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THE SCOTTISH PROTESTANT ALLIANCE

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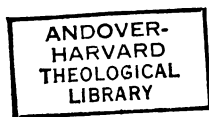
*REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF PROTESTANTS
HELD IN GLASGOW, DECEMBER, 1886.*

FOURTH THOUSAND.

GLASGOW:
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PREFACE.

"THE undying authority of the Holy See is once more an active power in England:" thus wrote Cardinal Manning in 1867. The twenty years that have elapsed since the words were penned have witnessed that "active power" securing signal successes in Great Britain and Ireland and the Colonies. Preparations are being steadily made for a final assault on our Protestant faith and our Christian political institutions. That enemy to British prosperity and freedom, whose overthrow in these Isles of the Sea was completed at the Reformation, is on our shores and within our citadels. Its aim clearly is to regain all the influence and dominion it possessed and tyrannically exercised in pre-Reformation times. The gauntlet for the battle has been thrown down. Who shall be sovereign in the British dominions—Queen Victoria or Leo XIII.? This is the momentous question of the hour.

The Papacy of these days has reasserted all its

ancient claims to universal supremacy, and is reorganising its ancient institutions and machinery in the land. Papal Hierarchies have been re-erected in England and Scotland. The dogma of Papal infallibility has been framed and promulgated. The present as well as recent Popes have issued manifestoes which deny the rights of conscience and anathematise the first principles of social freedom. The present Pope is entering into ominous alliance with the Jesuits. While statistics fully demonstrate that Roman Catholics are not growing in numbers in proportion to the growth of population, yet Roman Catholic emissaries and institutions are rapidly increasing. Papal influence is working as a powerful leaven on society, and is grasping at the control of public education. The Jesuits, expelled by other nations, are settling down on these shores. The two great political parties are yielding to Rome's encroachments, and are vainly endeavouring to secure national prosperity by conciliation and compromise. Vast have been the recent legislative concessions to the claims of the Papacy. It receives annually, directly and indirectly, about a million and a half of money out of the Imperial property and funds. Amid all these concessions, its

representatives boldly avow that complete dominion alone can satisfy their demands.

The Convention of Protestants that assembled in Glasgow in December last, on the invitation of the Directors of the Scottish Protestant Alliance, to consider the present aggressive attitude of the Papacy proved successful in a very high degree. Indeed, as an assembly convened for the consideration of a special question, it would be difficult to discover that any elements of success were wanting. The attendance at all the meetings was large, and the interest was deep and sustained throughout. The members of Convention were representative of all departments of life, of almost every shade of political opinion, and of all the Christian churches. Besides those from Scotland, there were friends from England and Ireland and other lands. The programme of proceedings was of a most comprehensive character, including all the parts of the great question that called for special exposition and consideration. The individual, social, educational, moral, spiritual, missionary, and political phases of the subject were examined with ability, special emphasis, as might be expected, being laid on the political.

The united ring of the Convention was not of an uncertain character. No quarter was given to any principles or policies that savoured of Popery. Impartiality and independence were alike conspicuous in the attitude assumed toward both of the historical political parties—Liberal and Conservative—in the matter of appointments of Roman Catholics to offices of State. Party and partisanship were forgotten, and the principles that ought to guide patriotic men in the face of a common danger were in the ascendant. The position taken on the question of the eligibility of Papists to political power was all that the staunchest Protestant could desire. Not a single voice was heard in favour of the admission of Romanists to civil offices, and all declarations of their disqualification for office by reason of their principles were received with cheers. The feeling pervading the assembly was that either the Relief Act of 1829 should be repealed, or that an Act should be passed declaring that Papists were self-disabled for the exercise of rule in a free nation because of their subjection to a foreign master.

It was necessary to the completeness of its work that the Convention should take particular note of the Romeward movement in the Church of England.

Few were so unsparing in condemnation of that movement as those who are themselves members of the Establishment. The character, growth, and breadth of the evil were faithfully exhibited, and the grave dangers to the whole nation thereby clearly stated. From all sides there rose a loud call for Scriptural reform in the doctrine and work of the Church of England as a necessary measure for arresting the rapid progress of the Papacy. In England, Protestantism cannot long flourish if the National Church do not cease her Romeward course and return to a position at least as Scriptural as that which she reached in the days of Ridley and Latimer and other Reformers.

All the deliberations were conducted in the most admirable spirit toward Roman Catholics. The distinction was carefully observed betwixt the system and those who professed it. The degraded votaries of Romish superstition and idolatry were spoken of in the most loving manner, and frequently fervently prayed for. Hatred of the fetters that bind is compatible with love for the bound; yea, pity for the bound deepens the hatred of the fetters and stirs to more zealous efforts to wrench the fetters off and let the oppressed go free.

Our land revolted once from the iron sway of Rome. The God of our fathers rent the iron bars. We rejoice in the liberties He wrought for us. We will not make captives that we may go back again to Egypt. We will stand fast in our liberties. In entering on the present campaign, we would use the words of that Psalm which was the "song of battles" for the Huguenots and the Covenanters :—

Let God arise, and scatter'd let all His enemies be;
And let all those that do Him hate, before His presence flee.

O all ye kingdoms of this earth, sing praises to this King;
For He is Lord that ruleth all, unto Him praises sing.

GLASGOW, *March, 1887.*

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THE PAPACY
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THE PAPACY OF MODERN TIMES.

PAPERS READ AT THE CONVENTION.

ROMISH ASCENDANCY *versus* BRITISH ASCENDANCY.

BY THE REV. CHARLES A. SALMOND, M.A., GLASGOW.

To those at all acquainted with the subject, it is a trite remark that popery is not merely a religion, but a political system; but this is a truth so commonly overlooked that it is necessary to have it distinctly emphasised at the present time. For it is a truth of no mere speculative interest, but of the greatest practical moment. The object of this paper is to show the essential antagonism between the claims of the papacy and the rights of nations; and certainly it is by no means difficult to establish clearly the fact of this antagonism, and to indicate some of its far-reaching consequences. It is long since Adam Smith wrote: "The constitution of the Church of Rome may be considered the most formidable combination that was ever formed against the authority and security of civil government, as well as against

the liberty, reason, and happiness of mankind ;” * and, both before his time and since, there has been ample evidence to support this affirmation.

“The Papacy,” in the words of Prince Bismarck, “has ever been a political power which, with the greatest audacity and with the most momentous consequences, has interfered in the affairs of this world.” And Bismarck’s monarch is not the first by very many who has had to use language such as the venerable Emperor William employed in his memorable letter to Pio Nono on Sept. 3, 1873: “It certainly is my mission to protect internal peace and to preserve the authority of the laws in the states whose government has been entrusted to me by God. I am conscious that I owe hereafter an account of how I have fulfilled this my kingly duty. I shall maintain order and law in my states against all attacks so long as God gives me power. I am in duty bound to do it as a Christian monarch, even when, to my sorrow, I have to fulfil this royal duty against servants of a church which, I suppose, acknowledges no less than the evangelical church that the commandment of obedience to secular authority is part of the revealed will of God.” † It was in the same letter that, in answer to the claim of Pio Nono that “everyone who has been baptised belongs in some way or other to the

* “Wealth of Nations”—p. 337; T. Nelson & Sons, 1863.

† “England’s Sympathy with Germany” (Hatchards)—pp. 20, 21.

pope," his imperial majesty declined, in the name of the majority of his subjects, "to accept in our relations to God any other mediator than our Lord Jesus Christ;"* thus showing an appreciation of the real nature of papal claims, in their bearing alike on things temporal and matters spiritual, which, unhappily, is too seldom found in the Protestant rulers of our time.

Some people affect to smile at the notion of the papacy being now at least a political force that has to be reckoned with. To my mind there is no more startling evidence of how real and present and potent an influence it is than the manner in which, after the spirited utterances I have quoted, and the line of action they initiated, the Emperor William and his Iron Chancellor have found it needful by concession to attempt to conciliate Rome.

But it is with the papacy's relations to the government of this British realm that we are for the present called particularly to deal; and here, as in the case indeed of every country of Christendom, it appears how irreconcilably antagonistic papal claims and projects have been, and are, to the rights of self-government and self-development inherent in our nation.

Romish ascendancy is a direct corollary of the fundamental axiom of the papal system, that the pope

* "England's Sympathy with Germany" (Hatchards)—p. 22.

is the vicar of Christ, and therefore the vicegerent of God. It is an idea which seeks, as it has ever sought, to clothe itself in a universal sovereignty, resting on a divinely delegated temporal power, which knows no limit and anticipates no end.

British ascendancy, again, I take to mean the embodiment given by this country's history to the opposing principle of a nation's inalienable supremacy within its own sphere—the principle that each government has the right to vindicate its sovereignty within its own domain, and to develop the resources committed to it, without the interference and domination of a foreign power which, under the guise of religion, has consistently worked for political ends, and has sought to establish not merely an *imperium in imperio*, but an *imperium super imperium* in every country of Christendom.

That the nature of the papal claims and aspirations is not here misrepresented might be abundantly shown, did time permit, by reference to the authoritative documents of the papal church and the utterances of its leading champions, or by a direct appeal to the notorious facts of history. It is a claim which has been wrought out in facts, as well as spoken out in fiat. When in the fifth century the war of investiture was waged and won by Hildebrand; when in the thirteenth Innocent III. proclaimed himself to be *jure divino* king of kings and lord of lords; and when in

the nineteenth Pio Nono declared himself the infallible ruler and arbiter of Christendom, the world saw but the outgrowth of a germinal doctrine which at last, in 1870, took a form that forced it more than ever on the attention of civil rulers.

It is not within the province of the present paper, however interesting it might be, to run down the page of history and see the papacy in practice. But let us glance at the papal theory as expressed in papal symbols and Romish declarations, and then let us refer in a few sentences, to the experience of this country in seeking to offer it resistance.

Lest it should be supposed that we are dealing merely with a matter of ancient history, we shall go no further back than the reign of the late pontiff, Pius IX. In his famous Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864, there is exhibited the true genius of the papal system. The keynote of the whole syllabus and of modern Romish policy is found in the concluding condemnation of those who assert that "the Roman pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to and agree with progress, liberalism, and recent civilization" (prop. 80). Professing to impale the eighty principal errors of the time, this remarkable document, while condemning much that all evangelical Christians must condemn, assails also much that is dear to them as life itself. The claim of liberty of conscience is denounced in the encyclical as insanity, and freedom

of speech and of the press is characterised as the liberty of perdition. But, more particularly with reference to the subject before us, the Pope's anathema is hurled at those who deny "that the church has a right to employ force" (prop. 24), or who hold "that the Roman pontiffs and Œcumenical councils have transgressed the limits of their power and usurped the rights of princes" (prop. 23). All history not only warrants but requires us to place ourselves under the sweep of this papal ban.

Now these and like affirmations were of course confirmed by the Vatican decree of infallibility in 1870, which had retroactive force: and not only so, but since the death of Pío Nono the doctrines of the Syllabus have received the express imprimatur of another *infallible* pontiff. Pope Leo XIII., when he ascended the papal throne in 1878, was spoken of as a mild, scholarly man and as one likely to be a reasonable and liberal-minded pope. But, like too many of his predecessors, he has fallen into the hands of the Jesuits and has become quite as much their tool as their leader in the assertion of ultramontane principles and the furtherance of ultramontane designs. On July 27, 1884, Pope Leo wrote that,* "The teaching given by this apostolic see, whether contained in the syllabus and other acts of our illustrious predecessor or in our

* Letter to Bishop of Périgneux, in *Weekly Register*, of September 6th, 1884.

own encyclical letters, has given clear guidance to the faithful as to what should be their thoughts and their conduct in the midst of the difficulties of times and events. There they will find a rule for the direction of their minds and of their actions." In his encyclical of November 1, 1885, on "The Christian Formation of States," he says: "Regarding what they call acquired liberties in these latest times, it behoves to abide by decisions of the apostolic see, and to judge of these, one by one, as it has judged. . . . It is not lawful to follow one rule in private conduct and another in the government of the state, so, to wit, that the authority of the church should be observed in private life but rejected in state matters."

As further showing the insidious influence this high-minded pontiff is prepared to exercise upon society, we cite the following from his letter of June 17, 1885: "It [obedience], while incumbent on all, is most strictly incumbent on journalists." "Their obligation," he affirms, "in all that touches religious interests and the action of the church in society is, in a spirit of docility, to submit themselves fully with heart and mind to their own bishops and the Roman pontiff, to follow and reproduce their teachings, to second heartily their motions, to respect their intentions, and to make them respected." In declarations like these, be it remembered, we have the spring of multifarious activities, which everywhere around us are carrying

forward the war of the Roman Curia against the peace and progress of modern society.

Enough has been said to illustrate from official sources the unaltered and unalterable attitude of the papacy toward the civil and religious liberties of nations. The fittest embodiment of Rome's idea was seen in mediæval Europe, with its crass spiritual ignorance, its intellectual stagnation, its feudal subjection to a holy empire overridden by the mandates of the papal chair. The Reformation shattered Rome's ideal which she has been strenuously seeking to restore—in vain!

Now it was in the emergence of Great Britain from papal control that the rights of "Kingdom *versus* Popedom" found their most decisive vindication; and it is in the prosperity which, under God, has attended the subsequent history of this realm, that the benefits of national independence and the blessed fruits of civil and religious liberty have had their most brilliant exemplification. These advantages were won through a protracted and strenuous struggle, and they will have to be retained and defended in a spirit of vigilant resolution. At a very early period stout resistance began to be offered by English monarchs to the encroachments of the papal see. From the wise Alfred downward, they had to do their utmost to maintain the supremacy of the crown. William the Conqueror and his Norman successors flatly denied the obligation

of fealty to the pope. In the ignoble reign of John, when Pandolf, the papal legate, spurned with his foot the English crown, his people refused to be pacified by the good offices of Nicholas, the "angel of peace" sent by Rome; and, headed by the nobles, in defiance of pontifical fulminations, they wrung from their despised monarch the great charter of English liberties. In Edward III.'s reign John's submission to the pope was declared null and void, "having been made without the concurrence of parliament, and in violation of his coronation oath." Then, in pursuance of the previous constitutions of Clarendon (1164), statute of Mortmain (1279), statute of Provisors (1351), the statute *præmunire*, so obnoxious to Rome, was passed, in Richard II.'s reign (1392). At length came the struggle in the time of Henry VIII., which issued in a thorough break with the papacy. And a thing to be particularly noted—as was well brought out recently by Lord Robert Montagu—is, that during all this time the kings of England, including Henry VIII., were Romish in religion, though determined to be English in their policy. In spite of this, Henry was excommunicated, and, so far as a papal decree could do it, deposed from his throne, on August 30, 1535. The struggle went on in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whom Pius V., as "prince over all people and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build," declared to be "deprived of her pretended

title to this kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever." But the act of supremacy in her reign, and the act of allegiance in that of James I., threw up further bulwarks against the "pretended authority of the see of Rome."

And then, after the varying fortunes of some of these intervening reigns, the great conflict precipitated under the dark regime of James II. reached its height, and found its issue in that grand revolution settlement of 1688, in which the principles for which Britain had been contending for generations were so clearly and consistently crystallized. Its great aim was to secure in perpetuity the civil and religious liberties which had been so dearly won, and which, it was felt, would be so precious a heritage to the generations following. Safeguards were thrown around the constitution—the throne, the legislature, the electorate—which it was fondly hoped would be a security in all time coming against the recurrence of the evils which, through the interference of the papacy, this land had found such abundant reason to deplore. It was a thoroughly consistent piece of legislation. Our forefathers did not shrink from carrying their principle of Protestant ascendancy to its logical issues; and, if anything seems harsh in their procedure or unduly stringent in their enactments, the preceding intrigues and dangers have to be borne in mind as its sufficient explanation.

With but little modification the settlement of 1688

continued in full force till 1829; and I need not stay to dilate on the material and intellectual and moral pre-eminence which from the Elizabethan period onward our nation has enjoyed. At the date mentioned, 1829, our legislation took a new departure by the Catholic Emancipation Act. The opinions of leading and responsible men, in different political camps and different Protestant communions, were greatly divided as to the propriety and justice and safety of that measure. Certain it is that the protestations of representative Romanists at that time were very unlike the unabashed utterances of a subsequent period—so unlike, that an ingenuous man like Dr. Newman does not attempt to reconcile them, but tries to evade the difficulty by affirming that “no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party!”* Hence some of the leading advocates of the Emancipation Act lived to be more than dubious of the safety of their action—nay, bitterly to repent of it.

Mr. Gladstone himself has acknowledged, or rather asserted and abundantly proved, that the so-called “English and Irish penal laws against Roman Catholics were repealed on the faith of assurances which have not been fulfilled;”† and, in view of the Vatican decrees, which are simply the culmination of the policy steadily pursued by Rome since 1829 and before it, he

* Letter to the Duke of Norfolk (1875)—p. 14.

† “Vaticanism”—p. 39.

says, in language which is now historical: "No one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another."* "A religious society which delivers volleys of spiritual censure in order to impede the performance of civil duties, does all the mischief that is in its power to do, and brings into question, in the face of the state, its title to civil protection." †

Lord Russell, on December 4, 1873, gave utterance to an apprehension of Sir Robert Peel, which he himself had by that time come to share, when he wrote to Sir George Bowyer: "I conceive that the time has come, foreseen by Sir Robert Peel, when the Roman church disclaims equality, and will be satisfied with nothing but ascendancy." ‡ And there was a tone of ruefulness as well as of painful conviction in the subsequent letter of the same aged statesman to Sir John Murray, on January 19, 1874: "From 1813 to 1829, I constantly voted for the admission of Roman Catholics to parliament and to office. In 1828 I took the foremost part in relieving Protestant dissenters from the disabilities of the corporation and test acts. For many years afterwards I laboured for the liberation of

* *Contemporary Review*, Ed. 1874—p. 674; words quoted and defended in "Vatican Decrees"—p. 6, etc.

† "Vatican Decrees"—p. 36.

‡ "England's Sympathy with Germany"—p. 5.

the Jews. But neither for Roman Catholics, for Protestant dissenters, nor for Jews did I ask for more than equal privileges and equal laws." Then, after quoting an authoritative declaration of Romish doctrine, he adds: "This is not liberty, civil or religious. It is to bow the knee to a despotic and fallible priesthood. The very same principles which bound me to ask for freedom for the Roman Catholic, the Protestant dissenter, and the Jew, bind me to protest against a conspiracy which aims at confining the German Empire in chains never, it is hoped, to be shaken off."*

It is high time our statesmen were awakening to the discovery that to seek merely "equal rights" is impossible for Rome. Her spirit and purpose are ever the same. Romanists at this time or that may exhibit inconsistencies fitted to allay alarm, but it is necessary to remember the essential hostility of popery to all that contributes to our country's true greatness; and there never was an epoch when it was more needful than at the present time to be alert and resolute in view of its ceaseless machinations and encroachments.

It is a grave consideration which many overlook that the bishop's oath of allegiance to the Queen is governed by a larger oath given to the pope. A bishop declares, under the act of 13th April, 1829: "I do

* "England's Sympathy with Germany"—pp. 28, 29.

'solemnly swear that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or Protestant government in the United Kingdom." And under Act 30 and 31 Victoria, A.D. 1867, the new oath substituted in all cases for the former oaths of allegiance and abjuration runs: "I do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and I do faithfully promise to maintain and support the succession to the crown as the same stands united and sealed by virtue of the act passed in the reign of King William the Third." But the same man has also to swear: "I will render faith, subjection, and obedience to blessed Peter the apostle, to whom God hath given the power of binding and loosing, and to his vicar our lord the pope and his successors the Roman pontiffs, according to canonical authority in all things." There is thus a necessary reservation. Just as my obligations as a citizen of Glasgow may be overborne by my duties as a citizen of Great Britain, so may the bishop's obligations as a subject of England be overborne at any time by his duties as a subject of "his lord the pope."

I might quote the testimony of Lord Macaulay and others as showing the natural and inevitable issue, materially and morally, for any people having intrusions with this noxious system. But enough has been said in the general. Let me simply give point to

all that has gone before by this closing word of warning: that the battle is not over yet with Rome, and that the danger is not past. Another speaker is to trace in detail the successive assaults made upon our constitution by the Popish party since 1829—most of them, alas! successful—till the Queen's supremacy itself, pronounced by Manning to be the "Reformation in concreto," has been brought unblushingly into question. Suffice it to say that a considerable, influential, well-drilled party is at work in our very midst, aiming at the overthrow of British supremacy and bent on substituting the Romish in its stead. The introduction of the hierarchy into Great Britain did more for Rome than many of us imagine. Men smiled in 1850 and thought, "What harm for Dr. Wiseman to have his title changed from the 'Bishop of Melipotamus, *in partibus infidelium*,' to that of 'Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and Vicar Apostolic of London.' What's in a name?" But this is no mere matter of names, but of stern and alarming facts. Since Wiseman's day another prelate has stepped into his place, no less crafty, dexterous, and indefatigable, and perhaps less scrupulous in using the vantage ground he has secured—once plain "Dr. Manning"—now entitled, in official documents such as the Royal commission on dwellings of the poor—which gave him a place of precedence to all our English nobility—"Our trusty and well-beloved, the

Most Reverend Cardinal Archbishop, Henry Edward Manning." What's in a name? But this man is the culmination, the centre, the inspiration of a thoroughly equipped organisation whose aim is—Romish supremacy. Bishop Doyle, before 1829, said: "What have we to do with the proceedings of popes or why should we be made accountable for them?"* and he went the length of adding: "I think the allegiance due to the king and the allegiance due to the pope are as distinct and as divided in their nature as any two things can possibly be."† Others whimpered that to draw arguments from the middle ages was "just the same as if you were to hang a faithful, tried domestic who had served you forty years, for some petty theft committed when he was a boy."‡ But here is what Dr. Manning now says: "If England is ever to be reunited to Christendom, it is by submission to the living authority of the vicar of Jesus Christ. The first step of its return must be obedience to his voice, as rebellion against his authority was the first step of its departure."§ Again—"The right of deposing kings is inherent in the supreme sovereignty which the popes, as vicegerents of Christ, exercise over all Christian nations."|| He already anticipates his

* "Vatican Decrees"—p. 27, footnote.

† "Vatican Decrees"—p. 30. ‡ "Vaticanism"—appendix E, p. 126.

§ "Essays on Religion and Literature" (1867)—p. 19.

|| "Essays on Religion and Literature" (1867)—p. 19.

triumph in these words: "The supremacy of our crown has literally come to nought. The royal supremacy has perished by the law of mortality, which consumes all earthly things, and at this period of our history the supremacy of the vicar of Jesus Christ re-enters." * In his address to the *Academia*, November 8, 1874, the same prelate says: "The infallibility of the holy father, his right to temporal as well as spiritual authority, and the ultimate necessity of acknowledging civil obedience to him is your only safety." And here are the frank terms in which he announces the plan of campaign—a plan which has many agents and many branches:—

"This nineteenth century will make a great epoch in the history of the church. . . . It is good for us to be here in England. It is yours, right reverend fathers, to subjugate and subdue, to bend and to break the will of an imperial race, the will which, as the will of Rome of old, rules over nations and peoples, invincible and inflexible. . . . You have a great commission to fulfil, and great is the prize for which you strive. Surely a soldier's eye and a soldier's heart would choose by intuition this field of England for the warfare of the faith. None ampler or nobler could be found. . . . It is the head of Protestantism; the centre of its movements, and the stronghold of its powers. Weakened in England it is paralysed every-

* "Essays on Religion and Literature" (1867)—pp. 19, 20.

where. Conquered in England, it is conquered throughout the world. Once overthrown here, all is but a war of detail. All the roads of the whole world meet in one point; and this point reached, the whole world is open to the church's will."*

One who has given a crushing exposure of Vaticanism says: "My object has been to produce, if possible, a temper of greater watchfulness; to disturb that lazy way of thought which acknowledges no danger until it thunders at the doors; to warn my countrymen against the velvet paw and smooth and soft exterior of a system which is dangerous to the foundations of civil order, and which any of us may at any time encounter in his daily path."† These words are not mine, but those of that distinguished but, in this connection, enigmatic statesman, Mr. Gladstone. Is not the subsequent apparent indifference to Romish aggression on the part of one who has given so masterly an exposure of its designs fitted to lull into the greater torpor a community which for the moment he successfully aroused, but whose easy pre-disposition to a policy of *laissez faire* takes comfort from his later silence? Granting freely that Roman Catholics are often better citizens than their political creed, if they

* "Address to the Third Provincial Council of the Archdiocese of Westminster in 1859"; republished in Vol. I. of "Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects" (Burns, Oates, & Co., 1870).

† "Vaticanism"—p. 117.

were consistent, would make them,— has not the country, in these days when every eighth member of the British parliament is a papist and those who elect them have no security under the ballot, a right, a call to offer back to him those words of warning, and to sound them in the ears of the other party as well, which has shown itself no less ready to run a race for the favour of the Vatican? It may not be possible, or even desirable, to attempt to retrace all the steps already taken, but we are loudly called by recent events to be more than ever upon our guard: and the watchword of all lovers of their country in view of the dilemma in which, as citizens, our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects are undoubtedly by their system placed, must be:—

“Grant them the rights of men; and while they cease
To vex the peace of others, grant them peace.
But, trusting bigots whose false zeal has made
Treachery their duty, thou art self-betrayed!”

POPERY IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

BY THE REV. JOHN INGLIS, D.D., OF THE NEW HEBRIDES
MISSION.

ABOUT fifty years ago Queen Amelia, the wife of Louis Philippe, king of the French, and sister of Bomba, king of Naples, determined that it would be a most meritorious work to establish a Catholic or popish mission in the south seas, wherever a Protestant mission had been or might be established, this mission to be countenanced and supported, so far as might be necessary, by the naval power of France. The propaganda at Rome warmly welcomed the proposal, and the government of Louis Philippe, to gain the support of the church and to supply a counterpoise to the power of Britain at the antipodes, concurred in the foreign mission policy of the queen. The result has been that French priests and French men-of-war have harassed the missionaries and the natives for half a century. They began at Tahiti, and they ended, if they have ended yet, at the Loyalty islands. Rome and France, in relation to the south sea missions remind us strongly of the apocalyptic beast with the woman as its rider. The woman would not be specially formidable if she were simply walking on foot, and the beast would in general be harmless if he were

not guided and goaded on by the rider; but under the instigation and direction of the ambitious and malignant rider the beast is ferocious and destructive.

Of popery by itself we are not afraid. Truth is more powerful than error or falsehood. With the Bible in our hands, we have nothing to fear from mediæval tradition and ecclesiastical authority; and the civil government of France, when left to itself, and not under the influence of Rome, is, upon the whole, just and generous. But French naval power, under the instigation of the papacy, first forced a protectorate on Tahiti, and subsequently annexed the island, and broke up the Protestant mission on that group. The same policy all but succeeded at the Sandwich islands, where, under the terror of a French man-of-war, it was sought to compel the natives to receive French brandy and to accept French popery. The French extorted from King George of Tonga a treaty altogether in their own favour. The treaty was to be one of reciprocity, the Tongans in France were to be treated as one of the most highly favoured nations; but in Tonga the native government, King George's, was compelled to build as many mission churches and houses for the popish priests as the natives had done for the Wesleyan missionaries, by whom they had been converted from heathenism to Christianity.

I pass over Samoa and Fiji. In the Loyalty islands the French, under the instigation of the

priests, so oppressed and worried the missionaries and the native Protestants that the British Government interposed and made representations in their behalf to the late Emperor Napoleon, who in his answer distinctly recognised the doctrine of religious liberty, and things became better for a time. We had hoped that, when ecclesiasticism declined and subsequently collapsed in France, popish influence would become feeble throughout all the south seas, and that the Protestant missions, like the Christian church in Judea after the conversion of the apostle Paul, would have rest and quietness, but it was not so. On the Loyalty islands the Protestant mission was never more harassed than at present. For example, no education is allowed to be given to the natives except in the French tongue.

To return to the mission of Queen Amelia. The first act of that propaganda was to send two missionaries to Tahiti. The London missionary society's work on Tahiti and the other islands was at that time in the very zenith of its prosperity: all the cruelties and all the abominations of heathenism had disappeared, Christianity was everywhere accepted and professed, life and property were everywhere secure, industry was flourishing, and a large and daily increasing commerce was being attracted to the island. Mr. Pritchard, one of the English missionaries, was appointed by our Queen to be British consul at Tahiti. He was a good, earnest

Christian man, but he had none of the qualities of a statesman, had no knowledge of political principles, knew nothing of the relations that must necessarily subsist between a powerful and civilised government and an insignificant community just emerging out of barbarism into the twilight of civilisation. Hearing, no doubt, of the intentions of Queen Amelia, he persuaded Pomare, the Queen of Tahiti, to pass a law to prohibit the settlement of any popish priest on Tahiti. The law was scarcely passed till those two French priests were smuggled ashore on Tahiti. The British consul counselled Queen Pomare to banish them at once from Tahiti.

At that time there was residing on Tahiti, a French Protestant gentleman, who, having learned what the consul had done, went at once to him and said: "Mr. Pritchard, take care what you are doing. I know the French and the popish priests greatly better than you do; and as certainly as you banish those two priests, so certainly will a French man-of-war be here in a twelvemonth to demand redress; and what the effect may be to Queen Pomare's government, to the natives, and to the Protestant mission, no man can foretell; but you will get into difficulties." "Oh," said Mr. Pritchard, "the queen is only carrying out the law!" "Law!" said the French Protestant, "Law!" what do the French government care for the laws of Tahiti? you will repent of this

step." But the consul was obstinate, and the Frenchman's prediction was fulfilled.

In a year a French man-of-war lay at anchor in the chief harbour of Tahiti, and for insult and injury inflicted on two French subjects heavy damages were claimed. What was to be done? The queen was poor, the consul was not rich. At this juncture the British merchants came forward, paid the fine, and the difficulty was got over in the meantime. But by repeated aggressions on the part of the French and repeated blunders on the part of the queen and the consul, it was not long till the French and Tahitians were engaged in a bloody war. And when the best-trained soldiers in Europe, equipped with the best weapons of modern warfare, are pitted against the most untrained savages of Polynesia, the result of the conflict cannot be long doubtful. For a time it did seem to be uncertain. The Tahitians performed prodigies of valour; they fortified the mountain passes and seemed to defy all the efforts of the French to take the island; but, alas! what was held by valour was lost by treachery. A native of a neighbouring island, if I remember aright, knew the secret path that led to the mountain fortress; he was bribed by the French, and one morning when the Tahitians looked out they saw all the heights above them occupied by French soldiers. Their fate was sealed; further resistance was hopeless. The conquerors dictated their terms to the vanquished. Tahiti

was placed under a protectorate ; such conditions were imposed on the missionaries that they felt compelled to leave the island, and the most prosperous mission in the south seas was left in ruins. The Missionaries and the natives might have sung the 137th Psalm :—

By Babel's streams we sat and wept,
 When Sion we thought on.
 In midst thereof we hang'd our harps
 The willow-trees upon.
 For there a song required they,
 Who did us captive bring :
 Our spoilers call'd for mirth, and said,
 A song of Sion sing.

When I was at Tahiti in the mission vessel, the *John Williams*, in 1860, the French governor of Tahiti resided in a stately mansion, while the queen, Pomare, lived in a cottage at the edge of the domain with a French sentinel standing daily at her gate ; and when the missionaries visited her from the ship, they had to be accompanied by a French officer. Queen Pomare has been dead for eight or nine years. The protectorate is abolished, and Tahiti is annexed to the French possessions. But there is a cheering statement to be made in connection with the Protestant Mission in Tahiti. Before the French occupation the missionaries had given the Tahitians a translation of the whole Bible—the Old Testament as well as the New—in their own language. They had taught the natives to read it ; they had also taught the natives to buy it and pay for it. When the missionaries were

banished, they ordained and appointed native pastors to conduct worship, and superintend the native congregations; and they continue to do so still. They have indeed obtained two French Protestant pastors, but the natives never took kindly to them, for they spoke an alien tongue, and the natives' sympathies continued still with the English missionaries. The French have used their utmost efforts to turn the natives from Protestantism to popery, and have succeeded to some extent with the young generation—those who, like the Israelites of old, had not seen all the wars of Canaan. But they have not succeeded in alienating them from the Bible. The British and Foreign Bible society have all along kept an agent on the island; several editions of the Bible have been printed in London, sent out, bought, and read on Tahiti; and as the priests have no Bibles for their converts, they have to procure the Bible society's edition, and supply it to their followers, otherwise the popish converts among the natives would leave popery and go back to Protestantism. That the natives may remain good catholics, the priests have to give them the Bible.

But the French were not so successful in their warlike operations on the neighbouring island of Huahine as they were on Tahiti. They sent a man-of-war to Huahine, an island of the same group as Tahiti, but under a different king. They landed their forces, some 300 men or so. The natives were encamped on the

heights in three divisions, the first commanded by the king of the island, the second by his brother, the third by a foreigner, a man who had resided many years on the island, and who, for his activity, energy, and good conduct had been made, like Daniel, third ruler in the kingdom. You can divine this man's nationality when I tell you that he was known among those islands by the name of "Scotch Jock!" When France and Rome combine to wrest their liberty from a free people, you will instinctively know on which side a Scotchman will be found. When the signal was given, these three divisions rushed down from their mountain heights with all the fury of a whirlwind; they swept everything before them. Like leviathan, they "esteemed iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood." The French were completely routed; they left about one-half of their number killed or wounded on the shore, the rest fled to their boats, and the independence of Huahine was secured, and continues so to this day. The French had gained possession of Tahiti and Eimeo, the two central islands of the group, and they could bide their time for the rest. Some two years ago they quietly annexed Raiatea, one of the most important of the remaining islands of the group.

As you are aware, they are doing their very utmost to secure the annexation of the New Hebrides, under the plea that it lies contiguous to New Caledonia, and

they promise that they will not interfere with our mission. I may state that they surreptitiously took possession of New Caledonia and the Loyalty islands, which were virtually British possessions by right of discovery; they took possession of these during the Crimean war, when our government could not afford to have a quarrel with France on this subject. They turned the island into a convict settlement, and wished to do the same with the New Hebrides. Their plan was to bring out 60,000 of the worst criminals of France and place them on the New Hebrides, but to spread the process over ten years, at the rate of 6,000 each year. This proposal was so outrageous and was so loudly condemned, especially in Australasia, that they were glad to withdraw it altogether. They evidently thought that their conduct now, as formerly, would be condoned, although they should proceed to annexation; for, under pretence of punishing the natives for offences committed against French subjects—offences never specified—they, some months ago, landed marines at two points on the New Hebrides, and continue them there still, as if they meant permanent occupation.

We naturally infer from the history of missions on Tahiti and the Loyalty islands what our mission may expect if the French annex the New Hebrides; and it is easily proved that it is the woman and not the beast, the malignant rider and not the ferocious animal on which she rides, that has worried and harassed our

missions. It was the priests that brought the first man-of-war to Tahiti, and the same policy is still followed. A few years ago the commandant or chief officer of the French forces on New Caledonia was a Protestant. After his arrival the missionaries naturally expected some relaxation in the harassing treatment to which the Protestant natives were exposed, but there was no difference; they were as cruelly oppressed as during the rule of his popish predecessors. The missionaries remonstrated with him; but with all the politeness of a Frenchman he said: "Gentlemen, I am extremely sorry, but I cannot help myself. I am in the hands of the priests. If I do anything to offend them I shall be reported to headquarters, and such is the power of the priesthood in Paris that I should at once be a marked man at the war office. My promotion would be stopped, and professionally I should be a ruined man."

But some may think that although the priests are decidedly opposed to Protestant missions, yet, in their own way, they must do a great deal of good in promoting civilisation, education, and in teaching the essentials of Christianity. Let us see. Cleanliness is next to godliness. The popish priests in the south seas are all celibates, although there are sisterhoods of nuns here and there. The Protestant missionaries, as a rule, are all married men; and the natives are not slow to remark how much more comfortable and tidy

the houses of the missionaries are than the houses of the priests, while the linen of the one presents a great contrast to that of the other. The wife of the missionary effects a mighty difference. All the five great Protestant missions in the south seas have taught the natives to read, write, and cipher: the popish priests have taught them nothing. The Protestant missionaries have given all the natives under their care more or less of the Bible. They have translated and got printed the whole Bible in eight of the languages spoken in the south seas, the whole of the New Testament in other five of those languages, and portions of the Bible in I know not how many more. On the New Hebrides we have the whole Bible printed in one of the languages, and portions of the Bible in nine other languages. But, so far as is known to me, although the Romish mission has as many agents as all the Protestant missions put together, they have done nothing for the elevation or enlightenment of the native races; they have opened no schools, prepared no school books, and they have given their followers no literature. So far as is known to me they have not opened a single book of the Bible to any native tribe in their own tongue. What, then, may be asked, have they done? Their mission was established as a rival mission, and it has been faithful to the object it had in view. It has always and everywhere opposed the Protestant missionaries; it has

thwarted them, worried and annoyed them to the utmost of its power. The malignant rider has goaded on the ferocious animal on which she sits whenever and wherever she could to destroy our Protestant missions, but she has attempted nothing positive of her own. If the Protestant missions in those seas are Christian missions, the attitude taken up regarding them by the popish missions proves clearly that the popish missions are antichristian, for they are as decidedly opposed to the Protestant missions as they possibly can be; and hence, so far as the proof from missions goes, the pope or the papacy is antichrist, as the Westminster Confession of Faith so distinctly affirms.

But this with us, instead of being a cause of fear, is a ground of hope. The papacy is a doomed system. It has a past, but it has no future. It is limited as to time, it is limited as to space. The existence of popery, if we accept the most commonly received Protestant interpretation of the Apocalypse, is confined to 1260 days, each day for a year, or 1260 years. That period commenced in 606, when the Emperor Phocas constituted Pope Boniface III. the universal bishop, and he accepted the appointment. The end of that period was 1866. About that time, certain startling events transpired, the battle of Sadowa, which settled the supremacy of Protestant Germany over popish Austria; the battle of Sedan, which brought to an end

the reign of Napoleon III.; the Franco-Germanic war that followed, the result of which placed Protestant Germany at the head of Central Europe : the departure of the French from Rome, which allowed the old imperial city to fall into the hands of the king of Italy. The pope ceased to be a civil sovereign. He was, himself being the witness, only a prisoner in the Vatican. The power of the papacy was taken away, its life only was prolonged, because it is to go down quick or alive into the pit. How that end is to be brought about we leave to God to determine; but the papacy has no future in prophecy, and hence can have none in history.

The papacy, however, is limited in space as well as in time. It was to be limited by the ten horns, the ten kingdoms of the old Roman empire. It never got beyond those limits, and never will. On the north it is shut up by Russia and the Greek church, and can make no aggressions there; on the east and south it is met by the Mohammedan power; and on the west by the great Protestant powers. In Britain and her colonies and in America there are about 100 millions of our English-speaking people, but only ten millions of these are Roman Catholics, the 90 millions are Protestants, and the Protestants are constantly increasing, and the papists decreasing in numbers. In Central and Northern Europe, in Germany, Scandinavia, and elsewhere, the Protestant element prevails, and is vigorous; while in Spain,

Italy, France, Austria, and elsewhere, popery is all but effete, the men are infidel, the women are simply superstitious, there is no strong faith in the popish church. Then look at her missions, in the south seas, in Madagascar, and in China, they are all dependent upon the power of France for their support. Look on the other hand at all our Protestant missions, British, American, and continental. They lean on no government. They are all the outcome of Bible Christianity. The French popish missionaries are the political agents of the French government, and the French cannot understand why it is that we Protestant missionaries are not the same to the British government, and like theirs receive political support for political services. At the Reformation the tenth part of the city fell, and it has never been rebuilt, and it never will be. When Henry VIII. broke with Rome, diplomatic relations ceased between the two courts, and they have never since been resumed, notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Odo Russell, Mr. Errington, and Archbishop Smith. In recent times there has been great digging among the ruins, among the rubbish and stones of St. Andrews and elsewhere, the very dust how dear to the votaries of Rome! Serious thoughts are being entertained of reviving the office of Cardinal Beaton, as well as re-establishing the throne of Archbishop Sharp, but the plan is hopeless. Not from the ruins of modern, any

more than the ruins of ancient Babylon, will a stone be taken for a foundation or for a corner. You may as well galvanize one of the mummies at Thebes, set it on the throne of the Pharaohs, and think thereby to restore Egypt to its ancient glory, as to think that, by either priestcraft or statecraft, the papacy can be restored to the condition which it occupied in the time of Gregory the Great. But is not popery at home and abroad more active, more proselytising, and more aggressive than ever? Yes, popery is unchanged. It still exhibits the ruling passion strong in death; the ruling passion is as strong as ever, but it is in death not in life as formerly. The apocalyptic angel is casting the millstone into the sea, and proclaiming that Babylon is fallen and shall rise no more for ever!

But are we to sit still, fold our hands, and do nothing because popery is doomed and dying? By no means. We are to redouble our efforts because our victory is assured. The promise of certain victory at Ai made Joshua hasten to lay his ambush. The promise to Paul of the safety of the vessel made him doubly careful lest the seamen should leave the ship. France and Rome are at present putting forth all their efforts to annex the New Hebrides to France: we are hopefully doing our utmost to prevent them from accomplishing this object; and we earnestly solicit the sympathy, the prayers and the assistance of this Alliance, and of all other friends of the Gospel, to render our efforts a success.

THE JESUITS AND SOCIAL MORALITY.

BY MR. A. H. GUINNESS, M.A., LONDON.

THE grave questions that now occupy public attention, especially the action taken by Romish ecclesiastics in support of disaffection in Ireland, invite the consideration of the position of the Jesuits in this country. The recent expulsion of the order from France and Germany has brought its existence into conspicuous notice, and induces thoughtful Englishmen to inquire what will be the effect of their presence among ourselves. Are the Jesuit Fathers, as their admirers proclaim, simply earnest self-denying missionaries? or will the conviction force itself on candid minds, that the society is an institution for the promotion of principles pernicious in their tendency and dangerous to the state? Is it wise or prudent that whilst Roman Catholic countries banish these men, as abettors of sedition and crime, Protestant England should receive them with friendly greeting, and grant them her protection? An examination on the part of the French parliament of the constitution of the original order by Ignatius Loyola, furnished more than sufficient proof that it is "opposed to the laws of the kingdom, to the obedience due to the sovereign, to the safety of his person, and to the tranquility of the state." The

principle of blind obedience is made the guiding principle in the instruction of the members of the Jesuit order, both male and female.

It may surprise many to hear of a female order of Jesuits. The fact is undoubted. The order of the female Jesuits was founded at St. Omer in 1603. A branch of the order of Jesuitesses, called the "Sisters of the Institute of Mary," was founded at York in 1686, and the members of this order now form a numerous community scattered over a large part of the world. They do not wear a uniform but are dressed like ordinary women of the world; moreover, they do not change their names when received into the community. The object of this is that they may go about visiting hospitals, and elsewhere, without attracting attention. We have in our midst, therefore, this organised band of women secretly going about promoting the insidious aims and doctrines of the Jesuits. These Jesuitesses are chiefly engaged in education, and in the published advertisements of these institutions the most attractive inducements are presented in order to persuade parents to send their children to these schools. Let English fathers and mothers well reflect before they entrust their children to the care of such Romish educational establishments.

Any who wish to know the complete history of the open and secret proceedings of the Jesuit order

may be referred to the translation of Greisinger's *Jesuits*, where details are given showing the subtleties, craft, frauds, political and social intrigues, lyings, forgeries, violences, cold-blooded murders and massacres by which they attained their unhallowed ends. They do not shrink from any deed, even of the most horrible nature. In his *Provincial Letters*, Pascal, himself a Roman Catholic, unsparingly exposes the criminality and immorality of the teaching of the Jesuits. So great were the evils arising therefrom that, in 1773, Pope Clement suppressed the society; and we find a singular comment on the doctrine of papal infallibility in the fact that the order was re-established by Pope Pius VII. in 1814, in order, as he expressed it, "to save by such vigorous and experienced rowers the barque of St. Peter, tossed and assailed by continual storms."

The restored Jesuits pursued their former course with similar results. The disturbances created were such that they were expelled from Russia in 1820. Lord Palmerston, in 1853, asserted in the House of Commons that they had caused the civil war in Switzerland, and went on to express his firm belief that "the presence of the Jesuits in any country, Catholic or Protestant, is likely to disturb the political and social peace of that country." But, coming to more recent times, we may examine the reasons given by the French government for the expul-

sion of the order from that country. M. Ferry stated in the French parliament that the education given by the communities in question was of a dangerous character, and hostile to modern society. He gave a summary of the books put into the hands of the Jesuit pupils, and said "they taught the divine right of kings, and advocated the carrying on of religious wars. Universal suffrage and trial by jury were denounced in them as vexatious institutions; liberty of conscience and of worship were condemned, and the liberty of the press was asserted to be a principle that had never been admitted by a wise government."

With what object, then, have the Jesuits settled in this country? Have they merely sought here an asylum, or are they engaged in promulgating their pernicious principles? In 1872 Cardinal Manning stated that "the Jesuits were at the head of the great Catholic mission in this land." In 1882 Lady G. Fullerton appealed for contributions for the orders expelled from France, and said that some of these exiles now in England were "doing missionary work among the people." What is that missionary work, and how is it done? They have their colleges at Stonyhurst, Roehampton, Windsor, and other places in England. The college in Stephen's Green, Dublin, is entirely under their control. In the new Royal university of Ireland seven of the fellows appointed by the government are members of this order. *Catholic Progress*,

edited by Jesuits, has openly and explicitly avowed the objects sought in Ireland. "The woes of Ireland," it said, in a leading article, in 1881, "are due to one cause—the existence of Protestantism. The ancient Catholic churches are still in Protestant hands. Would that the misappropriated funds were sufficient to buy off all the Protestant landlords, and that every Protestant meeting-house were swept from the land. Then would Ireland recover herself."

So much for the open workings of the order; but what are they doing clandestinely? It has been alleged that the Jesuits, by false representations—nay, even under the disguise of Protestant ministers—are secretly endeavouring to undermine the faith which they profess to defend. A remarkable instance of this occurred some years ago, and was related by the late Canon Miller. In his parish a very well-informed and attractive clergyman was engaged to take the place of another. He speedily secured the love and admiration of the whole neighbourhood, and was a frequent visitor at the squire's house. A brother of the squire on a visit met the new clergyman at dinner. The squire noticed that the latter was mute, and did not seem at all at ease. As soon as dinner was over the clergyman made an excuse and went away. The squire said to his brother he could not understand what was the matter with him. "Oh," said the brother, "he knows me!" "What do you mean?" "Why, he is a priest; I met

him in France and had a conversation with him." Next morning it was found that he had gone clean out of the parish.

In his *Popery and Jesuitism*, Dr. L. Desanctis, once a priest, and subsequently a minister of the Reformed Italian church, says that his confessor once disclosed to him what seemed incredible facts. Concerning Jesuitism in England, he said "there were Jesuits in all classes of society, in parliament, among the English clergy, and among the Protestant laity, even in the higher stations. Desanctis could not understand how a Jesuit could be a Protestant priest, but the confessor silenced his scruples by saying that Paul became as a Jew that he might save the Jews, and it need not be wondered at if a Jesuit should feign himself a Protestant for the conversion of Protestants." It would be difficult to find a more startling instance of Jesuitical casuistry than that afforded by the case of the late Rev. R. S. Hawker, Rector of Morwenstow, who was openly received into the church of Rome during his last illness in 1875. A writer in *John Bull* stated that "Mr. Hawker had told him he had long been convinced that the church of Rome was the only true church, whose doctrines he held to be the absolute faith of Christ, that he wore round his neck a medallion sent to him by the pope, and that for years he had administered the holy eucharist to himself, adopting the service

from the missal." Such conduct is evidently in accord with Jesuit teaching. Gury, whose "Moral Theology" is now a standard work at the College of Maynooth, in his *Casus Conscientiæ*, deals with this point, and says: "It is lawful to dissemble the true faith for a while in consideration of any serious inconvenience that might accrue from public profession." And at p. 60 he asks: "Can a missionary for purposes of concealment assume the dress of ministers of a false religion, so that he may seem one of them?" This he answers in the affirmative. The teachings of the order clearly sanction equivocation and perjury, theft, bribery, even the bribery of judges, the grossest immorality, the deposition of kings and rulers, the release of subjects from their allegiance, and even the commission of murder and of regicide.

In 1879 there was published in Dublin an authoritative translation of *The Church and the Sovereign Pontiff* by a member of the Jesuit society, bearing a special Brief of Approval from the late Pope, as well as Letters of Approbation from all the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops in Ireland. In one of the chapters faithful Catholics are forbidden to "have any connection with an excommunicated person, denounced by name, either in conversation, letters, business, or habitation." What better definition could there be of the system of "boycotting" that has since developed so largely in the sister isle! These emissaries

of Rome in this country are but parts of the great army whose unceasing efforts are directed first to gain supremacy in Great Britain, and then to destroy all social, political, and religious freedom. There are more than a thousand bishops, and many thousands of Jesuit priests, monks, and nuns, all engaged in the project of subjugating this empire to Rome. The danger is great, and constant vigilance is needed to guard our hard-won liberties against the enemies of our religion and our freedom.

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE PAPACY.*

BY THE REV. JAMES KERR, GLASGOW.

THE aim of the Papacy in every department of its operations is, and ever has been, one and the same. That aim is represented by the one great, all-absorbing idea—Rome's sovereignty. This inspires every cardinal, bishop, and priest; this lays its impress on every man, woman, and child that comes under Papal influence; this engages the energies of every congregation, confraternity, and sisterhood—in short, the whole multiform and centripetal Papal organisation. Control for the priest: supremacy for the Pope. Among the methods by which it is persistently sought to have this sovereignty established, the educational policy of the Papacy occupies a prominent place.

The Church of Rome has always clearly defined what kind of education she approves and requires. The Syllabus of Pius IX. condemns as error the opinion that "the best theory of civil society requires that public schools open to the children of all classes should be free from all ecclesiastical authority and interfer-

* This paper appears here as read: the notes only were afterwards supplied.

ence, and should be fully subject to the civil and political power." And the present Pope, in his Encyclical of December, 1878, condemns as "heretical error" the proposition that "either the higher or lower education may be freed from the control of the Catholic Church;" and elsewhere he says: "To exclude the Church which God Himself instituted from the education of youth is great and pernicious error." These and other authoritative declarations of a similar character prove beyond question that the Papacy cannot approve of any system of education that is not thoroughly and throughout Romish. All educational systems, not of Papal inspiration nor under Papal control, are subject to Rome's anathema. When this position is clearly apprehended, the whole policy, or policies, of the Papacy in regard to the educational systems of the three kingdoms are easily understood.

In framing the English and Scotch Education Acts, their authors were careful to institute a system of education that was calculated, as they supposed, to be acceptable to both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Rather, they seem to have felt it their duty to satisfy, if possible, the Papal party. Hence, two special provisions were engrossed in those Acts. One of these is the Conscience Clause, and the other is Roman Catholic representation on the School Boards. Both were concessions to the Papacy. It was supposed by the Parliamentary leaders that a system which pro-

tected Roman Catholics in their religious beliefs by debarring the Bible from the schools during the special national hours, and denying to the teacher the right to give instruction in religious subjects during those hours, would be satisfactory to Rome. The attempt was unsuccessful: the compromise sinful.* Britain, by express legislation, keeps the Bible out of the hands of the children during certain hours of the day, and the Papacy keeps the Bible out of the hands of the children under its power at all hours—always. Where is the difference in the principles acted on by both? There is none. Both interfere with that freedom of the Word of God, with which no Association, political or ecclesiastical, has any right to interfere. To please the Papist, that nation which owes her liberties and lofty position among the nations of the world to the Word of God, fetters that Word by denying to it free range in the national systems for the education of the young. This Christian nation bars the only infallible text-book on Christianity out of the schools during the national hours, while no other

* "In England the regulations regarding the Time Table are strictly enforced . . . No instruction in religious subjects may be given in any lesson during the hours fixed for secular instruction."—*Manual of Education Act; by A. C. Sellar, Advocate.* How different the late Acts from that of 1567, the Preamble to which ran thus:— "Forasmeikle as by all laws and constitutions it is provided that the youth be brocht up and instructed in the feare of God and gude manneris; and, gif it be otherwise, it is tinsel baith of their bodies and souls gif God's Word be not rooted in them."

book in the world is so barred!* The Word of God, and therefore the God of the Word, dishonoured by Britain to conciliate a section of the nation which has ever been a foe to the Bible† and to human freedom! “Tell it not in Gath; publish it not in the streets of Askelon.”

Papal representatives all over the three kingdoms, with loud voice, reprobate the British national systems. The Protestants of Britain yield up their religious views in deference to Papists; Romanists refuse to surrender their convictions to any. Protestants are compromising and weak; Papists are unbending and stern. The system of compromise is defiantly spurned. The present Pope, addressing the Hierarchy of England, said, “You see, therefore, venerable brethren, with what earnest forethought parents must beware of entrusting their children to schools in which they cannot receive religious teaching.” Cardinal Manning stated that “no Catholic could confide a child to a Board School without violating his conscience.”‡ . The

* “They would not be satisfied if this matter of religious instruction were not settled in a Bill that it never could be a matter of discussion at a School Board. . . . If the Government were to set up over the whole land a system of popular education in which, during ordinary teaching hours, religion is to be expelled, and simply say, ‘You may supply the deficiency in the best way you can,’ I humbly think that a greater curse than such a plan could not be inflicted on this country.”—*The late Dr. Candlish.*

† “The indiscriminate reading of the Bible has transformed a mild and promising race into a pack of lazy immoral infidels.”—*Cardinal Wiseman in “Catholic Doctrine of the Bible.”*

‡ *Weekly Register*, Aug. 26, 1882.

Roman Catholic bishops of England adopted a resolution, "instructing all members of the clergy, both secular and regular, that they are bound not to encourage or to permit Catholics to frequent School Boards and that it is impossible to discover circumstances in which Roman Catholics could, without sin, attend non-Catholic universities."* A Birmingham priest asserted that the outcome of the School Board system would be "Communism," and that it would "bring up a nest of vipers."† A Glasgow priest affirmed that any Roman Catholic child attending a Board School was "violating his conscience, and sinning against God."‡ Cardinal Cullen, referring to a similar system in Ireland, complained that "the children cannot use Catholic emblems, and are obliged to pass their whole time without being able to venerate the Holy Mother of God, or do anything for their own salvation during school hours."§ The Roman Catholic Archbishop of New South Wales denounced the non-denominational Act in use there, threatening excommunication and the withholding of the rites of sepulture from all Romanists who countenance the schools.|| A few years ago, the English Hierarchy issued instructions prohibiting in peremptory terms

* *Tablet*, May 20, 1882.

† *Birmingham Daily Post*, March 2, 1882.

‡ *Scottish Patriot*, September 13, 1879.

§ Report of Educational Commissioners, vol. iv., p. 1, 225.

|| *Times*, January 21, 1882.

Roman Catholic teachers from taking office in the Board Schools, on the ground that "education apart from religion was condemned by the Holy See."* The Church of Rome even prohibits her children attending the public schools, because of the consequences that might arise from their association with children of other denominations, and their receipt of instruction from a master who was not a Roman Catholic.† If the British educational systems honoured the Word of God by welcoming it to the school at all hours, and encouraging the teachers to allude to its teachings at any hour they felt disposed, they could not have been more fiercely assailed by the Papacy.

But, while Roman Catholic representatives lustily reprobate the national non-denominational system, priests and other Roman Catholics put forth every effort to secure and retain seats on the School Boards. In this department of their policy, Roman Catholics are guilty of a manifest and flagrant inconsistency. The priests prohibit parents sending their children to the Board Schools under threat of exclusion from the sacraments, while the same priests require those parents to go to the polling stations on the day of the elections to do all they can to place them on the very School Boards which administer the system those voters dare not, as parents, countenance. How can

* *Tablet*, August 2, 1879.

† Report of Royal Commission on Education, 1870, vol. iii.

Roman Catholics administer a system they have anathematised? How can they administer a system from whose influence they debar all the youth of their Church? How can they sit on the School Boards when they prohibit Roman Catholics becoming teachers? And, if the association of their children with Protestants and others in the school be so injurious, how can Roman Catholic priests defend themselves in associating with Protestants and others on the School Boards? No doubt Cardinal Manning's statement is accurate: "The *Jesuits* are at the head of the great Catholic mission in this land." There is certainly design in this department of Rome's policy. Rome's design, by keeping her emissaries on the School Boards, is to interfere, on every favourable opportunity, with the religious instruction of the schools—to secularise, as a first step, these educational institutions, and so prepare the way for Romish ascendancy in Education.* The elevation of Roman Catholics to seats on the School Boards has provided them with a higher platform for the exercise of their baleful influence and offered better vantage ground for the execution of their avowed intention to grasp the public institutions and political power of the Empire.

* The present Pope in his letter to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, of March 25, 1879, declared that he "understood the liberty and dignity of the Roman Pontiff to signify removing from Rome, the means of practising and propagating whatever in the opinion of the Roman Church is heretical, and, if he possessed the liberty he claimed, he would employ it to close all Protestant schools and places of worship in Rome."—*Times*, April 11, 1879.

The policy of Roman Catholics on Education is to erect schools of their own, where the education shall be thoroughly and throughout Romish, and to obtain for them ample endowments out of the public funds. In consequence of the compulsory clauses of the Education Acts and the Papal belief that the secular system is "pernicious," the Papacy has been forced to become an Educator. Papal denominational schools in large numbers have become a necessity. Parliamentary grants are obtained for these schools under the profession that the conscience clause is observed. Are we, indeed, to believe that while the Papacy condemns the National system, because of the restrictions upon religious instruction required by the conscience clause, the Papacy observes the conscience clause in schools under its own direction? That in public it condemns the conscience clause, and in comparative privacy it enforces its observance? It is well known that no such clause is observed in the Papal denominational schools. Several of the standard books in use in these schools during the hours when, it is alleged, the conscience clause is in operation, contain some of the peculiar dogmas and ceremonies of the Church of Rome. Certain Roman Catholic representatives have acknowledged that during the hours set apart for undenominational instruction the "scholars may sing Catholic hymns, they may be surrounded by Roman Catholic pictures and images, and they may recite to

themselves the prayer at the end of the lessons."* The Roman Catholic schools of England and Wales are receiving about £160,000 annually, and those of this country are now in receipt of nearly £30,000 annually from Parliamentary funds, while permission has been given for the erection of such schools where the existing public schools could furnish ample accommodation for all the children of the respective localities. It is thus that, in England and Scotland, the number of Roman Catholic schools and the endowments of a Papal educational system are steadily advancing. In her infatuation, Britain is thus fostering and warming in her own bosom the viper which, when strong enough, will sting her to the heart.

About the time of the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Act, the Irish Hierarchy seemed satisfied† with the system of education administered in the national schools—united secular and separate religious. The Queen's Colleges were erected for the purpose of securing

* Report of Poor School Committee, 1870.

† Immediately before the Act of 1829, the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland gave sworn assurances that the laws and canons of the church of Rome were not in force in that country, that they approved of mixed education as established there, and that they would not exercise any privilege granted them to disturb the Protestant religion and government recognised in that land. The Scripture extracts read for a time in the national schools had been carefully prepared by a committee, one of the members being an archbishop, and it was announced that the Pope approved of them. But in 1856 Cardinal Cullen stated in a pastoral letter that the "Scripture extracts were condemned by the Holy See."

for the youth of Ireland a secular education in the higher branches. For a time there were but few deep murmurs from the Papal Hierarchy. But the bishops began to see that secular education was far from favourable to that mental condition which is necessary for the retention by Rome of her supremacy. Within the last quarter of a century, not the least of Ireland's burning questions has been that of education. A synod at Maynooth, in 1875, denounced the system of mixed education and declared that the control of the system by the State was "perilous to liberty." Long and loud have been the knocks at the Parliamentary door for more money from the national exchequer, and for the erection of educational institutions under Romish control. At present the Roman Catholic Church has the benefit of the capitalised £400,000 handed over to Maynooth at the time of the disestablishment of the Irish Church—a change which, whatever more may be said for or against it, was effected in part in the spirit of concession to Rome. The Parliamentary grant from the Imperial funds to Roman Catholic schools in Ireland in 1884 exceeded £572,000; and of the educational system there the *Tablet*, July 17, 1880, stated that it "is one of the most denominational schemes of primary education on earth." The Hierarchy have, by their persistent clamours, succeeded in obtaining training colleges wholly under their own superintendence, supported by national funds; they have succeeded

in practically setting aside the Queen's Colleges; they have secured the erection of a Royal University, on whose Council they exert a preponderating influence, which is shown, for instance, in the appointment of Thomas Aquinas as an alternative text-book in this year's programme for mental science; they have had Romish colleges affiliated to the Royal University, by which a degree can now be obtained by a student without passing out of the atmosphere of the cloister, or enjoying the still greater advantage of an education under the liberalising influences of general society; and they have again and again demanded a larger share of the public funds for their schools as well as the complete control of the whole educational system.

While the Protestants of Ireland and Christian statesmen are vainly endeavouring to find a solution of this vexed question in the Rome-troubled sister isle, Rome is steadily perfecting an already advanced denominationalism. The only solution of the difficulty that can satisfy her demands is to concede to the Papacy that despotic control of education which Roman Catholic nations have been compelled, in defence of their own existence and independence, to take away by strongest legislation. This Protestant nation, through its spurious liberality, lends itself to the policy of Rome's tyranny over millions of the youth under its care, while Roman Catholic nations have exhibited true and sterling liberality by generously

protecting their youth from the mental and moral degradation which Romish education ever entails. While Roman Catholic nations are nobly grappling with the efforts of the hierarchies in their territories to prevent or misdirect education, the concessions of the English government are thrown by those hierarchies in their teeth, and Britain's example becomes an obstacle to the onward march of many of the continental nations toward civil and religious freedom. By her so-called liberality toward the Papacy, Britain is forfeiting the high position she has hitherto occupied as the political leader of Europe, and is daily becoming the mere abject henchman of that politico-religious Apollyon from whom down-trodden nations are laboriously working out their emancipation.

In encouraging the Papacy in its educational policy, Britain is sustaining a system under whose influence the Roman Catholic youth of the nation are subjected to the heartless tyranny of superstition and trained in disloyalty. The papal expectation is that Romish education will raise up a generation that shall be ready for revolution against all rights civil, social, and personal, to be found resisting the supremacy of Rome.*

* The Fourth Class Book in use in the Christian Brothers' schools in Ireland was pronounced by one of the members of the Royal Commission on Primary Education to be the best preparation for Fenianism that could be imagined.—*Report of Commission, 1870, and Fraser's Magazine, 1874.* "I know that if the papal doctrines of the syllabus are taught to the educated youth of Ireland, high treason, under a covert form, will be the daily food of the Irish mind."—*The late Earl Russell in "The Rise and Progress of Religion."*

Indeed, if Rome could or dared, there would be little education of any kind under her direction, especially if she were dependent for the support of her schools upon her own resources. Before the Royal Commission on Education (1870) Cardinal Cullen said: "Too high an education would make the poor discontented with their lot and unsuit them for following the plough, using the spade, hammering iron, or building walls."* An article, advocating with great keenness similar sentiments, has appeared in the *Dublin Review*—a Roman Catholic magazine which, according to Prof. Maguire, himself a Roman Catholic, is an authoritative exponent of Roman Catholic views. This article declaims against the higher education, and expresses the fear that such education would lure scholars away to apostasy. It says: "Now it is a plain fact that by giving Catholic youths a higher education you open a new and very large avenue by which the godless spirit of the times may gain admittance. We are very far from meaning that ignorance is the Catholic youth's best preservative against intellectual danger; but it is a very powerful one, nevertheless, and those who deny this are but inventing a theory in the very teeth of manifest facts." And again: "It is simply undeniable that the absence of higher education is a powerful preservative against apostasy, and those who watch over souls will reasonably refuse

* Report of Education Commissioners, 1870.

to bear part in withdrawing that preservative until they are satisfied that some other very efficient substitute is provided." Certainly *there* may be seen plainly enough the motto, *lux anathema*. Like the owls that screech and hoot in the darkness against the light, the Papists cry out against real education—enlightenment. If the Papacy had the sovereignty in education, we would seldom if ever have a blink of the sun. "During the last three centuries," wrote Lord Macaulay about the Romish Church, "to stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object. Throughout Christendom, whatever advance has been made in knowledge, in freedom, in wealth, and in the arts of life, has been in inverse proportion to her power. The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have, under her rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor."*

* The latest Parliamentary Reports of the Reformatories and Industrial Schools for England and Scotland show that of the juvenile offenders detained in Reformatories, one-fourth of the entire number, and of those detained in Industrial Schools, one-fifth of the total were Romanists, whilst the Romanists are about one-fourteenth of the population of Great Britain. The Parliamentary Returns for New South Wales state that the Protestants form nearly seven-tenths of the total population and the Roman Catholics about three-tenths, but the Roman Catholics contribute fully one half of the criminals. On the 23rd July, 1877, Mr. Cross stated in the House of Commons that about "one-third of all the prisoners in Scotland were Roman Catholic," while Roman Catholics are less than one-twelfth of the population. The number of illiterates in Connaught at last census shows 39·5 per cent. among Roman Catholics, and 3·8 per cent. among Presbyterians. "In view of these facts," writes Mr. Hawkins, of the New York bar, after

What ought Britain to do then to avert the consequences that must follow this policy of Rome on education? Oppose policy by policy; oppose a firm unflinching policy by a policy as firm and unbending. Oppose a light-extinguishing and Bible-despising policy by a policy light-diffusing and Bible-honouring. Oppose the policy of secularising our schools and other public institutions with a view to their being ultimately papalised by a policy which will Protestantize our schools and public institutions yet more and such a policy as will sanctify and adorn the state with the offices of religion.* Let every Roman Catholic school in the land be stripped forthwith of every penny of its endowments from the national funds. How can it be maintained that public funds

examining the comparative value in making good citizens of the non-sectarian public school and the Roman Catholic parochial system, "it would be seen to be the plainest duty of the Government, in protecting the public from an increase of illiteracy, pauperism, and crime, to stop at once and for ever all support, from public money or public property, of Roman Catholic parochial or sectarian schools or institutions; and to cease committing juvenile paupers or criminals to the institutions of a sect that have steadily produced, by wrong or defective education, more than three times the percentage of paupers and criminals that our own Government schools and institutions produce."

* They say we must not pray in our legislative bodies; we must not introduce the Bible into our public schools, or do anything in a public capacity which implies that we are Protestant Christians. Our reply is: We must obey God. We must carry our religion into our families, our workshops, our municipal and other governments, and, if you cannot live with Christians, you must go elsewhere.—*Dr. Charles Hodge.*

should be expended on a system which generates an atmosphere that has ever produced disloyalty and which unblushingly avows its determination to assert a universal temporal ascendancy? That an educational system should be supported from the public funds which prescribes as manuals books whose teaching is anti-Biblical and anti-British!

Amend the national acts by inserting a paragraph declaring the ineligibility of papists to seats on the public school board. Self-defence demands it. To effect an alteration as to the cumulative vote is but to deal with the excrescence on the surface while the evil remains in the fundamental character of the legislation. Men holding the opinions on political, social, and individual rights which papal manifestoes contain are dangerous men in social circles, in school boards, in legislatures.*

Finally, place the Bible in the school and encourage the teachers to refer to it at all hours.† Do this in cheerful subjection to the King of nations, the recognition of whose sovereignty has been more closely interwoven with the history of the British isles

* See Appendix, Quotations from Canon Law, Syllabus and Encyclicals.

† I would advise no one to send his child where Holy Scripture does not hold the chief place. All must become corrupt where necessary attention is not paid to the Word of God.—*Luther*. No, gentlemen, we will place the Word of God in the forefront of our national system of education, and we will render it the unequivocal, the public, and the conspicuous object that is becoming a Christian and Protestant nation.—*Thomas Chalmers*.

than any other land. No man, though he dwell in St. Peter's, and no association of men, though they reign from St. Stephen's, have a right to lay any restriction on the Word of God. Restrain the air of heaven from the use of man! Stand between your fellow-men and the sun! Who hath required this at your hands, O Britain? The papist! The Pope of Rome! That poor fallible *infallible* that confesses himself a prisoner in the Vatican! Fear the Lord of Hosts, Britain! Let Him be your fear, and let Him be your dread. The insignia of this empire are a Bible, a crown, and a sceptre; and the crown and sceptre are sustained by the Bible. Take away the Bible, and the sceptre shall wax feeble and the crown shall fall. It must not be. These fair isles of the sea must not go back under the tyranny and superstition of Rome. The Bible must be elevated to the place of honour. Thou Prince of School-books, we beckon thee onward to thy coronation in every school and public institution throughout Britain and the world. Let there go up a cry and go out a demand that shall awake the nation! "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon." Who knoweth but that we are come to the kingdom for such a time as this?

For judgment unto righteousness shall yet return again,
And all shall follow after it that are right-hearted men.

ROMISH ORGANISATION, SPECIALLY IN SCOTLAND.

BY THE REV. D. M. CONNOR, M.A., LL.B., GLASGOW.

ORGANISATION is the strength of the papacy. As a system it is the most elaborate, skilful, perfect adaptation of means to end the world has ever seen. There is nothing comparable with it, in unity of design, in comprehensiveness of sweep, in tenacity of grasp, and in minuteness of detail. One definite dominant purpose runs throughout the whole complicated mechanism of the papacy, and directs and controls every movement and motive. That purpose is the most dazzling and ambitious that ever fired the imagination, or engrossed the mind and will of any man or body of men. Its aim is universal dominion both in things secular and in things sacred. It claims supreme authority over the souls as well as the bodies of men. It affects to determine their eternal destinies as well as regulate their temporal affairs. Law and government, morals and religion, time and eternity, lie equally within the sphere of its sovereign jurisdiction.

Three mitred crowns the proud impostor wears,
For he in earth, in hell, in heaven will reign;
And in his hand two golden keys he bears,
To open heaven and hell, and shut again.

And this grand comprehensive purpose it prosecutes

by an organisation which stands unique and alone in solitary, unapproachable perfection, unrivalled by any scheme the genius of man has ever contrived.

The best human organisations last only for a time. They soon get disorganised, and need to be reorganised. Their methods and rules of procedure fall into abeyance and desuetude, and require to be resuscitated and reconstructed. But the papacy possesses an organisation which is permanent, universal, and self-regulating. It is not a dead mechanism, but a living organism which never dies, never fails, never grows obsolete. From age to age it has gone on developing, and adapting itself to the new forms and phases of society and government. It is a model for all organisations. It sums up and concentrates within itself all the excellences of all other systems, ecclesiastical, political, and social; and the result is a combination unequalled for completeness and effectiveness. It reaches all parts of the world, influences all institutions, regulates all kinds of intercourse between man and man, penetrating to the innermost recesses of courts and cabinets, of homes and hearts. If only its aims were good and true, its means would be all-powerful.

The principle of organisation is centralisation, the binding of the many into the one, and the diffusion from the one throughout the many. The power, the supreme direction, the vitalising influence, must

emanate from only one source, and spread itself through all the ramifications of the organisation.

The centre of Romish organisation is the pope, who claims to be the successor of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, supreme pontiff of the universal church, and vicar of Jesus Christ. He is the fountain of all authority; in the words of Cardinal Manning, "the supreme judge on earth, and director of the consciences of men—of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne—of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms." He issues his commands to the sacred college of cardinals who form the staff of this great general, the privy council and cabinet of this universal sovereign. The work of this world-wide empire is assigned to committees or sacred congregations of cardinals, each being charged with the surveillance of one of its numerous departments, such as the suppression of heresy, the censorship of the press, the propagation of the faith in infidel regions, receiving reports from bishops on the state of their dioceses, and generally supervising the whole work of the church. These 70 cardinals (at present 60) have the oversight of the 12 patriarchs and the 175 primates, metropolitans, and archbishops; and they in turn exercise authority over the 722 residential bishops, and over the 262 archbishops and bishops of titular sees who have the charge of the

churches in infidel regions. Each of these bishops again has the oversight of all the churches, chapels, missions, and stations within the bounds of his diocese. Each of these churches, etc., is ministered to by one or more priests, whose duty it is to exercise authority over families and individuals.

Besides its bishops and priests, who are distributed all over the world and are in close communication with the sovereign pontiff, there are innumerable communities of men and women spread like a network over all the kingdoms of the earth, and charged with special missions of a religious, benevolent, and educational character. They teach in schools and colleges, visit houses soliciting alms for their manifold philanthropic undertakings, and are ever on the outlook for opportunities to advance the Romanist cause.

It is not one organisation, but countless organisations which are working side by side, each helping the other, and all eager to win converts and stimulate the zeal of Romanists. All these varied orders are kept in closest contact with headquarters, receiving commands and sending reports.

And yet, with all its might and majesty, its unity and perfected and multiplied organisations, popery is a decadent cause throughout the world. There are places no doubt where it is making converts, but the ratio of its increase is not beyond the ratio of the natural increase of population, and in most cases it is

far below. Protestantism, on the other hand, with all its disadvantages, its divisions, and the comparative imperfection of its organisations, is going forth everywhere conquering and increasing. The little stone cut out of the mountain without hands is dashing in pieces this modern image, and itself becoming a great mountain and filling the whole earth. The little leaven issurely, though slowly, leavening the whole lump.

We have statistics to show that, in spite of all her efforts, her rapidly increasing number of priests, of churches, chapels, stations, and missions, of religious communities of men and women, and of colleges and schools, the sceptre is departing from Rome, and its glory is fading.

Let us compare the two: first, over the whole world; secondly, among the English speaking populations; and, thirdly, in the United Kingdom.

(1) Over the whole world. Protestantism has grown rapidly during the present century. At the close of last century it numbered only 40,000,000 of adherents; now it has reached 150,000,000. It has gained 275 per cent.; it has nearly quadrupled its numbers. Romanism, on the other hand, was three times the number of Protestantism at the end of last century, 120,000,000; now it has only one-fifth more, 180,000,000. It has added only 50 per cent. If Romanism had increased in the same ratio as Protestantism its numbers now would have been 450,000,000.

If both continue to increase during the remaining years of the century in the same ratio as they have done during these eighty-five years, the numbers will be almost equal. In one century Protestantism will have advanced from one-third of the numbers of Romanism to equality with it. Even now the papacy has no ground on which to rest its claim to universality, for besides the 150,000,000 of Protestants, the Greek, Armenian, and Coptic churches which number 100,000,000, are opposed to Rome though not Protestant. There are therefore 250,000,000 of professing Christians who reject her assumption of supremacy, and only 180,000,000 who maintain it.

(2) The prospect is still more encouraging when we restrict our view to the English-speaking populations of the world, which are the most enterprising and prosperous and powerful. The present calculation of English-speaking populations and their proportion of Romanists and Protestants is as follows:—

Countries.	Population.	Protestants.	Romanists.
Great Britain, -	36,100,000	31,200,000	4,900,000
United States, -	56,700,000	51,500,000	5,200,000
British America and Islands, - -	5,200,000	4,400,000	800,000
Oceania, Asia, and Africa, - -	3,400,000	2,800,000	600,000
Total, -	101,400,000	89,900,000	11,500,000

Nearly 90,000,000 Protestants, and 11,500,000 Romanists. Or, throughout the English-speaking populations of the world the proportion of Romanists is *one-ninth*, and the proportion of Protestants *eight-ninths*—eight to one. In Great Britain the proportion of Romanists is scarcely *one-seventh*, in the United States *one-eleventh*, in British America *two-thirteenths*, and in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, *three-seventeenths*, or about *one-sixth*. In America Romanism declined 20 per cent. in the ten years between 1863 and 1873. And this statement is amply sustained by what Mr. M'Caul of Montreal said at the Reception Meeting of the Convention, namely, that in the city of Montreal there are five Protestant congregations whose members and adherents have been brought out of the Church of Rome. More marvellous still, they got five priests! These statistics prove that Romanism is an effete religion among English-speaking populations, and that it is everywhere being absorbed by Protestantism.

(3) Let us now look at the state of matters in the United Kingdom. Ireland has always been the stronghold of Romanism in the United Kingdom. In 1801 its population was 5,395,456. It went on increasing at every decennial period till 1841, when it reached its highest point, 8,175,124. Every census since has shown a decrease, its population in 1881 being 5,159,839, a decrease of over 3,000,000, or $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in these

40 years; a decrease more than equal to the increase during the first 40 years of the century, which was somewhat under 3,000,000. The decrease is largest among Romanists, and smallest among Protestants. In 1861, when the population was 5,798,967, there were 4,490,583 Romanists, and 1,265,224 Protestants. In 1881, when the population was 5,159,839, there were 3,951,888 Romanists, and 1,168,842 Protestants. The decrease in these twenty years was about 640,000, of whom fully *one-seventh* were Protestants, and *six-sevenths* were Romanists. Even in Ireland Romanism is decreasing, and the disproportion between Protestants and Romanists is growing less. Every census shows a greater decrease of Romanists than of Protestants. While the great stream of Irish emigrants went to the United States, a considerable number settled down in England, Wales, and Scotland. These were mostly Romanists. Yet in 1885 the total Romanist population in Great Britain is estimated at 1,200,000, of whom about 340,000 are in Scotland, and 860,000 in England and Wales.

Looking now to the general aspect of the United Kingdom, the figures and facts are beyond all expectation cheering. The population of the United Kingdom in 1801 was 16,160,047, of whom 5,395,456 were in Ireland. We are warranted therefore in regarding the Protestants as forming *two-thirds* of the population at the beginning of this century, and the Romanists

as *one-third*. What is the proportion now? In 1881 the population was 35,246,562, of whom 5,151,888 were Romanists, 3,951,888 of these being in Ireland, 340,000 in Scotland, and 860,000 in England and Wales. The proportion, which in 1801 was *one-third* Romanist to *two-thirds* Protestants, was in 1881 only slightly over *one-seventh* Romanist to *six-sevenths* Protestants. The proportion of Protestants in the United Kingdom has advanced from *two-thirds* to *six-sevenths*, while that of Romanists has declined from *one-third* to *one-seventh*. The Protestants were at the beginning of the century ten millions and the Romanists five millions; in 1881 the Protestants have increased from ten millions to thirty millions, have in fact *trebled* their numbers, while the Romanists have remained stationary. The population has more than doubled, increased from sixteen to thirty-five millions, and Protestantism has trebled, but Romanism remains what it was. Had it been as thriving as Protestantism, it should now have numbered fifteen millions. In the view of facts like these, drawn from a comparison of the relative numbers of Romanists and Protestants over the whole world, among English-speaking populations, and in the United Kingdom, during this century, we may well possess our souls in patience, amid all the boast and brag of the Papal organs—yea, thank God, and take courage.

There is one department where there has been

progress made by Popery during this century in Great Britain. Romanism has enormously increased its working staff and working centres. The greatest increase dates from the restoration of the hierarchy in England in 1850, which was followed after a long interval by the restoration of the hierarchy in Scotland.

This increase may be tabulated as follows:—

(1) IN GREAT BRITAIN.

	1850.	1885.	Increase.
Priests, - - - - -	958	2,599	1,641
Churches, Chapels, and Stations, -	709	1,575	866
Communities of Men, - - -	17	225	208
Communities of Women, - -	53	403	350
Colleges, - - - - -	11	31	20

(2) ENGLAND AND WALES.

	1850.	1885.	Increase.
Priests, - - - - -	835	2,273	1,438
Churches, Chapels, and Stations, -	586	1,269	683
Communities of Men, - - -	17	210	193
Communities of Women, - -	53	374	321
Colleges, - - - - -	10	27	17

(3) SCOTLAND.

	1850.	1885.	Increase.
Priests,	123	326	203
Churches, Chapels, and Stations, -	123	306	183
Communities of Men, -	0	15	15
Communities of Women,	0	29	29
Colleges,	1	4	3

This exhibits a startling increase, but our fears are allayed by the consideration of the statistics already submitted in regard to population. We find no further cause for alarm than that the enemy is increasing his forces. The tremendous increase in the working staff and working centres is not owing to the increase of adherents, but to the determination of the Papacy to try issues on the grandest scale with Protestantism in its stronghold. In Scotland in 1838, the priests were only sixty-nine, and the churches and chapels only forty-seven. Since that time the priests have increased four-and-a-half times, and the chapels six-and-a-half times. The Romish organisation in Scotland is a marvel of completeness. There are churches or stations now in almost every town. In the remotest places, wherever there are Romanists, they are supplied with the services of their church. If there is no ecclesiastical edifice, mass is performed in a rented

hall, or in a private house, or in the domestic chapel of some nobleman or gentleman, to which all are welcome. The number of their services, and the early hour of most of them, are a rebuke to Protestants. In many cases they are meeting for the *fourth* time when we are assembling sparsely for our *first* diet of worship. Almost every day has its special service. All ages, classes, and sexes are specially provided for. The young have their Sunday Schools, and children's services, with special services for the younger children and for grown up boys and girls. The week-day schools have special departments for infants, for boys, for girls; and there are special institutions for young ladies and for young gentlemen.

The most striking feature of their whole organisation is the number of societies connected with almost every chapel. These are of the most varied character, and for almost every conceivable object. Their very names are fascinating, and adapted to attract every age and sex and class. Temperance is encouraged, and the pledge is sometimes given after the Sabbath evening service. Young men's societies are numerous, and have connected with them benefit societies, penny savings banks, libraries, reading-rooms, recreation-rooms, and night-schools. There are associations for prayer, for the conversion of sinners, for Christian doctrine, and for the relief of the poor. Under the name of guilds, confraternities, sodalities, leagues,

crusades,—linked to the names of all the saints of the calendar,—there are associations for men, for women, for young men, for boys, for apprentices, for girls, for children, and for Christian mothers.

The Romish organisation provides for the poor and the destitute, the erring, and the criminal. Priests are specially charged with the visitation of poor-houses and prisons, reformatories and industrial schools, and soldiers in barracks. Its genius of order and method is to be seen even in the organisation for collections. Prayers and alms are besought from their members for the propagation of the faith, and the alms is collected in a most systematic manner. A half-penny a week is the sum solicited. One member in ten acts as collector, and pays the amount to another who receives ten such collections. Rome believes in the power of littles given regularly and by the greatest number.

Protestantism has much to learn from Popery on the subject of organisation and unity. We do not speak of the Protestant church, but of Protestant churches. They are split up into sects and denominations, standing apart and alone. Their greatest comprehension is national. But the Papacy is one grand organisation, uniting in its wide embrace all its churches throughout the world. It is fused into one whole, animated by one purpose, and dependent on

one common centre. The pope is its head and heart. One will pervades the whole. One law governs it. It possesses a solidarity which is unbroken by differences of language, or race, or clime. It adapts itself to all classes. It utilises all talents. It finds work for all its members, and is most inventive in plans for keeping fast hold of its adherents, and for gathering those outside into its fold. There is no waste of energy or resources through disunion. Everywhere it is permeated by one idea, and works for one purpose. It has long since learned the lesson that union is strength, and that division is weakness. It never forgets the proverb, "United we stand, divided we fall." Its aggressive power has been sustained from age to age by its organic unity.

The grand lesson we ought to have deeply and indelibly engraven on our hearts by the contemplation of the organisation of the church of Rome is the need of union. Our divisions are at once the reproach and the weakness of Protestantism. The writer was never more struck with the inherent weakness and utter impotence of division, in the ranks of Protestants, than when ministering one summer to the fishermen in a remote island of the Hebrides. Its native population is over 2000. Nine-tenths of these are Papists and only one-tenth Protestants. One priest is

sufficient for the Papists, but the Protestants are divided into two opposing camps, each requiring a separate church and ministry. What a spectacle of division! The light of the Reformation had scarcely penetrated that benighted region, and the very light that shone was darkness! What a waste of energy and resources! What a crop of jealousies, and rivalries, and heart-burnings! What a hopeless prospect of ever gaining over that united phalanx of 1800 to a religion so painfully divided! There must be union first, and only then can we hope to gain the victory, not only over popery, but over the infidelity and ungodliness which still so prevail in our land. No worthier object can engage our affections, our prayers, our efforts. Is it not a consummation devoutly to be wished, and worthy to be achieved, *even though it be at a great cost*? Let us close our divided ranks. Let us unite in one grand sacramental host, going forth throughout our land and throughout the world "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." Much has been achieved notwithstanding our divisions, but what might be achieved if all Protestants were organised into one grand Gospel Army, all working for the one grand end, the glory of God in the conversion of the world to the Saviour! The realisation of the Saviour's prayer for His disciples, "that they all may be one," would be speedily followed by the realisation of its great end,

“that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.”

Behold, how good a thing it is,
And how becoming well,
Together such as brethren are
In unity to dwell !
As Hermon's dew, the dew that doth
On Sion' hills descend :
For *there* the blessing God commands,
Life that shall never end.

NOTE.—The authorities for the statistics and statements in this paper are the Census Returns for the years referred to, the Catholic Directories, the “Financial Reform Almanacks,” “Oliver & Boyd's Almanacks,” and “Chambers's Encyclopædia.”

BRITISH LEGISLATIVE CONCESSIONS TO THE PAPACY.

BY THE REV. JAS. PATON, B.A., ST. PAUL'S, GLASGOW.

LET the ground be cleared, and the issue made luminous by fixing emphatically on these two words, "Legislative," and "Papacy." Not *all* Concessions that are made to Roman Catholics are to be discussed, or even glanced at, here; but only those that have obtained direct or indirect legislative sanction, and especially those that have found a place amongst the statutes of the Realm. What might be called the "dandiacal" concessions,—those in the social and municipal sphere, where the words *Archbishop* and *Cardinal* are hunted after to adorn a dinner card or to glorify a platform,—we gladly leave to some future writer of a book on "Snobs" or professor of the "Philosophy of Clothes!"

Yet again, it is not any concession of *religious* Liberty, or, for that matter, of *civil* Liberty, which may be made to our Roman Catholic fellow citizens or their Church as one amongst other Churches in the Land, with which in this Paper we have to deal. We do not even touch the question of *Toleration* of Worship,—a Worship which we regard as idolatrous and blasphemous; nor do we raise a single issue that can affect the perfect civil and religious *Liberty* of the

Roman Catholic to worship God according to conscience in every corner of the British Empire. For better or for worse, we have accepted this national creed:—*Religious Liberty*, not less than *Civil*, is inscribed on the banner of our Constitution, and no risks and no menace will ever induce us to blot out either the one or the other!

But it is *one* thing to make concessions such as these to our Roman Catholic fellow citizens and to leave them as perfect liberty of worship as we claim for ourselves; it is *another* and a vastly different thing to make concessions to the managers and abettors of the Papacy, plotting from Rome against the Sovereignty of the British Crown, the Liberties of the People, and the Independence of the Nation. The *Curia Romana*, the Cabinet of St. Peter's, represents a foreign Power, that dares, in defiance of British law and without the authority of the British Parliament, to claim and to exercise jurisdiction according to its own *Canon* law over the person and liberty and property of certain subjects of the British Crown, and does so under the cloak of being called a "Church" and behind the shield of a pretended "Spiritual" Independence. To surrender to claims such as these is a thing wholly and absolutely different from granting perfect freedom of Conscience, perfect freedom of Worship,—in short, every civil and every religious Liberty consistent with the safety and welfare of the State. We deal here not with any

Church, as all Britons understand the word *Church*,—not with any branch of the Catholic Church as claiming Liberty for its Worship or religious Rites,—but with a Romish Confederacy under the name of a Church that threatens the Liberties and Rights of the British Nation;—not even with any claim of the Papacy itself for perfect Religious Freedom and perfect Civil Liberty, but with other Papal Claims that literally amount to a *treasonable Conspiracy* against the freedom and independence of Britain.

As a Scotchman, and speaking from the heart of Scotland, I am anxious to emphasize this fact, on the threshold of our inquiry, that Scotland, not less than England had to protect by Acts of Parliament, *for centuries before the Reformation*, not only the then Roman Catholic Church itself but the Nation also from the claims and usurpations of the Papacy at Rome; and if our forefathers, even when what is called “good Catholics,” had thus to guard their liberties and rights, still greater watchfulness and self-defence are demanded of us! As far back as the last quarter of the twelfth Century, *William the Lion* of Scotland (1165 to 1214) asserted the supremacy of the Common Law to reach and to punish criminals, even when they sought the so-called “inviolable sanctuary of Religious Houses” and the jurisdiction and protection of the Priests of Rome. Further on, *Alexander the Second*

of Scotland defied the Pope's interdict and vindicated his right as an independent King to go to war with *John* of England,—even though *John* had basely become the vassal of Rome, and to war with him was equivalent to war with the Popes ; and for this, in the beginning of the thirteenth century (1217 to 1218) he and his kingdom were laid under the ghastly horrors of a Papal Excommunication. It was this same King, that proudly retorted on a Legate, who proposed to invite himself North from the Court of England to Scotland,—“I never saw a Papal Legate in my Dominions, and, please God, never shall!” Yet again, *Robert Bruce*, backed by all the barons, earls, freeholders, and whole community of Scotland, defied in 1320 the Papal Excommunication launched against him,—maintained that his Kingdom was independent either of Rome or of England,—and refused to receive letter or message or bull of any kind from Rome, till the Pope gave in at last and addressed him by his rightful title as “the King of Scotland.”* And, finally here, for a period of about *one hundred years before the Reformation*, the Scottish Parliament passed Act after Act, sternly and jealously protecting the rights of the Crown and the liberties of the Nation, even when Roman Catholic, against the Cabinet at St. Peter's ! In *one* Statute, complaint is made against transactions in

* Hailes's “Annals,” vol. i. ; Cunningham's “Church History of Scotland,” chap. vi.

the Court of Rome "contrary to the Sovereign's rights;" in *another*, against "clerks and other religious men," making "impetrations at the Court of Rome," contrary to "the rights of the Crown and the common profit of the Realm;" in *another*, against receiving "any Legate or Messenger of the Court of Rome" within this Realm, and for keeping all such "beyond the borders" until the King and his Council be satisfied that there is nothing in his mission or his message "contrary to the privileges of the Crown and the common good of this Realm;" in *another*, we find decrees proscribing and banishing "any person of whatsoever degree" making impetration to the Court of Rome "without the King's own writing and commendation" (*Scottish Acts of Parliament*, from 1481 to 1524).* In a single word, the King and the Parliament of Scotland kept the Church's government and patronage in their own hands, and refused to hand it over to the Court of Rome, a foreign Power whose interests were alien to the interests of this Kingdom!

Exactly the same state of matters had been developed in England. William the Conqueror, and his immediate successors, denied and scorned the claim of fealty to the Court of Rome. The people and the barons of England mocked at the submission of the ignoble

* Tytler's "History of Scotland." Cosmo Innes's "Lega Antiquities." "Papal Designs"—1878. Maclaren & Macniven, Edinburgh.

John to the Papacy, and wrung from him in contempt of all such pretensions their glorious *Magna Charta*. The *Constitutions* of Clarendon, the statute of *Præmunire*, and many similar Deeds, meant nothing more than this, *that* the aggressions and pretensions of that foreign Power at Rome, under the name of a Church, were disallowed and defied as inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Crown and the independence of the Kingdom; and *that* every soul in England must be subject in the last resort not to Papal but to British law, whether he be peasant or priest, whether churl or cardinal. The crash, the final breach came, at the close of centuries that had been leading up to it, when Parliament "abolished" utterly the jurisdiction of the Pope and proclaimed the Royal Supremacy; and the myriad-minded Shakespeare gathered up as usual the soul and lesson of his time, when he put into the mouth of one of his kings these defiant words—

"Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England
Add this much more—That no Italian Priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominion!"

Equally necessary is it for us to form some clear idea of *the legislative aspects of the Reformation*, of what happened *then*, else we cannot understand the modifications or concessions that have *since* passed upon the Statutes of the Realm. The Parliament of Scotland declared in 1560, and it was ratified by a second Deed in 1567, *that* "the jurisdiction and

authority of the Pope was contumelious to Eternal God, and very hurtful and prejudicial to the Sovereign's authority and to the common weal of the Realm;" and *therefore* it was "statute and ordained" that the Pope shall have "no jurisdiction nor authority within this Realm for all time to come." * *James the Second* of England lost his throne for violating these Deeds, and similar Acts of Parliament; and *William of Orange* received the Crown, on the conditions inscribed on his own Banner—"The Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of England, I will maintain!" The *Claim of Rights*, laid before him by the Estates, solemnly declared that it was "no longer consistent with the safety or welfare of these Kingdoms that a Popish Prince should reign." William saw that the so-called *Church* of Rome was actually a hostile Confederacy,—not a Religion but a Government, with a Cabinet at Rome which never resigns and never dies; and so the *Oath of Allegiance*, as settled at the Revolution of 1688, calls upon every loyal subject to "abhor, detest, and abjure that damnable doctrine and position, that Princes, excommunicated or deposed by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects," and to declare very solemnly, and almost fiercely, that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence,

* "Papal Designs"—1878. Guinness's "Monthly Letters."

or authority, within this Realm." Thus by the original Scottish Statutes of 1560 and 1567,—by the Revolution Settlement of 1688,—and again by the Treaty of Union of 1707, declared to be for ever "unalterable,"—Papal "jurisdiction" in every form and under any pretext whatsoever was abolished and abjured; and the Protestantism of the *Constitution*, of the *Throne*, and of the *Union* might be regarded as having been secured, so far as anything under Heaven could be secured by human words and human deeds!

What, then, *are* the CONCESSIONS that have since been made to the Papacy? And *how* are we to represent them? There are two possible ways of answering: *one*, by a dry-as-dust catalogue and analysis of the Acts of Parliament,—*that* could be of no use here, it is found, by those who seek it, in the pages of *Hansard*! The *other* way is by selecting *ruling instances*, palmary examples, of the concessions made to Papal demands,—shewing their apparently harmless and innocent beginnings, the conditions and limitations by which they were guarded to make them palatable or even possible,—and then to show the shameless manner in which all those conditions were laughed to the winds, and cancelled one after another in hot haste as the Papal demands increased; until the plea for *Toleration*—which was the first to be heard after our fathers had smitten down the Papacy as a con-

spiracy against "the safety and welfare of the State" under the name of a Church—the plea for Toleration of their worship and religious rites grew into the cry for *Equality* civil and religious, Equality in every right of Citizenship and in every recognition of Religion; and, finally, the cry for Equality has been in our day supplanted by the demand for *Supremacy*,—a demand which is the logical, the inevitable, the universal outcome of all such concessions,—a demand which, if granted, and so far as granted, will lay upon us or upon our children the absolute and appalling necessity of *either* sacrificing our Civil and Religious Liberty to the domination of a foreign Priest, or of re-claiming and re-asserting it as our fathers did through blood and tears, and re-imposing those so-called "penalties," those restraints which are necessary for "the safety and welfare" of the State,—which some people sneer at as "*religious disabilities*," but which as matter of fact do not touch and need not touch any man's religious beliefs or religious rites, but are "only cutting out the fangs and tearing off the claws" of those who under the name of Religion are the enemies of their country!

Now, it so happens that there are two examples, each illustrating a long series of legislative concessions, and each showing in an almost perfect manner the progressive movements of the Papacy from the plea of Toleration to the cry for Equality and from the cry

for Equality to the demand for Supremacy; and I cannot fulfil my mission more effectively than by placing these in clear vision before you. The word *Maynooth* is the key to the one series of transactions, and the phrase *Catholic Emancipation* is the key to the other.

Maynooth began in the most simple and innocent fashion that could be imagined or described. The Irish Roman Catholic doctors, Troy and O'Reilly, besought *Pitt* to allow them to start a College for the training of their own priests in Ireland, under the specious plea of "arresting disloyalty,"—that is, because the priests who were being trained abroad had their loyalty sapped and mined! *Pitt*, accordingly, got an Act passed through Parliament in 1795, making it *lawful* for certain Trustees "to receive subscriptions and donations" to enable them to endow an Academy,—a thing hitherto unlawful since the Reformation,—for the training of Popish priests. A "grant" was made that year towards the purpose; but not a whisper was heard of any demands for the Endowment of the College; it was simply and only making it lawful for them to receive donations, to endow themselves if they liked, and to train their own religious teachers.* That was all! Now mark the tiger-like, *progressive*, stealthy approach, nearer and nearer, till

* "Maynooth," by Dr. W. H. Goold. "Papal Designs"—1878.

time was ripe for the final deadly spring. In 1799 certain clauses were introduced pledging the nation to endow Maynooth; but the bill was rejected in the House of Lords by a vote of 25 to 1. In the *Act of Union** betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, a considerable annual sum was "set apart" to be applied for twenty years to local purposes in Ireland, such as "agriculture and manufactures, or pious and charitable institutions,"—Maynooth alone grabbed year after year all that sum, securing the spoils, forsooth, for the encouragement of learning! In the days of *Wellington*, when yet further demands were made for its national support, the great Duke flatly declared that, when Maynooth was first allowed to be established, "it was never intended that it should be maintained by the public money." Year after year, an "annual grant" was voted to Maynooth; and there was the annual debate on Popery and Papal claims, and sometimes the Government ran a very narrow risk of being defeated; to escape all which, *Peel* made the grant an annual "charge" on the Consolidated Fund in 1845,—and this was really our first National and Parliamentary Endowment of Popery. It was petitioned against by one million two hundred and eighty-four thousand of the people, with only seventeen thousand in its favour; but, for the sake of partisan political convenience, the will of the Nation

* "Act of Union"—1800—Article vii.

was overborne, and Popery was "endowed" at Maynooth. It has since received enormous slices out of the *Church Fund* in Ireland; and bills have been presented by Papists to Parliament, but withdrawn, to place Maynooth even more exclusively under the Romish Hierarchy and to relieve it from the last shadowy remnants of State supervision or control. And the actual state of matters at this day, as the *Times* unflinchingly pointed out during the controversies of 1873, is this *—"That the Papacy, educationally regarded, is endowed in Ireland; that the British taxpayer is wheedled into lavishing public money for the teaching and propagation of a System which at the best and least is perilous to British interests, and at the worst and highest is destructive of British liberty and independence."

Meantime, *the Papacy laughs and has the right to laugh at our simplicity!* Roman Catholics then gave every solemn pledge that the principles of Jesuitry, destructive of Society and of the State, would never be taught there; but the managers and abettors of the Papacy at once introduced text-books into Maynooth, which contained the substance of all that had been condemned and excluded! Roman Catholics have given, *again and again*, every solemn pledge that honourable men could be asked to give, that such doctrines as the "Deposing" and "Absolving" Power

* *Times*, September, 1873.

of the Pope, or other claims that might impinge upon the undivided allegiance of any British subject to the Sovereign and the laws of the country, were "abhorred and abjured by them and would never be promulgated;" but the managers and abettors of the Papacy laugh again, and the Pope himself puts into the hands of every Bishop a copy of the *Canon* law (process equivalent to proclaiming it), and *that* is the basis and standard of all the teaching at Maynooth. According to this Canon law, by bulls of Popes and decrees of Councils, every Bishop, every Priest, every Romanist, is held bound, at the peril of salvation, to seek the surrender of the Crown of Britain to the Tiara of the Pontiff, and the supplanting of British representative Government by the priestly Domination of a Foreign Court. In a single sentence, Maynooth teaches and must teach that the *Canon* law of Popes overrides all *British* laws, and that the *Syllabus* of Pio Nono takes the place of the *Laws of God* as conveying to all mankind their only authoritative and binding sense!

It is as *certain*, as anything human can be, that Maynooth never would have been established or allowed by Parliament at all but for the frauds and false promises of the Roman Catholics of that earlier day; and *equally certain* that it never would have been endowed, but for the guarantees and the pledges given by the Romanists of a later day for guarding

the security and welfare of the Nation, and which the managers and abettors of the Papacy have scattered to the winds whenever their purpose was gained. And *the question is forced upon us by the action of Rome*, how far these concessions should not be regarded as forfeited, since every condition on which they were granted has been trampled under foot? Nay, further, if the so-called spirit of the age will not permit us even to think of cancelling such privileges, secured by fraud and wantonly forfeited, "the welfare and security of the Realm" should constrain us at least to take *such guarantees as shall make it impossible* for Maynooth or for any other Institution or Society to imperil and undermine the glorious fabric of our Civil and Religious Freedom. Our fathers knew how to take such guarantees,—they took them, the Reformation was saved, and Protestantism prevailed! We too must learn to take such guarantees, as are suitable to the perils and needs of our time, *unless* we are prepared to see the fruits of the Reformation swept back into the abomination of Rome!

Catholic Emancipation—that is the cry around which cluster our second series of legislative Concessions, and out of which as by a necessary growth have sprung almost all other demands, made by the Papacy or recorded on the statute book of the Empire. Our object at present is to place before you a picture

of *how* the question came before the Nation, *how* it was at first safe-guarded and conditioned, by *what* pleas it was urged on, and by *what* promises and oaths it was carried at last,—only to introduce *an Era*, in which with shameless speed and fanatical zeal the managers and abettors of the Papacy have mocked at their own people's declarations and pledges, and striven to toss aside with open contempt almost every condition and limitation of the Act,—*forcing every honest soul in Britain to ask again*, how far concessions thus won by fraud may not be forfeited by failure, and ought not to be re-considered in the interests of national safety and welfare?

The proposal to admit Roman Catholics to Parliament became a burning one about 1825 and 1826. *But why till then were they excluded?* Because, in the language of Peel himself, they were "SELF-DISABLED;" they could not honestly swear true allegiance to the British Crown, nor loyally render such allegiance, *because* they were already under allegiance to the Papacy, and that laid upon them such bonds as made it inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the State to admit them to the Legislature of the Realm. From the beginning and all through this blazing controversy there was no hint of what could fairly be called *Religious* disability; it was not because of any religious belief or religious rite, that they were held to be "disabled," but *because* of their

approval or supposed approval of the Papal claims to "depose" Sovereigns and to "absolve" their Subjects from allegiance and in many other ways to interfere with the civil interests of the Nation, or the person and liberty and property of the Lieges.

A glance into the history of this question in Britain for the two preceding centuries will place this beyond fair dispute. As far back as 1606, *James the First* drew up an "Oath of Allegiance," such as Romanists might swear and enjoy peace and security;* but it was condemned at Rome, and *Bellarmino* also denounced it, because it denied and abjured the deposing Power of the Popes! In 1648,† when there was actually a proposal to "banish" Roman Catholics because of their endorsing this Papal pretension, their own Divines here met and denounced the Deposing Power,—but again they themselves were condemned at Rome! In 1661,‡ the *Loyal Remonstrance*, signed by all the Irish Bishops and others, in order to clear themselves from these disloyal imputations, was again condemned at Rome! In 1757|| the *Irish Roman Catholic Committee* issued a declaration "that the Pope had no temporal power or jurisdiction, directly or indirectly, within this Realm, nor were they

* "Vaticanism," by W. E. Gladstone—1875—p. 41.

† "Vaticanism," by W. E. Gladstone—1875—p. 42.

‡ "Vaticanism," by W. E. Gladstone—1875—p. 42.

|| "Vaticanism," by W. E. Gladstone—1875—p. 44.

required to believe that the Pope is infallible, and that they disowned the Deposing and Absolving Power." In 1788, the Roman Catholics of England published their famous *Protestation*,* which was followed by the English Relief Act of 1791,—declaring "*that* no Romanist was bound to believe the Pope to be infallible, *that* no Romanist sought any further injury to Protestants than to refuse them those Sacraments for which they did not care, and *that* the Pope had no power direct or indirect to interfere with the Sovereign, the Laws, the Constitution, or the Government of this Realm." In a General Meeting, held in London in 1789, this famous Protestation, which had been already signed by the priests, the vicars-apostolic, the clergy and all the laity of note in England was signed by *the whole assembly* of their people there present, and thereafter lodged as a national testimony in the British Museum ;—before which, however, two of the vicars-apostolic, two of the clergy, and one layman, withdrew their names, anticipating the condemnation of Rome! Only further here, an *Irish Synod* in 1810 † published a Declaration, that it was "notoriously no part of their Religion," to endorse such claims as the Papal Infallibility and the Deposing Power; and Bishop *Baines*, their representative man in 1822, crowned a long array of assurances with the ringing

* "Vaticanism," pp. 45, 46 (Authorities quoted).

† "Vaticanism," p. 48.

testimony—"No Catholic in England or Ireland believes in the Infallibility of the Pope." *

It was *no new Question*, therefore, that arose in connection with the Catholic Emancipation proposals of 1825 and 1826; it was known for more than two centuries exactly where the shoe pinched, and what the British Sovereign and people demanded and desired before admitting Roman Catholics to places of trust and power, and especially to the making or unmaking of our Laws. And *how* was the difficulty met! *Roman Catholic Bishops*, by public documents of the most solemn character, by the testimony of their foremost representatives before Parliamentary Committees, and in every way by which men of honour can give assurances to their fellow-men, declared "on oath" about 1826, and thereafter again and again up till the passing of the Act of 1829,—*that* the Canon Law of Popes, containing specific bulls such as *In Coena Domini, Unam Sanctam, Apostolicæ Sedis*, etc., etc., which would confessedly bring all who endorsed them into direct collision with the State, was not received by the Roman Catholics in Britain and never would be received by them,—*that* they acknowledged no Depositing or Absolving Power in the Pope, no right of inciting to revolt or of inflicting civil penalties, or of usurping any kind of power in civil affairs;—they solemnly swore, *that* the doctrines of the right of

* "Defence against Dr. Moysey," p. 230.

Deposition, of keeping no faith with Heretics, and of the Pope's universal dominion were utterly dead and obsolete, of which they were prepared to give every assurance except the shame of a public retraction : nay, the *Hierarchy* and *Vicars-Apostolic*, to make assurance doubly sure, issued a deliberate Manifesto to the Nation, "That the Pope had no infallibility and no right of interference with the Civil Government or with any civil duty owing to the King,"—and having certified all these things on oath they indignantly asked, "Why should they be suspected of divided allegiance?" *

The bait was swallowed by our Statesmen, who themselves knew no thought of anything but the honourable keeping of pledges so solemnly given! It was accepted largely throughout the country, as a question settled beyond suspicion and beyond recall,—*that* the Papacy had changed, or, at the very least, *that* our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens were not so bound to the Papacy, but that they might loyally serve their Country and their Sovereign; and the matter was put into a popular and telling form in the electioneering Manifesto for Yorkshire in 1826,†—"The Popery of to-day has no resemblance to the Popery of the Middle Ages; it would be as reasonable to hang a servant who

* Authorities quoted in "Vaticanism"—1875—and "Vatican Decrees"—1874. W. E. Gladstone.

† "The Catholic Question"—General Election, 1826.

had served you well for forty years, because he had been guilty of pilfering when a boy, as to exclude Roman Catholics from Parliament to-day because of the Papal usurpations of the Past!" Or again, as Dr. Doyle, their foremost Bishop, pathetically puts it in his letter to Lord Liverpool—"They taunt us with the Popes! What have we to do with the proceedings of Popes?"* And the innocent Bishop wears the look of an injured and misrepresented man! Nay more, this element of *Civil risk*—of anything imperilling the safety and welfare of the State was at that time so completely eliminated from the public mind, that such men as our own Chalmers and Thomson went about all Scotland, proclaiming as they shook the Bible aloft in their hands, "With this little Book we shall confront and conquer the Papacy"—as if it were only a question of *theological* polemics and not of *Civil* liberty and *political* independence—as if, forsooth, the next Spanish Armada ought to be confronted with New Testaments only and not also with bullets and with swords.

At length in 1829 the *Emancipation Act* was placed upon the Statute-book of the United Kingdom. Papists were thereby made admissible to Parliament and to every office under the Crown *except these five*,—the Regency, the Commissionership to Scotland, the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, and the two Chancellor-

* "Essay on Catholic Claims"—1826.

ships of England and of Ireland. A special Oath,* drafted by the Roman Catholic Bishops, now became the *Oath of Allegiance* and was embodied in the Act itself—"to defend the Sovereign against conspiracies and treasons,—to maintain the Protestant Succession to the Crown,—abjuring allegiance to any other, denying the Deposing and Absolving Power of the Pope, renouncing all claim for him of temporal or civil jurisdiction in this Realm,—swearing to defend the settlement of property as by law established, disclaiming all intention to subvert the National Church or weaken the Protestant Religion and Protestant Government of this Kingdom,—and closing with the solemn declaration that this Oath was taken without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever." How far British Roman Catholics were honest in all this, and really intended to fulfil their part of the national compact, I cannot tell,—one would fain believe that our fellow-countrymen were sincere, and were not lending themselves to a shameful fraud! But *one thing is absolutely certain*, that scarcely was the ink dry upon the Statute-book, when the managers and abettors of the Papacy set themselves to tear the Act to pieces,—to cut out of it every condition and limitation that seemed to safeguard the Protestant Constitution and Liberties,—and to make good the

* "Progress of the Church of Rome towards Ascendency in England." John Campbell Colquhoun—1868—London. "Ultramontaniam." Reports, etc. Glasgow, 1874.

scornful remark that "admitting Papists into Parliament was like letting fifty foxes loose amongst a flock of six hundred geese!" And now, when they have been publicly and deliberately challenged with breaking all the terms of this National Agreement, even such a man as *John Henry Newman* has felt himself forced to make the astounding confession,—“that no such pledge given by Roman Catholics is of any value to which Rome herself was not a party” *—that is, Catholics are nothing but the Papacy is everything!

Glance hurriedly at these proposals, and mark at least *their drift and aim*.† Year after year, the *Oath* in the Act of 1829 was assailed and denounced as “offensive” to Roman Catholics, till by-and-bye it was entirely re-cast,—the Protestant element being thrown into the background, and the pledge taken requiring allegiance no longer to the heirs of Sophia “being Protestants,” but to the succession of the Crown, *as by law established*,—a loophole by which the Papist sees or thinks he sees a chance on the Throne itself for him and his creed; or, at any rate his pure lips are not polluted with the hated word “Protestant” in the very Oath of Allegiance itself? The very next year after this fateful change, a *Bill* was introduced, but

* Quoted in “Vaticanism”—1875—p. 39.

† For Authorities quoted in full, consult: J. C. Colquhoun’s “Progress of the Church of Rome,” etc.—London, 1868; Charles Bird’s “Concessions to Rome”—London, 1867; A. H. Guinness’s “Monthly Letters of Protestant Alliance,” etc., etc.

thrown out, to declare "that hereafter the Pope had co-ordinate power in England with the Sovereign." As early as 1846, there were *Bills* proposing "that Roman Catholics be permitted to assume the territorial titles of the Protestant Bishops,—that they be allowed to appear in their pontifical robes in public places,—that judges and sheriffs should attend Mass in their robes of office,—that the restrictions in the Act of 1829 regarding Jesuits and others under religious vows should be removed,—and that the old prohibitions, against Popes sending their Bulls directly to the Bishops and not through the hands of the Sovereign, should be cancelled." In 1851, the *Catholic Defence Society* proclaimed its threefold aim to be,—“the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, also of the law against Jesuits, and also of the five exceptions in the Act of 1829 whereby Romanists were excluded from certain higher offices in the State.” *Dr. Cullen* boldly proclaimed that their ultimate goal was “the removal of the Coronation Oath and the Act of Settlement which limited the Crown to Protestants;” and *Bishop Goss* of Liverpool, as late as 1871, burned the issue home into the heart of the Nation with the cry—“Catholics will never be free till the Queen and the Prime Minister may profess the Roman Catholic Religion!” In 1867, *Sir Colman O’Loghlen* sought, by Parliamentary Act, to throw open the Lord Chancellorship and the Lord Lieutenantcy to all the Queen’s

subjects "irrespective of Religious belief;" in 1868, he proposed "to erase from the Coronation Oath the declaration against Transubstantiation and the Mass;" and in 1872, during a discussion on his "Religious Disabilities Bill," he drew from the Attorney-General the amazing declaration—"that a Roman Catholic Chancellor or Lieutenant might be appointed, without any change in the law at all!" In 1851 came *the Papal Aggression*, the parcelling out of England into Dioceses and the issuing of British territorial titles from a Foreign Court,—an insolent invasion of the Queen's prerogative and a trampling into the dust of their own solemn pledges, and in 1871 came *the repeal* of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, by which this Aggression had been met and defied, but which was now cancelled as "offensive" to Roman Catholics, though of course the invalidity of all such Titles was again re-affirmed. In 1878 *the Hierarchy was re-imposed on Scotland*,—by which all Romanists are brought directly under subjection to the *Canon* law, and Romish Bishops become literally the Magistrates and Officials of a Foreign Power, and the administrators of laws confessedly contrary to the laws of this country; —a jurisdiction which *we* despise and renounce, but which by our silent permissal places its yoke on the neck of millions of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens; our history and our heritage should constrain us to protect even them from their Papal Masters!

And so the current went rushing on, till in the discussion on Oaths in 1881, Mr. Bellingham * startled the House of Common, placing the naked issue before them and the country, by asking "whether the Prime Minister was prepared to abolish *all* the remaining checks, such for example as those which prevent the Lord Chancellor of England and the Sovereign from being Roman Catholics?" And it is certainly *open to dispute*, whether that be not the only fair and logical issue from the Emancipation Act of 1829; *whether*, that is, if there be nothing in the Allegiance of a Romanist to the Papacy that disables him from making and administering our Laws—from serving and representing our Queen,—there really *can* be anything in such Allegiance to the Papacy which would make it inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the Nation that a Popish Sovereign should occupy the Throne? The admission of Romanists to the Legislature,—the ultimate Governing Power in the Kingdom,—and their promotion by the Queen's Ministers to the Cabinet and to Vice-Regal offices under the Crown,—*have driven us into this corner*, that we are compelled to reconsider our fathers' Claim of Rights:—Were they, after all, mistaken when they fought their way through blood and revolution to this conclusion—"that it is not consistent with the

* *Times*, June, 1881.

safety and welfare of these Kingdoms that a Popish Prince should reign ?”

It cannot serve any good purpose at present to travel minutely through other details of Legislation, or to illustrate how other Concessions were pled for and won, and no sooner gained than abused by being made the stepping stone for still higher demands. Hours might be occupied tracing the Papal movements as to property and schools, children and other inmates in poorhouses, army and prison chaplains, colleges and universities, abolition of laws against Jesuits and monks and nuns, and all the other *sleepless claims** by which the managers and abettors of the Papacy urge on their adherents from Toleration to Equality, and from Equality to Supremacy. But we have travelled far enough along our two selected lines of Legislative Concessions—around which gather almost all the Acts of Parliament that need to pass in review—to give you a clear vision of what has been in the past, and so bring you now face to face with the vital issues of the day and the hour.

These words of the wise and learned *M'Rie* in 1852 were justified by the then facts of the case †—“The Pope, no longer a petty Sovereign in Italy, comes boldly forth as the earthly image of Godhead, clothed with the attributes of the Almighty, and challenging

* *v.* Guinness's "Monthly Letters."

† Preface to Barrow on "Supremacy of the Pope."

the sovereignty of the world as King of Kings and Lord of Lords. . . . Deity is the measure of his demands, and Deity is the pretext for his encroachments." These words are tenfold justified now,—when by the *Syllabus* 1864 and the *Vatican Decrees* of 1870, the wildest claims of the Mediæval Papacy have been rivetted upon the Conscience of every Roman Catholic,—and the right of the individual or of the community to follow conscience—"the aboriginal vicar of Christ on earth," as Newman grandly styles it—has been sacrificed on the altar to an Infallible Pope! "Right has been legally extinguished throughout Romish Christendom, and the Will of the Pope enthroned in its place"—that was the verdict of *Gladstone* in 1874; or, as *Shulte* put it even better still in 1871—"The limit of the Pope's almightiness on earth is found *only in his own Will.*" *

Nor are these harmless, however ingenious, *speculations of the Schools*—mere Academical debates; they are living claims and active principles,—abetted, defended, and promulgated in this Land by some of the most skilful brains, and promoted by the most fanatical and unscrupulous zeal. "Popery is not merely an opinion to be tolerated with other opinions, but it is a *militant power* in the heart of every Nation, fighting with large resources, practised skill, and devoted courage, against the principles of Civil

* "Power of the Roman Popes." Professor Shulte, Prague.

Liberty, the Independence of the State, and every right and opinion that makes the lives of Nations worth living." *Dr. Manning* proclaims aloud, and all the minions of the Papacy re-echo his cry *—"The Royal Supremacy (the Reformation *in concreto*, the essence of all heresy) has perished, and the Supremacy of the Vicar of Jesus Christ re-enters England full of life." And the *Times*, repeatedly in 1873† and 1874, has uttered aloud the only rational and inevitable conclusion,—“that *if* Manning really claims that the Pope is to define the limits of Royal and Parliamentary authority in Britain, he is placing the authority of a Foreign Priest above that of the Queen, as having a right to define the limits within which she is to be obeyed! And *if* the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom endorse such traitorous pretensions, it would be an easy thing to justify, in sheer self-defence, the re-enactment of penal laws!” *Not*, indeed, against their Church, as a Church,—*not* against Roman Catholics in the exercise of their Worship and religious Rites (however much we may abhor the idolatry and blasphemy of the same!),—*not* because of Religious beliefs at all, but because of their Political principles, which *they* call Religious, but which are destructive of Civil Liberty and of National Independence. They are “self-disabled” for occupying places of trust and

* “Essays on Religion.” E. H. Manning. P. 19.

† January 23, etc., etc.

power, in view of the safety and welfare of the State. They have "renounced their mental and moral freedom and placed their civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another," and that other a *Foreign Master*. They are, as *Denbigh* boasts, "Catholics first and Englishmen afterwards;" and are therefore confessedly "self-disabled" for rendering undivided allegiance to the Sovereign of these Lands. And the calm sentence of *Adam Smith* in his "Wealth of Nations," written in philosophical retreat far from the heat of these conflicts, is still our deliberate *indictment* of the Papacy and our *argument* against all surrender to its claims, and it cannot be too often repeated—"that the constitution of the Church of Rome is the most formidable combination that ever existed against the authority and security of *Civil Government*, as well as against the Liberty, reason and happiness of mankind."

Finally, *the proverbial three courses* are open to Britain. (1) *Submission to Rome*, that is one solution of the problem. The acceptance of the *Syllabus* as we accept the New Testament,—belief in the authority and infallibility of the Pope, as we believe in the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity or in the fact of the Incarnation,—and the return of Britain into the family of Romish Christendom by the surrender of the Crown to the Pope, of the Parliament of St. Stephen's to the

Curia Romana, of the Cabinet of Victoria to the Cabinet of St. Peter's,—*that* is one way of peace, the peace of the grave, and nothing short of that ever will or can satisfy the enemy that is within our gates. Every other concession, made from what motives and based on what grounds you please, will only whet the appetite and quicken the zeal of the managers and abettors of the Papacy. No concession, ever made by this or by any nation, has induced the Papal Power to lower, much less to relinquish, its claim to supreme dominion and universal obedience. Rome offers no alternative, but absolute submission!

(2) Another solution is supposed to be found in the popular cry—a *fair field and no favour*;—equal rights and privileges to all, irrespective of religious beliefs or what they may choose to call religious;—everything, from the Poorhouse to the Throne, as wide open for the Papist as for the Protestant! What then? Does it mean that the *Protestant* shall be as free to set up an *Imperium in imperio*, as you wish the Romanist to be,—an openly proclaimed conspiracy, *for instance*, to bring Britain into subjection to Russia? Shall the Protestant, too, be free to open Colleges and Schools to teach principles of treason, in the interests of some *Foreign Power*, or to build Monasteries and Nunneries where his adherents and abettors may be secured as in a prison beyond the touch of British law, while they hatch their plots against British liberty and indepen-

dence? Shall the Protestant, too, be free, first to swear absolute allegiance to his *Foreign Master*, and *after all* be trusted and promoted to highest offices in the service of the Crown and Country, which he is avowedly plotting to betray? *If not*,—if the Protestant may not owe allegiance to a Foreign Master as well as the Papist,—*then*, what you propose is not a fair field and no favour, but a field in which all favour is given to the enemies and not to the friends of the Country.

(3) The third course, the only one possible for us with our convictions and our history is this—*Self-defence and No Surrender*. Our fathers have shown us *one way* of Self-defence; maybe, they erred in some particulars; maybe, some of the penal laws to which they were driven were, as they have been described, “pettifogging, revengeful, and cruel:” maybe, we have done well to repeal and abolish most of these; maybe, no one would wish to see many of them re-enacted! But *what means do we propose to reach the same end*, which our fathers sought, “the security and welfare of the kingdom” as against its Papal foes? We seem to be madly casting aside *all* our weapons of defence, one after another, and presenting our naked breast to men who are arming to the teeth against our persons and our liberties! The silly cry has been raised that it is useless to take *political* guarantees against Roman Catholic claims: that depends, whether

or not Roman Catholics are the promoters and abettors of political claims,—for, against *political claims*, under whatever pretext made, you can have no other than *political guarantees*, securing the welfare and independence of the State, by force of arms if need be, and by penalties that shall strike down every openly avowed or legally convicted enemy of the Constitution and Laws, or the Liberty and Self-government of the Nation, with single-eyed and impartial indifference, *whether* that enemy approaches under the Title of Zar or Pontiff, *whether* he comes with a million soldiers at his back or with the plea of infallibility and supremacy on his lips.

Men of Scotland, our fathers knew how to meet the crisis and duty of their day, *cannot we do the same?* “Oaths” of allegiance,—“Declarations” of loyalty,—none of these seem to be fitted to confront the new emergency; the Papacy—or at least the managers and abettors of the Papacy—will palter with all these in the future as they have done in the past! *What we need* is a short, sharp, and explicit Statute, enacting, *not* on any “religious disability” ground whatever *but* on exclusively civil and political grounds, “for the safety and welfare of the Empire,”—*that any man* who avows himself to be—or is proved to be—in such allegiance with or under such obedience to any Foreign Personage or Power as would authorize or

approve of interference from that quarter, under any pretext whatsoever, with the Civil and Religious Liberties of the People, the Independence of the Kingdom, or the Supremacy of the Crown (as representing the Supremacy of British Law touching Civil interests over every Person, Class, and Institution within the British Dominions)—*that any man avowing himself to be, or proved to be, under such obligation, shall be held as politically "self-disabled,"* shall be legally declared to be disqualified for rendering true and undivided allegiance to the Sovereign of these Realms,—and *therefore* self-disabled and legally disqualified for holding any office representative of the Crown, either in Her Majesty's Government or in the Administration of the Empire. If you retort, but *who is to be the judge?* How can it be tested whether any man's loyalty is genuine and his allegiance undivided or not? My answer is—there are the Supreme Courts of Law, and there is Parliament itself which makes the Laws! Let this be tested and judged like any other matter of fact and of law. Any man—call him Protestant, Papist, Pansclavist, or what you will—who avows himself to be or is legally proved to be, under such allegiance or obedience to any Foreign Personage or Power as disqualifies him from rendering true and faithful allegiance to his Queen and Country—*must stand aside as self-disabled,* not because of his religion

or for any religious disability, but because he has subjected himself to a Foreign Master. *He has ceased to be a free Agent*,—he has forfeited his position as a British Citizen,—he cannot, and he ought not to be trusted in the Government or Administration of the British Empire. At any rate, whatever legal or technical difficulties may stand in the way—(that is a problem not for us but for statesmen and legislators to solve)—it is *our duty* to proclaim and to burn it in upon the Conscience of the People, who are in the ultimate resort the rulers of the Legislators, of the Cabinet, and of the Crown itself, *that* it is absolutely certain,—as certain as any demonstration in Euclid, that that Nation is doomed to perish and ought to perish which cannot discover and enforce some effective means, suited to the times, for convicting and casting out from its Legislature and Government *any man or class of men who under any pretence whatsoever* avow themselves to be, or are proved to be, attacking and seeking to overthrow the Liberties of the Country, the Independence of the Kingdom, and the Supremacy of the Crown. I care not, let me repeat, whether such men be called Protestants or Papists, whether they be abettors of the Pope or of the Zar, but I say again, that *either* they must be controlled and rendered powerless to harm the State, or Britain must prepare herself to capitulate to their demands and to perish! *The Supremacy of the*

Crown—the Supremacy of the Pope,—these are the two, and the *only* two possible issues! Both you cannot have—one or the other you must choose. Britain has made her choice;—let her stick to it in the name of God! Let her guard it for the safety and welfare of the Empire! That is our plea—impugn it whoso list! And we close with the words of Luther at the Diet of Worms: “*Hier stehe Ich; Ich cann nicht anders; Gott helfe mir! Amen.*”

POPERY, RESUSCITATED AND CONSUMMATED PAGANISM.

BY THE REV. J. A. WYLIE, LL.D., EDINBURGH.

THE plan which Satan has followed from the beginning in opposing God has been to substitute the *counterfeit* for the *real*. He does not forbid man to worship; he gains his end just as well by teaching him to worship in a wrong way. He does not boldly and directly affirm that there is no God; he employs his art and cunning in seducing man to worship a false God. Satan did not set up a system of atheism among the ancient nations; on the contrary, he taught them to be very religious. There was no end to their gods, temples, and rites. But all the while he hid from their knowledge the one true God, the Maker of the heavens and the earth. He pointed to the sun in the heavens, who year by year brings the world out of darkness and death, and by the power of his beams clothes it with the fertility, the growth and the glory of summer. He said to men, There is your god; it is this divine and glorious object to whom you are to pay your homage.

And coming yet a stage lower, Satan said to men, It is meet that you should have a representative on earth.

of this god in the sky: choose ye some renowned warrior, some mighty monarch whom you may appoint the vicegerent of the heavenly luminary, and through whom you may offer your worship to the Sun-God. Thus did Satan substitute the *counterfeit* for the *real*, and thus did he elaborate a system of worship for the early nations, which spread with their extension over the earth, and in due time became a world-wide idolatry. It travelled eastward into India and China: it journeyed westward into Egypt and Greece: it went on to Rome, and overspread Europe. In the course of its peregrinations it multiplied its gods and its rites; it diversified their names, and the form of the worship paid them; it was mystical in India, utterly gross in Egypt, redolent of beauty in Greece; at Rome it surrounded itself with a halo of battles and victories; but in all lands it was the same idolatry—it was a counterfeit god, and a counterfeit worship, cunningly put in the room of the true God; and the longer men continued to worship, the deeper they sank in ignorance, in sensuality, and vice.

When the Gospel came a new epoch opened on the world. It was now to be seen that as God had not yet developed His whole plan of grace, Satan had not yet produced his masterpiece of imposture. The deceiver at this crisis exhibited a craft and ingenuity which eclipsed by their success all his former efforts. On what plan did he work in rearing his new edifice,

or rather, rebuilding the old, for it was a restoration, not a new building he set up, when he took the old stones of paganism to reconstruct his new temple of Popery? His plan was the same he had pursued from the beginning. He once more palmed upon the world the counterfeit for the true. He now gave himself to the study of the Gospel—not that he might be a devout disciple or an able preacher, but that he might be a cunning perverter and a clever imitator. He carefully marked the order and arrangement of the Gospel Church; he searched out the sources of the Gospel's power, and noted the ends the Gospel sought to attain, and went his way and erected an ecclesiastical system as like the Gospel Church as it was possible to be: like it in appearance and form, but distinct and antagonistic in its essence and in its ends. Even Satan had never succeeded so well before. The imitation was perfect. As in those days when God had His theocracy among the Jews, Satan had his theocracy among the Gentiles, so was it now: God had set up His Gospel Church in the world, and Satan set up his church also.

The counterfeit church of Satan lacks nothing in appearance which the Church of God possesses. Let us run our eye over it, and mark how exactly the form has been copied, while the spirit is utterly extinguished, and the end completely inverted. First of all, Satan's counterfeit church has its high priest.

Not to speak of its Pontiff, who, like the great Druid of our ancestors, and the Pontifex Maximus of the Romans, stands at the top of the system, there is a body of men in the Church of Rome who profess to offer for the sins of the living and the dead, and to mediate between God and men in virtue of their powers as a priesthood. Second, this Church has its great sacrifice—the mass, to wit. The worshipper is bidden look, not to the Sacrifice on Calvary, but to the sacrifice on the altar, for the pardon of his sin, and the salvation of his soul. Third, this Church has its Bible—the traditions of the Fathers, together with the Canon Law: the Canons of the Council of Trent occupy the place in the Church of Rome which the Scriptures do in the Church of Christ. They are her rule of faith, and are held by her to be an infallible revelation of the will of God, and an infallible director of the conscience. Thus Christ as the One Priest, His death as the one all-sufficient sacrifice, and the Bible as the one infallible guide, Popery throws aside, and puts counterfeits in their room.

For an Apostolic succession which consists in the doctrine of the Apostles, it substitutes a succession of matter; a succession of official men, who alone have the power of conveying grace; a chain which has not in it, from beginning to end, one broken link: while the fact is, if history is to be believed, that all the links are broken, and one whole link there is not in it all.

All the Persons in the Godhead Popery denies. It denies them after its usual manner of supplanting them, and adroitly substituting counterfeits for them. It denies God the Father by installing the Pope as the Divine Vicegerent of the world and infallible ruler of the conscience. It presents him sitting aloft, above magistrates and kings, with power to annul their laws, cast them down from their thrones, plant or pluck up nations, and abrogate even the precepts of the moral law. Popery writes on the Papal chair, This is the seat of God, the throne of the infallible and holy one. He who sits here can pardon or retain men's sins; in other words, save or destroy their souls.

Popery denies God the Son. It robs Christ of His priestly office by assuming the power of offering efficaciously for the sins of men. It is the priest's sacrifice, not Christ's, that saves the sinner. Popery robs Christ of His prophetic office, by presenting itself as the infallible teacher of the will of God, and the only authorised expositor of the true sense of Scripture, without whose guidance we are sure to err in interpreting the Bible. It robs Christ of His office as the one Mediator and Intercessor, by making Mary and the saints intercessors with God for men. It robs Christ of His Kingly office, by exalting the Pope to His royal seat as Head of the Church, and Head of the world for the Church. On his vesture and on his

thigh the Pope has a name written, "King of Kings, and Lord of Lords."

Popery denies God the Spirit. For the Spirit it substitutes the Sacrament, by giving to the Sacrament the power, by its own inherent efficacy, to regenerate the soul, and to make men holy, and heirs of heaven. It robs the Spirit of His honour as the medium through which divine blessings are communicated to the soul, and by which at last it is made perfect in holiness, by making its priesthood the only channel of communication betwixt God and men, without whose agency all grace and blessing are utterly beyond the reach of men. Here, then, is what professes to be a church, a perfect and complete church; and yet is an out-and-out counterfeit. Every element of strength, and every principle of evil that were found in the ancient idolatries live over again in the Papacy. That same Paganism whose cradle was rocked in Chaldea, whose youth was passed amid the olive groves and matchless temples of Greece, and whose manhood was reached amid the martial sounds and iron organisation of Rome, has returned anew in the Papacy, bringing with it the old rites, the old festivals, the flowers, the incensings, the lustral water, the vestments, the very gods—but with new names; everything, in short. And were an old Pagan to rise from the dead, he would find himself amid his old environments, and, without a moment's doubt, would conclude that the

ancient Jove was still reigning, and was being worshipped by the same rites that were practised in his honour two thousand years ago. To conclude, Popery is an effacement of the Christian church by the substitution of a Pantheon of idols. Extinguishing the great lights of revelation, it rolls back the world, and places it once more amid the ideas, the deities, and the rites of early and idolatrous ages.

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY—THE OECUMENICAL COUNCIL OF 1870.

BY THE REV. VERNER M. WHITE, LL.D., LONDON.

THE Roman apostasy so clearly predicted by Daniel, Paul, and John, which took its rise in the seventh century, and which calls itself "the Catholic Church," has always claimed infallibility, and therein set itself up as superior to all religious communities in having a visible, infallible standard on disputed points. Where this standard lay had always been a matter of sharp controversy; some alleging it must be sought for in the Pope personally, some in the Bishops, some in both combined, and many in some undefined way in the Church generally. The advantages of such a guide, which no one knew where to look for, could not have been great. The object of the Council of 1870 was to settle this point, and to give a final decision as to where it is to be found.

The Council met in the Vatican Basilica at Rome in the month of December, 1869, and in July, 1870, having finished its immediate business adjourned. It is worth notice it was held in the same year as the Franco-German War which ended so disastrously for the armies of "the eldest son of the Church." It was composed of Roman Bishops gathered from all parts of

the world, during the pontificate of Pius IX. The largest number of bishops present at one congregation was 764, and the decree was finally carried, in a terrific storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, intermingled with the votes of the bishops; 533 voted "placet" and two "non placet;" the remainder left Rome without voting. Casuists must determine how far the decisions of a general council on Articles of Faith which are not unanimous are valid.

I now proceed to give a brief summary of the decree itself. It consists of a preamble and four chapters.

The importance of the subject is thus set forth in the preamble:—"We therefore for the preservation, safe-keeping and increase of the Catholic flock, the sacred council approving, do judge it to be necessary to propose to the belief and acceptance of all the faithful, *in accordance with the ancient and constant faith of the universal Church*, the doctrine touching the institution, perpetuity, and nature of the sacred apostolic primacy, *in which is found the strength and solidity of the entire Church*, and at the same time to proscribe and condemn the contrary errors so pernicious to the flock of Christ."

The four chapters are under the following headings:—Chap. I.—"Concerning the institution of the apostolic primacy in blessed Peter;" Chap. II.—"Concerning the perpetuity of the primacy of blessed Peter in the Roman Pontiffs;" Chap. III.—"Concern-

ing the power and nature of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff." Each chapter closes with a dogmatic utterance on the subject indicated, which if any refuse to accept *he is "accursed."*

Then comes Chap. IV., which contains the essence of the whole. It is headed, "Concerning the infallible supremacy of the Roman Pontiff," and closes thus:—"Therefore, we, faithfully *adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith*, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian people, the sacred council approving, teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed, that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex-cathedra*, that is, when discharging the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, the same is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and *that therefore, the definitions of the Roman pontiff are of themselves irreformable, and not dependent upon the consent of the Church.*

"But if any presume to contradict this our definition—which may God avert—*let him be accursed.*"

"Given at Rome in public session solemnly held in the Vatican Basilica, A.D. 1870, on the 18th day of July, in the 25th year of our pontificate."

From the decree four things are obvious. *Firstly*, The paramount importance of the dogma itself, "in which is found the strength and solidity of the entire Church." *Secondly*, that any man, Romanist or otherwise, "any one" who refuses to accept it is thereby consigned to eternal perdition. *Thirdly*, that the essence of the dogma is the personal and "irreformable" infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks officially, and this "not dependent upon the consent of the church," and *fourthly*, that these declarations are "in accordance with the ancient and constant faith of the universal church."

Let us now for a little consider the various aspects of the dogma as thus defined:—

(1) It proves that the papacy is to be "destroyed," to be "utterly consumed," not to be reformed. So we are taught by Daniel, Paul and John. The decree of 1870 gives the reason. It is impossible to change immutability, to reform infallibility. For this "is found the strength and solidity of the entire church," which the decree itself declares to be "irreformable" according to the definitions of the Roman Pontiff.

(2) *As it illustrates the so-called antiquity and apostolicity of Romanism.* If in this dogma "is found the strength and solidity of the entire church,"

as it was conferred by our Lord upon Peter, and was possessed by all succeeding Popes, it is strange that a general council of 800 bishops, called from all parts of the world in 1870, just sixteen years ago, should have been required to make it an article of faith.

(3) *Mark its bearings upon the persecutions and the intolerance of Romanism in the past.* Attention is called to the merciless butcheries of Alva in the Low Countries in the name of religion, to the persecutions of the Albigenses and Waldenses, to the massacres of St. Bartholomew in France and of 1641 in Ireland, in the last of which Froude tells us that in ten months 200,000 Protestants were cruelly murdered; to the fires of Smithfield, and to the fifty millions of the saints of God martyred at various times for their adherence to His sacred truth—all of which were formally countenanced by this professing Catholic church of Christ. The Protestant advocates of the Papacy tell us that these things are now past and gone—that they belonged to the dark ages—that men are changed and reformed—that all religious bodies in their turn persecuted, and so forth.

Let us apply this strange line of argument to the government of God Himself, with whose immutability and infallibility the general council of 1870 has clothed the Roman Pontiff. Shall we tell the atheist where he challenges the command of the Almighty to Abraham to slay Isaac his son, and to the Israelites to

spoil the Egyptians, that these were "the dark ages of the world," and that "the Divine procedure is now changed and reformed?" Would not atheists laugh us to scorn? Would they not unanswerably demand, How can you change immutability—how can you reform infallibility? It is palpably ridiculous to confound the perfection and works of God with the deeds of man in the dark ages of the world. The dogma conclusively binds, not individual despots, but the Roman system itself as a system to everything, however horrible, done in past ages with its sanction!

(4) Let us look at the personal infallibility of the Pope in the light of human infirmity. There is no inconsistency in ascribing infallibility to the Divine Being. He is perfect and cannot abuse it. Not so with the Pope, who is only a man of like passions with others. Suppose he should lose his reason, and become insane! Is this impossible? What then? You have a lunatic imposing his decisions, in the most important matters, upon all mankind, without any consent required from the church—decisions which must be received as infallible and "irreformable" upon pain of everlasting perdition!

(5) View this dogma in its social results. The Scripture rule is, "By their fruits ye shall know them." "Righteousness exalteth a nation." Now let us apply this teaching by one example out of many. In Hobart Seymour's "Evenings with Romanists," published in

1854, a comparison is instituted between the Papal states and England. The Papal states were presided over by an infallible Pope, absolute in his government in all things spiritual and temporal, where a Protestant place of worship was not tolerated within the walls of Rome, where every fourteenth person was an ecclesiastic of some kind, and where anyone who dared to differ from the recognised teaching of the Papacy quickly found himself in the dungeons of the Inquisition. England was a Protestant state with an open Bible, and religious freedom, and liberty of conscience. Well, we have in England in the ten years from 1841 to 1851 an annual average of four murders to every million of inhabitants. In the Papal states, in the year 1832, not by any means an exception, the murders were 113 to the million. It would be easy to multiply similar facts almost indefinitely.

Let us imagine a parallel case in the commercial world. Suppose a man in business, the head of a concern of vast extent both as to capital and prosperity, with absolute control in the management of its affairs. Under his direction everything goes wrong. The concern becomes bankrupt, and the mode of conducting business has become a byword and a scandal in commercial circles. What would 800 of the leading merchants of the world, after seven months' diligent inquiry, say of him? What would they consider as the most fitting place to which to send him? Would

they declare him infallible as a man of business? This is what the Vatican Council in similar circumstances has done with the Roman Pontiff.

(6) *Let us deal with Papal Infallibility according to the teaching of Scripture.* The argument, which must be greatly condensed, is this: Christ is frequently called "*The Head of the Church.*" He is so called definitely and distinctly in the following passages:—Ephes. i. 22, 23; iv. 15; v. 23; 1 Cor. ix. 3; Col. i. 18.

Peter in all the Scriptures is never once so called. Surely it must have been expected that in a doctrine so important, "in which is found the strength and solidity of the entire church," some such statement would have been made; but there is not one! On the other hand, Scripture evidence is directly opposed to it. I must be concise, and can only in the briefest manner refer to three points. First, when the disciples on several occasions disputed which should be the greatest—the *very question here at issue*—the Master did not say, "Of course, Peter, for he is Pope," but He laid down the doctrine of their complete equality. (See Matt. xviii. 1, 4; xx. 20-28; Mark ix. 34; x. 42; Luke ix. 46, 48; xxii. 24-30.) Take, secondly, Paul's rebuke to Peter, as given in Gal. ii. 11-14. Here two things are definitely stated. First, that Peter "was to be blamed," and therefore not infallible; secondly, that Paul "rebuked him before them all." What if the Roman Catholic bishop in Glasgow or elsewhere

were thus to deal with the Pope; that is, were to rebuke him before the whole Church, and to tell him "he was to be blamed!" Again, in the admission of Cornelius to the Church, Peter was required to vindicate his action before the Synod in Jerusalem (see Acts xi.). Are these things compatible with his personal infallibility?

Of all the apostles one wonders why Peter should have been selected as the infallible head. He was more erring, and was more frequently rebuked for indiscretions than the other eleven combined. We can only understand his selection on the ground that as the Roman apostasy subverted the Gospel of Christ it chose as its head, not unfittingly, one who denied his Master.

(7) *Consider Papal Infallibility as it assumes the incommunicable perfections of Deity.* Nothing is more strongly denounced in Scripture than when a man claims the attributes of God. The character of Paganism consisted in its changing the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man. The distinctive characteristic of Romanism, as a paganised Christianity, lay in its lifting up corruptible man into the image and glory of God. The command was that there should be no other God. The blasphemy of the Philistines consisted in their setting up Dagon as equal with Jehovah. Here we have, as was never manifested before or since, the

vesting of a fallible man with the names and perfections of the Lord of Hosts. Thus Rome fills up the cup of her blasphemy. In 606, she made her bishop to be Pope; in 1870 she made that Pope to be God!

Papal infallibility *is the utter extinction of the rights and liberties of man.* When God speaks man must be silent. His commands to Abraham and to Israel not only justified a departure from the sixth and eighth commandments, but rendered that departure necessary. In like manner, the Papacy claims the power to dispense with the law of God by making sin to be duty and duty sin, as it directs. If the Pope be in reality as the Divine Being, human liberty in opposition to his commands exists no more. The people must and will be guided by the teaching of the Pope and the priesthood. Such is the theory.

Now, I give a few quotations to show the use made of these alarming pretensions, and quote not from Protestant writers mainly, but from recognised authorities of Romanism. First she distinctly repudiates such a thing as religious toleration, apart from her own teachings.

Special attention is called to the following extracts. In "Essays on Religion and Literature," edited by Dr. Manning (Longmans, 1867), p. 403 it is stated:—

"Neither the Church nor the State whensoever they are united on the true basis of Divine right have any cognisance of tolerance. . . . The Church has the

right in virtue of her divine commission *to require* of everyone to accept her doctrine, whosoever obstinately refuses or obstinately insists upon the election out of it of what is pleasing to himself is against her; but were the Church to tolerate such an opponent, she must tolerate another. If she tolerate one sect, she must tolerate every sect, and thereby give herself up.

Pope Leo XIII., in a letter to the Cardinal vicar of Rome, dated March 25, 1879, says:—"that he understands the liberty and dignity of the Roman Pontiff to signify removing from Rome the means of practising and propagating whatever in the opinion of the Roman Church is heretical, and *that if he possessed the liberty he claims he would employ it to close all Protestant schools and places of worship in Rome.*"—*Times*, April 11, 1879.

In a Sermon by Dr. Manning, Oct. 3, 1869, reported in the *Tablet*, Oct. 9, 1869. Personifying the Pope, he says:—"I say I am liberated from all civil subjection, that my Lord made me the subject of no one on earth, king, or otherwise, that in His right I am sovereign. I acknowledge no civil superior, I am the subject of no prince, and I claim more than this—I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director of the consciences of men,—of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne,—of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the

legislature that makes laws for kingdoms.—I am the sole last supreme judge of what is right and wrong.”

Again Dr. Manning, in a recent work, affirms :—“The presence of the Catholic church among the civil powers of the world has changed the whole political order of mankind. It has established upon earth a legislature, a tribunal, and an executive, independent of all human authority. It has withdrawn from the reach of human laws, the whole domains of faith and conscience. These depend on God alone, and are subjected by Him to His own authority vested in His church, which is guarded by Himself.”

Again, “The essence of ultramontaniam is that the church, being a divine institution and by divine assistance, infallible, is within its own sphere, independent of all civil powers, and as the guardian and interpreter of the Divine Law, is the proper judge of men and of nations in all things touching that law in faith and morals.”

And yet again, speaking of the church, he says :—“It alone can fix the limits of the faith and of the law entrusted to it, and therefore the sphere of its own jurisdiction ; it alone can decide in questions where its power is in contact with the civil power—that is in mixed questions ; for it alone can determine how far its own divine office or its own divine trust can enter into, and are implicated in such questions ; and it is precisely that element in any mixed question of dis-

puted jurisdiction which belongs to a higher order and a higher tribunal."

Mr. Justice Stephen then and thus sums up his review of these extraordinary claims:—"Such is Archbishop Manning's conception of the Church and its general position and attributes. In a few words it comes to this: The Roman Catholic Church is a divine institution, the leading officers of which are in some way or other directly and personally united with God Almighty. They are the supreme guardians of faith and morals, and are as such supreme over all governments whatever in a sphere to be defined by themselves. In that sphere they have all power, executive, judicial, and legislative, and they can make, interpret, and execute their own laws, which are sanctioned, I presume, by purgatory or eternal damnation as the case may be."—"Cæsarism and Ultramontaniam," *Contemporary Review*, March, 1874, by Mr. Justice Stephen.

All are familiar with the position taken by Mr. Gladstone in his pamphlet on the Vatican decrees, published in 1874, viz., that "Rome requires a convert who now joins her to forfeit his moral and mental freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another." To these might be added in the way of practical illustration the state of Popish as compared with Protestant countries, and this all the world over. But time will not permit. I simply

remark that as Romanism blasphemously usurps the perfections of God by the dogma of infallibility, so she tramples out the last vestige of the liberties of man.

Finally, this dogma must be regarded *as it bears upon the overthrow of the Papacy itself*. The cup of her iniquity is now full. And what hinders the predicted end? There are many instances of the creature lifting himself into the place of the Creator, and all preceded his downfall. Satan would be as Jehovah, and he was cast down from heaven. Adam wished to be as God; he was driven from Eden. Nebuchadnezzar aspired to an equality with the Most High, and he was reduced to the level of the beasts of the field. When Herod claimed to be a god and not man he was smitten by the angel and eaten of worms. And so with the Papal Antichrist, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he as god sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." His destruction is immediately after thus declared, "Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming" (2 Thess. ii. 4, 8; also Dan. vii. 11, 25, and Rev. xviii. The 53rd chapter of Isaiah does not point more clearly to Christ than do the 17th and 18th chapters of Revelation to the seat, the character, the extent and the overthrow of the papacy. With confidence, therefore, look,

and that ere long, for the time when this demipagan, anti-Christian, idolatrous apostasy, Daniel's "little horn," Paul's "man of sin," and John's "faithless woman" calling herself the Lamb's bride, "drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," after centuries of cruel ecclesiastical and secular tyranny over the nations, in the height of her pride and pretensions, shall "suddenly" come to her end by the hand of God Himself, when the mighty angel shall proclaim in the face of heaven and earth, "Babylon the Great is fallen;" "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her." "For she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come *in one day*, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her." "Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all." "Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth" (Rev. xvii., xviii. and xix.).

THE ROMANIZING MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. CANON TAYLOR, D.D., LIVERPOOL.

I HAVE no time for lengthened preface or introduction, and therefore must plunge at once *in medias res* so as to utilize every moment at my disposal.

First then as to the nature of the movement. It is by no means, as many imagine, a mere question of ceremonial more or less in the public worship of God: a little more or less of singing and ornamentation; pomp and pageantry in the ordinances of religion. If it were so we might justly be expected to exercise forbearance, and be called upon to allow reasonable liberty in matters of mere taste and sentiment. Though even here, a certain amount of caution is to be observed; for it is quite possible to have too much of ceremonial, even though there be no doctrinal signification involved. It has been proved over and over again, that the increase of ceremonial is injurious to the spiritual life, and that incessant attention to the minute and petty details of public worship distract the mind from that which is the essential business of all true religion—personal communion with and the spiritual worship of God. “God is a spirit and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in

truth;" but it is evident that where religious worship becomes histrionic and spectacular, by the exaggeration of forms, rites and ceremonies, there spiritual worship is next to impossible.

Thus, apart from all question of doctrinal importance, the use of ceremonial should be kept in strict subordination to the great end of religion, otherwise it will become a hindrance not a help; a screen to separate from God rather than a handmaid to devotion. It, in fact, restores the vail, rent once for all on Calvary, and so debars the poor sinner from his Father's presence; and he spends his time in gazing on the symbolism of the Sanctuary, instead of approaching at once to the blood-besprinkled Mercy Seat, and finding rest and peace there.

But this movement whereof we speak is not a question of mere ceremonial, but of doctrine. "Ritual," says the "Directorium Anglicanum," "is the expression of dogma." This is so; and the dogmas so expressed are the distinctive doctrine of the Church of Rome. This I shall prove in a few moments. The Romanizing movement itself began about 50 years ago with the publication of the "Tracts for the Times" by Newman, Keble, Palmer, and R. H. Froude; immediately afterwards joined by Dr. Pusey and Isaac Williams. The first series appeared in 1833 and were moderate enough in their apparent design and scope, viz., to call attention to the primitive doctrine on Church Government,

the apostolic commission of the clergy, the value of ordinances and the testimony of antiquity. But it soon developed until it reached the famous Tract 90 by the now Cardinal Newman, who endeavoured to show, that the 39 Articles "though the offspring of an uncatholic age, are, through God's providence, to say the least, not uncatholic; and may be subscribed by those who aim at being catholic in heart and doctrine." In a word that the Protestant Articles of the Church of England might, by a process of Jesuitical casuistry and non-natural interpretation, be explained away and reconciled with the doctrines of the Romish Church. The tract was condemned by the Hebdomadal Board of the University as "evading rather than explaining the sense of the 39 Articles and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract."

The present Romanizing movement called Ritualism is the logical outcome, and lineal descendant by unbroken derivation of the earlier Tractarian Movement—and the following extract from the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, late Vicar of Frome, will show what is the real nature of what is called Ritualism in the Church of England. Mr. Bennett in his Plea for Toleration thus writes: "It is not for a chasuble or a cope, lighted tapers or the smoke of incense, the mitre or the pastoral staff that we are contending, but as all those who think

deeply on either side of the question know full well, for the doctrines which lie hidden under them. No one of the commonest capacity would either undergo the trouble or encounter the expense which is unavoidably connected with the proper observance of religious ceremonies if it were only for the external show which was to be gained by them. It would be impolitic; it would be childish; it would be sinful. Pictures, images, vestments, pastoral staves, mitres, flowers, crosses, processions, prostrations, altar coverings and the like derive their value, not from the æsthetic beauty which may be in them, but from the fact of their being the means of conveying religious impressions and guarding religious doctrines.

“Let us ascertain then what the doctrine is which is brought into question—it is threefold.

“I. The real objective presence of our blessed Lord.

“II. The sacrifice offered by the Priest, and

“III. The adoration due to the presence of our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist.”

Truly did Dr. Pusey say: “We set the bulbs which were to bring forth the flowers.” The bulbs were the doctrines contained in the “Tracts for the Times;” the flowers are the candles, crosses, and vestments of the present Ritualism.

From the above we sufficiently learn what is the nature of the Romanizing movement in the Church of England. It is the restoration of Romanism in Eng-

land by means of the National Church and the consequent overthrow of the Reformation.

Now, 2ndly. As to its extent.

1. In regard to the *doctrines* taught, it is not too much to say that the Romanizers teach substantially and in effect, all the distinctive doctrines of the Roman Church, save two, viz., the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the infallibility of the Pope. As for all the others, those contained in the creed of Pope Pius IV. set forth in 1564, they hold and teach them all. Prayers for the dead, invocation of angels, confession and absolution, seven sacraments, the mass, the real presence, the adoration, of the host or wafer are all now openly taught.

2. In regard to the ritual expression of these doctrines we find it more or less pronounced in hundreds, if not thousands of churches, from St. Paul's, London, down to the humblest village church in the land. Our communion tables are turned into altars, whilst the cross, candles, and flowers thereon are constantly seen. The internal arrangements and the public services of the church are completely transformed into imitations of Rome, and the process is rapidly going on. Continually we read of contentions between the newly appointed ritualistic vicar, and the sturdy but ineffectual resistance of the Protestant parishioners. Before long, at this rate, an old fashioned, simple Protestant service will be the exception.

Nor is this all—the movement is aided by powerful organizations, “The English Church Union,” the “Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament,” “The Society of the Holy Cross,” “The Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom.” Chief among them—the *fons et origo malorum*—stands the “English Church Union.” It is a thoroughly Romanizing confederacy. It openly advocates the six points of the Ritualistic Charter; altar lights, incense, wafers, vestments, the eastward position, and mixed chalice. Its President openly pleads for reunion with Rome, and prefers the Pope to the Privy Council. It numbers more than 2,000 clergy and 18,000 laity; whilst its affiliated guilds and confraternities are swarming through the land—their catechisms, manuals, and books of devotion are circulated in thousands, the Reformation is openly reviled and the noble name of Protestantism rejected with scorn. All round the tide is rising higher and higher. Others can see blue sky ahead; I can see but little or none as regards the Church of England. Even our Nonconformist brethren seem bitten with the same rabies, in their harvest decorations and elaborate musical services. The Church of England is racing after Rome, and some of our dissenting friends seem unwilling to be left too far behind. Where is this to stop? What shall the end be? We now enquire—

3rdly. What efforts have been made to resist this evil; what embankments thrown up to retard the

onflow of this turbid stream or rather this mighty flood from the muddy waters of the Tiber ?

English churchmen have not stood listlessly by, whilst attempts were made to Romanize the Church of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer: far otherwise; many noble champions have come forward to do battle for the cause of truth. The names of Dean M'Neile, Hugh Stowell, Dean Close, Dr. Miller, Robt. MacGhee, and Canon Blakeney, will at once occur to the mind of those who have followed their struggles. Men as distinguished for their profound theological acquaintance with the real merits of the cause at issue as for their brilliant eloquence and logical acumen, and whose works remain still an imperishable memorial of their ability, and a refutation of the errors resisted. But not to speak of individual men, and to come to organizations, "The Church Association," has for twenty years carried on an untiring, and in one respect, successful contest. It was founded in 1866, some few years after the "English Church Union" with the avowed object of resisting all attempts to Romanize the Church of England, or to assimilate her services to those of Rome. At the outset it was maintained by the Ritualists that the law was on their side; and that the practices which they revived, altars, lights, incense, wafers, vestments, etc., etc., processions, elevations, and genuflections, were in accordance with the rubrics of the Church. An appeal was made to the

bishops, but they replied that the case was doubtful, and that in the absence of legal decisions it was impossible for them to enforce the law. Besides, the cost of litigation was so enormous that they could not be expected to undertake the legal processes; large as their incomes might be they could not possibly stand that drain on their purse. The force of these arguments was frankly acknowledged—a guarantee fund was raised of £50,000 to enable the questions to be brought into Court. Test cases were selected; not with any unkind *animus* towards the individuals, nor from any idea of persecution or interfering with lawful liberty, but from the necessity of the case. There was no other possible means by which the matters could be decided, “prosecution is not persecution” as even Dr. Pusey cordially maintained when he counselled legal action against false doctrine. The bishops, too, declared that as soon as the law was made clear they would not be wanting in the due discharge of their duty.

Well, some fifty or sixty points were brought before the Court, and argued with all the forensic skill which trained lawyers on either side could bring to bear on the matters in dispute, and the result has been that with scarcely an exception the judgments have all been adverse to the Romanizing party. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has condemned altars, altar lights, crosses, incense, wafers, mixed chalice, vestments, processions, elevations, prostrations, genu-

flections, etc., etc. So far there is clear gain, and the Church Association has earned the gratitude of every Protestant churchman and of the nation for proving the Church of England to be free from all complicity with Romanism, *i.e.*, as far as her authorised formulae and rubrics are concerned. We grudge not the £50,000 nor should we had it been twice as much. But now comes the solemn and serious part of the business.

4thly. Notwithstanding the years of litigation and enormous outlay of money the evil goes on as bad as ever. These sixty judicial decisions of the highest courts of the realm are just so much waste paper, so many dead letters, and might as well never have been pronounced. In one or two individual cases the evil may have been suppressed, but over the broad face of the Church things are not only as bad, but in my deliberate judgment worse than ever. The Bishops are either unwilling or unable to put down the evil; some of them are, I know, honestly desirous to do so, but from various causes are obliged to be content with openly condemning the evils which, notwithstanding, continue to be practised under their very eyes. Their solemn charges are set at nought, and any decided action only creates sympathy for the transgressor and extends the evil. At the present moment it is frankly admitted, even by the *Guardian* newspaper (High Church) that there is "no discipline in the Church of

England." Zeal and activity we have to any extent ; but obedience to law is just what every man pleases to render. He preaches what he likes, and conducts his services as he pleases, so that you have doctrines ranging from the widest Rationalism to the most thorough Popery ; and services of every kind and variety from almost Puritanic baldness to the gorgeous ceremonial of the Roman High Mass.

We enquire, how is all this to be accounted for ? and the answer is twofold.

1. The Romanizing movement is congenial to the natural heart of man. It has been said that Romanism is the religion of human nature, and the late Archbishop Whately often dwelt in his writings on this aspect of the subject. He maintained that Romanism was just such a religion as corrupt human nature would be likely to produce for itself. Now Ritualism is the same ; it satisfies by its ceremonial the religious instinct, whilst it leaves human nature as it finds it. For it is notorious that all this religious formalism is perfectly compatible with the most utter worldliness of spirit and conduct.

2. The second reason is the fact that our rulers in the State have for a long time past appointed to high places in the Church, with but few exceptions, men who either are themselves in sympathy with this Romanizing movement ; or at least will protect, if not promote its propagandists. Hence it comes to pass

that in defiance of law and judicial decisions, and the Protestant sentiment of the nation the evil spreads. And the Church, which ought by its standards to be one of the strongest bulwarks of the Reformation, is through its unfaithful ministers betraying its trust, and making a breach in the walls of our national Zion.

I have no time to pursue this subject further. I must conclude with a few warning words. It is in my judgment the bounden duty of the nation to demand, in tones which may not be disregarded, that the national Church be reduced to conformity and consistency with its recognized standards, and that it be in truth what it is in profession—"the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law." The present condition is not only one of anarchy, necessarily involving strife and contention between the two parties in the Church, the Reformation and the counter Reformation parties, and thus causing perpetual irritation and friction; but it is little short of a public scandal that a great national institution should be so completely perverted from its original design and purpose. But it is more than a scandal, it is in fact becoming a great public danger. Many of the clergy of the Church of England are far more effective propagandists of Romanism than Roman Catholic priests could possibly be. Our young people will never as a rule be found going to Roman Catholic places of worship; but they will never

hesitate to attend their parish churches; and with that natural respect which they entertain for their clergy, and attachment to the time honoured Established Church of England with all its magnificent traditions and prestige they are ready without suspicion to believe all they are taught from her pulpits, and conform without hesitation, if not with positive admiration, to all the showy ceremonial of Ritualism with its pomp and pageantry so attractive to the young of both sexes. Horace well says:—

*“ Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.”*

We are more affected by what we see than by what we hear; but the impressions are neither so valuable, so deep, nor so permanent as those which are the result of reason and conviction. Hence our Reformers wisely swept away all the meretricious display and tawdry gewgaws of mediævalism from the churches. But they are now being rapidly reintroduced, and our young people are learning Romanism from the clergy of a Protestant Church. Thus we have a public danger not only to the spiritual welfare, and therefore the highest interests of the nation, but to the social, moral, and political well-being of the Empire. We may depend upon it that our civil and religious liberties are intimately bound up together, and we cannot lose the latter without imperilling the former. It is time to awake from our indifference ere it be too

late. There is no time to be lost. Let us be faithful to our martyred forefathers, faithful to freedom. Let us be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God, and "the Lord do that which seemeth Him good." A wave of ceremonialism and sacramentalism is sweeping over the land; we behold the revival of an exploded superstition; the reimposition of a yoke which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear. Ceremonialism is formalism, and sacramentalism is salvation by sacraments. Both involve the corruption of the gospel, and the withering, blighting rule of sacerdotalism. The priests of Rome stand by whilst the unfaithful clergy of the National Church are openly doing their work. A thorough reform in the discipline of the Church is called for, which shall secure prompt obedience to the law; and also the removal from its formularies of all ambiguous expressions which afford a plausible pretext for Romish doctrine and practice. Thus the light of the Reformation shall again shine brightly as in a lamp of burnished gold, and the candle kindled at the martyrs' stake 300 years ago shall, by God's grace, never be put out.

SOURCES OF ALARM AND OF ENCOURAGEMENT.

BY THE REV. E. H. F. COSENS, M.A., TEWKESBURY.

LOOKING at this "Romanising movement in the church of England," I discern sources of alarm; and I hope we are not without sources of encouragement. I do not use the word alarm in the sense of panic or distrust, but in its original meaning of a call to arms. I discern sources of alarm, then, in (1) The large disuse, or nonuse, of our church's thirty-nine articles, which are not taught in one Sunday-school out of fifty; and the wide spread of Romanising hymn books and office books. (2) The colour of our diocesan conferences. Many useful topics are discussed, no doubt; but such small notice, if any, is taken of the great Romish wave sweeping over England that you would think all that God's Word said about the growth of antichrist had been discovered to be a mistake! (3) The English Church Union, with its 21,000 members and 2,600 clergymen; also the crafty work of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, of the Holy Cross Union, and of kindred secret societies which are honeycombing the church of England. Less than a month ago high mass was offered for deceased members of the English Church Union in St. Mary Magdalene's,

Munster-square, and the president of that society, Lord Halifax, is now openly advocating the referring of our ecclesiastical matters to the pope! (4) The consequent assimilation of our services to popish services. Of course there is an endeavour to make our Reformational preaching gown obsolete and to array all our choirs in surplices. However, more of us than you might suppose will not hear of either change. But we have services which are musical throughout, including the prayers, commended as "dignified," and the holy communion without music stigmatised as "penitential;" and it is asked, "Why not have jubilant—*i.e.*, musical—communions?" We have crosses and even crucifixes put in front of the worshippers, and priests turning their backs to the people as though in sacrifice, and bowings to an "altar," and elevation of the elements and prostrations before the residue of bread and wine, and other features more or less identical with those of the mass. (5) The difficulties put in the way of the Church Association. It has been our great purifier, yet when it holds its spring or autumn conference, out of the 25,000 clergymen of England and Wales perhaps 25 put in an appearance. Its honorary secretaries in country districts know too well the prejudice excited against it, and the difficulty of maintaining its funds and keeping up its quarterly meetings. (6) The system of reserve employed, in accordance with popish principles, by certain ritualists.

It really reminds one of the system of Liguori, who said that "to swear with equivocation when there is just cause is not evil." One who is known for his Romish teaching is invited to preach on some special occasion in some abbey or other conspicuous church. He is an able preacher, and crowds come expecting to hear his errors from his own lips. But no; he leaves all his sacramentalism, prayers for the dead, and auricular confession behind him. Perhaps he even preaches what is evangelical. At all events people go away having detected nothing positively erroneous; and the estimate they *then* form of the man prepares them to accept at one swallow his after teachings and writings.

(7) The growing agitation for the reunion of Christendom. The English Church Union, through its president, Lord Halifax, was pressing for it some three weeks ago at Norwich; and I have seldom known a plan advocated persistently year after year which was not carried at last. Now let it be remembered that the Eastern church has not favoured this reunion, and that the papacy will yield nothing in doctrine or in discipline; and that we are to come (see Church Association tract 72) humbly asking to make no terms, only to be "received back again" by the scarlet woman; and how do you explain scarcely a man opening his mouth to denounce so shameful a proposal? (8) The only explanation is that so many of our bishops and clergy have

culpably ceased to teach that Rome is apostate and idolatrous. Evangelicals are courting and being courted; and generations are growing up ignorant of her real character. Years ago Dean Burgon could write: "What chiefly makes me contemplate this retrograde movement (ritualism) with abhorrence is the terrible position which the church of Rome unmistakably occupies in unfulfilled prophecy." Compare that with what an organ of the ritualists—the *Church News*—has ventured to say: "What, we should like to know, has the church of England to do with the spirit and principles of the reformers except to get rid of them as soon as possible!" Is not the situation alarming? Is there no call to arms and to activity?

But let me turn to our sources of encouragement. We have on our side truth and its Divine Author, the Lord our God, who shall fight for us, and we have a strong Protestant minority, as strong as Gideon's band. Dare we despond? And can we, like the teachers of "faithhealing," trust God and make no reasonable efforts? I confess I see sources of encouragement just in proportion as we take action. We need urgently more united action. Such a letter as your alliance sent to Lord Randolph Churchill, if sent up from the federated Protestants of Great Britain, no archbishop and no premier, I should think, could resist. In England I would plead earnestly for federation

between our Protestant home and foreign missionary societies on the basis, at all events, of Protestant succession, maintenance of the Protestant reformed religion (1688), and Protestant national education. This would be a great breastwork of Scriptural unanimity. Further, I would plead for federation among our really Protestant English clergy. Let them, as a body, engage to instruct their young in distinct Protestant principles, to decline the help of eastward-position clergymen, and to refuse to meet English Church Union or Romanising secret society clergymen at ruri-diaconal meetings. Let them turn all missionary support into the Protestant societies, declining to divert one sixpence from them to any societies which, like the S.P.G., countenance Romish work. Let them maintain a very brotherly attitude towards those nonconformists who are preaching, side by side with them, the grand doctrines of grace; and the impression created and the result produced will, I believe, be enormous. And I do plead for much private Protestant effort. One clergyman or layman taking a thoroughly firm stand is a beacon in his own neighbourhood and beyond. We have noble examples of such men. I pray that soon we may have many more: men who understand the charity of the beloved disciple—inflexible Gospel truth. God forbid we should be unkind; but in our daily action and in our ceremonial we must be unyielding. What is above

all things wanted is information, and in spreading information—by printing press, pulpit, lecture hall, or penny post—let each man who loves his Master and loves souls do all he can. Let me mention what two or three clergymen, standing almost alone, but in the Lord's strength determined, do at Oxford. They hold regular Church Association meetings in a public hall. Undergraduates have come to them and hissed at the word "Protestant" and at "the Reformation;" and yet, after a calm, controversial lecture, have mounted the platform and proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer. As an instance of the want of information a fellow of Wadham college came to one of these meetings and, being asked who "He" was in the church of England declaratory absolution form, replied, "The clergyman!" It is laid on us to do all we can. And if we labour thus for the love of Christ Jesus, our labour shall not be in vain in the Lord. Through our efforts principalities are to be cast down, and the blind are to see, and they that are ready to perish are to sing songs of the heavenly Zion.

THE SENSUOUS WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

BY MR. WILLIAM C. MAUGHAN, J.P., ROSENEATH.

ANYONE who has seen those great ceremonies in which the Church of Rome delights, must have felt that an appeal to the senses of the worshippers far predominated over anything likely to move their souls. It is the same throughout every department of the Romish system, and this degrading idea is ever present, showing the essentially pernicious tone of the homage offered to God. In the first place, it is thought necessary to have a great and imposing edifice, adorned with costly marbles, gold and silver shrines, and pictorial representations by famous painters, as though God could be propitiated by the choicest representations of sculpture and art. Then, as if the sensuous feast were not complete, exquisite music must be introduced, and the minor accessories of the jeweller and costumier are enlisted to act their part in the dramatic display. In St. Peter's at Rome, and other celebrated continental churches, to all this is added the "pomp, pride, and circumstance" of a great array of soldiers, priests, and officials, while the prostrate worshippers, bewildered by the scene, the crowd, and excitement,

resign themselves to the emotions of the hour. Go into any ordinary Roman Catholic chapel or church, and see if the whole aspect of the building is not evidence of the unworthy nature of what is supposed to be offered as homage and praise to the Creator. The tawdry splendour of the altar, with its crucifix and paltry decorations, is sufficient to repel any but those who have handed over their conscience to the officiating priest. Even in the more magnificent edifices which adorn the great cities of Europe, attesting the material wealth of the Romish Church, how are the resources of art brought into play to kindle the devotion of their frequenters!

Take, as an instance, the principal Roman Catholic fane in Europe, St. Peter's at Rome, with all its sacerdotal prestige, and the traditional power of the papal throne, occupied by the poor mortal who arrogates to himself the title of God's vicegerent upon earth. For some time, however, the great functions celebrated in St. Peter's on special "Sundays" in the year have been in abeyance, because the Pope has assumed the attitude of "prisoner" in the Vatican, and is not free to take part in the imposing ceremonies of that church which claims absolute infallibility as well as universal supremacy. But, during a residence in Rome some years ago, having been present on various occasions when high mass, with all its concomitant musical

interludes, was celebrated by the late Pope Pius IX., I would seek to give a description of the same. The church of St. Peter's is an immense building, with a vast area for accommodating the multitudes who assembled to see the spectacle; and under the noble dome of Michael Angelo, the Pope and his cardinals, with the array of officials in varied costumes—many of the latter of mediæval type and richest material—and his noble guard in full uniform—all gathered round the high altar. The Pope had previously been borne in solemn procession from the Vatican, wearing the triple crown, with his attendant retinue—every incident and item of the processional march having a symbolical meaning. The seven candelabra borne by acolytes typified those of the seven churches in the Apocalypse, while numerous officials with sounding titles—thurifers, cross-bearers, Greek and Latin deacons and sub-deacons, bishops, *monsignori*, patriarchs, prelates, and chamberlains, each had his special place, while the two junior cardinals faced each other before the altar to represent the two angels who guarded the holy sepulchre. During the incessant changes, genuflexions, and crossings, which wearied the uninitiated spectators, the papal choir of choice trained singers rendered various pieces of music appropriate to the occasion, while some of the older cardinals furtively took snuff, or indulged in whispered conversation—acts of indecorum which seemed strangely

out of place. Then, when the Pope took the host in his hands and elevated it above his head, there occurred what was extremely imposing and dramatic in effect. At the word of command, the hundreds of soldiers keeping back the throng of more than sixty thousand persons and every devout Catholic in the vast building knelt down, while absolute silence prevailed for a minute or two. After this there sounded from the overarching dome that wonderful burst of melody known as the "Silver Trumpets," played by musicians stationed in the lofty gallery, and which has a marvellously thrilling tone, as though the strains were wafted from the skies. Unquestionably this weirdly beautiful strain of music did profoundly impress the great audience, but can it be for an instant maintained that this was an act of intelligent and reverent worship? Then in the evening, as the brief twilight began to shroud the picturesque *Campaniles* of Rome there was displayed that marvellous illumination of St. Peter's when its outlines were traced in silver fire by innumerable small lanterns, which at the hour of Ave Maria suddenly were merged in a splendid full yellow glare, dazzling in effect. As mere gorgeous spectacles of rich dresses, coloured uniforms, beautiful music, and glancing fireworks, all this appeal to the senses of her votaries may have served the purpose of the Romish church, but what a vain offering and oblation to the Most High God, who

“dwelleth not in temples made with hands,” and demands from a believer the sacrifice of a broken and a contrite heart. And so it was with all the grand ceremonies of this apostate church, as I have seen them in Rome and elsewhere.

I may allude to another imposing parade of papal splendour, namely, the pompous ceremony on the festival of Corpus Domini. On this occasion, the hierarchy in Rome was mustered with the pope at its head, the college of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and priests of every degree—all walking in stately procession through the noble colonnade of Bernini, in front of St. Peter’s, while the complete and well-appointed army followed with martial panoply. As the long and gorgeous array defiled under the spacious colonnade, military bands poured forth their music, and the great crowds looking on saluted the host carried by the pope himself, while the eye was surfeited by glittering colours, and the ear regaled with stirring melody. But, again, where could be observed the spirit of true adoration, where the humble homage to the glory and majesty of the Lord? for in worship the teaching of God’s Word should be obeyed:—“The haughtiness of man shall be made low, and the Lord alone shall be exalted.”

The rampant idolatry of the Church of Rome was but too painfully witnessed in that monstrous profanity, the well-known *Bambino*, or child, a little

figure gravely alleged to have been carved by a pilgrim out of wood from the Mount of Olives, and painted by the evangelist St. Luke. This scandalous exhibition I saw in the famous church near the capitol which occupies the site of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The church is ascended by one hundred steps from the piazza below, and these were thronged by crowds of Romans, many of them peasants from the Campagna, while inside was a crowd of poor deluded worshippers. The doll—which is held in great esteem for its sanctity, and is carried to sick persons in a special carriage of its own—is richly adorned with jewels. On this occasion it was reverently borne by a dignitary of the church, attended by priests and preceded by a military band, discoursing a lively air; and upon reaching the outside of the church, the *Bambino* was held up in full view of the concourse of people, nearly all of whom knelt down and did reverence to this wooden doll! Well might the late Dean Alford, who had himself witnessed a similar exhibition, thus write: “The real character of Romanism is to be sought not in the best sermon one may hear, nor in the simplest and least objectionable rite, but in its lower and more revolting idolatries, not tolerated only for the sake of the commonalty, but practised and sanctioned by the regularly organised and more learned bodies in the church.”

I might go on to give many instances of how the Romish Church deliberately countenances outrageous impostures in its so-called "miracles," and leniently overlooks the scandals freely alleged against even some of its high officials; but this is a subject which I need not pursue. It certainly says little for the confidence which this church has in relying upon simple teaching from God's own Book, and calm reasoning with sinful creatures, that an entrance to the heart is sought to be gained through the senses, and public approach in prayer to the throne of grace is made in a dead language. And can anything be more painful to the mind of those who would in all penitence and humility offer their prayers and praises to our common Father in heaven and His well-beloved Son than the idolatrous sacrifice of the mass?

In this country we have unhappily of late had but too many opportunities of witnessing the fruits of this soul-destroying system of Romish idolatry and erroneous teaching. Those who deny the debasing superstition of that church, and her appeals to the sensuous nature of men, should have witnessed the ceremonial which took place recently before a great assemblage of the British army and thousands of the inhabitants in the district of Devonport. The occasion was the delivery of a set of colours to the Royal Irish Regiment which was drawn up in presence of the military

dignitaries of the district, including heads of departments and others in high authority. A priest arrayed in all the gorgeous habiliments of the Romish Church officiated on the occasion, superseding the usual ceremonial as conducted according to set regulations of the War Office. The colours, after having been sprinkled with holy water, a Latin prayer offered up, and blessings in name of St. Michael and St. George invoked on their defenders, were delivered to the junior officers, who received them kneeling, while all the time the numerous array of Protestant officers stood by participating in this purely Popish rite. Little wonder that widespread indignation was aroused, and in answer to strong protests by several Protestant societies, an official reply was given that the ceremony was unauthorised by the War Office, and had been disavowed by the Secretary of War. Even more startling in some respects is the fact that, this year, a full length statue of the Madonna and child, of specially Popish appearance, has been set up over the main entrance of Westminster Abbey. There it stands, adorned with all the skill of the sculptor's art, and inviting the attention of the passers by to the circumstance that the Church of Rome has one of her most significant emblems placed over the entrance into our venerable and historical abbey, consecrated to the reception of our most illustrious dead. And for events of a peculiarly harrowing nature, showing how the

peace of mind of a united family may be wrecked by unscrupulous abuse of priestly power, I have but to refer to other addresses by members of the Convention, which will show to what lengths the leaders of the Romish hierarchy are capable of going in this Protestant country which so generously has given them shelter and ample toleration.

MISSION WORK AMONG ROMAN CATHOLICS.

BY THE REV. HAMILTON MAGEE, D.D., DUBLIN.

I WILL take the department I know best, viz., Mission Work among *Irish* Roman Catholics. I may be excused for saying that I have made this subject the main study of my ministerial life, since I was licensed to preach the Gospel in the year 1848. Since that time I have been in the very heart of a Roman Catholic population, and my views have been formed in the field of actual experience. And it is but candid to say that, in the course of a prolonged and, I trust, honest effort to benefit my countrymen, those views have been not a little modified. I did not very well understand the subject when I began. Whatever difficulties encompass this question elsewhere are to be found in Ireland in an aggravated form. Ireland has, besides, special difficulties peculiar to herself. I of course eschew politics; but it is no politics to say that Irish Roman Catholics look with disfavour on Protestantism not only because it is opposed to their church, but, perhaps even more, because they regard it as the religion of England. With them Roman Catholicism is not only a religion, it is a patriotism.

Let us understand what I am asked to speak about: Mission work among Roman Catholics. How to deal

with the subject of Romanism for the sake of Protestants whom you wish to guard against the teaching and claims of that system is one thing; how to deal with Roman Catholics whom you wish to lead to a simple trust in the Saviour is another and different thing altogether. My theme is the latter. In treating it I must throw myself on your kind indulgence. Many Roman Catholics seem to lie outside the sphere of any hopeful effort. They are stringently put on their guard against us. They regard our doctrines as damnable. Not unusually they wear some charm upon their persons with the view of warding off our approach, and there is no doubt that the wearing of such charms greatly strengthens their attitude of resistance. We can hardly hope to reach such people; but the Spirit of God can, as in the case of the Roman Catholic girl in the north of Ireland during the great revival of 1859, who prayed, "Blessed Jesus, who converted me in the chapel, come and save my dear brothers and sisters." Others are not so inaccessible, and, provided they are properly approached, the number is much larger than we are wont to suppose. In fact, the measure of access depends rather more upon ourselves than upon them. Our inaptitude is a greater obstacle than their hostility. I will give the substance of the hints I am accustomed to press upon our colporteurs in regard to their dealing with Roman Catholics.

1. *Believe in the possibility of their genuine conversion.*—I almost apologise for saying this. There is great scepticism on the subject. Many excellent people allow themselves to cherish a kind of incredulity as to the beneficial results of this department of Christian work. There are not a few Protestants in Ireland, I am ashamed to say (I do not know how it is here), who regard the conversion of a Roman Catholic as a practical impossibility. I have met with some who even regard it a point of orthodoxy, that all these people of whom we speak are unchangeably given over to “a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie.” Of such almost incredible bigotry is the Protestant mind capable. In vain we tell such people that the atonement of Christ is as available and as efficacious for Roman Catholics as it is for Protestants, and that the Gospel “whosoever” recognises no distinction in our favour; in vain we tell them that God has given us many real converts who have been an honour to the Christian name: in vain we tell them that in limiting the operations of God’s grace in the hearts of others, they raise the presumption that they are strangers to its saving power in their own hearts. I delight to say to such objectors (I admit there may be an element of mischief in it) that every drop of blood in their veins is “Papist” blood—as their ancestors on both sides, for generations, were Roman Catholics, and probably fanatical Roman Catholics too. We must approach

these people interpenetrated with the conviction that they are as welcome to the Saviour as we are.

2. *Set your heart on their personal salvation.*—I mean on this and on no lower object. Be sure of your conscious and controlling aim. Much work, evangelical and earnest enough, is in my judgment vitiated by the desire of making “converts,” in the ecclesiastical sense of the word. This desire (in a very subordinate place I do not condemn it) arises from various causes—a longing for visible success; the desire to achieve a triumph over a corrupt and despotic system. But it arises largely, perhaps mainly, from the belief that nothing is done unless the objects of our solicitude “come out;” that, especially, no saving good can have been accomplished, so long as they remain in the Church of Rome. Now, I know I am on delicate ground, but you will, I am sure, allow me to express my judgment. I cannot accept this position. To name only a few points out of many: (a) The History of the Reformation disproves it. Many remained in the Roman church, of whose personal Christianity there can be no doubt. (b) The biographies of godly men and women since—More, Fénelon, Guyon, Pascal, and many (yes, thank God! many) others—disprove it. (c) The experience of many here disproves it. Few who have come much into personal contact with Roman Catholics will doubt that there are among them not a few who fear God, and are trusting with a

simple faith on Christ. In any church, or in no church, "whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord, shall be saved." (*d*) The movement in the Church of England towards Rome, I think, disproves it. Among these misguided men, who can doubt that there have been many sincere Christians?

Do not be too solicitous about these people "coming out." Try lovingly to persuade them to lean their whole weight upon Christ. In the matter of their personal salvation, that will suffice. Even such a strong Protestant as the late Dr. William Anderson of this city quotes with approbation the noble saying of Bishop Hall: "So, then, hold by Christ, though it should be as by a straw; where yet thou holdest on something else as by a cart rope, that straw will save thee." The Good Shepherd will look after His own. Let Him lead them "out" as it seems good unto Him. If they are His, He will care for them. None shall pluck them out of His hands, and He will raise them up at the last day. Even as a matter of policy this effort at proselytism is a mistake: (*a*) The consciousness of this lower aim will destroy the simplicity and persuasiveness of our testimony. (*b*) It will be instinctively detected by those we speak to. It will raise up barriers, which, in most cases, will be insuperable; but, I must say, they will be barriers of our own creating. I have been accustomed to say that this suspicion of proselytism on the part of Roman

Catholics constitutes our great *initial difficulty*. Unless you can disarm them of this suspicion (and the best way to disarm them is to make it sure to yourself that there is no ground for their suspicion) you cannot hope to make any hopeful progress. If, on the other hand, they are certain that your only object is to get them to think more highly of Christ, their opposition will in many cases be conquered, and they may be won to the Saviour.

3. *Recognise the truth they hold.*—In the complex doctrinal system of the Church of Rome there are two distinct elements. They may be called the Catholic and the Roman, the Evangelical and the Papal, the Christian and the non-Christian or even anti-Christian, elements. The Catholic or Evangelical element finds its expression in the Nicene creed. The twelve articles of that creed, representing, as we believe, with some fidelity the original deposit of truth given to the Christian church, form an essential part of the authoritative creed of the Church of Rome. The Roman Catholic creed does not consist of either of these elements to the exclusion of the other. It is partly a Christian creed, and it is partly an anti-Christian one. The movement in the Church of England, for instance to which I have referred, cannot be accounted for unless we bear this in mind. These "recruits," as they have been called, were, most of them, attracted to the Church of Rome, not by the Papal element, but in spite of it. They would never have been won

without the Evangelical element, which the Church of Rome knows so well, especially in connection with her fascinating idea of the "Catholic church," to surround with all the pomp and circumstance fitted to impress susceptible, cultured, and, in many instances, devout minds. In countries where there is no strong Protestant sentiment, and especially where there is no vigorous Protestant press, the Roman Catholic people hear comparatively little of the Evangelical element; but in Great Britain and throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, the doctrines, for example, of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, and His coming again to judge the quick and the dead, find a place even in the popular catechisms. In the same catechisms appear alongside, of course, the peculiarly Roman doctrines, which it is needless here to specify. Romanism aims at binding together, by the subtle casuistry of the schools, these two really incompatible systems of doctrine. But with all its casuistry, it cannot make them coalesce. In the inner life of every true Roman Catholic one or the other set of doctrines practically governs the religious experience. Through the natural affinity of the human heart for error, and especially for error that ministers to self-righteousness, the great majority cleave to the Roman, and practically reject the Catholic. Of the danger of this distinctively Papal element I have as deep a sense as anyone

here. It hides Christ from the view; and I am old-fashioned enough in my theology to believe that there is no Saviour but One—the Saviour whom God has sent—and that sinful men must trust *Him* exclusively. But in many an individual conscience, both among priests and laity, there may be going on, all unseen by any human eye, a life-and-death struggle, as in the great heart of Luther before his conversion, between these two constituent parts of an irreconcilable creed. The blessed Spirit can make a little truth go a great way; and it may be that, even amid the dark and pestilent superstitions of Romanism, a greater number than we might deem probable accept, with a true though tremulous faith, the Evangelical element, and with it the mighty and all-sufficient Saviour of whom it testifies. At any rate, I love to think that such is the case. We should approach such people with sympathy, with tenderness, with delicacy; and especially we should make use of the truth which they imperfectly hold to displace the error from which you would rescue them, and from which, it may be, they would themselves fain escape.

4. *Avoid a controversial attitude and spirit.*—Proceed rather from the points of agreement than from the points of disagreement. We cannot indeed, and we ought not, wholly avoid controversy; and there should be a far more faithful and systematic exhibition from the pulpits of the land than there is,

of Protestant truth as opposed to Roman error. But in dealing with individual Romanists, as a rule, the less controversy the better. Seek to engage the conscience. Controversy, unless conducted with very exceptional judgment, skill, and religious earnestness may not touch the conscience at all; possibly it may help even to sear it. We should always seek to start from *a sense of sin*. The paramount question is—it is a question for all, Protestants and Roman Catholics alike—"How am I to get rid of this burden of acknowledged guilt?" Roman Catholics as a rule are not averse to the consideration of this great personal enquiry. When God creates within them a true sense of sin, the simplest exhibition of the Gospel often comes to them with resistless and saving power.

Controversy is apt, and it is calculated, to confirm their impression that your aim is proselytism. This will block the way. Your arguments may puzzle or perplex, but they will hold on to their church all the same. Many of our own people are perplexed by very serious difficulties which they cannot solve; but they adhere in the main to our teaching, and they do not think of breaking their connection with us. Romanists, baffled in argument, will not unnaturally say, "I cannot answer you; the priest can." You have gained nothing, even though you should silence them. But you have gained a great deal if you are the means of bringing them if it were only to touch the hem of Christ's garment.

5. *Do not hold them responsible for every error and abuse of their system.*—That system is a pitiless despotism. Look upon them and deal with them as its victims rather than as its abettors. Perhaps they feel the slavery more than you are aware of. Romanism, I say, is a relentless priestly despotism, and that both on its doctrinal and ecclesiastical sides. *Doctrinally*—it places the salvation of every man in the hands of the priest. The priest is in the place of God. The keys of the kingdom of heaven are in his hands. The Church of Rome, up to a certain point, agrees with us as to purchase of salvation by the atoning sacrifice of Christ. It is mainly as to the way in which that salvation is applied that we differ. Our position is that the sinner gets this salvation (*a*) from God, (*b*) freely, (*c*) through simple and exclusive trust in Jesus. The Church of Rome says it is to be had only through the priest, and, within restriction, practically on the terms he chooses to dictate. This of necessity places the necks of the people under the heel of a dreadful tyranny.

Ecclesiastically—the Papacy is the most absolutely perfect despotism the world has ever seen. The very title “Vicar of Christ” contains within itself an assertion of the extremest pretensions ever put forth by that system. The Pope wields in this world the delegated power of the ascended Saviour. This power is distributed for administrative purposes through the

entire body of the Roman Catholic clergy. In a real sense, therefore, the priest is to each individual Romanist an embodiment of the authority and of the personal presence of Christ. Even if priests were all good men, and taught nothing but true Gospel doctrine, such a claim would be unendurable. As it is, it results in the most baleful tyranny which it is possible for man to exercise over his fellow. And shall we not sympathise, I ask, with the victims of so wicked a usurpation?

In conclusion, we should sympathise with the Roman Catholic people *as against their church*. Dr. Carlile (one of the noblest men that Scotland in recent years has given to Ireland) used to say that the great secret of missionary work in Ireland consisted in our getting between the people and the priests. This is not, I admit, a very easy process. But it is, alas! easy enough to speak of, and to Irish Romanists in such a way as is eminently fitted to throw them back into the arms of the priests, as, after all, their natural allies and their most steadfast and trusty helpers. Protestantism, and Irish Protestantism in particular, has many a sin lying at its door; and this is certainly one of them—that it has often unwittingly helped, by its unsympathizing and unloving demeanour towards Romanists, to rivet the chains of their subjection to an un pitying priestly despotism. It should be the accepted mission of the Christian Protestants of Britain to come to the rescue of their enslaved countrymen.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND CHILDREN'S HOMES.

By MR. WILLIAM QUARRIER, GLASGOW.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM, like the Roman Empire, has had its day. At the Reformation Romanism got its deadly wound, from which it has been gradually dying out in its strongest positions. Germany, France, and Italy are comparatively free from the control of the Pope, and in many other parts of the civilised world that hateful tyranny can never again be re-established. England and our own country, as well as America, are entirely free from priestdom. No doubt many of the High church party in England have of late years assumed a good many of the ceremonials of the church of Rome, but as far as Scotland is concerned there have been hardly any conversions to Roman Catholicism.

The priests have done their best and their worst to hinder and oppose us. We have often asked them to care for the young of their own flocks; we have sent their children to them, but they have often returned them to us, saying they could do nothing with them; yet they have sought to stop us in doing that which they have refused to do.

Rome has everywhere failed to provide a remedy for the evils of drunkenness, pauperism, and crime.

The other day there was a convention of Romanists in Liverpool, when it was stated that 13,600 Roman Catholics had been committed to prison in that city in one year, as compared with 7000 Protestants of all denominations. How can we account for that? I say it is because Rome does not give the people the Bible, the teaching of which alone can control the powers of evil that rule in the natural heart. In our city of Glasgow about 40 per cent. of the paupers belong to the Roman Catholic church, and yet they only number one-sixth or one-seventh of the population. Again, I attribute this to the lack of the Bible and Bible-teaching. As to crime, about 70 per cent. of the thousand children on the streets are the children of Roman Catholics, and there will, of course, be about that proportion of criminals. I do not blame the poor people for this state of matters, but I blame the priesthood for keeping back the Bible from the people, and teaching the doctrines of men rather than the commandments of God. The ceremonials and high-sounding titles of the priesthood may flatter and please them, but it does not in the least tend to lessen crime. What is needed is a closer adherence to the Word of God. Let Protestants be more faithful to God, and the error and superstition of Rome will utterly vanish.

Some people say that Romanism is increasing in Scotland. I believe it is only the natural increase by birth, and not by conversion. Those who have gone

over to Rome among the poor of Glasgow could almost be counted on one's fingers, and they were no credit to either system. Over against these there are hundreds throughout the land who have renounced the system, and one wonders there are not more. Among those who had been led astray by the church of Rome was a misguided son of a worthy father, who, through the instigation of the priesthood, has been made to break the first commandment of promise, and has brought shame on himself and injury to his parental homestead. Another was a rev. father, who since his conversion has displayed more zeal than wisdom in running down Protestant efforts in Glasgow, and my own work in particular. But as a tree is known by its fruits, we can hardly look for anything but misrepresentations from such quarters. These have been plentifully scattered to the delight of "the faithful," but to the injury of none who seek to serve God from disinterested motives.

On the other hand, it is my privilege almost every day to help those who have been converted from Romanism. The priests, as I say, have tried all they could to hinder our work. I see by their newspaper they have resolved to ask the Home Secretary to close up the Orphan Homes, and send us about our business. But we are not afraid of that. Though the earth remove we shall not fear. God is our refuge and strength; our very present help in time of trouble.

The priests dragged me into the courts in connection with the case of a child whom I refused to give up. The case went against them; but they have never paid me my costs yet. They sought to saddle them on the poor woman whom they put up as a shuttlecock.

A good deal has been said about proselytising; that is the great card of the priests. For my part, I would not go the length of my finger to proselytise any man; but if I find them down in the gutter it is my duty and privilege to help them all I can. The priests object to Board Schools because they are not denominational, yet they seek to get appointed to the School Board. We have three priests on the Glasgow School Board at the present time. If we could get the cumulative vote removed, that matter would regulate itself directly. If the priests want denominational education let them pay for it; but let the Bible be in every school, and in every child's hand, when the nation pays for it. If the Romanists will not give the Bible in the school, the nation should refuse to give them the grant. Let us have national education free, and the Bible in every school, and then we shall see Scotland rise higher and higher, and Romanism as ashamed shall hide its head.

THE DUTIES OF PROTESTANTS.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BARRAS, GLASGOW.

WHAT are the respective positions in our day of Protestantism and Popery? Has the Protestant attitude altered since 1829, or have the Romanist claims undergone any change since 1870? The former date was a marked epoch in the history of Romanism, as it did then by its chief representatives disown the paramount assumption of popish supremacy and infallibility, and renounced all interference with the loyalty and civil allegiance of British Protestant subjects. But what the papacy disclaimed in 1829 it reclaimed in 1870. Dr. Boyle maintained that Roman Catholics were bound to give loyal and undivided allegiance to their sovereign irrespective altogether of papal supremacy; while Dr. Manning returns to the old mediæval position of asserting both the supremacy and universality of the pope's dominion. Now Dr. Manning's denial of the public and parliamentary position of 1829 seriously affects the contract then made between the country and the Catholics. Had the position deliberately taken by the Romish party from 1826 to 1829 been honestly maintained there would be much less cause for Protestant complaint than there

is; but when we find that position now utterly ignored, what can be thought of either the honour or consistency of Rome? Mr. Gladstone says in his *Vaticanism*: "The English and Irish penal laws against Roman Catholics were repealed on the faith of assurances which have not been fulfilled." In his paper on "The Present Crisis of the Holy See," Dr. Manning says: "The Catholic church cannot be silent; it cannot hold its peace; it cannot cease to preach the doctrine of Revelation not only of the Trinity and Incarnation, but likewise of the Seven Sacraments and of the infallibility of the church of God, and of the necessity of unity, and of the sovereignty, both spiritual and temporal, of the Holy See." This claim is utterly at variance with the more modest claims made sixty years ago, and gravely reflects upon the assumed unchangeability of the Romish church. Whatever, indeed, may be the continuity and consistency of Rome's motives, its modes of procedure alter with the situation. Rome seems to have three well-marked grades of action.

(1) It will accept *toleration* when it cannot get more; (2) It will claim *equality* where it may; (3) It will assert *supremacy* where it dare. Rome enjoys large toleration in Great Britain, where, perhaps, it is more at home than in Italy. Italy has had a long trial of popery, and has not only found it wanting of pure life and love and truth, but also has felt its political

yoke to be intolerable. The Tiber has lost its attractions, and the Thames has been for generations regarded as the holy river. "All the roads of the whole world," writes Dr. Manning, "meet in one point, and, this point reached, the whole world is open to the Church's will. It is the key of the whole position of modern error. England, once restored to the faith, becomes the evangelist of the world." Such is the brief summary of the present position and claims of popery. What, then, is the duty of Protestants? First, it is dutiful to realise, and to fortify, our Protestant position against popery as a superstition and despotism. We would do well to keep in mind that we seriously disapprove of popery, both as a system of error and idolatry, and also as a political organisation. Popery, by combining religion and politics, makes itself odious alike to the Bible Christian and the civil freeman. It has, during a succession of centuries, grown into a *human-made* system, by which the Divine method is either ignored or mutilated. This is, in fact, the fundamental vice of Romanism. Now there is a danger of modern Protestants being beguiled by ritual and ceremonies, while they fail to rely on Divine grace and truth and spirituality. Other systems of error and superstition such as Mohammedanism and Confucianism are different from Roman Catholicism in their vital matter, for while the former have only man-made books of faith and morals, the latter has all revelation in its possession,

but supplants it by tradition. Having regard, therefore, to its corruption and concealment of heavenly truth, it is imperative on Protestants to take their position within the citadel of the Gospel kingdom, holding fast and holding forth the pure Word of Life without either human addition or subtraction. (2) It is dutiful to guard against the present persuasive attitude and action of Romanists in Great Britain. Persuasion, not persecution, is at present the apparent policy of Rome. She curses in secret and blesses in public. She hurls her anathemas from her altars against heretics, but behaves like a weaned child before her critics. Her dignitaries are careful to propitiate educational influence and acquire political standing, while even social and domestic life is pervaded by her emissaries. "When weak it is often crafty, and when strong tyrannical." Priests make themselves extremely agreeable to ritualistic women, and nuns are sent out on eleemosynary errands to gather the alms of soft-hearted Protestants. No sooner was a papist returned for Argyllshire than the "Little Sisters" were abroad on the county; and they, in one district at least, obtained donations from Protestants who refused to aid or only half-helped the Protestant claims presented to them. By this course of allurements our Protestant population are to a large extent being bewitched. Were it not for Protestant contributions obtained by feminine agents the efforts of Romanists to subsidise

their institutions would be much less successful than they are. When Romanists slip into the cabinet, secure appointments in commissions, pass through Oxford as Anglicans, and become Puseyites or Ritualists, and when the priest invades the family it is time, and urgently requisite, to face and fight the foe. (3) It is dutiful to organise and unify the somewhat scattered forces of Protestantism. Perhaps Protestantism is as essentially united as Popery is. The latter lacks not only freedom, but also division, for the dead neither strive nor stray; nor do the enslaved express diverse opinions. But it is otherwise when life is free and like a river, ever gathering strength and growing fuller and flowing faster as it approaches the ocean. The waters may betimes overflow their banks, and do some damage; but, at the same time, they may be irrigating the land or making a channel for ships. Protestantism, from its very nature, assumes a combative attitude; and not only is alive to the great host against it, but is also awake to the distractions which may arise within its own lines. There is a growing tendency among Protestants to organise and embody their numbers. Unity is showing itself at the circumference of Christendom, and union is becoming practical, if not as yet nominal or formal, at the centre. There is less unity in Popery than appears on the surface, and there is more union

among Protestants than might at first appear from their several denominations. There was, however, a period when our country, north and south, was more united against Romanism than at present. We seem to have fallen into a reaction. Active Protestants are regarded by some of their own creed as rather bigoted or severe, while not a few rather protect or excuse papists in their practices than coincide and co-operate with their fellows in faith and liberty. But, as surely as the flood-tide follows the ebb, so surely will a revived Christianity arise amongst us brought together by truth and love, being developed into one church with Jesus Christ as its sole Head. The spirit of conciliation is abroad. Bitterness is giving place to sweetness, and sects are seeing the issue of their peculiar principles, and becoming gradually disposed to minimise their favourite tenets, and to magnify the graces of Truth, Hope, and Charity. (4) It is imperatively dutiful to circulate the Bible, inculcate Bible truth, and encourage the private reading of the Scriptures. The Bible societies are the best and biggest Protestant agencies. It was the lack or loss of the Bible which involved Christendom in darkness and spiritual death. The Bible made Luther a Christian, a reformer, a hero, ay, a martyr and master man. The Reformation was extended and intensified in proportion as the Scriptures were circulated. (5) It is dutiful to preserve and promote a free and wholesome public opinion regard-

ing Protestantism. There have of late been indications of want of sympathy with the Protestant cause, both in Protestant pulpits and in the political press. This is shown by the reluctance with which many Protestant ministers take anything to do with Protestant questions, and ignore the offices of those who give prominence to Protestant opinions. It is also shown by the way in which a portion of the press, and chiefly the provincial press, treat the subject when raised by public meeting or otherwise; for, instead of having a favourable word for the Protestant cause, the editors have rather some defence or apology for popery. Members of parliament, too, could, ten or fifteen years ago, associate themselves with the Protestant cause much more so than now. And why should this be so? What change has occurred, either in Protestantism or popery, to account for the altered attitude? No doubt the popish wave of immigration and the popish vote have had much to do with the change, especially, in political circles. But public opinion is, after all, the chief human power. It is it which makes and unmakes parties, sects, and churches, and by it civil rulers are eventually governed, and the press itself is modelled or modified. Were it not for Protestantism we should have little, if any, public spirit, which is forbidden by Popery. Popery is an autocracy. It aims at absolutism, and asserts supremacy. But, on the other hand, Protes-

tantism cultivates and encourages the will, the feeling, the freedom, and the faith of the people. (6) It is dutiful to aim at the conversion not only of Romanists, but of all men who are in error by prayer, preaching, and all truly Christian means. Force or persecution in religion is simply out of court. "Force is no remedy" in Christianity, whatever it may or may not be in politics; and while the argument of force cannot be applied, the force of argument may be tried. But mere opposition to popery is not enough. We have Christ's command to "go and teach all nations—teaching them to observe all things whatsoever He has commanded." Popery itself seeks the conversion of the world, and it is a grand conception; but when it cannot make converts by fair means, it wants to "conquer, subdue, and subjugate" them by force. Protestantism aims, also, at the conversion of the world; but it does not wish to conquer it except by making it free in the faith of the Gospel. Now, to effect this glorious consummation, how wise, loving, spiritual, and prayerful should Christians be! In conclusion, it is dutiful in Protestants above all things to be in earnest in their efforts in maintaining and extending reformation principles. Ease, levity, apathy are the vices of decay; but activity, gravity, and enthusiasm are the signs of prosperity and progress. Protestantism has doubtless been more materially prosperous than ever Popery has been, though Popery has generally

had finer climates and richer soils. But Protestantism may, if not on its guard, suffer in spirituality from its very material success. Numbers, wealth, reputation are doubtless strong forces in their respective spheres, but they are inferior to purity, simplicity, and spirituality. "You Protestants are not earnest enough," said a Catholic, recently. The charge is only too true. We need more enthusiasm, more of the fervour of the martyrs, more of the spirit of the apostles, more of the fire and fearlessness of the prophets, more, in fine, of the mind of Christ, who "hath set us an example that we should follow His steps."

THE PAPACY OF MODERN TIMES.

SPEECHES IN THE CITY HALL.

I. THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

BY DR. J. A. CAMPBELL, M.P., STRACATHRO.

WE are assembled to-night for a serious purpose. It is twofold: In the first place, to declare our firm attachment to the Protestant principles on which depend, as we believe, the freedom and welfare of our country, and the moral and religious interests of the people; and next, in order to call the attention of our fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen to the importance of asserting these principles at the present time. We are not here to attack others, or to deny to any the liberty we claim for ourselves. The amplest religious toleration is consistent with our principles. Nay, more, religious toleration can best be secured by these principles. Any want of toleration for the opinions of others would, on our part, be an act of inconsistency. But there is opposed to us a system which is intolerant—which would deny us our liberty, civil and religious, and we are here to raise our protest against it, and to warn our fellow-countrymen of the danger of allowing it to gain a controlling influence in the country. Our opponents are very active. For evid-

ence of that we have only to refer to the papers which have been read at the meetings during the past two days, and to what will be said this evening by the speakers. But another reason for this movement is that we are living at a time when there is something like a prevailing indifference as to religious opinions. There was a time when religious opinions, perhaps, were formed on too severely definite a plan. Now the pendulum has swung in the other direction, and nothing for some people can be too vague or indefinite. This religious indifference makes the progress of Romanism all the easier, and hence comes the need for those who see the danger to raise a voice of warning.

It is no part of our creed that there are no serious social evils to cure, that there are no miseries to relieve, that there is no infidelity to meet, that there is not a world to gain for the Church of Christ. What we say is that our principles are those by which alone the good work can, by God's blessing, be done. We say so, because we believe that these principles alone are in harmony with the Divine rule of faith and conduct—the revealed Word of God. We say so, also, because in the history of the world we have found that those peoples have prospered most amongst whom the principles of the Reformed Church have been most faithfully held. This result is patent to all. What we ask is that our fellow-countrymen should seriously give their attention to this subject. Truth is great and it must

prevail in the end. But every intelligent man is called on to do his part towards bringing truth to prevail soon; yea, even now. Let us not forget that we are here as citizens of a Protestant state. Our principle is that no Italian priest should tithe or toll in these dominions. As Christians we are members of various branches of the Reformed Church. We claim to be members of the Church Catholic. Others may be members of the Roman Catholic Church, and others, not members of the Roman Catholic Church, may hold by a good deal that is essential to that church; but we claim to be members of the Church Catholic—the church of which we read in the New Testament. If this Convention is to have its due effect upon us, it should send us back to our various branches of the Church more zealous in the cause which unites us all, and at the same time more devoted to those duties which have to do with our title not to be Protestants only, but to be Protestant Christians.

II. PROTESTANTISM AND NATIONAL GREATNESS.

BY THE REV. CANON TAYLOR, D.D., LIVERPOOL.

THE resolution which I have the honour to propose contains three statements or propositions which may be regarded in the light of premisses, and a practical conclusion based thereon.

The first is that the doctrines of the Protestant system are contained in the Word of God; secondly, that these principles or doctrines promote national greatness; thirdly, that it is the aim of all loyal Protestants to maintain the liberties of the empire; and that, therefore, we call on our statesmen to preserve the Protestant safeguards which surround the throne and the constitution.

I shall not attempt to prove the first of these statements, but merely would remind this meeting what the main doctrines of the Protestant system really are. I take it that they are the following:—

1. The right and responsibility of every man to think for himself on all matters pertaining to religion.
2. The authority, supremacy, and sufficiency of the Holy Scripture.
3. The exclusive mediatorship of Christ.
4. The completeness of Christ's sacrifice finished on the Cross.

5. Full and free justification by faith only in the obedience and atonement of Christ.

6. Spiritual regeneration by the Holy Ghost through the medium of the Word of God.

That these are contained in the Word of God is well known to all who are conversant with its sacred pages.

The prevalence of these doctrines promotes national greatness. It is evident that it must be so from the nature of the case: wherever there are liberty and responsibility you have the essential condition, and, I might also add, the unfailing and necessary causes of prosperity. Where there is individual liberty and a sense of moral responsibility, there you have intelligence, industry, temperance, honesty, integrity, and morality; and where these moral virtues are in exercise you have all the elements of material progress. Deprive men of freedom and a sense of individual responsibility, substitute for them the chains of sacerdotalism and priestly authority, and there you will find ignorance and stagnation, poverty and wretchedness, with a low, stunted intellectual development and a relaxed moral fibre.

Facts prove the justice of this reasoning. I might quote many acknowledged authorities—Adam Smith, Macaulay, Cobden, etc.—but I shall content myself with one—Charles Dickens. Writing from Switzerland to his friend Forster in 1846 he says:—

“I do not know whether I mentioned before that in the valley of the Simplon hard by here, where (at the bridge of St. Maurice over the Rhone) this Protestant canton ends and a Catholic canton begins, you might separate two perfectly distinct and separate conditions of humanity by drawing a line with your stick in the dust on the ground. On the Protestant side neatness, cheerfulness, industry, education, continual aspiration after better things; on the Catholic side dirt, disease, ignorance, squalor, misery. I have so constantly observed the like to this since I first came abroad that I have a sad misgiving that *the religion of Ireland* lies as deep at the root of all its sorrows even as English misgovernment and Tory villainy.”

And he added that he believed “the dissemination of Catholicity to be the most horrible means of political and social degradation left in the world” (Vol. II., pp. 233-272).

Our own observations confirm this statement. The three foremost nations in the world are the Protestant states of Great Britain, the United States of America, and Germany. The most backward of the European nations are just exactly those which are most under Romish influence and in direct proportion as they are so.

Now, it must be the aim of all loyal Protestants to maintain the liberty of the empire on which our national welfare depends. But Protestantism and

liberty are inseparably bound together. There may be intolerant Protestants: there cannot be intolerant Protestantism, for its very genius is freedom—freedom of thought, speech, and worship, equal rights of civil and religious liberty for all. When William the Third sailed into Torbay in 1688 he bore on his standard: “The Protestant religion and the liberties of England I will maintain.” Romanism is adverse to civil and religious liberty (*vide* the Encyclical and the Syllabus of 1864). Our liberties have been dearly purchased by our martyred forefathers. We call on our responsible statesmen of all political parties to preserve the safeguards of our Protestant liberties—the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, and the Coronation Oath. We have received a grand inheritance of liberty from those who have gone before; let us, the sons of Knox and Cranmer, resolve at whatever cost to transmit it undiminished to those who come after.

III. ROMANISM IN SCOTLAND.

BY MR. A. H. GUINNESS, M.A., LONDON.

As the representative of the Protestant Alliance of England, united as it is in a bond of union with the Scottish Protestant Alliance, I feel it a duty to attend the present Convention in order to cement even more strongly the union of the two societies. It is not the first occasion on which I have had the pleasure of addressing a Scottish audience. When Pope Pius IX., said to be of blessed memory but who, according to the evidence of *The Tablet* and other Romish journals, is still in Purgatory—when this Pope first proclaimed his intention to confer a Romish hierarchy on Scotland, I had been invited to a meeting of delegates from the Protestant Associations throughout the country, convened to consider whether any, and what, steps should be taken to oppose the accomplishment of the projected invasion. At that Convention, ministers from all parts of Scotland were assembled, men of profound learning and sagacity, some of whom are present on this occasion. Upon discussing the question at issue, I found that all the gentlemen then present were thoroughly satisfied and convinced that the existing

Scottish law was ample and sufficient to prevent the intrusion of a Romish hierarchy; and, notwithstanding all that I could urge, it was resolved that it was unnecessary to take any steps to ascertain the state of the law.

As soon, however, as the Romish hierarchy had been established, these gentlemen were awakened and aroused to action. They proceeded to obtain the highest legal opinions; cases for counsel were submitted to the Lord Advocate and the Dean of Faculty, who gave it as their opinion that there was no existing law which could prove effective to hinder the establishment of the proposed Romish hierarchy in Scotland. In referring to these facts my object is to rouse my Scottish fellow-countrymen from a state of apathy and indifference and to point out how easily we might be again lulled into a false sense of security, only to be awakened when it would be too late.

Scotland has been parcelled out into Romish provinces, districts, and parishes; Romish churches, chapels, schools, colleges, monasteries, and convents have sprung up in their midst. Romish priests now proselytise and pervert with impunity, and their votaries in increasing numbers are being trained up in allegiance to a foreign power, prepared to enforce in this country the mandates of the Pope and to compel obedience to his canon law. The sufferance of all these proceedings is demanded in the name of toleration. Toleration is

a grand principle, and cost what it will, toleration we will uphold and maintain; but is there one single particular in which our Roman Catholic fellow subjects fail to receive toleration? Have they not every liberty for the fullest profession of their religion—every freedom for its exercise?

But the toleration asked for in the present day is absolutely one-sided. Every appeal for toleration made by Roman Catholics and Romanisers in this country is held up to admiration; but if we ask that the rights of Protestants shall be considered we are treated with derision, as “senseless and irrational,” as bigoted and intolerant. Call attention to the fact that the laws are broken by Roman Catholics—laws against monasteries, laws against lotteries, laws against the assumption of ecclesiastical territorial titles—and an outcry is at once made, not against the law-breakers, but against the law-abiders—the bigoted, intolerant Protestants! Ask that the services in our churches may be carried out according to law, and a deaf ear is turned to our remonstrances. But if the Protestant laity appeal to the law in their own defence, immediately the cry of persecution is raised; the bishops are up in arms and impose their *veto* in defence of the lawless! The object aimed at is the establishment of a sacerdotal tyranny, and in the end to effect reunion with the Church of Rome, and to bring this “Imperial race under subjec-

tion" to the Papal power. Cardinal Manning has explicitly affirmed these aims on behalf of the Papacy. He has proclaimed the absolute supremacy of the Pope. In his sermon on the Syllabus, he describes the late Pope as saying to those who urged this Pontiff "to be reconciled to Liberalism:"—"In His (Christ's) right I am sovereign. I acknowledge no civil superior: and I claim more than this, I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director of the consciences of men, of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the last supreme judge on earth of what is right and wrong."—*Sermons on Religious Subjects* (Burns, Oates, & Co.), 1873.

Men of Scotland! Are you prepared to submit to this despotism? Are you willing to place your necks under the wheels of this Romish Juggernaut? Has Scotland lost its manhood? Have you forgotten the sufferings of your martyred fathers? Are you slaves so base—the degenerate descendants of those who won your liberties with their blood, and "counted not their lives dear unto them" for the cause of the gospel of Christ? I hail your denial; but if it should be so—if, after this Convention is over, you relapse again into a state of apathy and indifference, and allow yourselves to be lulled asleep into a false sense of security, then I would warn you solemnly in

the words of Canon Melville—words more true, words more forcible I cannot find—in his words I say to you: “ Make peace if you will with Popery ; receive it into your senate ; shrine it in your churches ; plant it in your hearts. But be ye certain—as certain as there is a heaven above you, and a God over you—that the Popery thus honoured and embraced is the very Popery that was loathed and degraded by the holiest of your fathers ; the same in haughtiness, the same in intolerance, which lorded it over kings, assumed the prerogative of Deity, crushed human liberty, and slew the saints of God.”

IV. THE TRUE STRENGTH OF PROTESTANTISM.

BY THE REV. H. MAGEE, D.D., DUBLIN.

THE Church of Rome teaches her people that Protestantism is a mere denial of the Catholic faith. "What is Protestantism?" ask some of the catechisms. "It is a negation," is the answer put into the mouth of the learner. Multitudes of Roman Catholics accordingly look upon Protestantism as simply irreligion. It is a system which denies only—denies the authority of the Church, of the Pope, of the clergy—denies purgatory, the seven sacraments, and so on, without giving anything positive in their place. It is quite true that the word "Protestant" strictly describes our doctrinal system only on its negative side, as against the perilous innovations of the Papacy. But it is, for all that, essentially and emphatically a positive system. There is in fact no moral force in the world to-day so vital and powerful as the doctrines symbolized by our evangelical Protestantism; comprehending, as they do, all that God has revealed to us in His Word respecting the fulness and the grace of His great salvation. Would that we ourselves realized more than we do what mighty potentiality there is in the grand system for which we contend.

That intellectual, commercial, and national greatness is secured by the predominance of the doctrines of the Protestant system is written, beyond possible question, in the history of the last three centuries and on the face of Christendom to-day. Eminent Roman Catholic writers freely admit it; nor do they profess to be able to account for it, save at the expense of their own church's reputation. M. de Laveleye's pamphlets on this subject have never been answered. The only attempted answer indeed is substantially that of the *Dublin Review* (Oct., 1877). In the course of some remarks on the admittedly greater prosperity of Protestant communities, it says:—"Catholicity never yet claimed to be a wealth-producing agency." That is not strictly true as regards the clergy; but, judged by results, it is clearly true as regards the large populations whom they control. The Church of Rome cannot raise nations in the scale of civilization.

What is the reason? Our evangelical Protestantism emphasizes the direct relationship of men to God. The Roman Catholic system emphasizes their relationship to the priest. It is a fundamental principle of Protestantism—in the absence of which it could not be said to exist—that for their religious opinions and (so far as they do not interfere with the welfare of society) for their personal character and conduct, men are responsible to God, and to God alone. It aims at making the *fear of God* the founda-

tion of individual, domestic, and national life. This imparts a high sense of personal and social independence as regards all unwarranted human interference. It bestows what we call character; and without character, involving a high moral sense, no people can hope to attain to progressive greatness. It also brings with it mutual confidence between man and man. So far as the doctrines of evangelical Protestantism are accepted and acted out by any population, they will inevitably lead to those moral developments which will in turn, with all the inerrancy of a law of nature, lead to social and national advancement. Put the priest or the church in the place of God, as Romanism practically does, and the whole conditions of the problem are reversed. Neither personal nor social independence is possible in any true sense of the word; the very basis of moral responsibility, and therefore of character, is shaken, if not destroyed; and that mutual confidence between man and man on which the social structure rests is hopelessly impaired. In saying this I am not consciously exaggerating the tendency, in great communities, either of the one set of principles or of the other.

The political changes that have brought liberty to us have brought it also and equally to Roman Catholics. We do not propose to persecute our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens for their religious opinions; but, if we can prevent it, we do not intend

to allow them to persecute us. We will not proscribe their worship—recognising their right to worship God in the way they deem best, provided they do not interfere with our rights as citizens of a free empire. Nay, though we are well assured that they would, supposing them to be loyal to the spirit of their system, deprive us of our religious liberties if they had the power, we will not, that conviction notwithstanding, deprive them of their religious liberties when we have the power. We will not steal, borrow, or in any way make use of their appropriate weapons of physical repression. The spirit of persecution is inherent in their system: the spirit of liberty is inherent in ours. They are not responsible to us; we are not responsible to them, but we are both responsible to God—and to Him only. Therefore, we go in for the “liberties of the empire” in the broadest sense.

I have not the same faith that some seem to have in our statesmen and legislators. If others are disposed to trust them, I am not. And if the hope of evangelical Protestantism lies, in almost any measure, in the direction of our statesmen and legislators, then, in my judgment, its prospects could hardly be drearier than they are to-day. In saying this I include statesmen of every school of politics. Unless some supernatural change occur they will do and omit to do just as party interests demand—that is to say, as the prospect of place and power prompt for the moment.

The future of evangelical Protestantism in these kingdoms depends, under God, upon the Scriptural, strong, yet tolerant convictions of the great body of our Protestant people. If Rome is gaining, as some say she is, in these kingdoms—if she is so advancing that she is likely in time to capture our polling-booths, she will laugh, and she will have good reason to laugh, at our “Protestant safeguards.” She will sweep them away as so many cobwebs. The people of Ireland are ever looking to Government to help them out of their difficulties—difficulties which in many instances are wholly due to their own inaction and want of enterprise. Let us take care, in regard to the interests we are met to defend, that we do not fall into the same fatal mistake. The “Protestant safeguards of the throne” are not to be sought for in the conscientious fidelity of our statesmen, nor even in the inviolable character of our Protestant Constitution, as defined in the Revolution Settlement or the Treaty of Union. They are to be found in the hearts and homesteads of an enlightened Protestant population. Should Romanism gain the upper hand numerically—or anything like the upper hand—instead of Queen, Lords, and Commons coping with it, it knows well that it will cope, and that triumphantly too, with Queen, Lords, and Commons all combined.

What then? Why, in God’s great name, let us in every way we can think of—by the pulpit, the press,

and every method open to us—seek to ply the people with Scriptural and Protestant truth. Let us work with a thousandfold more vigour those evangelistic agencies which are the glory of our age, but which, I verily believe, are after all only in the very infancy of their being. Let the people deal fearlessly with those institutions, whatever they may be, that under the sacred name of Protestantism are working stealthily night and day for the unprotestantising of our nation. Above all, let us look up trustingly, continuously, and unitedly to our risen and exalted Lord. His thoughts towards us are thoughts of good and not of evil. Notwithstanding the formidable Romanising tendency in the English Church (and this seems to me to be the only quarter in which Romanism is distinctly gaining), I cannot believe that He is about to deliver this great Protestant empire of ours, with all its ten thousand noble Christian institutions, activities, and influences, into the hands of those who would bring us back into a worse slavery than that of the Middle Ages; who would practically supersede His Gospel, and, as far as they could, prevent the direct access of sinful men to His heart of compassion and love. I do not believe that such a thing is to be. There is an amazing Protestant strength in the community, if it is once fairly roused. Many indications present themselves that we are likely to have a genuine Protestant revival. May it be a truly spiritual one.

V. POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PAPACY.

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ROBERT MONTAGU.

THE resolution which I have the honour of moving consists of three syllogisms, which all prove the same conclusion. I shall not, however, have time to do more than deal with the first of them.

We have to consider the leading principles of the Roman Church in pre-Reformation times; and then compare them with the principles of that church since the Reformation. We must begin with the fundamental principle of Popery in early times, and its corollaries: and then the fundamental principle of Popery in somewhat later times, and its corollaries; making seven principles in all.

It will not be denied by any student of history that, from the middle of the fifth century up to the time of the Reformation, the assumption of the universal supremacy of the Pope, spiritual and temporal, on the one side; and the absolute obedience to the Pope, of all men, kings and people, on the other, has been the fundamental principle of the Papacy. It was with knowledge and perception that, just as the Reformation was breaking out, the Papal Legate of England, Cardinal Pole, declared that the whole move-

ment sprang entirely from a denial of the Pope's absolute authority.

The argument on which that principle was founded proves the same. That argument will be found in the Canon of Pope Celestinus I. in the Third Council of Ephesus, in 431 A.D., which was rehearsed and endorsed by the Vatican Council in 1870. It said that Peter is the pillar of the faith, and the foundation of the Catholic Church; that he received the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and lives, presides, and judges in all the popes, who are Peter's successors in the holy See of Rome, to this day. That was the fundamental principle.

Pope Nicholas I., in 858 A.D., decreed three other principles, which are corollaries to that fundamental principle: (1) There may always be an appeal to the Pope, from the judgments and decrees of kings and their courts of justice; but no appeal from any ecclesiastical sentence to a king or his courts of justice. In the language of the Canonists: "The Pope may reopen the judgment of every judge and ruler, but no one may review a decision of the Pope." The following was the decree of Pope Nicholas I.; it is called "Distinctio 96, cap. *Satis*:" "It has been sufficiently proved that a Pope can neither be bound nor acquitted by any secular power; for the Pope, as is well known, was called God by that pious emperor, Constantine; and it is very clear that God cannot be judged by men."

That is part of the canon law of Rome, and a matter of faith for all Romanists.

(2) All clerics, even to the lowest grade, are exempted from the jurisdiction of all civil courts, and from all civil laws, and from all secular taxes. Pope Innocent III., in 1215, renewed this decree in the Lateran Council.

(3) The Pope may depose kings, and absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance; and may give away their kingdoms to whomsoever he may choose. That principle is asserted in the decretal letter of Nicholas I. to the Emperor Michael. Thus I have given four principles of the Roman Church—a fundamental principle and three corollaries. Another fundamental principle was decreed by Pope Adrian IV. in the Fourth Council of Constantinople, in 869 A.D.; I mean, the infallibility of the Pope, or, as it was then termed, "The supreme power and authority to teach all nations and men." Pope Pius IX., on October 28, 1870, declared this to be the basis or fundamental principle of Popery. This he announced in his decretal letter to the Archbishop of Munich.

Before mentioning the two corollaries of this second fundamental principle, let me call your attention to the theory of the Papacy. You will find it clearly stated in the "De Regimine Principum" of Thomas Aquinas, in 1250; and also in his theological "Summa." It is as follows: The Church of Rome is one monarchy

over all the kingdoms of the earth, and is, among temporal kingdoms, as the mind or soul in the body of a man, or as God in the world. The Church of Rome was instituted by Christ to direct men to the ultimate end of man; and, therefore, must be unerring, and must also govern all secondary ends; she must order everything which has the least relation to the ultimate end, whether it helps or obstructs men in attaining the end. Therefore the Church of Rome must not only have *all* spiritual power, but also the supreme temporal power. Further, the Church of Rome was ordained to teach all doctrines which are to be believed, and all moral laws to be observed; and, therefore, she must have a certain knowledge of all doctrines and laws, and must regulate every act of man; because no act can escape a moral character.

Then the doctors of Rome ventured on the ground of prophecy, and thus interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream: The stone which crushed and took the place of the great image, that is, the place of the four great universal empires, was the Church of Rome; and, as the four pagan empires were not spiritual, but temporal dominions, therefore the church which took their place must also be a universal temporal dominion. Those Roman doctors added that, as our Lord had said, "Unto me all power in heaven and earth is given," therefore the Roman Church has *all* power in heaven and earth. That is, the "Plenitude of power"

which is ascribed to every Pope, not only over all the affairs of earth, but also a power to admit to the kingdom of heaven when he chooses, and to exclude those whom he likes to shut out, by excommunication or anathema.

That was the theory which Thomas Aquinas and other great writers developed. But I must also quote the words of Cardinal Saint Peter Damianus, a great divine in A.D. 1049. He thus paraphrased those words of 2 Thess. ii., namely, "He that letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way." The paraphrase of Peter Damian is: "Our Lord said, as it were, I have placed in the hands of thee, Peter, and of thy successors, the keys of my universal church; and have constituted thee my vicar or vicegerent; and, if that be too little, lo! I have given thee all the kingdoms of the world also; and in time, the Roman emperors, and all kings, who now let and hinder thee, shall be taken away from the universal empire of Rome; and then thou shalt be the sole legislator and sole ruler."

Thus we see how it was that all the Popes aimed at filling the universal throne of the pagan emperors of Rome. This was so much the idea, that Pope Adrian IV., according to Petrus Parisiensis, exclaimed: "We are not the successors of Peter in feeding the sheep; but the successors of Romulus in fleecing and killing them."

To show the extent to which this principle was carried, I will quote a passage which occurs four times

in the Canon Law of Rome.* It is a decree of Pope Nicholas I., in 858 A.D., just after the false Isidorian decrees had been published. It is as follows: "The Pope can change the natures of things, applying the substantial of one thing to another" (this is an allusion to transubstantiation; although the question was not mooted until 831, by Paschasius Radbertus; and was not decreed until 1215). The decree continues: "He can even make something out of nothing" (in allusion to the pope's supposed power to decree that a sin, or defect, shall be a righteous act). The decree continues: "He can change injustice into righteousness; he can correct the laws of States, and alter them altogether; and, by the plenitude of his power, he can, since he is above all law, dispense from every law." In that decree of the supposed Infallibility, he claimed, for all Popes, the power of God to change the essential natures of things, to create, to declare that sins shall be righteous acts, to alter or annul the laws of all States, and to dispense persons from obedience to any laws. Verily he is "the lawless one;" and "he sits in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God." Remember, further, that, in the canon law, in an "Extravagans" of John XXII., the pope is said to be "Our Lord God the Pope;" and the Pontificale

* Causa ix. quest. 3 cap. *Cuncta per mundum*. De Concess. Præbend. cap. *Proposito*. Extra. De transl. Episc. cap. iv. in Glossâ. Super verbo *Dispensare* in Glossâ.

directs him to be adored on the high altar at his consecration.

Now we come to two corollaries from the principle of infallibility. (1) The Bulls "In Coena Domini," or the annual cursing on Maunday Thursday, the anniversary of the institution of the Lord's Supper. On that day, all who doubted a single article of faith, according to the maxim of canon law, "*Dubius in fide hæreticus est*;" as well as all who refused absolute obedience to the Pope's authority, were anathematised and excommunicated. It will be observed that refusing obedience is a denial of the first fundamental; and doubting is opposed to the principle of the Infallibility.

(2) The other corollary is the duty of persecuting. This comes under three heads. (a) Ecclesiastical persecution. Thomas Aquinas states this doctrine succinctly in his "*Secunda Secundæ*," quest. xi., art. 3. Moreover, every bishop at his consecration has to swear that he will, to the utmost of his ability, persecute and exterminate every heretic. (b) Persecution by private persons. Pope Urban II., in 1088 A.D., decreed—and it is embodied in the canon law of Rome, as Cause xxii., quest. v., chap. 47, "*Excommunicamus*"—as follows: "Those are not to be accounted murderers or homicides, who, when burning with love and zeal, for their catholic mother, against excommunicated persons, shall happen to kill a few of them."

When the canon law was revised by a commission of cardinals, under Pope Gregory XIII., in 1580, this decree was left in, and was made an article of faith. It is now *De fide*, and part of the unalterable law of the Church of Rome.

(c) Boycotting. This was invented by Pope Alexander III., in the Third Council of Lateran, chap. 27, in the year 1179. The canon is as follows:—"We decree that all heretics, and those that defend them, and those even who receive them, shall lie under anathema; and we prohibit all men, under pain of anathema, from admitting such into their houses, or allowing them to subsist on their lands, or giving them any assistance, or even transacting any business, as buying or selling, with them. . . . Moreover we command all the faithful to make war with great hardihood against such pests of society, and to protect all Christian people against them; and we grant, to such, remission of all their sins, for doing so. Moreover, we will that all the property, goods, and chattels of heretics, and of their defenders and receivers, be confiscated; and that they themselves shall be seized and sold as slaves," etc.

That Pope Alexander III. was the Pope who, in 1162, permitted himself to be adored in the public streets, and to be called by a Saracen prince, "the good God of the Christians;" and the papal court, who stood around, applied to him the words concern-

ing our Lord, in Ps. lxxii. 11: "All kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him." He was the Pope who met the Emperor Frederick I,— "Tilebeard"—in the square in front of St. Mark's, Venice, and made the emperor throw himself flat down in the dust, and pray to the Pope for absolution; while the Pope planted his foot on the emperor's neck, and quoted the words of Ps. xci. 13, applying them to himself: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." The Emperor, hurt at the indignity, said, "I bow not to thee, but to Peter in thee;" and the Pope replied, "Et mihi, et Petro."

Now let us pass to the modern, or post-Reformation period. As to the first fundamental principle, the present Pope, in the Encyclical of August 12, 1879, commanded all bishops to adopt and teach all the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, and to command the study of his works. And, in the Encyclical of November 1, 1885, called "Immortale Dei," he proclaimed that the Roman Church was instituted by Christ, comprising all races of men, without limit of time or place; who are in subjection to the Pope; and that the Pope has supreme authority, spiritual and temporal, over all societies; and has the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and has a supreme legislative, judicial, and co-active authority in both spheres. He further stated that the Reformation was a rebellion against

this truth, and so can never be tolerated by the Pope. The right' of appeal from the king's courts to the Pope was reasserted in 1824 by Pope Leo XII., in the decretal letter to the king of France.

The exemption of all clerics from civil jurisdiction and taxes, was reasserted in the Bull *Apostolicæ Sedis* of December 19, 1869, which was promulgated in the Vatican council.

The deposing power was reasserted by Pius VI. in 1786, in the Bull *Super Soliditate*, when he declared that "the Pope can deprive kings of their authority to rule, and absolve subjects from their allegiance." And Suarez, the Jesuit, in his *Defensio Fidei*, book vi., chap. 4, lays it down that: "It is of faith that the Pope has the right of deposing heretical kings, and kings that rebel against his authority. Monarchs so deposed by the Pope thereby become notorious tyrants, and may be killed by the first who can reach them. . . . If the public cause cannot find its defence in the public death of a tyrant, it is lawful for the first comer to assassinate him." Up to the time of James I. of England, there were many Romanists who held to the theological doctrines of the Church of Rome; but their allegiance was centred in the king; and they therefore abjured the Pope's deposing power. But Pope Paul V. issued two briefs, and Pope Urban VIII. another, and made all men "Catholics first, and Englishmen after," like the Jesuits; that is, he made

them centre their allegiance in the Pope, passing by their king.

The second fundamental principle, the infallibility of the Popes, from the first Pope on the list, and of every Pope that ever shall be, was made an article of faith in the Vatican Council of the year 1870; and Pope Pius IX. declared it to be "the fundamental principle" of popery.

The Bulls "*In Cœnâ Domini*," or the annual cursings, were renewed by the Bull "*Apostolicæ Sedis*," of December 19, 1869, which was promulgated in the Vatican Council. Therefore all heretics, and all who deny the pope's universal authority, and all who harbour the least doubt of any point which has been decreed by a pope, are *ipso facto* excommunicated. This is the real difficulty which you have to contend with in your attempts to convert Romanists: they fear to incur the mortal sin of heresy and consequent excommunication, if they listen to you, or if they entertain the slightest question as to any one of the doctrines of popery or decrees of the Popes.

As to the duty of persecuting, the bishops' oaths are the same as formerly; they still swear that they will use their best endeavours to persecute. Moreover Pope Pius IX. declared, in an Allocution before a Consistory of Cardinals in September, 1851, that "the Roman Catholic religion must be exclusively dominant; and every other worship must be banished

and interdicted." The Encyclical of 1854 anathematised liberty of conscience as "a pestilential error," and "a pest of all others to be most dreaded." The Encyclical of 1864 repeats all this and a great deal more; so that Earl Russell declared it to be "utterly incompatible with civil government and the rights of every people."

As to boycotting, I will quote, "The Church and the Sovereign Pontiff," a catechism by the Jesuit Maurel; because it has been endorsed by a brief of the present Pope, and by two archbishops, and about twenty bishops of Ireland, and by the General of the Jesuits. There the people of Great Britain and Ireland are taught that "it is forbidden to hold any communication, or to have any connection with an excommunicated person," whether by speech, or by letter, or merely by personal salutations; and all intercourse in business, and even the amenities of society, are forbidden.

As to the awful doctrine of homicide, Busembaum, in his "Moral Theology" (Lacroix's edition, 1757) teaches that "a man who has been excommunicated by the Pope may be killed anywhere; because the Pope has an indirect jurisdiction over the whole world, even in temporal things." But I do not wonder at this awful doctrine, because Cardinal Bellarmine had thus expounded the doctrine of the Roman church: "The Pope can, if expedient for the church, alter the positive precepts of the Apostles;" and so, for his advantage, he changed the sin of murder into a righteous and praiseworthy act.

In conclusion, I will only remind you that the Papacy is using the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and the ignorance of the Irish peasants, as well as the learning and accomplishments of the Ritualists, and bishops, and statesmen in England, to spread and enforce those principles, and thus to form a basis of operations against Europe, America, and our colonies. Great Britain is to be crushed under the Pope's feet, and is then to be used as a fulcrum against the liberties, and all that is pure in the religion of Christendom. Enormous issues are involved in the success of the conspirators. The overthrow of the Protestant crown and Protestant churches in Great Britain is the destruction of Protestantism throughout the world, and the establishment of the absolute and universal dominion of the Pope. The attainment of that end is in the very grasp of the Papacy. The agitations, which have been fomented in Ireland, have weakened England, at a time when all her energies are required to resist the warlike machinations and enormous intrigues of the Jesuits on the continent of Europe. Moreover, the public offices of this country, and the staffs of all the newspapers are full of Jesuit adherents; and I tell you that both parties in the state—Conservatives and Liberals—have, for many years, been so led as to bring Great Britain under the dominion of the Pope. Both leaders are hastening to that end; and it rests with the people alone to say whether the conspiracy shall succeed.

VI. THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

BY THE REV. VERNER M. WHITE, LL.D., LONDON.

THE papacy is the same it always had been. Its infallibility so called settled that point. "The fundamental principles" alluded to in the resolution were fourfold. First, a supreme earthly ruler—a point which had been already sufficiently dealt with. Secondly, the Rule of Faith. As Protestants they held by the Scriptures—complete, perfect, pure, adapted to all times and circumstances, and unalterable. Rome substituted the fathers and the church. According to her teaching no doctrine was to be received unless in accordance with the unanimous consent of the fathers. Who and what were the fathers? Not a small handbook to be put in the pocket, but a voluminous collection of folios which, according to the late Rev. J. B. Owen, if they had the wealth of Croesus they could not buy, if they were to live to the age of Methuselah they could not read, if they had the wisdom of Solomon they could not understand, and, if perchance they did, if they had the patience of Job they could not endure.

A third fundamental principle of Romanism is a human priesthood usurping the office of Christ. In fact the true designation of the system was priestcraft.

This system intruded itself as omnipotent in every stage of human existence both in this life and the next. At birth, there was the sacrament of baptism; in adult life, the sacrament of marriage; constantly the sacrament of penance with confession and absolution, things never once mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, the inspired history of the apostolic church for 28 years. At death there was the sacrament of extreme unction. In everything absolute and unquestioned obedience to the authority of the church. After death—which breaks the fetters of all other kinds of slavery—the representatives of the priesthood pursued their wretched victim into the world of spirits, and there by the alleged tortures of the dead, and the gross and fraudulent impositions upon the living, they maintained their influence.

Fourthly. I specially refer to the fundamental principle of the Mass—the corner-stone of the Papacy—from which it derived its main revenues, and but for which the Pope, his cardinals and clergy, would be in the workhouse in six weeks. This was in direct antagonism to Scripture, the united testimony of the senses, and to reason. The theory of Transubstantiation,—which was the basis of the Mass—was this, that by the repetition of certain words by the officiating priest, the elements were changed into the body and blood, soul and divinity, of the Lord Jesus Christ. This was the most absurd theory ever presented to

the reason of man. Suppose, for example, the Roman Catholic bishop in Glasgow were to introduce a donkey into the meeting, and, after the repetition of certain words, were to assure the audience that this was no longer an ass but a lion, that the substance and the essence had been completely transubstantiated, the accidents only as to colour, feeling, and so forth remaining unchanged, I would inform the gentleman that this was not a lion but an ass. It had the head of an ass, the brains of an ass, the ears of an ass, the skin of an ass, the hoofs of an ass, the tail of an ass, and the bray of an ass.

I now lay down a challenge to the Roman Catholic bishop in Glasgow. Make a wafer with two grains of strychnine mixed in it. Let the bishop and his clergy transubstantiate that into the body and blood, soul and divinity of the Lord Jesus. Then let them swallow it. If their dogma was a farce they would be poisoned; if true, no harm could come to them, and I would become a Papist on the spot.

Britain is Protestant, and means to continue so, and, by the help of God, no foreign priest or potentate ought to have or shall have dominion in this Protestant realm. Let the Churches of Christ be content to fulfil their Master's commission and preach the Gospel. Although politically with both parties the influence of Popery was increasing, yet numerically it was dying out everywhere, and especially in the United Kingdom

and the United States of America. In the words of our Lord and Master, setting aside the opportunist-teachings of the present age, "Come out of her, my people, and be ye separate;" and I implore you by the memories of your covenanting forefathers, who, in former days, on behalf of Christ's "Crown and Covenant," had left for the Covenanters and for Scotland a name that will last for ever, to be faithful to your God, your Saviour, your Bible, your country, and to humanity.

VII. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE VATICAN.

BY THE REV. GEORGE MACAULAY, BOWLING.

ON a recent occasion a memorial from the Directors of this Society presented to a minister of state met, to say the least, with scant courtesy from that eminent individual. The proposal now is to approach in the first instance not any secretary of state, however eminent, but to approach Her Majesty the Queen. In proposing that this step should be taken, or that power to take it should be given to the Directors of this Alliance, we but exercise a right common to all British subjects, for, in the name of the people of these realms, among the first things craved by the representatives of the people in Parliament assembled are these two: namely, liberty of speech, and access to the personal presence of the sovereign. We are here exercising the first of these rights, for we are speaking freely concerning what we regard as among the greatest dangers that threaten the people, the constitution, and the crown. If regard be had to the intellectual, moral, commercial, and national ascendancy of this country, together with the civil and religious liberties of the people, there can be no question that all these things so dear to every patriot have in the past been identified with the place given to Protestant truth in the

deliberations of Parliament, and in the minds, consciences, and hearts of the people. Deny it who may, British power and British freedom, that is to say, those things which have given to us order, peace, and contentment at home, and have given weight to our influence among foreign nations, have been identified with the rise, progress, and ascendancy of Protestantism in the Parliament and amongst the people. Whatever, therefore, endangers our common Protestantism threatens at the same time our safety, our liberty, and our independence as a people for whom God in His providence, through His truth, has done great things.

Romanism, or the Papacy of the present time, is, in its fundamental and essential principles, the same as the Papacy or Romanism of the pre-Reformation period. Those only who are ignorant of the principles and the claims of Rome can entertain doubt concerning this—the unchanged and unchangeable character of the papal or anti-Christian system, for the Papacy would cease to be the Papacy were it to abandon, modify, or change its fundamental principle that the Pope, as the successor of Peter, is the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and, therefore, as Vice-God, entitled to wield, as far as this is conceivable or possible, all power in heaven and earth for promoting the ends aimed at by what is called the one holy, Catholic Church. It is this principle asserted by the Pope that identifies him with all who preceded him in his baleful position in the

mediæval ages, and at the same time identifies both him and them with that Man of Sin, that lawless one that son of perdition, described by the apostle in his second letter to the Thessalonians, where the description culminates in what is the supreme arrogance of the Pope, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God."

The avowed aims besides of this monstrous compound of politics and superstition, is to bring Great Britain into subjection to the Vatican. Romanists, of all classes and grades, whether exulting in pinchbeck titles, as Dr. Newman and Dr. Manning, who call themselves cardinals or princes of the church, or as nameless priests, creeping about in the lanes of our cities, or moving from house to house in scattered villages, or stealthily finding their way into the mansions of the nobility—all with one heart and with one voice proclaim their purpose to be the subjugation of Great Britain to the dominion of the Papacy. In the words of an eminent personage who for many years has been in this country a sort of political servant of the Papal court, "their aim is not revolution but restoration." It is the restoration of the Pope to his place of ascendancy in Great Britain; it is the restoration of Great Britain to its place of subserviency to the Pope. In a word, it is not only the revolutionizing of the

Revolution of 1688, it is the restoring in all its main principles of that relation in which, prior to the Reformation, this country stood to Papal Rome. Let us not be deceived, the aggressive attitude of the Papacy towards this country is fraught with peril to the religion of the people, to the liberties of the parliament, and to the stability of the throne; for where, in all the history of Romanism—name the country if you can—have Scriptural, spiritual religion, civil liberty, freedom of conscience with freedom of speech, and a stable government existed at any time—not to say for any lengthened period of time—under the domination of the Papacy. The truth is—and out with it we must—that the priest has been in every nation of Europe the disturbing element of social order, the enemy of liberty, and the patron of ignorance and servitude. No nation under heaven can find rest where the priesthood of Rome holds sway. Any nation in such a case must be as the troubled sea, continually casting up mire and dirt. Is it with such a system that we are to enter into closer relations than those that have subsisted between us for many generations?

It is proposed that, in the memorial to be presented to the Queen, the Directors of this Alliance should protest with all earnestness and resoluteness of purpose against any diplomatic negotiations with the Vatican or Papal authorities. Who is the Pope

of Rome that we should, or that our rulers should, enter into any negotiations with him about the action in any case becoming the legislature or the government of this great country? In what capacity can the Pope be acknowledged by the people or the government of Great Britain? These are questions to which answers must be given—questions to which we are persuaded no satisfactory answers can be given by any loyal subject of Queen Victoria. For if the Pope is merely the head of a religion or a religious system, what have our rulers to do with him in that capacity? We are continually told, in deceitful words, however, that it is only as a religious system that Romanism seeks to promote its objects in this country. It is for this reason that it claims for itself that which is the birthright of every Briton—liberty of conscience and liberty of worship. This liberty it already enjoys. In common with all religions that are not established or endowed by the state, Romanism, as a religion, enjoys the utmost freedom in this country. What more would it have as a religion than it now possesses? The answer to this is simple: It would have endowment, it would have establishment, it would have ascendancy. In other words, it would restore, through diplomatic negotiation, the position which it lost in this country at the beginning of the sixteenth century; and we hesitate not to say that those statesmen, no matter the political party to which they

belong, who directly or indirectly favour the renewal of long interrupted diplomatic relations with Rome are so far false to the Protestantism and to the liberties of this country. Nay, further, we venture to affirm that in such a case they would be false to the honour, the dignity, and the stability of the throne. It was no mean personage—it was none other than the great father of modern philosophy—who, with approbation, quoted the saying of a distinguished foreigner that if the hue and cry were out for Antichrist the Pope of Rome would be arrested on suspicion. Is it with such a personage that the government of this country are to enter into diplomatic relations? Individually, statesmen, whether in the government or not, are free, if they choose, to do homage to the Pope, and, if it so please them, to prostrate themselves before him and to kiss his toe. They may, if they so think fit, call this a religious service. But, occupying the position of advisers of the Queen, responsible to the sovereign, the parliament, and the people of this country, British statesmen are not at liberty to prostrate the majesty of Great Britain before the usurped authority which is seated in the Vatican.

The Pope decreed his own infallibility in 1870. That decree is retrospective. It declares that all sentences of former Popes spoken *ex cathedra* were infallible and are still binding on the consciences of men. Accordingly, sentences of excommunication passed by

former Popes against sovereigns of England are still as valid in conscience as they were when first given forth. Is it with such a personage as this that claims the right on grounds of religion to set up and to cast down kings, and to release subjects from their allegiance to their lawful sovereigns that the ministers of the British Crown could for a moment entertain the idea of entering in the name of the country and the Queen into diplomatic relations? The statesmen or advisers of the crown who favour or recommend any such intercourse as that of which we have spoken—that which is implied in formal diplomatic negotiations, approach very near to what may be called treason against the prerogatives of the sovereign, the independence of the kingdom, and the dearly-bought rights and liberties of the people. And yet, as if untaught by the lessons of former days, it seems that something like clandestine or backstairs' negotiations has for some time been carried on between the government of this country and the Papal court. All such intrigues should for ever take end as altogether unworthy of the honour of British statesmen and the dignity of the British Crown. For surely it is not seemly; it is indecent and scandalous that the dignity of the sovereign of these realms should be compromised by entering into formal negotiations with a power which, whether in religion or in politics, is at once an anachronism and a usurpation.

We ask, In what capacity is the Pope to be recognised in these negotiations? He cannot be recognised merely as in his alleged office as head of the church, or in his religious capacity, without dishonour to the Christ of God, and without insult and injury to the Protestantism of the sovereign and the people of this country. Is the Pope then to be recognised as a political or worldly potentate? Can our politicians then divide the Pope in twain? Can they so negotiate with him in matters religious that they shall be uninfluenced by him in matters political? But, as we have seen, if they could negotiate with this mixed personage in matters purely religious, their negotiations would prove them to be traitors to the religion of this country, and false to the national testimonies repeated times without number against the authority usurped by the Pope. They must, therefore, negotiate with him as a political potentate or worldly power. And by these negotiations, no matter how they may disavow it, they betray the political independence of the British government and kingdom. For, whatever may be pretended or alleged to the contrary, the aim, purpose, or intention of such negotiations must be to enable the government to carry out its functions as a government in administering and executing law among the people adhering to the Pope in these realms. What is this but to admit the intervention of a meddling priest into the administration and execution of British law. But

this meddling priest intervenes in all such cases not merely as a priest in things pertaining to God, but as a potentate or worldly power, claiming in the name of God a right to interfere in the affairs of all nations. In other words, this would be the admission of an alien power to the exercise of what in effect amounts to political jurisdiction within the sphere proper only to Her Majesty the sovereign of the kingdom. Are the people of this country prepared to sanction negotiations which would inevitably involve a compromise or division such as this of the exclusive jurisdiction of the sovereign in all matters within her own dominions? Can any advisers of the Queen connected with any political party in this country be so bewitched or infatuated as to advise a course which would as necessarily endanger the supremacy of the Crown as it would be perilous to the order and liberties of the people? It must not be forgotten that in the Thirty-seventh Article of the Church of England it is stated that "the King's Majesty is not nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction;" and, further, that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm;" and in connection with the words just quoted it must not be forgotten that in the words of a commentary on the Anglican Articles, written in 1607 by a chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is stated that the "Bishop of Rome in the Holy Scripture is described to be very Antichrist,

that wicked man, the man of sin, the son of perdition, and the adversary of God;" and, further, it is stated in the same commentary that "his jurisdiction hath been and is justly renounced and banished out of England by many Kings and Parliaments, as by K. Edward the 1, 3, and 6; by K. Richard the Second; by K. Henry the 4, 6, and 8; by Q. Elizabeth; and by our own most noble K. James;" and, further, "his pride and intolerable supremacy over all Christian people is renounced and condemned, as well by the mouths as writings of all the purer churches, and that deservedly." In contrast with this declaration are the presumptuous and arrogant claims put forth by the power with which it is alleged that certain of our statesmen are desirous to enter into diplomatic relations: "By him kings reign; he may judge all men, but must of none be judged; he can do what him list as well as God, except sin. His jurisdiction is universal, even over the whole world. Him, upon pain of eternal damnation, all Christians are to obey. And by his sovereign authority both all papists in England were discharged from their obedience and subjection unto Q. Elizabeth, and the same Queen disabled to govern her own people and dominions."* Is it with such a power as this that any government in this country can seriously propose to enter

* See "The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion professed and protected in the Realme of England," by Thomas Rogers, 1607.

into diplomatic relations? As well might it be proposed that an ambassador in the name of Her Majesty should be sent and empowered to enter into diplomatic relations with the convention that holds its occasional meetings in the far west in the city of Chicago. That convention, whatever may be thought of it, is a far less illegitimate organisation than is the court which holds its meetings in the Vatican presided over by the Pope of Rome; and, although the methods and agencies of that western convention may be and deserve to be strongly denounced by all loyal citizens of this country, they are far less perilous to the safety, independence and wellbeing of Britain than are the principles, methods, and practices of the papal court. It is time, therefore, that the eyes of our statesmen and of our fellow-countrymen generally were opened to see the dangers to which the Protestant religion, the liberties of the people, and the stability of the throne are exposed by the aggressions of Rome, as well as by the intrigues which it is ever carrying on with a view to regaining for the Pope of Rome his long-lost ascendancy in Great Britain.

Let me, therefore, in conclusion, most earnestly remind you of your solemn duties in the perilous circumstances in which our lot is cast in these times. And more particularly let me remind you that as God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath set it free from the ordinances, traditions, and authority of men.

in things spiritual—that is, in things pertaining to God—so there is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, who is set forth in Scripture as the ringleader and head of the great apostasy of the latter days. With him neither the government nor the people of this country can have any intercourse whatever without a betrayal of the great trust committed to them, or without being false to their country, to truth, and to God.

CONVENTION OF PROTESTANTS.

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS.

DEVOTIONAL MEETING.

THE first meeting of the Convention was of a purely devotional character. It was held on the evening of Sabbath, the 12th December, in the Free Gaelic Church, Hope Street. About twelve hundred persons were present. The Rev. A. A. Bonar, D.D., Finnieston, Glasgow, presided. Devotional exercises were conducted by the Chairman, and by Revs. R. Gault, W. Barras, A. J. Yuill; and Mr. A. J. Fitch, Mr. John Stuart, and Mr. W. C. Maughan.

RECEPTION CONVERSAZIONE.

A Conversazione to welcome the delegates and other friends from a distance was held in the Large Hall of the Christian Institute, Bothwell Street, on the evening of Monday, 14th December. About three hundred and fifty ladies and gentlemen accepted the special invitation of the Directors. Mr. W. C. Maughan, J.P., Chairman of the Alliance Directorate, presided over the meeting. A blessing was asked by the Rev. John Inglis, D.D., of the New Hebrides Mission; and thanks were given by singing part of Psalm xxiii. After intimating several letters of apology,

Mr. W. C. MAUGHAN said:—I have great pleasure, as Chairman of the Directors of the Scottish Protestant Alliance, in being present this evening when so large an assembly has come together on such an auspicious occasion. We are all here united in one common cause—one very dear to our hearts—the maintenance in its integrity of that Protestant faith as delivered to our forefathers, and by them so valiantly upheld. It was thought fitting that this most important Convention should be held in Scotland, and in our great commercial centre of Glasgow, which is the Head-quarters of the Alliance. The Scottish people have long been eminent for their adherence to the truths which are characteristic of our national faith; and when these are wantonly assailed, it is proper that here should be found many willing to lead the way in a movement for their defence. The Directors of this Alliance have been greatly cheered by the warm support with which the proposal to hold this Convention has been welcomed. They felt that the moment was opportune for inviting an expression of opinion upon the recent insidious aggressions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, unhappily established in our land. It is well known that the Church of Rome never relaxes her efforts to regain the ascendancy she once possessed in these realms, an ascendancy which, by the blessing of God, we are resolved shall never be restored. There are numerous instances of this to be found in our midst, and we believe that the papers to be read at this Convention will shed ample light upon so momentous a subject. We are specially pleased to see so many influential friends of the Protestant

cause from different parts of the kingdom, all animated by one common aim, and one well calculated to arouse our enthusiasm. It is far from our wish to wound the feelings of our Roman Catholic fellow countrymen, and we trust that all becoming charity will be exercised, but the truth, at all hazards, must be fearlessly upheld. The Alliance embraces members of both great political bodies in the State, but while retaining our individuality upon other topics, we desire to place in the forefront the immense importance of refusing to yield to the arrogant demands of the Church of Rome. Above all, our statesmen and public men of various shades of political opinion, must be made to understand that we are resolved, at any cost, to uphold the Protestantism of the Constitution, and that we will resist to the uttermost whatever is calculated to undermine the foundations of our civil and religious liberties.

Rev. ROBERT GAULT, Glasgow:—In the name of the Scottish Protestant Alliance and the Directors, it affords me much pleasure to welcome the delegates from various lands, from Presbyteries in Scotland and from Associations in different parts of the United Kingdom, and I am sure that the citizens of Glasgow will give them an equally cordial welcome. The enemy we oppose is ever active, powerful, and unscrupulous, and we therefore need to put forth all our energies, but, at the same time, it is not wisdom on our side to over-estimate their strength, else we become discouraged, and the contest appears hopeless. There is very much at the present time both at home and abroad to cheer us in the battle with infidelity and the papacy. We

do not war with the priesthood or the people of the Church of Rome, but with the system, which we consider prejudicial to their temporal and their eternal interests. The British soldiers under Wellington ever went into the battle having no doubt as to the result, however sanguinary and protracted the conflict, and so we should have no doubt as to the issue of our controversy with Romanism. The conversion of many, such as Gavazzi, the greatest of Italian orators, and of Chiniquy in Canada, who has been instrumental in leading so many out of Popery to the light of the Gospel, should encourage us to persevere, and the remarkable fact that Protestantism is increasing more rapidly than Romanism should also hearten us. Next month, thirty-five years will have elapsed since I came to reside and work in Glasgow, and during that time, for every mass house erected in our city, I can safely affirm that ten evangelical churches have been raised. What we have to see to is that in these churches the Gospel of Christ be fully and faithfully proclaimed and means used to enlighten our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. I may not live to preach in it, but I hope to live to hear that in St. Peter's in Rome salvation by Christ and Him alone is published, as it has been in our own St. Mungo's, since the time of the blessed Reformation.

Rev. A. HALLIDAY, M.A., Portsmouth:—There are 25 Episcopalian churches in Southsea, Portsmouth, Portsea, Landport, and Buckland, which large district goes under the name of Portsmouth as the borough. Comparing the statistics of 1869 with the present year, there were five churches built since 1869. Four of these are very ritual-

istic, and one is very sacramentarian. The curate, I am sorry to say, is a Scotchman, and the son of an English Presbyterian minister—he is High Church. Of the nine Evangelicals in 1869, one is a sleepy Evangelical, now a little High; and three dull Evangelicals, of whom two are now High and one very ritualistic; four are very Evangelical, and they remain so still. There was one Evangelical with a little touch of Broad, but now he is ritualistic. There were six in 1869 that might be termed moderate and a little variable, now they are all High with one exception. There were two then decidedly ritualistic, and they remain so still. There were two rationalistic, and they remain so still; and I am sorry to say that the rector of the oldest of the churches that may be termed rationalistic has taken a part in connection with the town that has been a great obstacle to the onward progress of the Gospel. He has given his weight to the proposal for opening the piers on Sabbath evenings for sacred concerts, which would lead the people away from attending religious services.

In 1869, in the district of Portsea, there was a very small Romish chapel. It has since been closed, but instead of it there is now a very large cathedral almost completed. I am sorry still further to say that in a new district of the borough which is being very largely built upon and very quickly inhabited, the Romish church was the first to plant a building for worship; and, all honour to our Wesleyan brethren, they have entered that field and are doing a good work. Four mission halls have been built recently, and in all of them the teaching is ritualistic. There are, further, four sisterhoods, both Anglican and Romish.

I am sorry to say, besides, that other churches that boast of their Protestantism are less Protestant than some of those we term "High." In some of the leading Nonconformist bodies there is anything but safe and sound Gospel preaching. I am one of Her Majesty's chaplains to the Presbyterian troops in Portsmouth, and in that capacity I have had some experience of the difficulties to be grappled with. At the head of the establishment, one of the inmates assured me, there was a man opposed to the reading of the Bible. Indeed, there is a probability just now that one man will be excluded from the precincts of the hospital simply because he spoke to one of the inmates, who was himself a Roman Catholic. Possibly there is a nurse there whose duty it is to watch. The difficulties of such a position to a true Protestant are much greater than many suppose or believe.

Rev. GEORGE DIVORTY, M.A., Edinburgh :—The occasion of such a gathering as this is a direct rebuke upon our country and upon our Protestant churches. I do not wish to be censorious, but I say, if our Protestant churches in Scotland had done their duty as they ought to have done, there would not have been the necessity for calling such a convention as this. It is true a minister is appointed to preach the Gospel. This is his great function, and preach it he is bound to do in all faithfulness and in all its parts. But have we preachers now like Paul? Well, he tells us he did other work with regard to the Gospel than merely preaching it—"knowing I am set for *the defence* of the Gospel." And I say that a man is not qualified to preach the Gospel unless he is prepared to defend it against all

comers. The Gospel has many enemies. Some of them are enemies in open hostility. But we have enemies of another kind—those whose coming is after the working of Satan, and all the more dangerous; and ministers of the Gospel ought to be prepared to keep their people that they might be prepared to resist all snares and temptations. As a whole, ministers have left their people in ignorance on this grave question, and they themselves, by not informing themselves upon it, have become incapable of defending the Gospel against the insidious snares of Rome. I speak what I know, Mr. Chairman. I have had experience very lately of ministers writing me wishing to be posted up in order to defend the doctrines of our churches, as they were not able to do so. I hope that the proceedings of this convention will lead to a great awakening, and that the people will be instructed and warned of impending dangers and that there will issue from Glasgow results that will extend in blessing and benefit to the utmost boundaries of the land.

Rev. VERNER M. WHITE, LL.D., London :—We are here to look one another in the face, to shake hands, to proclaim before the world our unity irrespective of political parties or denominational distinctions, and our determination to stand fast and to stand together in the maintenance of our common and united Protestantism. We are here also to raise a loud and solemn protest against the encroachments of the Papacy which blasphemously assumes the prerogatives of Deity, perverts Holy Scripture, corrupts the Church of Christ, destroys those principles of comfort, peace, and happiness which are the birthright of the individual believer, over-

throws all that is peaceful and prosperous in national and family life, and utterly extinguishes the liberties of mankind.

Rev. C. R. TEAPE, D.D., Edinburgh :—We should have very clearly before us that Protestantism is not to be a mere name, or power of the past, but that it is a living energy for the present and future. We would not attach much importance to a sign-board placed over a factory or place of business which no longer existed. I am afraid that Protestantism is no more than a great heir-loom of the past, instead of a living reality and power in the present. By Protestantism, I mean civil and religious liberty. I mean free access to God the Father through Jesus Christ by the agency of the Holy Spirit; and I maintain also that there is in it all that has tended to the prosperity and happiness of our realm, and I hope and believe it will remain till the second coming of our Lord.

The subject I wish to bring before you is "THE INDIRECT INFLUENCE OF ROMANISM." There is a Romanising tendency more or less over all Protestant denominations, but it is unfortunately more especially so in the Church of England, and in the Episcopal Church of Scotland. I am very sorry that such should be the fact, but I feel it is so. Two strange things occurred just before my coming to this meeting, and perhaps they occurred for a wise end. Yesterday in visiting I heard of a young man who could no longer remain attached to a particular congregation on account of the Romanising tendency in the clergyman of that congregation becoming very strong indeed. To-day a young clergyman asked me if he was bound to give absolution to persons

coming to him asking for it. I told him that there was no auricular confession, and no priestly absolution, but if he read his prayer-book correctly he would find that if any person with a "troubled conscience" or in religious difficulty came to his minister and told him, he should render such aid as could be given by "the ministry of God's Word." Then he went on to tell me that his rector had told him that he should always give absolution whenever demanded, and mentioning two places not very far from the rectory, said: "Suppose a man had come to you and declared that he intended to commit murder in one of these places and desired absolution from you, you would be bound to give it to him." A more diabolical statement I never heard. It did show me that the moment you touch Romanism, the moment you tamper with it, that moment you descend in the scale of all that is noble, true, and right. I think that as an evangelical alliance we should take note of those people who commend auricular confession, and we should with all the power that God has given us stamp it out as the ruin of the laity and of the clergy. Thank God we can point our people to "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world" as the only One by whom sin is pardoned and the conscience is at rest.

Another great point in which we see the indirect influence of Romanism is as to the sanctity of the Lord's-day. God commands mankind to "keep it holy" and "do no work." If we decline to do this we rivet a chain round the working man, and the day will come when he will be obliged to make the Sunday a work-day like a Monday.

The indirect influence of Romanism is further evident in its effect on moral principle. I suppose there never was a greater blow to this country than that of sapping the foundations of our two most important investments—land and heritable property; the moment the system began of no rent to the landlord and no rent to the house proprietor you have really the evidence of the paralyzing effect in commerce and in trade. I would be very sorry indeed to say anything against Mr. Gladstone, for I believe he is a religious man and possesses high moral character; but let any man, however keen and eminent, touch the Church of Rome and he is drifted away beyond what he himself ever imagined. I feel, therefore, certain there was a power which forced Mr. Gladstone to go further than he at first thought of, and I believe that God interposed at a fitting moment in order to break up the Romish conspiracy as He did in time past, because He has a great work of enlightenment for Britain to accomplish. Finally, let us, as Protestants, band ourselves together for truth, holiness, honesty, and honour as the watchwords of our country.

Rev. J. MOIR PORTEOUS, D.D., Edinburgh:—On the hearts of all who are thoroughly alive to the dangers by which the Protestant cause is beset, there lies a heavy burden. Many feel oppressed by a feeling of hopelessness, and their efforts are almost paralyzed. Hence the great and absorbing question is: **WHAT IS TO BE DONE?** To my mind **TWO THINGS** seem to comprehend the answer to that question, viz.: **RENEWED CONCENTRATION** and **REVIVED CONFIDENCE**. By **RENEWED CONCENTRATION** I do not mean

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amalgamation, for churches and associations have each their own peculiar sphere and freedom of action. But, as in former times, there ought to be thorough affiliation and united action. One of the secrets of the success of the Papal conspiracy is its unity of aim and action; and it is lawful to learn from an enemy. I rejoice that a diet has been set apart for the consideration of this question, and I trust that the result will be the forming of such a consultative and directing committee of leading Protestants throughout the country as will secure unity of aim and action to the forces of Protestantism. Were such men as the Rev. Messrs. Ormiston of Bristol, Waddington of Olitheroe, Dr. Taylor of Liverpool, Dr. Potter, Sheffield, Drs. Hannay and Hanna, Belfast, Mr. Guinness and Dr. Badenoch, London, with a few others empowered to consider and direct on great questions and emergencies, and the forces throughout the country agreeing loyally to follow out the counsel given, great results might be expected, and a turning of the tide anticipated.

Above all, CONFIDENCE IN GOD, revived in the hearts of His people, is an essential requisite; and with that view earnest, united, and continual supplications. All the teachings of history as detailed in Scripture and experience reveal how easy it is for Him who is supreme over all the affairs of men and nations to bring about such a change as would dissipate that feeling of hopelessness, and accomplish His purposes when His own set time is fully come. Let this Convention and our united action be pervaded by the realization that the Lord is in the midst of

Zion, with His own voice, saying, "Lo I am with you always," and we will be afresh stimulated to go forth assured of ultimate victory.

The Right Hon. Lord ROBERT MONTAGU:—My chief difficulty in addressing you is that I have to speak in Scotland on the subject that is nearest my heart—the Romish controversy and the imminent danger that overhangs the land of being crushed under the dominion of the Pope. But how comes it that I have any difficulty in speaking of this in Scotland? Why is it? Because I know that you are more learned in this controversy than we are in England, and that you are more aware of the imminent danger than we are on the other side of the Tweed. If I am asked to give any reason for this, I reply that I believe the following to be the right one: You are more careful of the observance of the Sabbath here than we are in England, and I believe God has given to you the knowledge of the impending danger, as a reward for the fulfilment of His law. Two reverend gentlemen have already spoken of the ignorance of this subject in the minds of many in the Established Church of England. Now I will give you one example. You have heard about "the priest in the family." The case was that of a lady who was perverted to Romanism without her husband knowing anything at all about it. That lady, who was living in the west-end of London, had a Roman Catholic friend. That lady, who was High Church, believed in Orders and Apostolic Succession, and so forth. Well, the Roman Catholic lady said one day, "Oh, you have no Orders in the English Church, and no Apostolic

Succession." Of course the statement was a great shock to the lady. Her friend then said, "If you like to inquire into the subject you can see such and such a priest at the pro-Cathedral." This priest was visited, and pretended to prove that there were no Orders and no Apostolic Succession in the Church of England. So the lady went to the rector of the rich and influential parish in London where she resided, and said, "I come to you as my clergyman to know from you about Orders and Apostolic Succession." He replied, "Upon my word, I know nothing about it." And as she had already made up her mind to believe these things, she went to the pro-Cathedral, and was received into the Roman Catholic Church.

Now, I am not here to tell you whether or not I believe in Orders and Apostolic Succession, because I do not wish to argue the subject at present. But this I will tell you, that the Roman Catholics do believe in Orders and Apostolic Succession, and yet have not got them at all. I can prove that in a great many ways, but I shall just take one of them. Probably you have all heard of the Great Schism of the West; and you know that for a great number of years—I think I am right in saying about forty—there were always two, and sometimes three Popes at once; so that, even according to their own account, nobody could say which was the true Pope. Very well, then, it follows that nobody could say who was a true cardinal, who was a true bishop, or who was a true priest; for each Pope appointed his own cardinals and his own bishops, and these of course ordained their own priests. The whole church was in a state of thorough con-

fusion. Then they thought to mend matters; but instead of that they only succeeded in making the confusion doubly confounded. What do you think they did? They first called a council at Constance. But church councils, under the canon law, can only be called by the Pope; so that, according to the Romanists, it was no council at all. Then what do you think they did after that? They called upon all three Popes to resign, and deposed them all for refusing. Well, but if one of them was the true Pope, it follows that they deposed the true Pope; and that was against the canon law. But if they did not depose the true Pope, then there had been no Pope for forty years. In place of the one true and two false Popes they then appointed a Pope of their own—Martin V. Now, according to the canon law of Rome, it is most strictly laid down that only cardinals can elect the Pope; and consequently this Martin V. was certainly no true Pope. Looking back over this period of forty years, one thing is clear: that even if there was a true Pope at the beginning of it, all his cardinals, bishops, and priests had died out, so that no man could tell if there was a true representative left. I ask, then, where are the Orders and the Apostolic Succession in the Roman Catholic Church? You cannot discover that there was any such thing, and there is, to say the least, a great likelihood that there are no Orders and no Apostolic Succession at all.

But we may go a step further than that, because there is a bull called "*Cum tam Divino*," though they like to keep it secret, in which Pope Julius II. declared in the strongest terms against simony, and decreed that anyone who was

guilty of simony—even supposing he only promised a friend ; “ If I come to be Pope I shall make you or your brother a bishop ”—should be incapable of any ecclesiastical promotion for ever, and should lose all the dignities and position, even to the Popedom, which he possessed. The bull decreed, I say, that anyone, even though he were the Pope, who was guilty of the slightest simony should lose all Orders and dignities in the Roman Church and should be unable for ever to hold any office in it. Look into Roman Catholic histories, and you will find them to confess that Pope after Pope was guilty of simony. During the whole schism of which I have spoken, if you choose to confine yourself to that time, you will find that all sides were guilty of it. Therefore, it follows that there was not a single true Pope, even according to their own account. Now, I ask you where are their Orders and their Apostolic Succession ?

Now, take it another way. They have an extraordinary doctrine which is called the Doctrine of Intention. This doctrine teaches that, for the true performance of any sacrament, the person who performs it must have the intention to do a certain thing—to do as the church does, they say. For instance, if a bishop wants to ordain a priest he must have the intention of conferring Orders upon him ; and if he has not that intention he does not confer them at all. Now, I tell you that among the prelates of Rome there is an immense amount of infidelity. They see those inconsistencies and frauds, and all the arguments and facts which make against them, as well as we do, and know that what I say is true. The result is that the most of them are infidels, although they

pretend to be the contrary. Of course, when these infidels come to confer any sacrament, they do not have the intention; for they look upon the whole ceremony as a piece of nonsense and tomfoolery; and, therefore, according to the law of their church the sacrament is not performed. Where, then, I ask again, are the Orders and the Apostolic Succession? It is to be regretted that in consequence of the want of knowledge of these things, the rector of a large parish in London allowed this poor woman to drift into errors and to plunge into the idolatries of Rome. But in these days nobody seems to be aware of the danger which is impending, and nobody will take the trouble to study this controversy.

This convention will, I think, be productive of very great good, and not in Scotland alone. Even here, I am told, there are some apathy and some ignorance; but these are not so great as with us in the south. The convention will turn men's minds to the subject; it will have an effect not in this country alone, but in England as well. And it is most necessary that we should raise our voices; for I tell you what I know for a fact that both sides in Parliament—I don't care whether you are Liberal or Conservative—are running a race towards Rome, and desiring to bring this country under the dominion of the Pope. And they are doing everything on every side with that deliberate intention in view. So it has been for years. It was so in the year 1587, when there was enormous danger of this country being reduced under the dominion of the Pope. Spain was then by far the most powerful country in the world, and she fitted out the Armada for the subjugation of Protestant

England—a great fleet of 200 ships, while Drake had only some 34 ships for the defence of this country. Humanly speaking, you would have thought that Drake had no chance, and that the country was lost to Protestantism, and perhaps doomed to destruction. But the year 1588 came, and with it the destruction of the Armada, not by Drake alone, but by the hand of God, who sent storms to scatter it. So much for the years 1587 and 1588. Now, we will pass over a hundred years. In 1687, Tyrconnell was endeavouring to carry out a Jesuit scheme to wear out and destroy the Protestant landlords in Ireland, in order that the land might fall into the hands of the Roman Catholic tenants; and then Ireland was to be separated from England and to be given Home Rule under the protection of the Jesuits—Louis Quatorze and Père la Chaise. You all know what happened in 1688—the whole web of intrigue was swept away. Now, to pass over another hundred years, let us come to 1787: Charles Edward, the Pretender, a Roman Catholic, was then intriguing to conquer the country. That was another Roman Catholic conspiracy, and there was considerable danger in the situation of affairs at that time. But 1788 came, and Charles Edward, the Pretender, died. In Italy, where Romanism had been rampant, its power was reduced by a number of enlightened writers, Gioberti and others, who arose and wrote in that year. There was also formed the alliance between Protestant England and Protestant Prussia to support the Netherlands against Roman Catholic aggression. Thus the year 1788 was disastrous to Romish supremacy. I have now sketched what

happened in the eighty-sevens and eighty-eights in three centuries. Next year (now about a fortnight away) comes 1887. Who knows what that year will bring forth? Then will come 1888, if the second Advent does not precede it. Who knows what that year will bring forth? In conclusion, I say that we may trust ourselves most securely in the hands of Almighty God, and He will work our deliverance in 1888, if we only do our duty as far as in us lies and resist the stealthy inroads of Popery.

Rev. E. H. F. COSENS, M.A., Incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Tewkesbury :—I come to you in all humility, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and I come, I feel persuaded, to brethren who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. I desire to consider one particular subject which is in the minds of some of us, “the Federation of Protestant Societies.” We are beginning to talk of that to a certain extent in England at the present time. We think we have been taught God’s truth in the calm retreat and the silent shade, but we think that the time has come when we should emerge from our comparative obscurity and join forces, so that our principles may be known and read more widely than they have been before. With our Evangelical Societies in England, and our Protestant Unions, and our Ridley and Wycliffe Halls at Oxford and Cambridge, and our large Christian Nonconformist bodies, we think we ought not to leave aggressive Romanism—(and who shall say how aggressive Romanism is)—master of the field. I think we have signal proof of the benefits of the combination of individuals. In Belgium they have the motto—“*L’Union fait la force.*”

And why should it not be so with regard especially to a congeries of Protestant associations. I have read of a certain Solemn League and Covenant which was signed not only by your countrymen in Scotland, but also by the English Parliament, and by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. That covenant, I need not say here, bound the people of Scotland to certain principles, and to the externals which symbolised those principles. And I think nothing could be more eloquent and impressive than the way in which the country as a man signed the Covenant. It was a grand thing you had federation there in a most emphatic sense. And surely, Sir, if that was so, why should we not have something of the same kind now? I do not know whether the circumstance is fresh in some of your minds, but I think that the answer given at that period to the heavenly-minded Leighton—(though he did call it “dry and short”)—“We are not free in our consciences to close with the propositions of the Bishop of Dunblane,” was also an eloquent expression of a strong and united people on a great subject.

Sir, you have amongst you a few Englishmen to-night. We have come purposely to express to you the deep sympathy we feel in the gallant stand made by your Alliance against all that savours of Popery. On our side, as on your side, of the Border there are those who yearn for a prayerful and affectionate federation of Scottish and English Protestants. Such a welding together of true-hearted, Scriptural, and spiritually-minded Protestants would speak loudly to those around us for the truth and strength of our

opinions, and would be a discouragement to all that is opposed to Christian verity. I earnestly trust that we are come together not in our own strength, but looking up to our blessed Lord to stand by us and be our strength at this time; and I do trust that we shall confer together in the wisdom and love and spirit of firm determination which only God can give us. I do trust we shall realise more fully than we have done the craft and the astuteness of Rome, now perhaps more active than ever, and I say, in the Lord's name, let us of Scotland and of England who are true Protestants join hands!

Mr. R. J. NIVEN, Dundee, said:—This Convention reminds me of a Convention (of which I had the honour of being a member) in 1860—twenty-six years ago—when in Edinburgh we celebrated the tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation. On thinking to-day of those meetings and the able men who addressed them, I could not help being sad, sad that so many of those noble men have fallen asleep, and we do not now enjoy their counsel. But I was glad that so many of them remain to us still. Dr. Guthrie delivered the opening sermon from the text: “The truth shall make you free,” and it was perhaps one of the most eloquent sermons he ever preached. The venerable Dr. Symington preached at the laying of the foundation of the Protestant Institute from the text: “Come out of her, my people.” Principal Cunningham, Dr. Hetherington, Dr. Marcus Dill, Dr. Lorimer, and Dr. James Begg, who was the centre and mainspring of the whole work, were there, and others who are “now with Christ, which is better.” I

am glad that among those who took part in those proceedings not a few still remain, and of these there are in the programme of this Convention : Dr. Moir Porteous, Mr. Gault, Mr. Balfour, Dr. Inglis of the New Hebrides, Dr. Hamilton Magee, Dr. Balfour, and last, though not least, my venerable and learned friend Dr. Wylie, whose " History of Protestantism " will be to him a monument far greater than any that could be raised in marble. One of the most interesting episodes of those tercentenary meetings was on the occasion of Pastor Chiniquy's first address in Scotland, when he told of the many conversions of Popery through his preaching in Canada.

Now, there are too many amongst us who seem to forget that there is a battle going on between Christ and Antichrist. They have some kind of idea that there was a great struggle and triumph in the times of Luther and John Knox, and that there will be a great struggle again before the overthrow of the system ; but the struggle is going on every day in our midst, and the strange and sad thing is that the struggle seems to be going on all on one side. Rome is constantly united, constantly at work, and constantly with one object in view. She is determined to carry out that work come what will. It is a very sad thing to me by bitter experience that Protestant ministers are ill-acquainted with the Romish controversy, and that they seem to forget that they have anything to say about it. A good man whom I know came to a prayer meeting, and at the close said to a friend of mine, " I have heard a prayer against popery to-night for the first time for ten years," and

yet he had been attending a Free church congregation and was regularly in his place. Once when I was a member of Presbytery there was a student being tried for the granting of his license, and when the members were asked if they had any questions to put I felt inclined to ask, "How, sir, do you expect to get the blessing that is promised you in the 4th chapter of 1st Timothy, where the Holy Spirit, after giving a description of the Church of Rome, says: 'If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ?'" There are some ministers seemingly careless of receiving this blessing.

Some people say in regard to the troubles in Ireland, that if we would only send an envoy to the Pope of Rome, and be on good terms with him, he would enable us to keep the peace in Ireland. Sir, Popery keep the peace in Ireland! Popery has ever been the curse of Ireland! Come riot, come revolution, come whatever may, our Queen alone shall be the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and her Colonies. Our Queen's parliament shall alone make the laws of the land, and our Queen's soldiers alone shall defend us in the battles we have to fight. Our trust is in the God of battles; and Popery, which received its wound at the Reformation, will soon receive its final doom if we forget not to "come to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

Mr. ROBERT SCOTT, London:—From a lad I have felt a deep interest in the subject to be considered at this convention. In my teens I had my soul stirred to its depths by

reading Howie's touching narratives of our Scottish Worthies: my eyes opened to the workings of the "mystery of iniquity," by reading Dr. Duff's pamphlet on the Jesuits in India; and since then I have seen and read enough of Rome's doings to keep alive the Protestant spirit in me. Before the close of these meetings I expect to have my knowledge increased and my interest deepened, and at the same time my compassion for our Roman Catholic fellow-men intensified. I am sure I speak the feelings of every Christian here when I say that our "heart's desire and prayer to God for them is that they may be saved." It was meet that this convention should be held in Glasgow—the headquarters of the Scottish Protestant Alliance—who had the Christian courage to protest against the appointment of a Roman Catholic to the Home Secretaryship of this Protestant nation, and the *honour* to receive an insulting reply from Lord Randolph Churchill, the flippant Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although I speak thus, let not my Conservative friends suppose that I am an infatuated Liberal, a red-hot Radical, or an unscrupulous Home Ruler. I am a political sceptic. I have lost faith in all the *parties*, but not in *principles*. I am with the Conservatives in conserving all that is good, with the Liberals when they are liberal with that which is *their own*, with the Radicals when their aim is to eradicate what is evil, and with the Home Rulers when they shall begin to preach the Bible doctrine, that every man should rule his own home in the fear of God.

When I first knew the city of Glasgow it possessed the motto—"Let Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the

Word." Like husband and wife, that motto consisted of two halves, the *good* half, and the *better half*: true yoke-fellows they were. By what good man, or men, they were joined together, I know not. One thing I know—they should never have been put asunder. About twenty years ago an agitation was got up against the "*better half*"—by whom, or for what reason, I never discovered. Suffice it to say that, "While the Christian men and women of Glasgow were busy here and there," a divorce was effected, and the "*better half*" was gone, leaving the poor husband to shiver *alons*. Has Glasgow flourished the better since this ungodly deed was executed? I trow not. The most gigantic and disgraceful frauds have been perpetrated: men whom we used to respect, and look up to, have forfeited their good names; and through them the fair fame of this great mart was—for the time at least—somewhat tarnished.

Some may ask, "What has this to do with the subject of our Convention?" Much every way? Popery fears the faithful preaching of the Word more than anything else. She can no more stand before the open Bible than darkness can stand before the light. She hates the light, because her deeds are evil. Some of you will remember that about the time that the "*better half*" of your motto was ignominiously dropped, the open-air preaching of the Word in Glasgow got a severe check. The late Mr. Macoll, of the Bridegate Free Church, in his zeal for the salvation of the poor folk in that neglected district, commenced to preach the Word from the stone pulpit in the tower of his church. The people gathered together, and gladly heard the Word.

But he had not done much of this, when the priests in their zeal for keeping their flocks in ignorance, hired a cab, drove through the quiet assemblage on the Sabbath, and then, on an early day, brought a complaint before the sheriff that the open-air preaching was causing the thoroughfare to be blocked, and that it must be stopped. The sheriff of that day, himself a Roman Catholic, gave judgment in favour of the priests; and from that time there was no more preaching of the Word from Mr. Macoll's stone pulpit.

Why, herein is a marvellous thing!—that a city prospering by the preaching of the Word (for I hold that Glasgow did flourish by the preaching of the Word), should stand by and see its motto mutilated, and its glory trampled under foot. If times of prosperity, even such as I have seen, are to return, and to remain, it will be by the preaching of the Word. The chief corner-stone of commercial greatness is *truth*, and *truth* is hewn, laid, and squared by the preaching of *the Word*. Christian men and women of Glasgow! restore your motto in its integrity (if it has not been already done). Let the Word of God have *free course*. Give Irish Roman Catholics and their priests to understand distinctly and with the least possible delay that, though you are not so intolerant as to require that when they come to Glasgow they must do as Glasgow does, yet that they must not think of interfering with your King's command to preach the Gospel to every creature.

REV. KENNETH MOODY-STUART, M.A., Moffat:—I have little experience in dealing with Roman Catholics regarding the tenets of their faith, but I have found a careful review

of the doctrines debated between us and the papists—one of the best ways for instructing Protestant young men and women in religious truth. In no other way could such an intelligent knowledge of Christian doctrine be communicated to them. In order to a clear definition of any religious doctrine it must be contrasted with its opposing error. The unity and spirituality of the Divine Being can be understood by contrasting it with polytheism and the image worship of the heathen or the Romanists; the fact of the one mediatorship of Jesus Christ can only be made clear by contrasting it with the other mediators—virgin, angels, saints—introduced by papists; the efficacy of His one sacrifice on Calvary is made clear when opposed to the constantly-repeated sacrifice of the mass; the internal character of true religion is at once seen by contrasting it with the externalism of popery and ritualism; the sovereignty and freeness of the Holy Spirit's working is seen in contrast with a system which says that grace and spiritual life are conveyed only through rites and ceremonies duly performed and in holy places. The fact that God only can forgive sins, and that we must deal directly with Him in order to obtain this priceless blessing, is enforced by contrasting it with the conduct of those who confess sin to, and ask forgiveness from, a fellow-man. While I do not confine my teaching of Bible classes to this method, I have found it on the whole the best for enlightening the mind and awakening the conscience and bringing to true peace in Jesus. It was the system followed in all our Protestant catechisms and confessions, which were unintelligible except explained in this

manner. It was the system pursued in the two great inspired New Testament treatises on Christian doctrine—viz., the Epistle to the Romans, where the doctrines of grace are taught by being thrown into direct contrast to legalism; and in Hebrews, where the same doctrines of grace are enforced by being contrasted not with the moral but with the ceremonial law. This method of teaching has therefore the highest sanction. Our duty to our youth is not discharged till we have ground them thoroughly in the truth and taught them to defend it and cleave to it and love it.

Rev. JACOB PRIMMER, Dunfermline:—I have read in the *Tablet*, a Romish newspaper, that Dr. Manning says that "Protestantism is dead." The editor says ditto; and a number of other dignitaries of the Church of Rome also say "yes, it is dead." And there is a little man up in London, who managed to kick everybody else out of the way, so that he might get into one of the highest positions in the State, who thought too that "Protestantism was dead." So, arming himself with a red-hot poker, he sent it flying to Glasgow, and to his amazement the sleeping lion roused himself and began to roar, and he found out that after all Protestantism is not dead.

When I was a boy in Leith, I remember how that three or four masons were working about the foundations of a house, and that at the dinner hour they retired into the house to take their dinner. And either that night or the next morning, I saw the house in ruins lying on the top of them. And we as a nation have been undermining our

constitution. We have neglected all the warnings of our forefathers, and the teachings of our country's history, and have forgotten the sufferings of the martyrs, and have done very much to bring about the destruction of our country.

Mr. Gladstone, I believe, wants to get the Papists out of the House of Commons. But the evil was in allowing them to get into it. They had no right to get in at all. They are not loyal subjects. They give their allegiance first to the Pope of Rome, and then to the Queen. Farseeing men said in 1829, that that would be the result if you allowed them to get into Parliament. "Oh, there is no fear," said the worldly-wise, "let them in." In an evil hour these rebels to our throne were let into our Houses of Parliament, and now Mr. Gladstone wants to get them out. But how does he propose to get them out? Why, by handing over our fellow Protestants in Ireland to civil war, ay, and to massacre. But I will tell him an easier way to get them out, and that is by a short Act of Parliament. And when he introduces it into the House of Commons, he would say, "Now we find that all the prophecies of 1829 have been more than fulfilled, as we have found out that Papists are neither loyal to the constitution of this country, nor are they true to our Queen. They will, even in Glasgow, hiss "God save the Queen" when sung, as they did the other day. Therefore let us repeal the Catholic Emancipation Act.

There is another reason why Rome has not been resisted as she ought. Last year a short paragraph appeared in the *Scotsman* about a fire that occurred in a French village

There were two rival fire brigades summoned to put it out. There was a race to see which would get first to the scene. Having arrived and found water, they quarrelled, and, instead of playing on the burning houses, they played on one another, with the result that most of the village was burnt down. You see the moral. In this country church has fought with church. We have not been looking at our common enemy. The Romish foe has stood by while we struggled, clapping her hands with great glee. We have been wasting our life and spending oceans of money trying to destroy one another, and therefore Rome has been advancing.

A word about the treatment of that aged servant of the Lord, the Rev. Peter Leys. Why was that martyr allowed to lie in Edinburgh jail a whole month among thieves and murderers without public indignation being roused? What did the *Scotsman* say about our Protestantism? It said: "The spirit of Protestantism is dead." It asked, "Where is Dr. Begg? Where is the fervour and indignation of the past? There is nothing done to procure the liberation of this poor man lying in Calton jail." Why was this? If he had been a popish priest we would have had scores and hundreds of people getting up requisitions and holding indignation meetings everywhere, but here was an aged servant of the Lord Jesus, a true child of God, and he was allowed to lie in prison without anything being done to procure his liberation. And why? Because there were multitudes in Scotland who were joining hands with the Church of Rome.

Let us be like the man in Birmingham in January of this

year. A wild bull had been tossing and wounding people in all directions until one brave man got hold of it by the horns, and, after a fierce struggle, at last got its head down to the ground and a butcher finished it. We are in the same determined spirit to take popery by the horns, and soon we shall have it down, and God the great Avenger of His people and His Church will speedily destroy it.

REV. ALEX. M. BANNATYNE, Aberdeen :—I received an account from the late Rev. Dr. Lewis of Rome of the very interesting death-bed confession of one of the chief men of the National party at Rome, who at that time were contriving to wrest the city from the civil domination of the Pope. That man had acquired a knowledge of the Gospel, and so had discarded the confessional and submission in other respects to priests. But since he was a man of mark, it was considered inadvisable to awaken suspicion by the glaring neglect of any outward rite. Accordingly, in order to the customary funeral rites, and lest the case should be conspicuous, and excite inquiry on the part of the Pope's underlings as to the Nationalist's antecedents, it was agreed that a priest, who had sympathy with the party and in whom the party contending for liberty had confidence, should be called in to confess the dying patriot. This priest accordingly came, and placing himself near, asked the patriot, "What have you to confess?" The reply was: "I am a great sinner, but the blood of Jesus, God's Son, cleanseth us from all sin." The priest, expecting the penitent to be more particular, asked, "Have you anything else to confess?" The reply was: "Yes, I am a great sinner,

but the blood of Jesus, God's Son, cleanseth us from all sin." Again the question was put: "Have you nothing else to confess?" Again the same answer was given in the same words. A third time the question was put in somewhat identical terms, and in precisely identical terms the answer was repeated: "O yes, I am a great sinner, but the blood of Jesus, God's Son, cleanseth us from all sin." So the priest, finding that he could elicit no more, had to be satisfied, granted absolution, and certified in due form that, when dying, confession had been made. And the burial of this Christian patriot took place in Rome without suspicion. I tell the story of him here and now, because if we could get lovingly imbedded in the understanding and heart of all and sundry what he so rigidly adhered to in life and in death, we should implant by God's blessing there a central soul-saving Scriptural truth, that would prove itself to be a powerful anti-popish antidote.

REV. THOMAS GRAY, Missionary to South Africa, addressed the meeting.

REV. JAMES M'CAUL, of Montreal, gave some information regarding the relations of Popery and Protestantism in Canada. The conversion of Chiniquy was a remarkable event. By his efforts many thousands had been brought out from the Church of Rome. Recently, the Christian Churches of Canada had been labouring earnestly for the conversion of Roman Catholics, and their labours had not been without considerable success. There are five congregations of Protestant worshippers in the city of Montreal, the members and adherents of which had been brought out-

of the Romish communion. No less than five priests, also, had abandoned Popery and become zealous Protestants.

REV. JAMES PATON, Glasgow, pronounced the benediction.

READING OF PAPERS.

THE Convention met on Wednesday, 15th December, at 12 o'clock. The Lesser Hall of the Christian Institute was found too small for the attendance, and an adjournment was made to the Large Hall. Mr. ANDREW AIRD, Glasgow, occupied the chair for the first hour.

Rev. J. M. SLOAN, M.A., Glasgow, opened the Convention with prayer.

Mr. AIRD said:—This is an age of conferences. Churches meet for consideration of ecclesiastical affairs. Benevolent and other associations assemble together to strengthen their hands, or lay before the public evidence of the value of the undertakings with which they are connected. These gatherings are, no doubt, very important, but the Convention of the Scottish Protestant Alliance, which is met to-day, transcends them all in interest and importance, because, were Popery triumphant in this country, these and like meetings would not be permitted.

The programme on which we are about to enter has upon it papers which will bring under our notice the workings of the Papacy, not only in our native land, but in the far away islands of the Southern hemisphere. The printed record of the proceedings of this Convention will be read with much interest by all connected with the Protestant

churches of the world, while the outcome and effect of this meeting will be viewed as of vital consequence by everyone who regards Popery as the foe of human progress, and as a moral boa-constrictor which wraps itself round the liberties of nations, only to crush them to death.

I trust that, by the divine blessing on our deliberations, much good will result from our Conference; that Protestant principles will be spread; and that the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ will be advanced both at home and abroad.

REV. CHARLES A. SALMOND, M.A., Glasgow, read a paper on "Romish Ascendancy *versus* British Ascendancy:" v. p. 17.

REV. JOHN INGLIS, D.D., of the New Hebrides, read a Paper on "Popery in the South Seas:" v. p. 36.

At one o'clock, the chair was taken by Major MACLEOD, Dalkeith.

REV. J. K. CAMPBELL, D.D., Stirling, led in prayer.

Major MACLEOD said:—It is a reproach and a rebuke to England as well as to Scotland that this convention is necessary. It is necessary because the people are fast asleep in a fool's paradise, and their church and state watchmen, under the spell of Jesuitical mesmerism, crying "Peace, peace, when there is no peace;" and the citadels of our Protestant constitution thrown open to the enemy. It is not an innocent creed we have to oppose in the Papacy, but a conspiracy against our liberty and property—ecclesiastical and political high treason—the implacable Inquisition—the fires of persecution—national spoliation—and the

invasion of a foreign power. The cry at present is "Religious equality," which means the repeal of all protective laws of the Protestant religion, including the coronation oath, and which will make room for the canon law of Rome. But some people blindly say that religious equality in the eyes of the law is a righteous thing. But as law is only the codified will of the nation, whatever is equal in the eyes of the one must be so in the eyes of the other; and, therefore, it means that the nation must regard Popery, Mahometanism, Hindooism, the immoral religion of China, the bestial religion of Mongolia, and all the deadly errors of the world as on the same footing as Christianity, and that means *no religion* and *no God*. The devil was the first advocate of religious equality when he presumed to claim that he and his rebellious followers should be put on equal footing with God and His loyal subjects in heaven in the eyes of His perfect and immutable law. The carrying out of this theory would overthrow the principles of the Reformation and the foundations of society and involve the nation in communism and revolution. "The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish, yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted."

Mr. A. H. GUINNESS, M.A., London, read a paper on "The Jesuits and Social Morality:" v. p. 51.

Rev. JAMES KERR, Glasgow, read a paper on "The Educational Policy of the Papacy:" v. p. 59.

At two o'clock, the chair was taken by Major-General JAMES M. GRANT, Southleigh, Edinburgh.

Rev. A. T. DONALD, Glasgow, led in prayer.

Major-General GRANT said :—With your permission I will read a short extract from Spurgeon which is full of comfort and courage, and is, I think, justly applicable in present circumstances. Preaching from Zechariah i. 20—“And the Lord showed me four carpenters”—Mr. Spurgeon remarks: “In the vision described in this chapter the prophet saw four terrible horns. They were pushing this way and that way, dashing down the strongest and mightiest; and the prophet asked, What are these? The answer was, These are the horns which have scattered Israel. He saw before him a representation of those powers which had oppressed the church of God. There were four horns, for the church is attacked from all quarters. Well might the prophet have felt dismayed; but on a sudden there appear before him four carpenters. He asked: What shall these do? These are the men whom God hath found to break those horns in pieces. God will always find men for His work, and He will find them at the right time. The prophet did not see the carpenters first, when there was nothing to do; but first the ‘horns,’ and then the ‘carpenters.’ Moreover, the Lord finds enough men. He did not find three carpenters, but four; there were four horns, and there must be four workmen; not four men with pens to write; not four architects to draw plans; but four carpenters to do rough work. Rest assured, you who tremble for the Ark of God, that when the horns grow troublesome, the carpenters will be found.

“You need not fret concerning the Church of God at any

moment; there may be growing up in obscurity the valiant reformers who will shake the nations. Chrysostoms may come forth from our ragged schools, and Augustines from the thickest darkness of London's poverty. The Lord knows where to find His servants. He hath in ambush a multitude of mighty men, and at His word they shall start up to the battle; for the battle is the Lord's, and He shall get to Himself the victory. Let us abide faithful to Christ, and He, in the right time, will raise up for us a defence, whether it be in the day of our personal need, or in the season of peril to His church."

Rev. D. M. CONNOR, M.A., LL.B., Glasgow, read a paper on "Romish Organization, especially in Scotland:" v. p. 76.

Rev. JAMES PATON, B.A., Glasgow, read a paper on "British Legislative Concessions to the Papacy:" v. p. 92.

Colonel W. MACDONALD MACDONALD, of St. Martin's, Perth, said:—I have listened with pleasure to the paper just read. Our governments have conceded too much to the Papal party, and the time has come when both political parties must become more independent, and preserve the integrity and Protestant character of the Crown. I have recently had correspondence with the Honorary Secretary of the Alliance regarding the most extraordinary treatment by a Minister of State of the remonstrance of the Protestants of Scotland against a Roman Catholic being appointed a Cabinet minister. Whatever Her Majesty's Government might have felt upon the subject, at least it was due to the

Protestants of Scotland that they should be treated with courtesy and with consideration. I have never known a more discourteous answer by a Cabinet minister to a body so dignified and so earnest as this Scottish Protestant Alliance. The correspondence on behalf of the Alliance was carried on in a most gentleman-like manner, and the noble lord who answered their letter must in some way have forgotten himself or the position in which he stood.

Rev. W. BALFOUR, Edinburgh, closed the meeting with devotional exercises.

The Convention resumed at seven o'clock P.M., when the chair was taken for the first hour by Mr. PETER HUTCHISON, Glasgow.

Rev. W. JEFFREY, LL.D., opened the Meeting by prayer.

Mr. HUTCHISON said:—In a land like ours, where they had had so many forefathers who had been earnest and faithful in holding Protestant principles, who counted not their lives dear to them, but sealed their testimony with their blood,—Patrick Hamilton, Wishart, M'Kail, and others had suffered—they were apt to forget at what cost those fruits were secured, and what they owed to the faithful contendings of those patriotic and self-sacrificing heroes. Having before our memories the lessons of the historic past and the experiences of our own day, it would ill become us to hold lightly or loosely those Protestant principles that

had made our little country in the best sense of the words :—

Great, glorious, and free,
First flower of the earth,
And first gem of the sea.

Rev. J. A. WYLIE, LL.D., Edinburgh, read a paper on
“ Popery : Resuscitated and Consummated Paganism : ”
v. p. 127.

Rev. R. GAULT, Glasgow, said :—The point in the paper was one of the most important for enlightening both Protestants and Roman Catholics. There was not a single doctrine in the Word of God which Popery had not traversed and sought to overthrow. This could be proved, not from our own representations, but from representations of Roman Catholic publications themselves. Therefore, we entreat our Protestant friends to be aware of the system, and our Roman Catholic friends to come out of the church. People told them there were good Christians in that church, but no man who held the doctrines of the Church of Rome could be a real Christian.

Mr. THOMAS M'CLURE, London :—I deny that popery is a church, and contend that it is a political system endeavouring to undermine the privileges of this country. The policy of Rome was to destroy the liberties and privileges of Englishmen and to gain the ascendancy.

Mr. ROBERT SCOTT, London :—Dr. Wylie has well brought out the fact that it was Satan they had got to do with in Romanism. The Pope of Rome is as truly a puppet of

Satan as was the Apostle Peter when Christ said, "Get thee behind me, Satan." The Word of God was the only weapon with which to meet him.

Rev. JOHN DOUGLAS, London :—I agree with Dr. Wylie that modern Romanism is simply old paganism. The statue of St. Peter in the Vatican was merely one of Jupiter with a new head. The Romish miracles, too, are obvious imitations of pagan ones.

At eight o'clock the chair was taken by the Right Honorable Lord ROBERT MONTAGU.

Rev. JOHN STURROCK, Edinburgh, led in prayer.

Lord ROBERT MONTAGU said :—I urge upon you the absolute necessity of studying the action of that ubiquitous and restless race, the Jesuits. Perhaps you do not know that the war of secession in the United States was brought about by Jesuit intrigue. I knew that at the time; and yet I was surprised to find that Pastor Chiniquy knew the fact, and asserted also that President Lincoln was murdered by a Jesuit emissary. I knew, also, the committee of the Polish Revolution in 1863, which sat in a street in St. James', London, and thence sent orders to Langievicz. The futile attempt to set up an empire in Mexico was also a Jesuit intrigue. You know that the late war between France and Germany was caused by the Jesuits, and the Empress Eugénie called it her war. The short war of 1866 was the result of a Jesuit intrigue to put down Protestant Prussia, and centre the empire of Germany in Catholic

Austria, but Prince Bismarck, with a wonderful energy and ability, anticipated and defeated the Jesuit conspiracy. The Danish war of 1864 had exactly the same object, and Bismarck was again too quick for them, and the Austrians retired. The Hanoverian court was at the time entirely under the influence of the Jesuits, and in favour of Austria. The people invited Bismarck to save them; and when the Prussians arrived the Hanoverian troops refused to fight. I have alluded to those Jesuit intrigues so that you may open your eyes to the fact that a similar conspiracy has for some years been flourishing in Great Britain, and has been using the Irish peasantry as a means of humiliating and weakening this Protestant country. Nor is it only Protestant countries which suffer under the incubus of Jesuitism. Even the Pope himself knows well that their system is "Obedience tempered by assassination," as was well said by an eminent French writer.

I may be permitted to relate to you an anecdote which was narrated to me last October by an eminent ecclesiastic who actually was present in the Vatican Council, and took part in it. Of course I do not know the facts of my own knowledge, but the ecclesiastic who told me has exceptionally good means of knowing, and I feel sure he would not have deceived me. But first I must remind you of what you yourselves do know: Last summer there appeared in the daily journals a telegram from Rome announcing that the Pope had been taken suddenly and seriously ill. The next day there was a telegram saying that the doctors did not understand the Pope's complaint. Then, in a few days,

there was a telegram saying that the Pope was quite well. Those facts you probably remember. Now for the eminent ecclesiastic's narration. When the Pope's life was despaired of, a Jesuit appeared at his bedside and said: "Holy Father, you have taken a poison with which your doctors are unacquainted, and you will certainly die unless you receive an antidote which only our society knows of." "What do you require of me?" asked the dying Pope. "That you should sign and promulgate this bull." The Pope signed, received the antidote, and recovered. That was the bull "*Dolemus inter alia*," which gives to the Jesuit Society all the privileges which the Jesuits ever possessed. A bull is promulgated by affixing it to the door of St. Peter's, but yet no outsiders have seen this bull, and I have found it impossible to obtain a copy, even in Rome. If that anecdote is true—and I do not doubt it—it shows you two things: first, the way in which infallible bulls are manufactured; and secondly, the enormous and unscrupulous power of the Jesuits.

Rev. VERNER M. WHITE, LL.D., London, read a paper on "Papal Infallibility—The Œcumenical Council of 1870:" v. p. 134.

Mr. R. J. NIVEN, Dundee, said:—By the infallibility of the Pope, Rome had crowned her blasphemous assumptions. She could go no higher than to put the Pope in the place of God. On the very day, and, it is believed, at the very hour when the infallibility decree was passed, Count Benedetti insulted the King of Prussia in the Gardens at Ems, and the result was a declaration of war between France and Germany.

That war had more to do with the infallibility decree than many supposed. The scheme of the Jesuits was this : Protestantism was gaining ground ; Rome did not govern the world as she did before ; they therefore got the decree passed, and then brought about a war between Popish France and Protestant Germany. The Emperor—Napoleon the Third—knew well that his troops were not ready for war, but the Emperor's wife was in the hands of the Jesuits, and she being warned that the Germans might be victorious said : " Better the Germans in Paris, than the Italians in Rome."

I am very sorry that our noble Queen was so often visited by the Empress Eugénie. This frequent calling by the Empress Eugénie on our Queen, and this frequent communion between the Prince of Wales and Dr. Manning were not accidental things, and they would have their result. The woman who spoke, as cited, about the ruin of her country, would not be unwilling to see this kingdom in ruins, that Rome might have her sway.

Referring to the fact that the infallibility of the Pope is said to be in regard to matters of " faith and morals," recollect that a Roman Catholic wrote to Dr. Manning some years ago, saying he was quite willing to accept the Pope's infallibility in regard to " faith and morals," but what was he to do in regard to the question of voting for a member of Parliament. Dr. Manning replied, that the man he voted for would either vote in favour of the interests of the Church or against them, and therefore the act of his vote in electing a member of Parliament came to be a question of

“faith and morals.” Now, we have Mr. Matthews, a Roman Catholic, as Home Secretary of the country. As Mr. Matthews must believe, upon the penalty of his soul’s salvation, in the infallibility of the Pope, this question of “faith and morals” must interfere with his duty to his country. If the interest of Britain required Mr. Matthews to do *this*, and the interest of Rome required him to do *the other*, that other he would do.

Mr. W. C. MAUGHAN said :—I was present in Rome on that great historical occasion when the council which decreed the Pope’s infallibility assembled in St. Peter’s for the first time. Everything was done to give the proceedings great *éclat*, and the spectacle was one of great magnificence. Prelates and high dignitaries from many parts of the world assembled all decked in splendid vestments and ecclesiastical finery, and a vast concourse of strangers from various parts of Europe and America were spectators of the scene. But, as is well known, there was nothing like free discussion permitted at the Council ; if any one ventured to express opinions contrary to what the majority were determined to force on, he was heard with impatience, and very soon his voice drowned amid cries of angry dissent, while epithets like “traitor,” “Protestant,” etc., were hurled at the offender. Yet a few months after that decree was promulgated, there occurred that grand event, the practical liberation of the kingdom of Italy and the entry of the Italian troops into Rome.

Rev. JOHN M’EWAN, Edinburgh, said :—We must all have been struck with the latter part of Dr. White’s paper,

referring to the teaching of God's Word, as to the final end of that system which had been such a great curse to the world for so many centuries. It would seem that nothing apparently could be done further by Popery to dishonour God and to bring down His judgment, than this final act of a fallible, sinful man assuming the position of a God, and sitting on the throne as God. But there was another thought. In regard to the judgment of the Papacy to which Dr. White referred, I see in the Bible that not only those who professed that false and idolatrous religion are to suffer, but those also who gave their power to the beast. One of the saddest features of the present times is that this country—a country with such an ancestry of martyrs and noble witnesses for God—should at this moment be in the melancholy position of giving so great power to this pernicious system. One result of the convention will, I hope, be that the people of this country will be led to study this subject. I do not believe that one-third of our Protestant people connected with our churches have the slightest conception of the real character and purpose and effects of Popery. The greatest obstacle to Protestantism comes from Protestants themselves remaining in a state of apathy while the enemy is directing all her energies, as Dr. Manning said, to bend and subject the imperious race of Saxon-speaking people to her sway. If there is one thing more than another better fitted to make us not only die like the Marquis of Argyll with a "heart-hatred of Popery," but should teach us to live with a heart-hatred of Popery, it is the knowledge of what

Popery is and what it has done. We do not denounce Roman Catholics. We pray for and sympathise with them, but we draw a distinction between men and a system which is ruinous to man and dishonouring to God.

At nine o'clock, the chair was taken by Mr. SCOTT, London.

Rev. K. MOODY-STUART, M.A., Moffat, led in prayer.

Rev. Canon TAYLOR, D.D., Liverpool, read a paper on "The Romanizing Movement in the Church of England:" v. p. 149.

Rev. E. H. F. COSENS, M.A., Tewkesbury, gave an address on "Sources of Alarm and Encouragement:" v. p. 162.

Rev. JAMES KERR, Glasgow, said:—Our friends of the Established Church of England have not given the trumpet an uncertain sound. They are opposed to Ritualism and Romanism, and have advocated purity of doctrine and purity of worship. I would that similar views were as boldly enunciated by all the Presbyterian ministers this side of the Tweed. But it is now the case that on the question of the political advance of the Papacy in Britain, the party in the English Establishment of whom the gentlemen who have just spoken are worthy representatives, are more to be trusted than not a few Presbyterians—ministers and others, who have been afraid to give their presence and countenance to the Convention now assembled.

If Popery is to be effectively dealt with, then Ritualism must be dealt with. Ritualism is the advanced post of Romanism. The Ritualists are the thrown-out skirmishing party from the Papal camp. In Scotland, our reforming

forefathers never stopped in the work of reformation till they succeeded in casting out of the Church all the unauthorised forms and ceremonies that had been found there. It was indeed a "root and branch" Reformation. The principle that admits into the worship of God rites not prescribed by express teaching in or clear inference from the Word of God is Popish. There is no difference in the principle of such additions to worship from the principle of additions to the rule of faith and the sacraments. And one of the reasons why the English Reformation did not attain so fine proportions as the Scottish was because this department of reform was neglected, and the Church was allowed power to decree rites and ceremonies.

It is sad to contemplate the extent to which ritualistic fooleries have reached over the Border. What vestments, articles of furniture, and ornaments! Every "priest" must have a large wardrobe, full of man-millinery. There must be albs and chasubles, copes and stoles, tunics and tunicles, circular tippets and dalmatics, birettas and maniples. The "newest fashions," not from Paris, but Rome, are being constantly acquired, and the demands at particular "seasons" tax the ingenuity and the scissors of the ritualistic tailors. What an extensive apparatus for "operations" besides. There must be altars and chalices, credence tables and holy tables, bells and crucifixes, lamps and poles, candles and incense, palms and ashes, lilies and doves, screens and "stations," figures with gilt wings and figures of the infant Saviour—an apparatus which only requires the addition of such interesting relics as two of the teeth of Elisha and part

of the beard of Zechariah (both said to be preserved in the Papal cathedral of Milan) to fully equip the operator to pitch his tent and perform his manœuvres within the precincts of the Vatican.

Were the Church of England built upon her Thirty-nine Articles, her Calvinism would be indisputable, but her Ritual has weakened her. That Ritual contains two dogmas that are the "bulbs" of Popery—apostolical succession and baptismal regeneration—and till these monstrous errors are discarded there is not much hope of that church reaching a satisfactory reformation—not to speak of the great question of independent and inherent ecclesiastical jurisdiction. So long as a church continues thoroughly Calvinistic in doctrinal profession, there is not much fear that she will be driven away by Papal influence. The late Lord Shaftesbury, speaking in the House in relation to ecclesiastical questions, stated regarding a certain section of English Baptists that they never needed a reformation from Popery because their creed was so thoroughly Calvinistic. When our fathers rent the iron fetters of Rome and betook themselves to the Word of God, they produced standards whose doctrines are throughout evangelical, Calvinistic, and therefore Protestant. Our safety can only be found in the people believing in the Saviour, obeying the church's King and Lord, and following the Word of God as the final standard of appeal and alone infallible rule of faith and practice. There is much to be done, very much. The Lord of Hosts can do it; and with the Lord of Hosts on their side, Gideon's three hundred can scatter ten thousand adversaries.

Mr. THOMAS M'CLURE, London, said :—Such a Protestant union and federation as Mr. Cosens suggested is greatly to be desired, and I hope it may be secured. The feeling of many is such that when serious allusion is made to the doctrinal formularies of the Church of England, the speakers are laughed at. We want decided, determined opposition to Popish influence in the Church of England, and we want it also in the Churches of Scotland.

Rev. WILLIAM BALFOUR, Edinburgh, said :—I am delighted with the addresses I have heard. It might be expected that this land of martyrs and the Covenant would have been found at this time strong in the defence of Protestant principles, and standing up as one man and agitating for reform in the Church of England. But the movement seemed rather tending in the very opposite direction, and I trusted this Convention would have the effect of awakening among them a deep concern for Protestant truth, and that it would be the means of leading them to look into the state of things among themselves. Really we have much need to begin at home in the present day. If the present movements in Scotland proceed as they are doing, we shall find that, instead of being a bulwark of truth, the Scottish churches will rather be helpers to error in its destructive progress.

Rev. WM. BARRAS, Glasgow, said :—From the tone of the statements and proposals which have been submitted, we may expect something beneficial in the future. I like the word federation which has been used. We want the Church to be as broad, liberal, and varied as the Holy Scriptures.

We are greatly indebted to the English brethren who have infused fresh life and new hope into us in Scotland. If the Scottish press—especially the local press—was as brave as the Metropolitan press, there would be a different tone at the present time in the community. The *Times* has sounded a true note of liberty, progress, and independence.

THE LEYS' CASE.

On Thursday forenoon, before the proceedings commenced, the members of the convention met to consider the "Leys' Case," and, after deliberation, appointed a large and influential committee to take what steps they might deem proper in the event of the case assuming any new phase. The facts of this painful case may be stated:—Mr. John Kirkwood Leys, son of Rev. Peter Leys, Glasgow, was a barrister in London who did not succeed in business. He ran into debt and was unable to provide for his two boys. His father took the children to his house six years ago, fed, clothed, and educated them. His motive in so doing was twofold: he wished to shelter those who were practically homeless, and he thought that his son would be stirred up thereby to greater activity and to realize his parental responsibilities. The boys were happy in their new home. They grew up bright, cheerful, and intelligent. Their father's circumstances got worse instead of better; he sank deeper in pecuniary embarrassment. Four years ago he became a Roman Catholic. His perversion was a heavy blow to his relatives. At first he did not interfere with the training of his children, though he knew quite well that

the principles of Protestantism were taught them. When he visited them he joined in the family worship, and even accompanied them to church. All at once he woke up to anxiety about the boys. He demanded that they should be surrendered to him to be educated at a Jesuit college. When proof was laid before the court to show that he was unable to maintain and educate them a letter was read by the counsel for the prosecution, in which Father Clark, a Jesuit of good position in London, guaranteed to educate and maintain them at a Jesuit institution near Sheffield. Mr. Leys refused to listen to this demand. It was opposed to his own convictions and to the desires of the children, whose fear of a Papist seminary was great enough to fill them with distress. He sent them beyond their father's reach, and declined to tell where they were. He was cited before the Court of Session, and ordered either to give back the children or to reveal where he had placed them. He did neither. The law asserted the supreme right of a father to the custody of his children, and decided to enforce that right. Mr. Leys was threatened with imprisonment if he did not yield, but he stood firm. He was an old man and in feeble health; but he decided to be true to conscience, let the consequences be what they might. Modestly but firmly he declared his unalterable resolution to do what he thought right. So he went to prison, a martyr for conscience' sake. Subsequently the case was withdrawn, and Mr. Leys was released. The warrant, however, for the children's apprehension is still valid and in force.

READING OF PAPERS (*Continued*).

The Convention resumed on Thursday at 11.30 A.M.

The chair was taken by Mr. WILLIAM MITCHELL, Glasgow.

The Rev. G. G. GREEN, M.A., Glasgow, engaged in devotional exercises.

Mr. MITCHELL, said :—We are met as a Convention of Protestants. It might seem from the nature and character of our programme as if the chief end of Protestantism was to proclaim and to denounce the error and superstition of Popery. This is a partial and one-sided view. The distinguishing characteristic of Protestantism is to bear witness for the truth. How memorable the words of our Lord in this connection : “For this cause,” said He, “came I into the world, that I might bear witness unto the truth.” To protest and to bear witness—Protestantism and witness-bearing—are identically the same words in the original, and will be found to signify the same thing in any English dictionary. This witness-bearing for truth should be the motto and watchword displayed on all our banners. I emphasize the distinction which we must always draw between the system and its poor deluded votaries. The means by which they are to be enlightened ;—the means by which the dark clouds of ignorance and superstition are to be dispelled ;—the means by which they are to be brought to a knowledge of the truth and of the Saviour, will form the subject of deliberation. But in all that concerns their physical well-being ;—in all that concerns the welfare of their homes, and families, and children, we

should know no difference between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Many times have I been brought into contact with Roman Catholic families in my School Board work, and as they told their tales of sorrow, hardship, suffering, and misery, my heart has not been less wrung, my sympathies have not been less stirred, nor my desire to help them less earnest, because I knew they were Roman Catholics. Have we not the example of our Lord who received the multitudes of every class and of every condition. He received them, He bade them welcome, He healed them, and He ministered to their wants. By manifesting ever a right spirit, and by bearing witness for truth, we shall best fulfil the purpose for which we are now convened.

Mr. W. C. MAUGHAN, Roseneath, read a paper on "The Sensus Worship of the Church of Rome:" *v. p. 168.*

The Rev. H. MAGEE, D.D., Dublin, superintendent of the "Irish Presbyterian Mission to Roman Catholics," read a paper on "Mission Work among Roman Catholics:" *v. p. 177.*

At 12.30, the chair was taken by Mr. T. A. G. BALFOUR, M.D., Edinburgh.

Rev. J. F. LINN, M.A., Airlie, led in prayer.

Mr. WILLIAM QUARRIER, Glasgow, read a paper on "Roman Catholicism and Children's Homes:" *v. p. 188.*

Rev. WILLIAM BARRAS, Glasgow, read a paper on "Duties of Protestants:" *v. p. 192.*

The Rev. Professor AITKEN, M.A., Glasgow, pronounced the benediction.

CONFERENCE ON PRACTICAL MEASURES.

ON the afternoon, at two o'clock, a Conference was held on the question :—" What practical measures should be adopted to arrest the aggressions of the Papacy in Britain ?"

Mr. GEORGE MACFARLANE, Glasgow, President of the Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association, was called to the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. HECTOR HALL, Glasgow.

The CHAIRMAN suggested as practical measures :—

1. The union of the Protestant Churches of Scotland.
2. The revision of the English Ritual so as to conform it with the Scriptures.

The following suggestions had been forwarded :—

A LADY, Glasgow, suggested :—1. Drawing-room meetings to get ladies interested. 2. Securing the press against the control of Roman Catholics. 3. More prayer in public and private for Roman Catholics, and for the advancement of Protestantism.

Mr. JOHN HOPE, W.S., Edinburgh :—1. The preparation of a book on "The History of Concessions to

Popery," setting forth the leading constitutional principles of the Church and State at the Reformation; the demands made by Papists from time to time for concessions, with their alleged reasons for making these demands; the results of the concessions in national declensions: that these concessions were opposed to the law of God, and would bring national judgments; and that the Romish priesthood and the Jesuits aim at complete political supremacy. 2. A systematic course of instruction of the people by librettos thoroughly discussing the subject, not with reference to party, but with reference purely to the principles themselves. 3. The preparation of such librettos as would be standard works, their publication after the form of the numbers of "Cassell's National Library," and the distribution of them free to every Protestant householder. 4. The organisation of a colportage system, by the appointment of colporteurs thoroughly conversant with the subjects of the librettos, and who could conduct classes for the study of the Romish controversy.

Dr. G. R. BADENOCH, London:—1. The formation of a Protestant party in the House of Commons. 2. Lectureships throughout the cities and provinces. 3. Appeals to friends of the cause who are able to support the work more generously.

Rev. C. J. THYNNE, London:—1. The organising of

converted men for evangelistic work among Roman Catholics. 2. More doctrinal teaching publicly and in families. 3. The subordination of party political principles to those of revealed religion. 4. New books on the question of a popular character.

Mr. KEELING, Manchester :—The formation of a Protestant National Political Society.

Dr. T. G. BALFOUR, Edinburgh :—1. A Protestant chair in the theological colleges and halls. 2. Systematic lectures on the dogmas of the Papacy by ministers of all denominations. 3. Congregational classes by ministers for the study of the subject. 4. Congregational associations for the purpose in all congregations, and representative meetings of all those associations at stated periods under the direction of central committees for a parish or shire. 5. The diffusion generally of a knowledge of the subject by brief tracts prepared by men thoroughly acquainted with the question.

Rev. J. DOUGLAS, London :—1. Monthly discourses by ministers on Ritualism and Romanism. 2. Special lessons in Sabbath schools at certain intervals by the superintendents. 3. Week-day lectures in connection with all congregations.

Rev. Dr. INGLIS, New Hebrides :—The Bible in the schools, as the Bible is a national book, not sectarian, and is part of the common law of England.

Mr. C. TUCKER, Bristol :—Instruction of the young with the help of pictorial illustrations.

Rev. W. GRAHAM, Edinburgh :—Union of Protestants against Rome's encroachments, as at the Reformation.

Mr. T. A. STEWART, Glasgow :—The placing of books on the subject in the libraries of all the Young Men's Christian Associations.

The following suggestions were then presented :—

Mr. H. A. LONG, Glasgow :—Retention of religious instruction in all the public schools.

Rev. A. HALLIDAY, Portsmouth :—Sabbath-day lectures in all the towns at a united service—afternoon or evening—by mutual arrangement of the local clergymen.

Mr. J. N. CUTHBERTSON, Greenock :—Lectures to the young with the aid of lantern slides.

Mr. J. JOHNSTONE, Edinburgh :—National humiliation because of the admission of Papists to political power.

Rev. J. PRIMMER, Dunfermline :—The formation of branches of the Alliance in all the towns of Scotland.

Rev. J. KERR, Glasgow :—1. The maintenance and promotion of the doctrines of "Calvinism," formulated in the Westminster Standards, accepted by all the Scottish Presbyterian Churches and found in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England—doctrines taught in

the Scriptures. 2. The education of the masses, who are the controlling agents of members of Parliament and of the legislation of the empire. 3. The introduction of a law denying to Roman Catholics eligibility to places of political power and trust.

Rev. GEORGE MACAULAY, Bowling:—1. A national bond against Popery. 2. A Protestant Institute in every parish.

Mr. J. STEELE, London:—1. The appointment of a number of lecturers—specialists—to lecture at the call of all associations and congregations. 2. A consistent Christian life on the part of all Protestants.

Mr. T. M'CLURE, London:—The reformation in doctrine and worship of the Church of England.

Mr. A. B. TODD, Cumnock:—The Bible in the public schools as a compulsory Class-book by the National Act.

Mr. J. QUIGLEY, Glasgow:—1. More doctrinal preaching. 2. Circulation of books on the political designs and intrigues of Popery, as Lord Robert Montagu's "Present Questions: with a Clue to their Solution."

Rev. P. MACIACHLAN, Glasgow:—Classes open to the public, conducted by ministers and others, with examinations and prizes for proficiency.

Rev. E. H. F. COSENS, Tewkesbury:—1. Tracts on Popery and the Papacy scattered in tens of thousands. 2. The revision of the English Prayer Book.

Major MACLEOD, Dalkeith:—All ministers to preach

four times at least in the year on distinctly Protestant and anti-Papal subjects.

Rev. R. GAULT, Glasgow :—A Protestant National Covenant, subscribed by the Evangelical Protestants of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Rev. J. MURRAY, Portadown :—A united mission among Roman Catholics, conducted by all the Evangelical Churches.

Mr. A. H. GUINNESS, London :—1. Utilising the public press to the largest extent. 2. The circulation of the weekly and monthly Protestant papers and journals. 3. Securing a leader of the Protestant party in the House of Commons. 4. Approaching Parliamentary candidates for the purpose of influencing them to resist Papal aggressions.

Rev. A. M. BANNATYNE, Aberdeen :—Short and pithy leaflets written so as to take a firm grip of the reader's mind, and on such parts of the subject as : (a) That Ritualism and Romanism are a vast symbolism obscuring and putting out of sight the verities of the Gospel ; (b) The Sabbath-extinguishing influence of the teaching of the Church of Rome ; (c) The antagonism of the Church of Rome to the reading and possession of the Bible by the people ; (d) The wrong done by the social recognition given to the priests and archbishops of the Romish Church in Edinburgh Glasgow, and elsewhere.

Mr. R. SCOTT, London :—Evangelistic work among Protestants partially outside the Churches to prevent them falling under Romish influence.

Rev. J. M'CAUL, Montreal :—Personal efforts by Christian young men in persuading Roman Catholics to renounce their religion and embrace the faith of Christ.

At the close of the Conference, it was unanimously agreed that the Directors of the Alliance be requested to tabulate the suggestions offered, and subsequently publish them.

Rev. Dr. INGLIS concluded the meeting with prayer.

PUBLIC MEETING.

A GENERAL PUBLIC MEETING, as a fitting close to the proceedings of the Convention, was held in the City Hall on the evening of Thursday, at 7.30 o'clock. PETER HUTCHISON, Esq., Glasgow, moved that JAMES A. CAMPBELL, Esq., LL.D., Member of Parliament for the Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, take the chair. Mr. Campbell was supported on the platform by Members of the Convention and other gentlemen from all parts of the country. About 2000 persons were present. Part of the Hundredth Psalm was sung, and the Rev. A. GOODRICH engaged in prayer. The Hon. Secy. intimated letters of apology, expressing regret at their inability to attend and sympathy with the

objects of the meeting, from The Honourable the Lord Provost of Glasgow ; Lord Oranmore ; Sir Wyndham Anstruther, Bart., of Carmichael and Westraw ; Sir James Colquhoun, Bart., of Luss ; Sir A. C. Campbell, Bart., M.P., of Blythswood ; Sir John Don Wauchope, of Edmonstone ; Colonel Macdonald Macdonald of St. Martin's, Perth ; Colonel Malcolm, M.P., of Poltalloch ; Mr. W. Kidston, of Ferniegair ; Mr. W. Mackinnon, of Balinakill ; Mr. D. Forbes, of Culloden ; Mr. J. Burns, of Castle Wemyss ; Provost Shankland, Greenock ; Provost Binnie, Gourrock ; Mr. J. Gordon, of Aitkenhead ; Mr. C. Gilbert, of Yorkhill ; Rev. Principal Brown, D.D., Aberdeen ; Rev. James Dodds, D.D., Corstorphine ; Rev. S. Wainwright, D.D., London ; Rev. G. S. Potter, D.D., Sheffield ; Rev. J. MacEwen, D.D., London ; Rev. James Smith, D.D., Cathcart ; Rev. W. Nixon, D.D., Montrose ; Rev. J. Chrystal, D.D., Auchinleck ; Rev. G. R. Badenoch, LL.D., London ; Rev. W. Ross, LL.D., Bridge of Allan ; Rev. J. E. Campbell-Colquhoun, of Killermont ; and from many ministers and other gentlemen in Glasgow and neighbourhood.

The CHAIRMAN delivered an address on the Duty of the Present Hour in Regard to the Papacy : *v. p. 201.*

The Rev. CANON TAYLOR, in moving the adoption of the First Resolution, spoke of Protestantism and National Greatness : *v. p. 204.* The Resolution was :—

“That, as the doctrines of the Protestant system are contained in the Word of God, as History demonstrates that their predominance promotes intellectual, commer-

cial, and national greatness, and as the aim of all loyal Protestants is the maintenance of the liberties of the Empire, this meeting calls upon the statesmen, legislators, and people to use every effort for the preservation of all the Protestant safeguards around the throne, and for the application of Scriptural principles to the Civil Constitution and administration of the Realm."

Mr. GUINNESS seconded its adoption: *v.* p. 208.

Dr. H. MAGEE gave an address in support on the True Strength of Protestantism: *v.* p. 213.

An Amendment to the Motion was proposed, which the Chairman ruled out of order.

The Right Honourable LORD ROBERT MONTAGU moved the adoption of the Second Resolution, giving an exposition of the Political Principles of the Papacy: *v.* p. 219. The Second Resolution was:—

"That as the Papacy of the present time is the same in its fundamental principles as the Papacy of the Pre-Reformation period, as it persists in pressing its claims to spiritual and temporal supremacy, and as its avowed aims are to reduce Britain to subjection to the Vatican, this Meeting declares that its aggressions should be resisted by all legitimate means by the statesmen, legislators, and people of this free Empire."

Rev. Dr. VERNER WHITE seconded the adoption of the Resolution: *v.* p. 232.

Rev. GEORGE MACAULAY, Bowling, moved the adoption of the Third Resolution, and specially dwelt upon the proposal to resume Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican: *v. p.* 236. This Resolution was:—

“That the Directors of the SCOTTISH PROTESTANT ALLIANCE be empowered to prepare and transmit to Her Majesty the Queen a Memorial setting forth the dangers to the dignity of Her Crown and the prosperity of Her Dominions through the aggressions of the Papacy, and protesting against all attempts to resume diplomatic relations with the Vatican; and that copies of this Memorial be forwarded to the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, the Most Noble the Marquis of Hartington, and the Right Honourable Mr. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.”

Its adoption was seconded by Major-General JAMES M. GRANT, of Southleigh.

All the speeches were received with much enthusiasm, and the Resolutions unanimously adopted.

Mr. W. C. MAUGHAN moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Rev. D. JAMIE, B.D., Lochgelly, brought the Meeting to a close by prayer and the benediction.

CONVENTION OF PROTESTANTS.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

THE following gentlemen held tickets of membership of the Convention, and almost all of them were present at one or more of the several meetings. A number of those present had appointments as representatives. Several Scottish Presbyteries sent forward delegates, and others letters of sympathy, and the following Associations were represented:—The Evangelical Alliance; the Protestant Alliance of London; the Evangelical Protestant Union; the Portsmouth Protestant Institute; the Protestant Evangelical Mission and Electoral Union (London); the Working Men's Protestant League (London); the Scottish Reformation Society; the National Protestant Alliance; the Greenock Protestant Association; and the United Kingdom Anti-Papal League. A large number of ladies also gave constant attendance.

Andrew Aird, Glasgow.

Rev. Prof. W. F. Aitken, M.A., Glasgow.

James Allan, Glasgow.

Rev. H. Anderson, Partick.

Rev. T. S. Anderson, Arbroath.

Rev. A. Andrew, Glasgow.

James Arbuckle, Glasgow.

Rev. G. R. Badenoch, LL.D., London.

Rev. G. Bain, Garrioch.

Rev. John Baird, Morningside, Edinburgh.

T. A. G. Balfour, M.D., Edinburgh.

Rev. W. Balfour, Edinburgh.

-
- Rev. A. M. Bannatyne, Aberdeen.
Rev. William Barras, Glasgow.
Rev. E. Bassin, M.B., Edinburgh.
Rev. W. B. Begg, M.A., Greenock.
Thomas Bell, Glasgow.
Robert Binnie, Provost of Gourrock.
Rev. J. W. Black, LL.D., Inverness.
Rev. R. Blair, M.A., Cambuslang.
Rev. B. Blake, B.D., Glasgow.
Rev. A. A. Bonar, D.D., Glasgow.
Rev. W. Boyd, LL.D., Glasgow.
Rev. H. Bremner, B.D., Partick.
Rev. R. Bremner, M.A., Glasgow.
David Brown, Leith.
J. R. Brown, Greenock.
Rev. James Brown, M.A., Glasgow.
Rev. J. Buchan, Pathhead.
J. Buchanan, Glasgow.
Rev. J. Burnett, B.D., Glasgow.
- W. F. Caldwell, Glasgow.
Rev. A. Cameron, M.A., Govan.
Rev. Robert Cameron, Glasgow.
Rev. J. Campbell, M.A., B.D., Kirkcaldy.
J. A. Campbell, LL.D., M.P., Stracathro.
Rev. J. K. Campbell, D.D., Stirling.
D. M. Carrick, Glasgow.
Rev. G. Carruthers, Johnstone.
Rev. S. Cathcart, D.D., London.
Rev. J. G. Christie, B.D., Greenock.
Rev. W. Clark, M.A., Barrhead.
David Clow, Glasgow.
Rev. M. Cochrane, M.A., Glasgow.
W. C. Coghill, Glasgow.

- C. H. Collette, London.
D. M. Connell, Glasgow.
J. T. Connell, Glasgow.
Rev. D. M. Connor, M.A., LL.B., Glasgow.
Rev. E. H. F. Cosens, M.A., Tewkesbury.
John Cowan, Dumfries.
E. O. Crichton, R.N., Edinburgh.
A. Cunningham, Busby.
J. N. Cuthbertson, Glasgow.
J. R. Cuthbertson, Greenock.
- Rev. J. F. Daly, B.D., Glasgow.
Rev. G. Davidson, B.Sc., Edinburgh.
Rev. R. Dickson, Glasgow.
Rev. Geo. Divorty, M.A., Edinburgh.
Rev. R. W. Dobbie, Glasgow.
Rev. J. Dodds, D.D., Corstorphine.
Rev. A. T. Donald, Glasgow.
Rev. Principal J. C. Douglas, D.D., Glasgow.
Rev. J. Douglas, London.
R. L. Dowling, Glasgow.
Rev. Henry Drysdale, Tollcross, Glasgow.
Rev. R. S. Duff, M.A., Glasgow.
- Rev. Thomas Easton, Stranraer.
Rev. John Edgar, M.A., Glasgow.
- J. Faulds, Shawlands.
Rev. J. Fettes, Edinburgh.
R. D. Findlay, Glasgow.
A. J. Fitch, Crosshill, Glasgow.
D. Forbes, J.P., of Culloden, Inverness.
Rev. J. Fordyce, Bishopbriggs.
Rev. D. Fraser, M.A., Helmsdale.
J. M'N. Frazer, M.D., Glasgow.

-
- Rev. A. C. Fullarton, Glasgow.
Thomas Fullerton, B.A., Paisley.
- Rev. J. Gage, B.D., Glasgow.
Rev. J. Galloway, LL.D., Glasgow.
Rev. W. B. Gardiner, Pollokshaws.
Rev. R. Gault, Glasgow.
J. F. Geddes, Helensburgh.
Rev. J. Geddes, Glasgow.
William Geddes, Langside.
James Gemmell, Edinburgh.
Rev. J. Gibson, D.D., Perth.
Rev. W. F. Goldie, Stirling.
Rev. A. Goodrich, Glasgow.
Leonard Gow, J.P., Glasgow.
Rev. W. Graham, Edinburgh.
Major-General James M. Grant, Southleigh.
Baillie James Gray, Stirling.
Rev. T. M. Gray, South Africa.
Rev. G. G. Green, M.A., Glasgow.
W. H. Groves, Glasgow.
A. H. Guinness, M.A., London.
Rev. J. T. C. Gullan, Glasgow.
Rev. G. G. Gunn, M.A., Glasgow.
- A. A. Haddin, Glasgow.
Rev. Hector Hall, Glasgow.
Rev. A. Halliday, M.A., Portsmouth.
Rev. J. Hanson, M.A., Glasgow.
Rev. Samuel Harding, Glasgow.
Edward Harper, London.
F. Y. Henderson, Glasgow.
R. W. Henry, Glasgow.
M. Honeyman, Hillhead.
Rev. Robert Hood, Glasgow.

John Hope, W.S., Edinburgh.

Major Hotchkiss, Paisley.

H. Howie, Glasgow.

Robert Hutcheson, Glasgow.

Peter Hutchison, Glasgow.

Rev. John Inglis, D.D., of the New Hebrides.

Rev. D. Jamie, B.D., Lochgelly.

Rev. J. Jeffrey, M.A., Glasgow.

Rev. W. Jeffrey, LL.D., Glasgow.

T. Johnson, Greenock.

Rev. J. A. Johnston, Springburn.

James Johnstone, Edinburgh.

Rev. W. H. Johnstone, Ayr.

P. B. Junor, Glasgow.

Rev. J. Kerr, Glasgow.

T. R. Kerr, Glasgow.

Rev. W. Lee Kerr, Kilwinning.

William Kidston, J.P., Ferniegair, Helensburgh.

Rev. D. R. Kilpatrick, Glasgow.

William Kirkland, Glasgow.

Rev. J. D. Landells, Crosshill.

Rev. J. C. Lambert, Stewarton.

Rev. J. C. Laing, Strachan.

Rev. J. M. Lang, D.D., Glasgow.

Rev. Peter Leys, Glasgow.

William Lightbody, Glasgow.

Rev. J. F. Linn, M.A., Airlie.

H. A. Long, Glasgow.

Rev. D. M. Macalister, Edinburgh.

Rev. P. Macainsh, Lochgelly.

Rev. George Macaulay, Bowling.
Colonel W. Macdonald Macdonald of St. Martin's.
Rev. C. A. Mackenzie, D.D., Govan.
P. Mackinnon, Campbeltown.
W. Mackinnon, C.I.E., Balinakill.
John Maclaren, Merchiston, Edinburgh.
Major Neil Macleod, Dalkeith.
N. Macleod, Greenock.
George Macfarlane, Glasgow.
Rev. W. M. Mackay, Glasgow.
J. M. Mackechnie, Lochgilphead.
Robert Mackintosh, Glasgow.
Professor Macklin, Glasgow.
Rev. H. MacMillan, LL.D., Greenock.
Rev. R. M'Morran, Dunoon.
D. Macphail, Partick.
Rev. H. Magee, D.D., Dublin.
Rev. J. Matthew, M.A., B.D., Haddington.
W. C. Maughan, J.P., Roseneath.
Rev. A. Miller, Kirkintilloch.
J. R. Miller, Glasgow.
W. Mitchell, Glasgow.
Ex-Provost Moncur, Perth.
Rev. R. K. Monteath, B.A., Glasgow.
Lord Robert Montagu, London.
Rev. K. Moody-Stuart, M.A., Moffat.
William Morton, Crosshill, Glasgow.
A. H. Mountcastle, Glasgow.
James R. Moyes, Glasgow.
Rev. R. A. Muir, Dalmeny.
Donald Munro, F.C.S., Pollokshaws.
Rev. A. Murchison, Glasgow.
Rev. C. S. Murray, Salton.
Rev. J. L. Murray, Portadown.
Rev. J. L. Murray, Glasgow.

James M'Call, Hillhead.
 Rev. A. K. M'Callum, LL D., Glasgow.
 Rev. J. M'Caul, Montreal.
 John M'Clure, Dumfries.
 Thomas M'Clure, London.
 John M'Donald, Perth.
 Rev. C. MacEachern, Inverness.
 Rev. A. M'Ewen, D.D., London.
 Rev. J. M'Ewan, Edinburgh.
 Rev. J. MacIntyre, Bishopbriggs.
 Rev. J. M'Kay, Glasgow.
 Rev. P. M'Lachlan, Glasgow.
 James M'Michael, Glasgow.
 Rev. A. M'Millan, Baillieston.
 Rev. James M'Naught, D.D., Glasgow.
 Alexander M'Neilage, jun., Hillhead.

Rev. R. Naismith, Chirnside.
 James S. Napier, Glasgow.
 R. J. Niven, Dundee.
 Rev. W. Nixon, D.D., Edinburgh.

W. M. Oatts, Glasgow.
 Rev. A. Ogilvy, Coatbridge.
 Rev. James Ormiston, Bristol.
 Rev. W. S. Page, Glasgow.
 Rev. James Paton, B.A., Glasgow.
 R. J. B. Paterson, Langside.
 Rev. Jas. Phillip, Carnoustie.
 Rev. David Pirret, Glasgow.
 Rev. J. Moir Porteous, D.D., Edinburgh.
 Rev. S. G. Potter, D.D., Sheffield.
 Rev. J. Primmer, Dunfermline.
 Rev. Robert Pryde, M.A., Glasgow.

William Quarrier, Glasgow.

Rev. F. Rae, Dumfries.

Rev. A. Rattray, M.A., Parkhead.

A. W. Reid, Helensburgh.

J. Reid, Busby.

Rev. J. Renfrew, Glasgow.

Rev. D. D. Robertson, Partick.

Rev. John Robertson, Ayr.

John Robertson, Pollokshields.

Rev. C. Rogers, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh.

Rev. A. Ryrie, Glasgow.

James Salmon, J.P., Denniston.

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Robert Scott, London.

William Scott, M.D., Rutherglen.

Rev. W. Scrymgeour, Glasgow.

James Semple, Glasgow.

Rev. A. Shepherd, Chryston.

Robert Shankland, Provost of Greenock.

Rev. Alex. Simpson, B.Sc., Glasgow.

Rev. J. B. Sinclair, Glasgow.

J. S. Sinclair, Glasgow.

Rev. J. M. Sloan, M.A., Glasgow.

Rev. R. C. Smith, Glasgow.

Rev. Prof. T. Smith, D.D., Edinburgh.

Rev. J. Smith, M.A., Tarland.

Robert Smith, Thornliebank.

Rev. T. Somerville, M.A., Glasgow.

Robert Steele, London.

A. M. Stewart, Glasgow.

T. H. Stewart, Glasgow.

Robert Stewart, Glasgow.
J. T. Strang, Mount Florida.
John Stuart, Queen's Park.
Rev. J. Stuart, Langside.
Rev. J. Sturrock, Edinburgh.
A. Swan, Greenock.
J. Symington, Edinburgh.

Rev. J. Tainsh, Glasgow.
Rev. Canon Taylor, D.D., Liverpool.
Rev. C. R. Teape, D.D., Edinburgh.
A. B. Todd, Old Cumnock.
Rev. John Terrance, Glasgow.
T. Thomson, Hillhead.
Rev. R. Turnbull, M.A., Glasgow.
D. Turner, Glasgow.

Rev. J. B. Waddington, Low Moor, Lancashire.
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Rev. J. C. Watt, B.D., Edinkillie.
Sir John Don Wauchope, Bart., Edmonstone.
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Rev. Verner M. White, LL.D., London.
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Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D., Edinburgh.
John S. Wylie, Glasgow.
Rev. W. H. Wylie, Helensburgh.

D. Yellowlees, Provost of Stirling.
Rev. D. Young, D.D., Glasgow.
Rev. A. J. Yuill, Glasgow.

APPENDIX.

BRITISH ENDOWMENT OF POPERY.

AN examination of the extent to which the Papacy in Great Britain and Ireland and the Colonies is drawing upon the national funds brings to light some startling facts. Will it be believed that, at present, directly and indirectly, the Church of Rome is in receipt out of British National Funds of a revenue amounting to more than Three Thousand Pounds (£3,300) every day? The sources from which this startling conclusion is arrived at are thoroughly trustworthy, and are, for the most part, Parliamentary Returns; while the figures given are, in many cases, below the facts, as they are from returns of several years ago.

I. In Great Britain the sum of not less than £175,000 is being granted annually to the Papacy. This sum includes about £10,000 to Romish Priests and Chaplains in the prisons, and in the army and navy; a sum of £96,000 to Romish Schools (of which £26,000 was the Parliamentary Grant to Romish Denominational Schools in Scotland in 1885); and a sum of £65,000 to Romish Reformatory and Industrial Schools.

II. In Ireland the Romish Church derives out of the public funds more than £687,900 annually. This includes a sum of £572,244 as per Report of Commissioners of National Education of 1883-4; a sum of £112,000 to Romish Reformatory and Industrial Schools; a sum of £11,000 to Romish Chaplains in workhouses, prisons, and

asylums, and to nuns in workhouses; and a sum of £21,000 —being interest calculated at 5 per cent. accruing annually from the capital amount given the Maynooth College at the time of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

III. In the British Possessions in Canada the Church of Rome is in receipt of about £276,250 annually. This includes an annual Parliamentary Grant of £1,250; a sum of £125,000, the estimated annual value of tithes granted the Romish Church in Lower Canada; and a sum of £150,000, being the amount of interest at 5 per cent. on the value of more than 2,000,000 acres of land with which the Romish Church was endowed through the British Crown.

IV. In India the total expenditure toward Roman Catholic Establishments is above £31,000; which includes a sum of £6,900 as salaries to bishops, priests, &c., in the civil department, and £24,800 to chaplains in the military department.

V. In the other British possessions the Church of Rome receives nearly £35,000 annually. This includes a sum of over £10,000 as grants in the West Indian Islands; a sum of £7,000 in Mauritius; a sum of £10,000 in New South Wales; and a number of smaller sums in Gibraltar, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Cape of Good Hope, and elsewhere.

Thus the total sum now derived, directly and indirectly, from the British National Funds and employed for purposes expressly Romish is more than

£1,200,000 in the year;
 Above £23,000 every week; or
 More than £3,300 every day!

Very rapidly have these Romish endowments risen to this large sum. For instance, the payments from the Treasury and rates towards R. C. Reformatories in 1883 show an increase of nearly £12,000 over 1861; the payments from the same sources to R. C. Industrial Schools show an increase of more than £89,000 over 1861; the expenditure on Romish Education in Ireland, as per Commissioners' Report, shows an increase of £122,000 in 1884 over 1875; the expenditure on Roman Catholic Establishments in India shows an increase in 1880 of £9,000 over 1871; the expenditure in Mauritius in 1879, an increase of £1,200 over 1873; and the Parliamentary Grant to Romish Denominational Schools in Scotland has increased since 1873 by upwards of £20,000!

What is to be the issue of this policy? Were these endowments given to a system which has proved itself successful in elevating the mind, purifying social morals, protecting national liberties, and promoting the civilization of the world, no one could well justify himself in pleading that all support be taken away. But as the "chief object of the Papacy during the last three centuries has been to stunt the growth of the human mind," as her teaching and practice have served to corrupt morals and excite disloyalty, as no nation has continued free where she has gained the mastery, and as her avowed design is to "subjugate and subdue, to conquer and rule this imperial race," every Christian should raise his voice in a sustained and persistent demand for the immediate disendowment of the Papacy throughout the British Dominions at home and abroad.

ANTI-PAPAL WORKS.

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SYNOPSIS.

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1887.

The Scottish Protestant Alliance.

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The Objects of the Alliance are:—(a) The Defence of our common Christianity; (b) The Exposure of the Errors of Popery and Infidelity; (c) The Instruction of Roman Catholics in Bible truth; and (d) The Maintenance and Promotion of the great Scriptural Principles of the Scottish Reformations.

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