudice and hate. Well, I am bound in all candour to say, that we have a large class of people in America, who have just as strong prejudices against the entire English race, and that the angry passions of these people demand no more potent influences, to raise them to a *red heat*, than the inflammatory tirades which are uttered by some in Great Britain.

There is no want of men in the United States who would exult at the very prospect of a war between the two countries. There are some who almost desire it, for the purpose of putting our Manufactures on such a footing, as a war of a few years would do, that we should no longer be dependent on England in this sense. There are others who would be almost willing to see a war of several years with England, for the purpose of interrupting, till our native population has become more powerful, the vast immigration, which now brings so much ignorance, irreligion, and vice from the Old World. There is an abundance of inflammable *matériel* which may at any moment place the two countries in the most alarming position in relation to each other.

I say these things in the deepest sadness; but it is important that christians on both sides of the ocean should look at them. This is not a mere question of slavery in the United States; it is something far beyond it, and concerns most intimately the peace of the two most powerful and influential Protestant nations in the world. This is a serious matter, and I could not avoid, with a good conscience, calling the attention of British Christians to it. I can say with truth, as Nicias did to the

Athenians, "I know that other things would be more pleasing, but I prefer truth to pleasure."

It would really seem, if one may judge from the peculiar interest which some people in England take in meddling with our affairs, and especially on the subject of slavery, that they have not been aware of what has been going on during the last seventy-five years. They are much in the state of mind in which Rip Vanwinkle of "Sleepy Hollow" was, when he awoke after a sleep of many years. They appear to think that the United States are still *Colonies of Great Britain!* Well, they must wake up, for nothing in the world is more certain, than that we are *not* Colonies of England, nor have we been for a long time, and that we can do without this uncalled for and unnecessary care for us and our affairs on their part.

For myself I can say, that I think I am a Moderate Calvinist,—about as much of one as John Calvin was. But we have some men in our Northern States, who, although they do not seem to feel much responsibility for the sin of the great progenitor of the race, have a remarkable sense of responsibility for the sin of slavery in our Southern States, though it is a subject which, by the structure of our Government, belongs exclusively to the States in which the evil exists. These people are worrying themselves to death daily on account of this evil. Still, it is possible to understand their solicitude and grief. But there are men in England who go far beyond them in this matter; for not being contented with the enormous sins and evils of their great empire—and they are surely enough for the shoulders of Atlas,—they insist upon being allowed to superadd our slavery! This is certainly most extraordinary.

I have been anxious to know the motives which influence a certain class of speakers in England, and particularly in London, to make allusions without ceasing to American slavery, whenever they have an opportunity, in their public addresses, let the occasion be what it may. For this purpose, I have made inquiries of those who are likely to know. One gentleman said, that it was because they found it was easy, owing to the great excitement which the war with slavery in the West Indies had caused a few years ago, and which has not even yet subsided, to appeal to the prejudice of the masses, who know nothing scarcely of the difference between the two cases, and so catch a modicum of applause. Another reason assigned was, that it helped amazingly to keep up the reputation of an orator, both with the people and himself, for benevolence, and gave him the air and authority of a philanthropist. In the case of the Senator, already referred to, it might have some bearing on his desired re-election. And, finally, there is a class in England, who are glad to have a chance to say something against ministers of the Gospel, even if they should be so far distant as America. Of this class we have the exact counterpart in America, who are mad against the same men, because they will not submit to *their* views and measures, and cannot do so. On this account some of them have turned their backs upon Christianity, because, forsooth, Christianity cannot be bent to *their* notions, not only of what is duty, but what may be the best mode of performing duty. But such people had never turned their *faces*, or

rather their *hearts*, to the christianity of the Bible, or they would not turn their backs for such a reason, or for any reason to be found in the conduct of any men.

The celebrated Dr. Merle d'Aubigné never uttered a juster remark, than that a man of one idea is in great danger of contracting a false conscience, than which nothing is more pernicious. We see this illustrated continually. Some men look at one evil to such a degree that they lose sight of every thing else, and especially of those circumstances which may in any degree mitigate it and ultimately overthrow it. I have seen men, who by constantly contemplating the subject of Slavery and its evils, have reached such a state of mind, that it is of no use to say a word to them about the possibility of any good existing in the hearts of slave-holders, or indeed that any good can be done for them. Talk to them about preaching the gospel to slave-holders! Why, there is no gospel to preach to slave-holders, but the *liberation of their slaves*—immediately—without regard to any circumstances in the world! Say to them that there are pious slave-holders, conscientious men, who desire to do their duty to their slaves,—they don't believe a word of it! Speak about the work of the Spirit in slave-holding States, among masters and slaves,—they will not listen to you. In fact, I have often been fearful that these people may yet arrive at such a pitch of detestation of every thing that has any thing to do with this evil, that they will charge the Almighty himself with being the friend of slavery, because He sends His rain upon slave-holding States, and causes His sun to shine upon them as upon other lands.

That such persons can approve of what I have said in the preceding Address, and in these Remarks is not to be expected, nor does the fact at all distress me. I have never said nor written a word in my life in approbation of slavery, so far as I know. There is not a feeling of my heart that sympathizes with it, but I cannot, unless my understanding be changed, be made to approve of a great deal that is said and done by those who affect to be the only people who judge rightly on this subject. I cannot consent to that wholesale and indiscriminate abuse and condemnation of all slave-holders, without regard to their circumstances, which they take delight in perpetrating. There has been too much of this for the good of either slave or master.

As to slavery in the United States, I know that it will come to an end gradually, slowly, but certainly. There are many causes within and without the slave-holding States, which are operating silently, but surely, to overthrow it. The political influence of those States has been relatively decreasing since the first. At the formation of the Constitution (1787), slavery existed in twelve out of thirteen of the States; in the course of years, changes occurred which brought the slave-holding and non-slave-holding States to an equilibrium in the Senate; and this continued long after the former had lost equality in point of numbers in the House of Representatives. But now they have lost the Senate also. And though it is possible that one or two more slave-holding States may be made by dividing Texas, yet they will be far more than counter-balanced by the admission of the New States formed out of Oregon, Minnesota, Nebraska, Utah, and New Mexico,—for there is

every degree of probability that the latter two will have no slavery in them. The sixteen free States and five Territories have three-fifths of the entire population. And though the number of slaves has greatly increased, neither the entire population of the Southern States, nor their relative power and influence has kept pace with those of the Northern. The moral causes which must vastly contribute to the overthrow of this great evil are also becoming more and more powerful! I think, the first of all duties resting upon our American christians is to increase and strengthen those causes. And the second is to look more after the intellectual elevation and moral culture of the free coloured people, in the North. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done. They should be encouraged and assisted in all proper attempts to enter into all sorts of business in which other men are engaged. They have a hard chance in the competition which the influx of so many poor Irish, Germans, and other foreigners is creating. These latter are accustomed to living in a far poorer manner in the Old World, than our coloured people, and will underwork them wherever they can. They have far more prejudice against the negro race than our Northern people, and our Northern people have far more than the Southern,—for the simple reason that the Southern people have grown up with them, have played with them in childhood, have been nursed, many of them by black or coloured nurses, and consequently have a sympathy for them which no other people in the world have. Instances of cruelty, plenty of them, alas, may be found; of these much is heard; but there is a large amount of kind treatment on the part of christian masters, of which little is known abroad.

I know not what is the destiny of the African race in the United States, but I entertain the hope that in time every vestige of slavery will disappear, and that that coloured race will attain to a position of comfort and respectability as free citizens in all parts of the country. It will require much time, but it will be done, I firmly believe. It is probable that many will go to the West Indies, where there are numerous openings for them; and many to Africa, to carry civilization and Christianity to the very heart of that great but unexplored continent. The influence which must bring about this consummation must be indigenous and not foreign, in my opinion,—as I have already stated.*

* When I reflect upon the fact that millions of the African race now in the United States, have attained a very considerable amount of civilization, and that many of them have been made partakers of the blessedness which the Gospel alone can give, I think that few will deny that on the whole, their happiness in this life, and their prospects of eternal life in the world to come, attended as they have been with servitude on their part and that of their fathers, are greatly preferable to the ignorance, degradation, and heathenism, which would have been their inheritance, had they remained in Africa. When we add to this the consideration, that God is evidently working out a great plan, in which these people are certainly destined to perform an important part—especially, perhaps, in carrying the Gospel and civilization into Africa, we may confidently believe that the ways of the Almighty can be justified, whatever may be thought of those of man. This view, however, of their case, cannot justify the holding of these people in servitude a moment longer than their true interests will be advanced by it. In other words, beyond the point at which they become able to take care of themselves well, in the circumstances in which they are placed.

I cannot close these Remarks, which have been written in all christian frankness, and without one unkind feeling that I am conscious of towards any human being in Britain or in Europe, but from a desire to discharge what I consider a solemn duty, without expressing my most grateful acknowledgments for the christian courtesy and kindness with which my statements were heard by the Alliance. They will bear me witness that I delivered them with an oppressed heart, and in no unkindness of manner. Never shall I cease to admire the christian spirit which characterized the body that heard them, and through which (not because they had given occasion for them, but because it was the very body that ought to hear them, inasmuch as it has at heart the removal of evils such as are here spoken of), I wish to make them known to British Christians. It has been the greatest of earthly blessings to me to have been permitted to attend, as much as imperfect health would allow, the General Conference in 1846, and the meeting of the British Alliance—which also assumed a general character,—that has just come to a close. I never expect to see more interesting meetings this side of Heaven. The church on earth has few, if any, greater or better men than I have seen in these meetings. Some who were in the former were not in the latter—Bickersteth, Grimshawe, Emory, Caldwell, and others, whom the Saviour has taken to Himself; and others because health or duties at home did not permit them to be there. But a goodly number were at the latter who were at the former—*clara et venerabilia nomina*—long may they be spared to bless the World as well as the Church; and although I deplore that what I must ever deem an unfortunate step* in regard to the subject about which I have said so much, will probably render it impossible for our American Churches to co-operate extensively in the Alliance,—yet I rejoice that the movement is likely to do so much good in this Old World. I think that the recent meeting has shown what an Alliance among those who hold the truth can do, when it confines itself to the sphere proper to such a movement, including, as it must if complete, Christians of all parts, whose relations for the present, to evils in the world of an economical or national character are so varied and difficult. It cannot be that such meetings will not make Christians better acquainted with Christendom and the work to be done in order to restore a primitive Christianity throughout all its limits,—which would be the greatest blessing which this world could receive.

Whilst I feel grateful for the kind expressions which I have received from many quarters, in regard to what I deem it a duty—a very painful one to me—to say, I must add that I am sorry that my remarks have not been received with equal kindness in some quarters for which I have ever had a high regard. I refer to the *British Banner* and the

* It may not be improper for me to say that that great and good man Dr. Chalmers, expressed to me, at the last interview I had with him—in February, 1847, four months before he died—the same opinion. He said that he deemed it one of most absurd and unfortunate things that he had ever heard of in his life; for he considered it a question of so complicated and difficult a nature, and that required so much discrimination and care, that it ought ever to be left to the Churches to deal with.

Patriot. I have not indeed read the "Strictures" which their respective editors have made upon my Speech, nor shall I. Having been told that they were written in an unkind spirit, and attributed to me motives which I expressly and sincerely reprobated, I resolved never to look into the papers which they had the goodness to send me; and for this reason: from my earliest years I have been familiar with the names and writings of two of the Editors of these Journals, and have cherished the greatest respect for them. That respect I will not allow to be disturbed, if I can help it, during what remains of life to me—which I cannot now expect to be very long.*

But whatever may be the fate of our American Alliance, my prayer is and ever shall be, that God, in his infinite mercy, would give to christians of England and the United States a proper understanding of each other's position, difficulties, and trials, and a proper appreciation of each other's work and influence. The church in all its branches, in each country, has an immense work to perform. England sways a sceptre over one hundred and fifty-four millions of the human race; the United States comprise now nearly twenty-five millions of souls, and will in fifty years, if prosperity continue, have one hundred millions. Between them, they now govern more than a sixth part of the human race, and nearly a fourth part of the habitable globe. Both are Protestant countries, and their population is essentially and naturally of the same origin; for both are Anglo-Saxon, and partake in the main of the same characteristics—indomitable energy, perseverance, and capability of great achievement.† Both are blessed with the greatest of all boons, beyond any other race,—the Holy Scriptures. Both sustain the most intimate relations to each other, and ought to live in bonds of

* As to abuse from some of the journals in the British realm, and from those of a certain type in America, that was to be expected as a matter of course. There are certain people who are valiant at abusing others; but if any one reprove them for their faults, they grow furious, and transgress all the bounds of decency. But these things give me no uneasiness whatever. I may be allowed to say with Jerome of Prague, "If I had feared fire, I should not be here."

† Anglo-Norman, however, would better designate their character, for whatever of energy they may have, they owe it to their Norman rather than Saxon origin.

No race certainly possesses greater capacity for doing great things, or has done greater things; and none has done more unworthy. So that it may be pronounced at once, the *greatest* and *meanest* of races. Whilst on the one hand, in arms, in commerce, in the useful arts, in *jurisprudence*, in all that concerns freedom in political institutions, and in efforts to extend the gospel, it has done the greatest things; on the other, it has subjugated, and in some cases annihilated, the other races over which it has gained control: Celtic, Hindoo, African, and Aboriginal in America and Australia.

It is enough to make the blood of benevolent men boil, to listen to the absurd and ignorant laudation of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the cruel depreciation of others, which are sometimes uttered. "They are worthy to govern others," said a gentleman in my hearing, a few weeks ago in Ireland! I could not avoid saying to friends near me: Yes, worthy to govern the poor Celts! This is the very language which one may sometimes hear from our irreligious slave-holders: the Anglo-Saxon race are worthy to rule the Negroes! Both the one and the other assertion are unworthy of Humanity, to say nothing of Christianity.

strictest amity. Possessing, as they do, a larger amount of political liberty, and constitutional governments more securely established than any other nations, they seem to be called not only to stand together for the spread of the Gospel, but for the maintenance of the rights of Humanity. They ought, therefore, to cherish a spirit of sincere respect and kindness for each other, instead of indulging in mutual detraction, crimination, and recrimination.

I feel confident that I may answer for the Christians of my native land, that it is *their* desire to maintain the most fraternal and cordial relations with their brethren in England; and they are willing to do their part towards it. Let them be met in a similar spirit, and all will be well. What they ask is, that they be treated with the respect which is due to their position, their character as christian men, and their efforts to propagate the Gospel in all lands where their help is needed;* they ask no condescension or patronage at the hands of their brethren either in England or any other land,—they do not believe that this would be worthy of them, and they feel quite sure that they can afford to dispense with it.

But let us turn to more pleasing themes. How delightful is the truth, that with all our imperfections, our adorable Saviour is pleased to permit us to labour for the extension of His kingdom, and deigns to crown our poor and imperfect attempts with His blessing! How cheering, too, is the fact, that the Truth is looking up in almost all places in Christendom, and beyond it, where well-directed efforts are making to promote it. I esteem it one of the greatest of my privileges, that my long residence and many journeys in Europe have made me acquainted with so many dear children of God in all directions. There

* Not only are our churches taking a greater interest every year in the work of spreading the Gospel in Heathen and Mohammedan lands, but they are desirous of aiding the good work in Papal lands, even in Europe. Much as they have to do in their own great country, they are not willing to confine their efforts and their prayers to it. There has not been an appeal from the Old World,—there has not been a calamity or great trouble there,—which has not called forth their sympathy and their prayers. When famine stalked abroad in Ireland, collections were made in all parts of the country—even among slave-holders and slaves,—for the relief of that afflicted land. When the “Exodus” of the Free Church took place in Scotland, our churches took delight in aiding their Scottish brethren; and I am sure that neither Dr. Cunningham, nor any of his friends who visited us with him, and whose visits are so pleasantly remembered, ever heard a word of reproach for their having, in former times, had any thing to do with the alliance of the Church and the State—much as we deem that connexion to be a great evil. And when Dr. Dill and Mr. Simpson came to us for help for the work in Ireland, that help was not refused, although they came from a Church which had once addressed to one of our religious bodies a letter on the subject of slavery of such a nature, that all further correspondence was peremptorily declined; nor although that Church still receives the “golden wedge and the Babylonish garment” of the State, and openly tolerates in her bosom, as every State Establishment must of necessity do, men who are notoriously unworthy of christian fellowship. The hardest thing said to them at their departure from us was, that if they would return at a future day for help, and report that their church had experienced the desired “emancipation,” they should receive one hundred thousand dollars instead of twenty-five thousand.

is scarcely a city of any importance in it, in which I do not know some who love the kingdom of the Saviour, and are labouring and praying for its advancement. And I can say with truth, that I find no greater happiness than in my attempts to present them, in prayer, before the throne of our heavenly Father, as they arise to my remembrance, in country after country, city after city, and group after group.

In such moments it is sweet to exclaim from the fullness of the heart : “ Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, through the effectual operation of the Holy Spirit, to all, in all lands, who are the followers of the Lamb that was slain for us.” I love my country, and the many followers of Christ who are in it ; and I think too that I can appreciate the sentiment of the Roman Orator, and say : “ Where liberty is, there is my country ;” yet after all, I desire to feel that where there is one sincere Christian, however humble,—whatever language he may speak, whatever complexion he may wear,—there, there is my country, in the highest and best sense.

Blessed be God, those things which now so distressingly hinder the “ communion of saints,” will soon be passed away for ever, and we shall enter upon other scenes, and our hearts be vexed no more. There we shall dwell where He is, whose face we shall desire first of all to see, when we open our eyes in glory. And in whatever we may differ in regard to subordinate and perplexing questions, even now we can all unite, in the language of one of England’s poets, whose name is precious in all christian lands, and say :

“ Come then, and, added to Thy many crowns,
 Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,
 Thou, who alone art worthy ! It was Thine
 By ancient covenant, ere Nature’s birth ;
 And Thou hast made it Thine by purchase since,
 And overpaid its value with Thy blood.
 Thy saints proclaim Thee King ; and in their hearts
 Thy title is engraven with a pen
 Dipped in the fountain of eternal love.
 Thy saints proclaim Thee King ; and Thy delay
 Gives courage to their foes, who, could they see
 The dawn of Thy last advent, long-desired,
 Would creep into the bowels of the hills,
 And flee for safety to the falling rocks.
 The very Spirit of the world is tired
 Of its own taunting question, asked so long,
 ‘ Where is the promise of your Lord’s approach ? ’ ”

Cowper’s Task, Book vi.

THE SUPPLEMENT.

The "Report" and "Speech" which are found in the former part of this publication were written out before the author left London; the "Remarks" were put on paper during the tour which he is now making on the Continent, in such moments as the fatigues of the journey and his official work allowed him to devote to them. Whilst the sheets which contain them were passing through the press, he has deemed it proper to add a few more "last words," even at the risk of repeating some things which he has already advanced.

It is a great infelicity of human temper, that it is scarcely possible for us to do justice to the opinions and feelings of those from whom we differ on any subject whatever. The author of these pages can say with the most perfect sincerity, that if he knows his own heart, there never has been a pulsation of it which has not been in behalf of the down-trodden and oppressed of all lands and of every complexion. And he has never failed to manifest that sympathy, in such ways as commended themselves to his judgment and conscience, whenever duty seemed to him to demand it. This reiterated avowal he does not make, however, to conciliate the goodwill or the friendship of any man in the world. The opinions which he holds now, he has held these many years. He has seen nothing that has been calculated to change, but much to confirm them, in what has occurred in the meanwhile. And yet he has been held up in certain quarters in England within the last few weeks as a 'pro-slavery man,' a friend of the oppressor, and an enemy of the oppressed, without the least regard to candour or even truth; and this abuse will be re-echoed by a certain party in his own country. And why? 1. Because he cannot agree with these gentlemen in their opinions of the measures best fitted to accomplish the overthrow of slavery. And on this subject he believes, and would assert it with becoming humility, that he is quite as capable of judging as they are, let them live in which Hemisphere they may. And 2. Because he cannot join them, —whatever may be his abhorrence of slavery, and it is probable that it is quite as great as theirs,—in denouncing all slave-holders as "man-stealers," "liars," and "hypocritical christians," no matter whether they became involved in the evil of slave-holding by inheritance or choice, or what the difficulties which may for the present beset the path, the only path it may be, of emancipation which presents itself! To be sure these gentlemen see no difficulties at all in the case, and declare that the

evil not only *ought to be*, but *can be* extirpated at once. Their principle is,—as impracticable in operation in such questions, as it is heathenish in origin; *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*,—and they denounce all who will not agree with them. They cannot bear to hear it said that there is any thing good in the slave-holding States. They do not believe that God can or will pour out his Spirit there, and convert both masters and slaves, which is, after all, the main hope for the peaceable and christian extirpation of this evil. Well, the author of this pamphlet cannot,—because his reason and conscience will not permit it,—agree in denouncing all who profess to be Christians in the Southern States, who may sustain the relation of masters to persons who bear the name of slaves. He cannot believe that General Washington, the late Dr. John H. Rice, the late Dr. Waddell, and thousands of other christian men in the Southern States, who were slave-holders, must be pronounced “man-stealers” and “hypocrites.”* They were better men than many who abuse them in this way—almost infinitely better men. Nor can he do dishonour to the Grace and Spirit of God, by denying what he has had good opportunities of witnessing,—the happy influence of both in that portion of his native land. He may be denounced by these gentlemen as much as they please, for holding these opinions; he cannot help it. In truth, he cares little about the matter, for the approbation of men who are evidently too much under the influence of prejudice to be capable of forming a correct opinion on the subject, would be more than doubtful praise. He would deplore the saying of a word in behalf of slavery; but he does not believe that what he has either spoken or written on this or any other occasion of his life, can be received in that light by any impartial mind.

But the question of slavery in America, whatever may be its nature or its importance, is altogether aside from the object of the Speech in the Evangelical Alliance and these Remarks, although it was the occasion of them. The author availed himself of the opportunity, when giving an account of the American Branch, and of the causes of its comparative failure, to place faithfully before British Christians, the dangers which must result from the evil feeling that has been for years steadily increasing in the two countries. He has done this with the deepest pensiveness, because he has felt the task to be both difficult and

* I know not how often I have met with persons in England, who have asked whether there are Christians in the Southern States, who take an interest in the religious societies and movements of the present day, and do any thing to advance them? I cannot speak with precision, but I am of the opinion, (and I have had some opportunities for judging correctly on the subject), that the Christians in our Southern or Slave-holding States, do as much in proportion to their means and their numbers, as do those of the Northern States; their contributions, their activity in Sabbath-schools, their care of the sick, and other efforts, will prove this. If they cannot do all that ought to be done for the slaves, they may certainly be allowed to do what they can. Among the religious people of the South are but few rich proprietors; there are many ladies and children of families that own slaves; a considerable number of white people, mostly not wealthy; and many slaves and free coloured people, in those States, who are pious. But neither the number nor the means of Southern Christians will compare with those of their Northern brethren.

ungraciously. He is deeply sensible that there are many among his countrymen who could have done it far better; but he has felt that there are some reasons why he should do what he could, however humble his position and insignificant his influence, to warn the christian people of this realm of what he fully believes to be a very alarming and not distant peril. He shall esteem himself happy if his efforts should, in any measure, contribute to arrest it. That there are many among his valued christian friends in these Isles, who will properly appreciate his endeavours, and do what they can to render them successful, he cannot doubt, after the many expressions of approbation which he has received. He feels that he has attempted to do his duty. He is not conscious of having spoken or written a word in an unkind spirit. He has laboured hard these many years, to interest the churches of his native land in the work of resuscitating a pure and effective Christianity in Europe—especially in the papal parts of it,—and not in vain. He has felt that that work was of the utmost moment, not only for those countries themselves, but for his native land, and for the rest of the world. In this work he has had much to do with christians of every country in Europe, and has taken great pleasure in endeavouring to promote their best interests, and those of the friends whom they have commended to him, in both the Old and New World. He has hoped that this would constitute some claim, in behalf of this humble effort, to their respectful consideration.

But the author has reason, he is sorry to say it, to fear that by many his motives and language will be misconstrued, and his remonstrances disregarded. Regardless of the evil which they may do, they will probably continue,—under the pretext of sympathy with the slaves of America, but in reality in the indulgence of national or personal vanity, or of hereditary dislike of that country and its institutions,—to employ the language of invective and insult in reference to most of its people, whenever an occasion may occur. This will inevitably provoke retaliation,—as indeed it is doing now. The result will be that the religious portion of the people of each country will become alienated from each other; and the worldly, or non-religious, so much exasperated, as to be ready to take advantage of any untoward occurrence to wake up the fierce passions of strife, which will find their full play only in deadly hostilities. That this will be the result at no distant day, the author greatly fears, and even firmly believes. The bad elements of national hatred are now abundant, and with us they are constantly increasing, from sources already indicated, and it will not require much to bring matters to a dangerous issue. These elements are latent, but they are there.

The London *Times*, in an able article on the British Colonial System, has recently exposed the bad management which has in so many instances produced disastrous results, and cites the loss of the American Colonies, (now the United States,) as an illustration of effects to be apprehended. The author of this publication, is of opinion that one cause,—and the most important of all,—of the loss of those Colonies to the British Crown is to be sought for in the unkind treatment which their inhabitants received from the newspaper press, from the sneering

speeches in the Parliament, and the malicious and libellous volumes of insolent "tourists" of England, during the long Colonial Era. It was not alone the paltry tax on tea and a few other articles, coupled with a refusal of "representation," that brought about that Revolution. There was something behind all this. Nations have the sensibilities of individuals, for they are but masses of individuals.

And the late war between the United States and England, (1812—15), was quite as much occasioned, perhaps far more, by the insulting language used by the British officers of the army and navy, by senators and diplomatists, and by editors of newspapers and reviews, as all the other causes combined.*

These positions were fully sustained, more than thirty years ago, by a distinguished American author, † in a work, which deserves to be read even yet, for the lessons which it teaches, as well as the vindication of the United States which it contains.

We must believe that these detractors, so ignorant and reckless, of by-gone ages, begat children in their own likeness; for the race is far from being extinct in the British realm, and especially in England, and most especially of all in and about London, whose smoke, (or something else), seems to have other qualities besides that of obscuring and circumscribing human vision. The author feels bound in candour, to say also, that a similar race exists in his own country,—quite as keen-eyed, sharp-tongued, and bent on doing mischief. A dozen secular and half a dozen so-called religious newspapers, on this side of the ocean, can be fully matched by the same number on the other, in respect to the *habilité*, indifference to consequences, and even bad feeling, which they display in treating reciprocally of each other's countries and their institutions.

Is not this too bad? Where will it end? God only knows. "That which as been," may be again. And who can look forward to such an issue in these days, when England and America ought to be the best of friends, and stand shoulder to shoulder, without grief and even horror? Will not good men pause and consider? Will not editors, at least those of religious papers and magazines, will not public speakers, sacrifice their feelings of national and personal vanity, and of antipathy, if they have any,—and many we fear have without scarcely being aware of it,—and combine their efforts to maintain the peace of these nations?

* The history of France and Great Britain illustrates and confirms the position taken in the text. The wars which have so often occurred between these countries arose more from the deadly hostility which had become so deeply seated in the heart of each, that it was common to call them "natural enemies" of each other, than from all other causes. Indeed this was the cause which lay behind all the others, and gave them their force. The writers of each nation ridiculed their neighbours across the channel, until the hatred became universal and dreadful. All sorts of names, some of them vulgar enough, and all of them more or less ridiculous, were indulged in with much delight, and thus two great christian nations were made enemies to each other by a set of worthless fools that were a disgrace to humanity. And there are men in England and America who would play the same part in relation to those countries!

* Robert Walsh, Esq., well known at home and abroad by scholars, for his numerous and able writings. The work referred to is commonly known by the brief title of his "APPEAL."

Both are powerful and proud. The United States are neither in the position nor the mood likely to dispose them to bear what they did in years passed away. This is not the language of menace, but a statement of a simple truth. They have no desire,—this can certainly be affirmed of them as a nation, and especially of the serious portion of it,—to have war with any country, least of all with England, and yet they are too conscious of their strength to allow themselves to be insulted or trifled with, when an important question of national interest comes up. They have been reproached, even by British editors, strange as it may seem, with possessing an inordinate aggressiveness; but this charge is not well founded. Their late war with Mexico was much deplored by all good men, and yet it was as justifiable as any that England or France has carried on for the last hundred years. At all events, if they have aggressive dispositions, they certainly inherited them from a Parent illustrious in that respect.

One thing surprises the author of these Remarks beyond measure; it is that so far as the religious people of England are concerned, he has learned that unkind feeling towards the United States is most to be found among the Dissenting bodies. Indeed it would seem, if we may judge from the language of one of their organs,—the *Eclectic Review* for the month of August of this year,—that these bodies, or some who affect to be their leaders, have come to the conclusion that it is their special “mission,”—to use a phrase which has great currency in these days, *to condemn and oppose slavery in America*; which is—their mode of doing it being the exponent,—a *Euphemism* for the more homely expression:—*to abuse America and every thing that belongs to it!* Another of their journals seems to exult with perfect delight, that the Evangelical Alliance has failed *because of slavery in America!* That it has not become the great and glorious movement which it might have been, is owing to an unnecessary, and most useless meddling with that subject: but if the editor and a certain party who think with him in this matter have rejoiced at the fact, it is to be feared that they have placed themselves in very bad company; for it is certain that some other beings, with a powerful Chief at their head, have also rejoiced, and in advance of them, at the same result, and done what they could to bring it about!*

* It would seem from a recent meeting of the London Congregational Board, that the disposition to meddle with American Slavery is as rife as ever. One gentleman, a minister and writer,* gravely proposed—what was proposed and voted in another Ecclesiastical Body last Spring, I believe,—to exclude all American ministers who either hold slaves, or sympathize

* It was this gentleman, if we are rightly informed, who undertook to demolish the argument of a “certain Moses Stuart,” certainly one of the best scholars in America, so far as the original languages of the Scriptures are concerned, on the subject of Slavery in the Hebrew Commonwealth. And the newspapers informed us that he was entirely successful! And yet it is said to be doubtful whether he can read, or ever has read, a chapter of the Hebrew Text!

Who killed Cock Robin?

I, said the Sparrow,

With my bow and arrow,

I killed Cock Robin!

Really this is something like attacking the Fortress of Gibraltar with a pop-gun!

But how are they going to fulfil this mission? Why, by arraying the public sentiment of the World against America! Well, they have

with slavery, from the pulpits of the Congregational churches in London. Just as if that measure was going to have any effect. Can one American minister be found who will *ask* for the favour of preaching in an English pulpit? And how then is a stigma to be placed on him by the *refusal*? Most American ministers who come to England, come to recruit their health, to find some needed relaxation from their labours which are usually arduous enough. Whilst here, they neither expect nor desire to preach much. They wish rather to *hear* during their brief sojourn, some of the English *celebrities*, the real *Dii Majorum*, of the English pulpit—so as to be profited themselves. Our American ministers certainly feel it to be a privilege to hear the good and great men of England, when they come hither—which with the most of them is not likely to be more than once. They will not consider it a great matter if they should not have an opportunity of preaching whilst here. But is there no danger, on the other hand, that they will refuse to preach for their English brethren? There are two sides to this matter. In fact two of those who were in London, at the time of the late Meeting of the British Alliance did refuse, decidedly, but courteously, to preach for a London minister who has made himself conspicuous, by his abuse of Americans,—and they were *not* slaveholders.

The Body, however, did not adopt the proposition to exclude the American Ministers from their pulpits and communion tables, but appointed a Committee to address a "Letter" to the American Churches on the subject of Slavery, and probably the "*Fugitive Slave Law*" also! Well, I would venture to say, with all proper respect—brethren and gentlemen, this is a work of superfluous benevolence. Our Churches understand their position and duties quite as well as you do, to say the least of it—I speak with deference. They give as much evidence of a desire to know and do their duty, as Churches and as individuals, in all the departments of effort to build up Christ's Kingdom in the world as the Churches and brethren of England, or any other part of Christendom; and they have a right to demand that their judgment of what is practicable for them, in regard to Slavery, in the actual circumstances, should be respected abroad, and that the subject be left,—where after all it must be left,—to their management. Look well after your own affairs. Have you not millions of the veriest slaves of ignorance, superstition, and vice in Ireland, and tens of thousands in London and other great cities in England and Scotland, who, as regards food and raiment and the other comforts of life, and above all as regards the knowledge of the Gospel and the hopes of Heaven, are almost infinitely worse off than the three millions and a quarter of slaves in our Southern States. Do look at home—at your own three kingdoms, and do the work here which God calls you to do. And if you must look abroad, as indeed you should, look to your distant Possessions—the oppressions in India, the war with the Kaffirs, and the horrible opium trade with China, almost exclusively in the hands of Englishmen—a trade which will, in the long run, I fear, destroy the temporal and eternal interests of more millions of the human race than our American slavery has done. Look well to these matters; they will give you enough to do.

I cannot forbear repeating, that it does appear passing strange, that the people of a country in which there is more prejudice against Americans—I speak of the masses, not of the highest classes,—than in all other countries in the whole world, should have so great a disposition to meddle with American slavery. This prejudice shows itself in their Reviews, in their newspapers, in their public meetings, in their hotels, in their railroad cars, and often at their very tables; and yet they must be for ever troubling themselves with our affairs! Why is all this? Is it philanthropy, or zeal for the cause of God and man, or unendurable presumption, or hereditary hatred of us, that is at the bottom of all this? It is probable that *all* these motives are operative—some in some hearts, and others in others. However this may be

made but little progress during the last fifteen or twenty years that they have been at it; nor are they likely to do much. The most that they have accomplished has been to create prejudice and bad feeling towards America and her institutions in Great Britain and Ireland. But as to the world outside the British Isles—for that there *is* such a world, though some within those limits, with a simplicity or something else, worthy of the Chinese, seem not to be aware of the fact, is certain,—the “mission” of our friends has not accomplished much. The French, Germans, and other nations on the Continent have had too much good sense to entertain such preposterous views for a moment. This idea of isolating a nation and getting all others to point the finger of scorn at it, is about the most impracticable and absurd conception that ever entered into the head of any human being. Most nations have got enough to be ashamed of themselves. And experience teaches that it is *light* and *love* and not *hatred*, that is effective to remove great moral evils, whether they be individual, social, or national. But if these gentlemen wish to effect their object by isolating the United States, let them persuade the Manchester and other British manufacturers to buy no more American cotton. This would do more than any thing else that could be attempted in that line to overthrow slavery in America. Will they be able to do this? Let them try, and they will find that self-interest and the love of money are equally powerful on both sides of the ocean,—too powerful, alas, for the interests of the poor slave. What then? Why other influences than isolation must be employed, and those influences must be of a moral nature, and originate chiefly within and not without the slave-holding States. But there are many great and good men in the bodies to which reference has been made, who do not believe a word of *their* being called to the mission of putting down American Slavery,—a thing for which they are not responsible, unless it be to deplore the sin of their fathers in creating it, and to pray for its removal!

The author of these Remarks cannot bring them to a conclusion without addressing a few words with great plainness and frankness to his British brethren and Englishmen in general. He would say to them, in the language of christian kindness and of earnest faithfulness: “You, dear brethren and friends, have a great work to do—in elevating, and educating, and christianizing the masses, the now down-trodden and ignorant masses, in your great cities; in your mining districts; in your manufacturing towns. The spiritual wants of your army and navy demand your attention; your vast colonial possessions,—Canada, India, South Africa, Australia, need a great deal more of your care, as to their spiritual interests, than they seem to be receiving; Ireland has scarcely begun to attract your notice, instead of being blessed throughout all her extent by your exertions. The papal nations on the Continent, some of them almost visible from your shores, are well nigh “unknown lands” to you, and yet God is opening them to efforts which you owe it to

this interference will do more harm than good. It may sustain a party among us as I have said; but it will retard, not hasten, the overthrow of slavery.

your history, to your faith, and even to your relations to them,—for you have often sacrificed much to save them from political and military despotism,—to make for them; the Jewish world, and the great Heathen and Mohammedan worlds demand much at your hands, for many millions of them are under the direct or indirect influence of your government. And, finally, your government itself needs to be looked after; a good many reforms need still to be made; much progress has been made in bringing your domestic and foreign policy to the right line. Still there is much to be done; its foreign influence has been, on the whole, salutary, of late years, far beyond what it was in years not very long gone by; but it has leaned rather too much to the side of despotism; it ought to give the weight of its great influence more to the side of struggling liberty; it needs more of the spirit of that determined Englishman, OLIVER CROMWELL, and of that sturdy Dutchman, WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE—the two best monarchs and most sincere Protestants England has ever had, though they both came into the possession of the supreme power rather irregularly, according to the ideas of some men, and being as it were, “born out of due time,”—to make it care as much as it should for persecuted Christians, wherever found, especially in the Old World.

“Surely you have, then, a large field to cultivate, one large enough to task all your energies. If you see us unfaithful in dealing with an evil which exists in some of our States—but for which the Supreme Government is not, and cannot be responsible—if you find us displaying sympathy only with the master, and not with those who serve—if you discover that we have no desire to have this social evil safely, and even speedily, removed, then, by all means, remind us of our sad neglect—pray for our enlightenment—and kindly urge us to discharge the duty we neglect; but do not condemn us as a ‘pro-slavery’ people, as ‘hypocrites’ and ‘liars’ because we cannot see with you ‘eye to eye’ in regard to the best *modus operandi*; we did not, twenty years ago, deal thus with you. And in regard to practical action, do not interfere; for your interference will only retard the glorious consummation.* If we cannot (with God’s help) manage this great evil which we inherited from you—let it never be forgotten—without your help, we cannot do it at all.

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

* A few months ago, a religious body in Ireland addressed a letter to the American Churches about the *Fugitive Slave Law*! One of the best papers in New York—a paper that had steadily opposed that law, used such language as the following in relation to this letter. “What can these men hope to accomplish by this unwarrantable interference in the political action of our government? Was there ever such arrogance and folly? Do they really think that they are likely to do any good by such an absurd measure? Why can they not attend to their own business? Have they not enough to look after in their own empire? Is this the return which we are to receive for what we did for that country when famine and pestilence was laying it desolate—a land, the overwhelming majority of whose inhabitants are in an incomparably worse condition both for this world and the next, than are our slaves in whose behalf they affect such an interest.”

“But you can aid us with yours prayers, that wisdom from on high may be imparted to us, that proper measures may be adopted for the removal of this dreadful evil; that grace may be given to Christians, North and South, to enable them to see and do their duty in regard to it. You can help us by making our slave-holders see in your West India Colonies, the happy effects of emancipation,—this has certainly not been the case to as great an extent as could be wished,—it has largely decided public sentiment with us against *immediate* emancipation. You can help us still further,—but this does not concern the question of slavery,—by doing your duty better to the masses in Ireland and other portions of your own realm, so that the tens and even hundreds of thousands whom we are to receive from you, may come prepared to be a blessing and not a burthen and a curse to us. We feel much about this matter. You gave us slavery at the outset, and you abuse us for the existence of an evil which we cannot get clear of in a day, nor in any thing short of many years; and now you are, as it were, obtruding upon us masses of ignorant Roman Catholics, whom we must take off your hands, and do as well with them as we can. This is not *kind*—it is in fact very *unkind*. We are very sure that unless Monarchy and Established Church do better towards the masses—in the way of educating them and giving them the knowledge of the Gospel, our people will never be won back to those ancient institutions. On the contrary, we shall have to jog along as well as we can with our Republicanism and the Voluntary Principle! May heaven take care of us! We will try to do for these people in the New World what ought to have been done for them in the Old.

“In truth, we have a great work to do in North America, and with God’s help we will do it. O if He will but deign to aid us and bless us, even He who was the God of our fathers, and has hitherto brought us through many and great difficulties, all will go well. Our population is increasing at a fearful rate; Europe sends us hundreds of thousands of her people annually to our eastern shores; Asia is beginning to send her children by thousands to our western; Africa has long ago given us a great many of her sable children; and there remain nearly half a million of the tawney “children of the wood,” the aborigines.—What a vast work to enlighten, to elevate, to christianize all! And what a fusion of races must take place on that continent. It would seem as if there the unity of the race was to be re-established and demonstrated by fact. What sort of a race this amazing *composite* is going to be, time, which determines all things else, can alone decide.

“We have a great work to do at home; but we will endeavour to give our aid to the work abroad also. We are willing to help you, as we are doing in India, Canada, and Ireland. It is the wish of every good man in America, so far as we know, to see the relations of friendship and kindness maintained between the two great branches of the same Anglo-Saxon family. Our fathers combined their exertions with your ancestors to maintain the interests of the British empire and extend its glory. Until our Revolution, we were a part of that empire; and your Lockes, and Newtons, and Barrows, and Hookers, and Addisons, and Leightons, and Wattses, and Bunyans, and many other illus-

trious men, are as dear to us as our Mathers, and Edwardses, and Elliots, and Brainerds, and Finlays, and Davies. Your Witherspoon became ours literally. And, since the separation, we have not ceased to love and venerate your great and good men, both the dead and the living. This feeling we would ever cherish. Whether we shall do so will greatly depend upon yourselves. If the language of abuse is to be continued, whether on account of slavery or any thing else, so that no American, that deserves the name, can attend your public meetings without having his feelings outraged, then you may rest assured that goodwill must give place to disgust and hatred. They flattered your vanity and pride, who told you that this course would help to overthrow slavery with us; but they have deceived you. You may, by continuing to pursue it, grieve the good, but you will irritate the rest of the nation, who will return vituperation for your abuse. If you talk about excluding them, this class will tell you—'We are quite ready to exclude you, and defy you, too, if it be necessary. We know you well, your good qualities and your bad, for they are both re-produced among ourselves. We have great respect for you, but we have some respect for ourselves: we respect you, but fear you not.' And so matters may go on, and probably will, from bad to worse, until both nations, having become ripe for the Divine judgments, war may ensue! And at the end of five years, what will be your possessions in North America, and what our relations, as to commerce and manufactures, to you? These are questions which may soon demand very serious consideration from statesmen on both sides of the ocean. At present, the government of each country is in the hands of wise and good men; but the election of a President and Congress with us, or the election of the popular branch of Parliament with you, may change the face of things in a very short time."

The author of these pages would do what he can to avert the evil day in which these two important nations will be seen engaged in deadly contest, to the grief of all good men, and to the joy of their enemies. He believes with Cresus of old, "that peace is better than war; for in peace children bury their fathers, but in war fathers bury their children." He also believes with a good Russian Bishop (Teehon) of the last century, that the greatest of all the beatitudes is that which is pronounced upon the "peace-makers," and he desires to have a share in it. He has done what he could; but if his efforts should prove to be in vain,—be it so; the path of duty is still the same.

POSTSCRIPT,

BY THE ENGLISH EDITOR.

THE Editor has felt much pleasure in complying with the earnest request of his esteemed and honoured friend, by superintending the publication of this important and valuable pamphlet. He feels it unnecessary to bespeak for it the candid attention of British Christians; the high character of the author, and the importance of the topics he discusses will secure attention from all but the ignorant and prejudiced. To those who have violated the laws of truth and love by representing Dr. Baird as a 'pro-slavery minister,' the Editor submits the following clear and unequivocal averment: "*There never has been a pulsation of my heart which has not been in behalf of the down-trodden and oppressed of all lands and of every complexion;*" and, on the ground of the author's established character, he demands a retractation of the unjust and injurious aspersion.

In announcing the recent meeting of the British Evangelical Alliance, Sir Culling Eardley officially published this invitation,—“Christians of ALL NATIONS are invited to this Assembly,”—and yet, when a respectable American minister presented himself, and asked for admission, as other foreigners had done, *they* were admitted, and *he* was repulsed! And when he pressed for an explanation, he was told, in effect, that “all nations,” in the invitation did *not* include the United States! *O tempora, O mores!*

Nor is this all. One of the Presidents of the very Assembly who denied admission to this anti-slavery minister—for such he was—had been, what? A British Slave-holder, retaining slaves until the Majesty of England said, no Briton shall *have* slaves, and, then, (as *some* affirm, in a pitiful spirit of commercial reckoning,) selling them to the nation for so many pieces of silver! No one ever heard this good man say, while a slave-holder, that he was living in sin, and no one ever saw or heard a single sign of penitence. And yet he was, and is, an office-bearer in a christian church; and let it be added, a christian gentleman whom to know, is to love.

British Christians! We must never lower the standard we have raised against slavery. We must denounce the mighty wrong, as an infringement of man's rights, and of God's prerogatives. And if any of our christian brethren in America be supine—and some of them, I believe are,—we must arouse them from their lethargy; but every thing in the law of Christ, and many things in our own national antecedents, demand that we should act towards them in a spirit of candour, forbearance and love.

America and Britain, one in race, in language, and in literature, must be one in the faith and fellowship of that Gospel to which they owe their moral supremacy; and which will make them, by abolishing more than American slavery—in a higher sense than they now are,—“great, glorious, and free!”

Oct. 8th, 1851.