

CHRISTIAN REUNION.

HULSEAN LECTURES.

1886.

JOHN de SOYRES.

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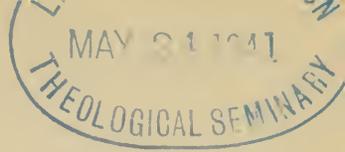
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HULSEAN LECTURES,
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The Gulsean Lectures for 1886.

BY

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1888.

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TO THE
ELECTORS OF THE HULSEAN FOUNDATION

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D.
Regius Professor of Divinity, Canon of Westminster ;

FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D.
Hulsean Professor of Divinity ;

JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D.
Norrisian Professor of Divinity ;

CHARLES TAYLOR, D.D.
Master of St. John's College ;

AND TO THE MEMORY OF

CHARLES ANTHONY SWAINSON, D.D.
Formerly Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Master of Christ's College ;

WILLIAM HEPWORTH THOMPSON, D.D.
Formerly Master of Trinity College ;

THESE LECTURES,
DELIVERED BY THEIR APPOINTMENT, ARE GRATEFULLY
AND RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE subject of CHRISTIAN REUNION, and the history of the various efforts to promote it from the time of the Reformation, have seldom been dealt with by English church historians. The late Rev. H. B. Wilson, in his Bampton Lectures, was almost the only writer to treat the topic scientifically, but his purpose prevented him from more than individual references in his notes to the leaders of earlier movements. The work of KARL HERING, published as far back as the year 1836, remains still the standard history, and the present writer had planned to translate it, adding the results of recent publications of the Leibnitz correspondence, and dealing also with the relations in past time of the Church of England and the foreign Reformed Churches.

An occasion for dealing separately with the last of these topics presented itself when the writer was appointed Select Preacher at Cambridge, almost on the exact bi-centenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in October 1885. The discourse then delivered, pointing out the old relations of cordial sympathy and communion between the Anglican and Huguenot Churches, is included in the present volume. The appeal was received with assent by the members of the theological faculty at Cambridge, and words of sympathy and approval came from Drs. Hatch and Fairbairn at Oxford, Professor A. S. Farrar at Durham, the venerable Bishop of Worcester, and many others. Still more acceptable, as a testimony to the practical possibility of the step advocated, was a communication from DR. EUGÈNE BERSIER. In this letter, the distinguished leader of the Reformed Church in Paris declared not only his cordial assent to the plea, but expressed his willingness to co-operate personally in any effort to bring together the two Churches.* Having been ap-

* See Appendix.

pointed Hulsean lecturer shortly afterwards, the writer found the opportunity of discussing the history and rationale of Christian Reunion from a wider standpoint, by investigating the progress and results of the various endeavours made during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Bucer, Melancthon, Durie, Calixtus, Grotius, and Leibnitz. It was hoped that an outline, restricted by the narrow limits of four lectures, and by the hindrances of other duties, might be supplemented by later additions, including an examination of the Durie MSS. at Cambridge, kindly offered by Professor Mayor, and of the unpublished Leibnitziana in the Archives of Hanover.

But circumstances prevented the fulfilment of this plan, and the meagre and imperfect sketch would never have been published but for the belief that it may induce some more capable hand to achieve a work so important. For the Reunion of Christendom is no mere literary or academical topic, but a practical question of the hour, calling for labourers, if not yet ripe for settlement. On every side there is a consciousness that the hour is near when all who profess and call themselves Christians must remember their title and their cause, and that they are descendants, however far removed, of those who were "of one heart and of one soul." Not many years ago, in a humble Church, situated in a distant land, an event took place more significant to the student of history than many a Council. In the English Church at Cronstadt, as a testimony indeed to the personal esteem in which its minister was held by those of different creed, but in itself none the less remarkable, there were gathered together, at a service after restoration, the representatives of all the Churches in the City. By the side of the Holy Table knelt the Russian pope and the Roman priest, the Lutheran and the Reformed ministers, forgetting for an hour the wars of centuries, and remembering only the "one Lord, one faith, one baptism."†

† The details were verified by the writer on the spot, when occupying the same chaplaincy in 1880, in succession to the REV. J. McSWINEY, in whose time (1874) it occurred.

Surely it is impossible to disregard such a sign of the times, but rather should we feel that the obscure and remote phenomenon might soon be repeated on the widest scale, were present hindrances removed. And those hindrances are to be found as much in the efforts of those who advocate forms of Reunion, as in the hostility of narrower minds. If those who long for union with the East would remember how much nearer is the prospect and the opportunity of reuniting with our Church the descendants of those who were alienated by the narrowness and intolerance of the post-reformational centuries; if the advocates of Protestant reunion would recognize that the features and claims of nationality, as well as the landmarks of history, must influence the religious development of the Latin and Slavonic races, then much might be achieved. Above all, the sober words of the Church of England should be the motto of all efforts:

“In these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only: for we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of GOD’S honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living.” †

† Preface to Common Prayer.

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LECTURE I.

CHRISTIAN REUNION.

LECTURE I.

Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί. ὅτι υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

(*Matth.* v. 9.)

THESE have been few incidents in the history of the building in which we are assembled more memorable than when, in the year 1551, the whole university was gathered together at the funeral of the Regius professor of theology. Not even when, but recently, Cambridge rendered the last honours to one who for two generations had taken representative share in every activity and distinction of university life;¹ not even when, just fifty years ago, as some here still remember, a vast procession followed to its last resting-place the remains of Charles Simeon,²—not even these seem to have surpassed the intensity of feeling displayed at the burial of a stranger, of one whose face, two years before he died, was unknown to all of those three thousand who followed the procession to his grave.

And yet there seems to have been no rhetorical exaggeration when the Public Orator, according to the custom of the time, declared the virtues of the departed; nor when Matthew Parker, fit representative alike of the genius of the university and of the Church of England, held up that life in his sermon as the very example of the Christian character, and added to his bidding prayer the petition that all of themselves might be admitted to that beatific vision "*in the which doth now rejoice that excellent and reverend*

father, MARTIN BUCER, *whom God hath called to his rest.*"³ And all knew well the cause of this unexampled honour, in life and in death. While others had been foremost in the critical work of the Reformation, or in proclaiming its doctrines, Bucer's work had been, from first to last, the effort for CHRISTIAN REUNION. If Luther had been pre-eminently the Reformer, and Melancthon the "Preceptor" of Germany, Bucer had been its peace-maker.

Throughout the great moments of the struggle (though not among the authors of its supreme irenic effort, the *Augustana*), Bucer had been ever active, moving from camp to camp; at Marburg, striving in vain to reconcile Luther and Zwingli;⁴ at Schweinfurt and Cassel building up, with infinite pains, the structure of negotiation and compromise which led to the short-lived *Concordia* of Wittenberg.⁵ Then, turning to the wider interests of the whole Church, side by side with Melancthon, and meeting a congenial spirit in the legate Contarini, he had seemed for a moment to have reached the goal of his life, and to have found a way of peace for Western Christendom.⁶ And last of all, before his call to England, he had laboured to effect that broad and comprehensive reform in the territories of the Archbishop of Cologne, which has so many links with the historic development of the Church of England.⁷ But as, in time of theological strife, the peace-maker's work is in every sense the forlorn hope, each effort had alienated some unsatisfied partisan. The Swiss, whose cause he had so largely helped, regarded him askance; and in his own city of Strasburg, where for a generation he had labored, he experienced the prophet's fate. Even from Luther himself had come at times hard words of reproach.

But with Luther there was always safe appeal to Philip sober, and more than one fervid acknowledgment came from the great reformer as to a work and a character so different from his own.⁸

And yet, if we except his honourable share in the great work of restoring, upon the old foundations, the structure of the Church of England, there is not one of his irenical efforts which did not seem to end in completest failure. We are familiar, from the researches of Henke and Tholuck, with the state of religious disunion in Germany at the beginning of the 17th century.⁹ Not only was the chasm between Rome and the Evangelical Churches fixed and irretrievable, but those churches themselves waged against one another an even more bitter internecine war. A hundred years only had passed since Luther had proclaimed the universal priesthood of believers; and now Luther's spirit—or at least the spirit of his earlier and greater days—seemed lost and forgotten amongst those disciples who struggled and squabbled over the shreds of his prophetic mantle. And so Jacob Boehme, not the least philosophic mind of that age, could see the very Tower of Babel realized, not in Rome only, but in Protestant Germany.¹⁰ We have read how Lutherans asked indignantly what was left to preach about, when an edict forbade polemical sermons against the Reformed; how the saintly Arndt was the victim of intolerance;¹¹ how, sadder still, Paul Gerhardt, the singer of immortal strains, was himself infected with the epidemic, and rather suffered deprivation than accept an injunction to refrain from words of censure against his fellow protestants.¹² And if the Reformed Churches showed a comparative moderation, which was often, perhaps, the

virtue of necessity, we know that at Dordrecht the bitterest, the most contemptuous treatment, was meted out to Episcopius and the Remonstrants, whose only crime it was to have refused subscription to dogmas which, as they believed, had neither certain warrant of Scripture nor had obtained the complete assent of the undivided Church.

What wonder then that, in the face of a strife so suicidal, the Church of Rome had not only regained much that she had lost, but seemed more capable of aggressive action than at any previous period in her history. It is customary to speak of a "Catholic Reaction;" but this phrase, though consecrated by long and authoritative usage, seems but imperfectly to connote the phenomena which history records. Not only in the Protestant countries, but throughout Western Europe, there had been reformation; and indeed the Reformation of the sixteenth century would not have been, as it was, an event of universal importance for the whole Church, had it not beneficially affected, in some measure, even those quarters where it was most vehemently opposed. It is no exaggeration to declare that, from the end of the sixteenth century, the progress which the Reformation had exacted from its foes was so great that, in proportion to the former condition, it represented a greater relative advance than in the Protestant lands themselves.¹³ The council of Trent, with all its vicissitudes, had yet learned something in its experience of eighteen years. In place of the contradictory chaos of traditional opinions, a system had been defined, which cautiously steered a middle course between the extremes of Pelagianism and Augustinianism, which silently removed some patent errors, and as silently passed over other but more dangerous topics, which recog-

nized as belonging to the pale of the Church all who did not explicitly renounce her obedience, and which recommended itself by seeming clearness and adaptability to different minds and varied conditions.

For the Papal Court, since the separation, had ceased to give glaring offence to public opinion by immorality and nepotism. And this immunity from the old attacks encouraged to offensive measures, for which new allies were gained and new methods of warfare employed. Whatever obloquy has justly attached itself to the Society of Jesus on account of the practical adoption and exaggeration of casuistical methods — which, indeed, had been stated as theorems by the schoolmen, or from the scurrilous attacks of a Scioppius and his kindred upon the Scaligers and Casaubons, history recognizes the immense impetus given, not only to the Roman system, but even, in some measure, to the cause of progress and civilisation. If the first protest against the belief in witchcraft can no longer be vindicated (as Leibnitz believed) for the Jesuit von Spee; or the claim to have perfected secondary education, and justified the proud inscription on their seminaries, "*Deo et Musis*," yet the missionary labors of a Xavier and a Ricci make as great an epoch in the history of Christianity as when Robert Nelson and his friends created the great Anglican missionary society a century later. And if the fatal necessity of being advocates and apologists, rather than searchers for the truth, placed a Pétau, a Sirmond, a Suarez, and an Arias Montanus on a lower literary level than their great Protestant rivals; yet within the Roman obedience there were not wanting those whose memory lives in that calendar which claims its saints from every church and nation,—a

Cassander, true brother to Melancthon and Bucer, combining the highest form of humanistic culture with the fullest sympathy for the spiritual and political needs of his age; a Carlo Borromeo, the ideal of the Christian bishop; and, greatest of all, if indeed he may be claimed for that communion, the obscure Neapolitan monk, whose book of the "*Benefit of Christ's Death*" was given once more to the world by a Cambridge scholar after the Inquisition had seemingly blotted it out for ever.¹⁴

If, then, the Roman Church, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was strong in numbers, in reforms at least partially effected, in the enthusiastic devotion of new adherents,—while, on the other hand, the Protestant churches on the continent were divided by bitter controversies, repelled all free enquiry, and almost justified the sneer of Joseph Scaliger that Lutheranism was the "grave of science,"—what hope was there for Christian reunion?

Bucer's work had found no successor; and had there been one, there was no longer a Cassander or a Contarini to meet him in a kindred spirit. It was in the spiritual heritage of another Reformer, greater than Bucer, and preserved in its purity and energy because it was limited by no abstract system, that now was found the hope of Protestantism and of Reunion. Such a view of Melancthon's influence may be contested by those who remember that a so-called "Melancthonism" or "Philippism" is described as a definite theological system in some of those analytic histories of dogma which record each momentary phase of party warfare. Or it may be urged, with more plausibility, that Melancthon's own writings were the exclusive text

books of the universities of Helmstädt and Altdorf, and of great part of Protestant Germany.¹⁵ But those writings, which were the reflection of the author's mind and character, represent in themselves the Reformation from its irenical rather than its positive and didactic side. Just as the great practical work of Melancthon's life, the "*Confessio Augustana*" was, in every sense, a declaration for peace which he did not scruple to alter, confessedly and publicly, when it seemed that by the publication of the *Variata* in 1540 a better hope of union might result;¹⁶ so his infinite humility could make confession of error to his enemy Flacius, or submit to blame and correction from those who were unutterably his inferiors. The distinctive note of character, as compared with Bucer, seems to be this: with Bucer, all but the most cardinal dogmatic statements were things indifferent,—everything was to him a matter for accommodation, in the view of the one thing needful, Reunion; so that he sometimes scrupled not, in all sincerity of mind, to attain his object by processes needing that sort of casuistic "direction of the intention" which gained an unenvied notoriety for a very different school of theology. Now, Melancthon's theological sympathy could think itself into the mental attitudes even of his opponents; to his philosophic mind the distinction of fundamentals and non-fundamentals was constantly present; his accurate knowledge of antiquity recognised the value of links with catholic institutions, deplored the inevitable breach with them, and experienced the same repulsion as Luther, though it was not expressed with equal vehemence, to the crude iconoclasm of Carlstadt and his successors. Above all, his life knew no finality. He never looked upon

his past words and actions as having created unalterable precedents. Who can recollect without emotion the narrative told by Andreä, belonging to those last sad years, harassed by the controversies around him, and his life embittered by the memory of its one mistake — how, when asked once more to subscribe his name to one of those “*Testimonia*” which the school of Bucer considered to be the equivalent of agreement, yet Melancthon refused. He admitted that formerly he had given assent to the opinion of others not his own; but now this could no longer be. “*Many things have I written which now I approve not. Thinkest thou that in thirty years I have learned nothing?*”¹⁷ He had learned that more was needed to secure Reunion than so many ambiguous phrases and so many signatures on a parchment; and to those who were now his spiritual heirs he had bequeathed those attributes which alone could give hope for it in the future. To them he handed down that which had been noble in the Humanistic movement, that passionate love of truth, but also a depth of personal religion, too often lost in the mere antagonism to superstition, seen only from its ludicrous side; above all, that charity which in his own life had borne, believed, hoped, and endured all things. To them he bequeathed his repulsion to the loud phrases of professional theologians, his shrinking from the noise of assemblies, save when supreme duty called him there; and, not least of all, that feature which completed and crowned his character — that *εὐτραπέλια*, as far removed from the chilling *persiflage* of Erasmus and Mutianus as from the baser ribaldry of inferior partisans.

And although, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a Leonard Hutter could tear down the portrait of Melancthon and trample it under foot at Wittenberg itself, there were not wanting, as years passed on, successors fit to share alike the mantle and the spirit. At Leyden, Francis Junius¹⁸ and Uytenbogaert; at Heidelberg, David Paræus; Ward and Davenant¹⁹ at Cambridge; Rainoldes and Abbot at Oxford; Cameron,²⁰ who passed from Scotland to France, and was to found the liberal school of Saumur, as Durie to Germany on the business of his life-long pilgrimage; above all, the great succession through Caselius to Calixtus at Helmstädt,—all these were the heirs of Melancthon's spirit, and the work to which they gave heart and soul and strength was Christian Reunion.

But the first practical effort of the seventeenth century, and one that was to prove once and for all time the insufficiency of Bucer's system, was attempted, not at Wittenberg nor Geneva nor Leyden, but in the metropolis of the Eastern Church. It has been the custom to regard the career of Cyril Lucaris as a mere isolated tragedy, as an incident solely personal; the career of an eclectic who attempted an impossible scheme of reconciliation, and whose scheme perished with himself.²¹ Whatever be true in this traditional view, it ignores at least one fact, patent to all who examine the diplomatic history of the time (especially the relations of England and France to the Porte)—namely, that almost every power in Europe was more or less actively interested in the struggle between Cyril and his Turkish and Jesuit adversaries. In fact, the great contest of the Thirty Years' war was represented in its theological phase on the historic scene of Constantinople. More than five hundred

years had passed since the long existing separation between East and West had been formally consummated, when the Roman legates placed the Bull of excommunication upon the high altar of St. Sophia. Since that time, the Eastern Church had experienced the great changes consequent upon the Turkish rule, and the loss of even the last relics of the old Greek civilisation. But, theologically, it stood unmoved; recognising no new light nor means of spiritual nourishment since, eight centuries before, John of Damascus had opened and had closed the 'Fountain of knowledge.'²² The century of the Reformation had witnessed two eager efforts to enlist the Eastern Church on either side of the great struggle. For seven years the Lutherans had maintained correspondence with Jeremias II, endeavouring to effect reunion on the basis of the *Augustana*. At the same time Possevino, one of the adroitest of Jesuit missionaries, after futile endeavours to restore the Roman influence in Sweden, passed into Russia, and there succeeded in obtaining a form of union which owed its reason of existence to the political necessities of Poland. The hopes of the Vatican were now, once more, directed to Constantinople, and, under the protection of the French Embassy, a Jesuit mission was established at Galata in the early years of the seventeenth century.

It is well known how Cyril Lucaris, a native of Crete, and therefore a Venetian subject, after studying at Padua and Venice, under Margunius, Piccolomini, and Cremoninus, came to Geneva.²³ The obscure chronology of his earlier life makes it difficult to identify with certainty the period of his sojourn; but whether in the last years of the sixteenth century, or (as the two most recent writers incline to believe)

in 1602, he came there under influences which decided his future.

It has been well said that during the sixteenth century, if not in many other ages, the history of universities is the history of civilisation; and the youngest of all, the Academy of Geneva, might seem at that time to have feared no comparison with even the most ancient and illustrious. It was there that a thousand hearers had listened to the lectures of its first professor of theology; it was there that, within the space of a generation, within the narrow limits of the old city, had taught Hotoman, the two Godefroids, Sarrasin, Serranus, Joseph Scaliger, and Isaac Casaubon.

When Cyril came to Geneva, many of the great teachers had passed away; but Beza, fit representative alike of Humanism and the Reformation, still lived, in advanced age and honourable poverty, the object of devoted attachment. He had taught in Calvin's chair, as late as 1598: he preached for the last time in 1600. And if Cyril's sojourn belongs to the latter of possible dates, he may have been an eye-witness of the memorable *Escalade* of 1602, and the heroic defence of the city of Christian scholars against the treacherous onslaught of Savoy.

What wonder that the brief experience of this sojourn influenced the young Greek for life. What contrast must he have drawn between the degradation of the Eastern Church and the strength and spirituality of the Reformation, as seen at Geneva, when he was called to the throne of Athanasius. He had been witness of Roman tactics in the Russian union. He had visited the Lutheran universities, and a sojourn in England laid the foundation of his life-long intercourse with Archbishop Abbot.

With these Western friends Cyril continued in constant correspondence. Surely there is no more unique feature in church history—one might say even in the history of humanity—than the picture of character shown to us in the correspondence of Cyril. We see one already in full manhood, who had enjoyed the very highest culture that the great Italian schools could give; who had already, in the matter of the Polish Reunion, passed his apprenticeship in public affairs; who, as Patriarch of Alexandria, still bore the title of “Judge of the inhabited world”—asking his correspondents for advice and correction, putting before them his difficulties, laying bare the honest process of enquiry in his mind, as well as his deep longing for Reunion; and yet without an atom of the self-conscious pride aping humility. Well might Archbishop Abbot, no mean judge of men, write of him:

*“I doe perceive that there breatheth in him a soule, as, on the one side, full of piety and devotion; so, on the other side, full of prudence and discretion.”*²⁴

But when, in 1621, he became Patriarch of Constantinople, the crisis of his life approached. In spite of the frequent exiles that were almost a necessary incident of a Patriarch’s life, in spite of Jesuit intrigues and the rivalries of his suffragans, he carried on his negociations with England and the other Reformed Churches, and it seemed as if at last the great hope of his life was to be accomplished. From every quarter in Europe came voices of encouragement; Gustavus of Sweden and the English James I. promised him their diplomatic support; the venerable Company of Geneva agreed to a basis of reunion which would have left the question of ritual open, and admitted

the appeal to patristic authority on difficult points of Scripture. The theologians of the Netherlands sent one of their own number to Constantinople as a mark of their hearty co-operation.

But when the other Patriarchs were consulted, and the great scheme opened to them, then the supreme difficulty appeared. Gerasimus of Alexandria declined to move. The others were silent or evasive. Then Cyril determined on the step which only his own honesty of purpose can completely justify. He published the famous "*Confession of the Oriental Church.*" It was, indeed, no mere transcript of Western symbols of the Reformed type: its basis was a sincere attempt, in Bucer's manner, to fuse the two principles of the appeal to Scripture and Justification by Faith into the dogmatic ground-work of the Eastern Church. But it had the supreme defect of expressing only one man's belief. Received with enthusiasm by the Reformed Churches, the virulence of his Roman foes knew no bounds. Again and again he was deposed. Only the constant friendship of Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, one of those scholarly diplomatists of the age, who was not less able to grapple with the Eastern Question at a time when the Turk was a terror to be deprecated in the Litany, because he was eager to secure rare manuscripts, and able to decipher them,—only to his aid, and that of his Dutch colleague Haga, did Cyril on many an occasion owe his life. At last, after a fifth exile, the toils closed round him; the absent Sultan was persuaded by a false charge, and the sentence of death was hastily executed. Happiest perhaps for Cyril that he did not live to witness his own condemnation, signed by one whom he had treated as his own son,

Metrophanes of Alexandria. But it needed not the formal censure of the Synods of Constantinople and Jassy; it needed not the published creed of Petrus Mogila, to purge from the Greek Church opinions never entertained by its members. And yet Cyril's life had not been lived in vain.

As to the Eastern Church, indeed, the harvest of the seed he sowed has only in our own time been in part revealed, when a Bryennios and kindred spirits are again sending forth "ecclesiastical truth" to the world; or, as in Russia, where, after long oppression, the evangelical communities are spreading far and wide, once more the STAR is seen in the East.

But the fruit of his labour in other lands was seen far sooner. Those disciples of Melancthon who had so eagerly and sympathetically watched his labors, had learned much from them, and from their failure. For them, henceforth, there would be no more of those artificial treaties, which here assumed an agreement, and there disguised a difference. Their day had passed with those who really believed in them. But the men of the seventeenth century felt that the working of the law of separation must precede the process of reunion; and they understood that Christ himself came to bring division at first, out of which true unity should be evolved. For their ideal was not the storied Babel on earth, seeking to reach the skies, and ending in disaster, but that eternal city "*which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is GOD.*"

NOTES ON LECTURE I.

¹The Rev. W. H. Thompson, Master of Trinity, formerly Professor of Greek, and one of the electors of the Hulsean Foundation.

²The Rev. C. Simeon † 1836.

³The Latin speech was delivered by the Public Orator, W. Haddon; the sermon preached by Parker. (Strype's Parker, I., 56; Mullinger, *History of Cambridge University*, II., 117-125; Hubertus, "*Ein' ware histori vom leben, sterben, begrebuiss. . . D. M. B.*") The funeral sermon, "How we ought to take the Death of the Godly," was also printed in London by Jugge (n. d.), but no copy appears to be extant.

⁴Cf. Zwingli, Op. IV., 173, *et seq.* Luther Epist. 1217 (DeWette, IV., 26), and Baum, *Capito u. Bucer*, p. 316.

⁵Cf. *Corp. Ref.*, III., 75-81, including Bucer's declaration.

⁶See Luther's *Werke* (Walch), XVII., 389-1005; and *Corp. Ref.*, IV., 119-676. The final rock of failure was the fixed resolve of Luther: "*De adiaphoris rebus agi nihil potest, nisi prius vere conveniat de doctrina et de rebus necessariis.*" (Luth. Epist. ap. De Wette, v. 260.)

⁷Cf. Drouven, *D. Reformation, in. d. Köln. Prov.*, 1876.

⁸Luther spoke contemptuously of Bucer as a "*Klappermaul*," but well appreciated his value in his better hours. On the other side, the most bitter attacks were not wanting. The Jesuit Possevino declared that Bucer died a Jew (*De atheismo Hæreticorum*, VIII., 23), but this was a common charge at that time. Ægidius Hunnius wrote a treatise entitled "*Calvinus judaizans.*" Bossuet included a fierce denunciation of Bucer in his *Histoire des Variations* (lib. IV., § 25), sneering at his repeated marriages, which he erroneously describes as *three* in number, spoke of "*equivokes affectées*," and declared that Calvin himself had accused Bucer of falsehood. But this is incorrect: what Calvin objected to was

Bucer's obscurity of statement: "*Tu Buceri obscuritatem vituperas et merito.*"

Luther at Marburg, meeting Bucer, "shook his hand, and said, smiling and pointing his finger at him: '*Du bist ein Schalk und ein Nebler.*'" (Baum, p. 459; Erichson, p. 16.)

⁹ Especially the three works of Tholuck's later life, *Das academische Leben im XVII^{ten} Jahrhundert* (Halle, 1854), *Lebenszeugen der lutherischen Kirche* (Berlin, 1859), and *Das kirchliche Leben im XVII^{ten} Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1861-2).

¹⁰ "Also verstehet uns recht was Babel und der Thurm zu Babel audeutet: Die stadt Babel ist der Hams Mensche der diese Stadt auff Erden bawet; der Thurm ist sein eigen erwehleter Gott und Gottesdienst. Alle Vernunft-Gelahrte aus der Schule dieser Welt sind die Baumeister dieses Thurmes. Alle diejenize welche sich zu Lehrern aufwerffen und von Menschen darzu beruffen worden ohne Gottes Geist, die sind alle Werckmeister, u. s. w." (*Mysterium magnum, oder Erklärung über das erste Buch Mosis*, 1640. Cap. xxxvi., § 8.)

¹¹ Cf. Wildenhahn, *J. Arndt*. (Leipz. 1847-58.) The many suspicions as to Arndt's orthodoxy were silenced at last by Polycarp Lyser's decision: "The book (meaning the '*Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*') is good, if the reader is good." See also Tholuck's *Lebenszeugen*, p. 261.

¹² See the essay by W. Schircks, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1855, heft. 3.

¹³ Cf. Henke, *Leben von G. Calixtus*, II., 220, *et seq.*

¹⁴ The famous work, "*Del beneficio di Giesù Cristo crocifisso*," falsely attributed to Paleario, is now known to have been the work of a Benedictine monk, named Benedetto of Mantua. See Benrath in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1877). It was rediscovered at Cambridge in 1854, and edited by the late Professor Babington, as also by Tischendorf.

¹⁵ See Tholuck's *Academisches Leben*, and Hase's *Kirchengeschichte*, 10th edition, p. 423.

¹⁶ The original edition of the "*Confessio Augustana*" (1531) had been accepted as a declaration of peace by many outside the strict Lutheran lines. Calvin himself, while minister at Strasburg,

signed it, and again as delegate to the Conference of Regensburg in 1541. It was signed by Farel and Beza at the Conference of Worms in 1537, by Friederich III., elector of the Pfalz, in 1561, and by many other Reformed princes. The second edition, the so-called "*Variata*," was published in 1540; and so far from there being any concealment or disguise about the alterations, the words "*mit vleis emendirt*" stand upon the title-page. See Schaff, *Hist. Creeds of Christendom*, p. 236, *et seq.*

¹⁷The story will be found in a letter of Andreä to Marbach. See Fecht's collection of Marbach's letters, p. 580.

¹⁸FRANCIS JUNIUS, or Du Jon (the elder), whose autobiography is included in Müller's *Bekentnisse merkwürdiger Männer*, II., 179, *et seq.* Du Jon was fiercely attacked by Scaliger. His *Irenicum* aimed, not at reunion, but at a mutual toleration.

¹⁹DAVENANT (1572-1641). A protégé of Whittaker, in 1614-15 disputed publicly with Scultetus at Cambridge; made Lady Margaret Professor and Pres. of Queen's Coll. One of the English delegates at Dort, where his influence did much to soften the extremes of Gomarus and his party. Often in trouble with the Council on account of his tolerant policy. In 1631 made to kneel before Privy Council, in presence of Laud, Harsnet, and Neile, but dismissed with an injunction not to offend. In 1638, published his treatise, "*De Pace inter Evangelicos procuranda Sententiæ Quatuor*," which included the opinions of Morton, Hall, and some French divines. In 1641 he published his "*Adhortatio ad pacem ecclesiæ*." Of Davenant it was said by Ussher that "he understood the Predestinarian controversy better than any man since St. Austin."

²⁰CAMERON. Came from Scotland to Bordeaux in 1600, became a minister, then teacher, at Bergerac. Appointed later to a chair at Sédan, but finally called to Saumur in Gomar's place. He taught there till 1620. After many wanderings, died in 1625.

²¹As Pichler's biography (*Cyr. Lucaris, oder der Protestantismus in der Oriental. Kirche*. Mun., 1862) cannot be accepted as a definitive account of Cyril Lucaris, the student must be referred to the sources, Aymon's *Monumens authentiques de la religion des Grecs*, Cyril's own *Lettres anecdotes*, edited separately in 1718, also included in Aymon; Smith's *Miscellanea*, Lond., 1709, and his

Collectanea de C. L.; and Kimmel's *Monumenta fidei ecclesiæ Orientalis*, Jena, 1800. Two articles by Mohnike and Twesten, resp. in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1832, and the *Deutsche Zeitschrift f. Chr. Wiss.*, 1850, are worth consulting.

Pichler makes no reference to an able study on Cyril published at Athens in 1859 by Rhénières. The essay by A. Mettetal lays no claim to original research.

²² Πηγὴ γνώσεως. Ed. Lequien, Par. 1712.

²³The family of Lucaris were old Greek nobility, connected with the Paleologi, originally from Epidaurus in Illyria; had accepted voluntary exile to escape Turkish tyranny. Crete had been purchased by Venice from the Counts of Montferrat. Many of the young Greeks studied at the Italian universities. Padua had three special colleges for them—the *Collegium Cyprium*, founded by Garphranus for four Candiotes; the *Collegium Colunium*, for eight Greeks; and the *Collegium Venetum*, for twenty-four students, of whom sixteen were to be of Crete. In the first of these Cyril was educated. He was assisted from the first by his kinsman Meletius, afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria. According to his first biographer, Leger, Cyril remained at Padua till his twenty-third year. In 1596 he was attending the Synod of Brzesc.

²⁴Letter to Sir Thomas Roe, of Nov. 20, 1622. (Roe's *Correspondence*, p. 102.)

LECTURE II.

PROTESTANT REUNION.

LECTURE II.

Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

(*Matth.* v. 9.)

HE who endeavours to describe the various efforts to promote Christian Reunion in the seventeenth century, feels how great were the difficulties experienced by those predecessors by whose labours he has profited. For the work is not to describe the history of one movement, but of many; proceeding sometimes in parallel, sometimes in intersecting courses; now the political and now the religious element predominating: indeed, more than once, in the same country, at the same period, two distinct currents of irenical purpose are manifest; as in France, in 1631, when the partial union between Lutherans and Reformed was accomplished at the Synod of Charenton, while Richelieu was aiming at a wider scheme, which should have brought the whole nation into one ecclesiastical organization.

And so when, at the beginning of the century, a member of the Oratorian order in France attempted the first history of Reunion, inspired by the somewhat sanguine hope that, under the auspices of the First Napoleon, Western Christendom might be finally united, he abandoned all effort at philosophical treatment, or even classification of any sort, and narrated, as detached incidents, each irenical effort, with its measure of success or failure.¹ And even when, a generation later, the German scholar Karl Hering, per-

formed the same task, on a larger scale, with greater knowledge and a more catholic spirit, the reader yet seeks in vain an answer to the natural questions which the history suggests, as to the connection between the different efforts, the respective share of political interest, and growth of religious feeling; above all, as to the principles on which the leaders of each movement based their proposals for peace, and the reason why some of the greatest minds of the century, a Grotius and a Leibnitz, after strenuously taking part in one or other of the movements, occupied at the close of their lives an ambiguous position of neutrality.²

Not only the prescribed limits of time, but other reasons no less peremptory, have caused me to restrict, as far as possible, the scope of my own investigation. In treating of the seventeenth century *alone*, almost every condition and aspect of the question comes to view; and in omitting, so far as the narrower question of Protestant Reunion is concerned, all reference to the various schemes of comprehension that were proposed or attempted in the Church of England, I avoid the necessarily imperfect discussion of a topic which demands separate treatment, not merely on account of the difference of conditions, but from its surpassing historic interest, and its incalculable importance as a practical question in these present times.

And while almost every conceivable method of arrangement, whether geographical or chronological, from the causes stated, incurs danger of repetition or omission, I propose to adopt the simplest plan of all, that of taking, in block, the two great groups of irenical effort—first of Protestant Reunion, belonging to the period before 1660, with its central figures, John Durie, Calixtus, and Hugo

Grotius; and then the larger movement towards the Reunion of the whole West, which, though schemed by Richelieu and James I and Grotius, never approaches tangible shape till taken up by Durie's counterpart, the Catholic bishop Spinola, whose ceaseless journeyings and negotiations prepare the stage for the entry of Leibnitz and Bossuet.

We have seen, in the earlier Reformation period, one irenical system, that of Bucer—that which may be called the "Diplomatic method"—was generally adopted. Excellent in intention, it suffered fatally from lack of uniformity of principle, or even of any recognised principle underlying it; and at last Melancthon abandoned his reluctant approval. He did not live to inaugurate practically a better method, and his bequest to posterity consisted, as we have seen, not so much in doctrines stereotyped in symbols as in a spirit continued in worthy successors, maintaining the lofty ideal of learning, and the spirit of charity and toleration, which shadowed forth (if it did not absolutely state) that recognition of theological ethics as the ultimate expression, of which a true successor of Melancthon in this century has left so imperishable a monument.³

But two remarkable influences were found in combination, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which strengthened the desire for reunion, and tended to counter-balance the hard scholastic tone of Lutheran and Reformed orthodoxy.

It is at this time that learned laymen are found to take earnest part in theological discussion; often with reluctance, as when the great scholar, Hermann Conring, writes to a friend that he would fain have held aloof from religious

controversy, but that his conscience would not suffer him to keep silence.⁴ Throughout the century, in a Selden, a Pascal, Thomasius, Leibnitz, Locke, and many others, the influence is ever beneficial, not merely in the introduction of a freer and more philosophical, but indeed of a gentler and more Christian tone of discussion; and if, by exception, a Selden may have permitted his sense of superiority and even the vials of scorn to overflow, not only in private table-talk, but in public controversy, we must remember that he had to deal with adversaries who found anathema easier than argument against his History of Tithes, and he may have deemed those wielders of the "gilt-edged testaments" as deficient in the spiritual unction which they claimed, as in the human learning which they despised.⁵

And, secondly, it has been pointed out by one whose researches on this period form the stepping-stone for every later investigation, that the custom of "academic travels" had the greatest influence in widening the views and extending the sympathies of students. Indeed, the "*peregrinatio academica*" was not a feature peculiar to this century; for all will recollect that description of a journey through the universities of Europe in the "*Letters of obscure men*," which a tradition one willingly accepts attributes to the lighter vein of no less a writer than Melancthon himself. But the seventeenth century made it a recognised part of an academical, and especially of a theological curriculum.⁶ The journeys extended far and lasted long. France, Italy, and England are constantly mentioned; but the Netherlands, then in the very summit of intellectual and national glory, was their especial goal. There Lutheran visitors reluctantly admitted the virtues and talents of Re-

formed teachers. There Myslenta, extremest zealot from Wittenberg, experiences and confesses the spell of the personal fascination of Episcopius, just as the Calvinist Heidegger visits at Strasburg the redoubtable Lutheran controversialist Dannhauer, and is received with a cordiality he never forgets. We hear of one student who, after passing seven years at Wittenberg, studies at Utrecht, at Paris, and at Oxford. Another comes to the same university for two years to learn Hebrew from one who first illustrated a name now doubly memorable in the annals of theology.⁷

It was upon a scene thus prepared and preparing that the first voice spoke forth, exhorting the two great sections of Protestantism to seek peace.

The "*Irenicum*" of David Paræus recommends a general congress of the Protestant powers, including England and the Scandinavian countries; that its work should be a separation of doctrines into essentials and non-essentials, indicating clearly his own view that a temperate discussion would prove the real points of controversy to be both few and unimportant. It is an appeal to the kings and people, "*theologi enim surdi sunt.*" But the time was not yet ripe. To the joy of anxious Jesuits, the Lutherans scornfully rejected a proposal which one of their spokesmen described as a diabolical invention.⁸

And now a person comes forth, compared with whom even Bucer's memory pales in respect of single-hearted devotion to the cause of Reunion.

The career of JOHN DURIE, extending over more than half a century, would need volumes to describe, and its main outline is doubtless familiar to us all. We remember

how the young Scotchman, after leaving Oxford, was brought into contact with that good genius of the time, Sir Thomas Roe, who, recalled from Constantinople, after having been the preserver of Cyril's life, now became the friend and adviser of Durie. At first, all seemed to promise success. Armed with strong recommendation from Archbishop Abbot, as well as from Davenant and Hall; publicly favored by Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna; received with warmest welcome by the congenial minds at Helmstädt, Durie accepted without misgiving the cold and even hostile attitude of the Jena and Leipzig divines. To us, at the present time, it seems wonderful that a theologian who held himself so distinctly aloof from all current controversy should have been able to gain even a hearing from his contemporaries. For Durie's own theological position, seldom brought into evidence till the close of his life, was much that of a mediæval mystic, retiring from the ingenuities of the schoolmen to the contemplation of divine things. We find that, at the last, in his retirement at Cassel, he found his own consolation in that Pietistic movement by which Labadie from one side, Molinos and Spener on others, transfused once more a needed life-blood into current theology. It is even alleged against him as a heresy, by a later writer of Mosheim's school, that he held that the "Word of God, different on men's lips, is the same in their hearts," a doctrine which, however we may judge it, we know to have been familiar to such minds as Eckart and Tauler.

His basis of reunion was, therefore, far different from the almost utilitarian position of Bucer; and if it varies in expression in the course of his long career, it is by a natural

development, a wider conception of the differing conditions of each community, and an experience sadly purchased of the many failures of his life-long quest.

But so far from deserving the charge brought against him by one writer, of a random adoption of contradictory principles, we find an almost pedantic inculcation of elaborate practical methods, developed from a very clear statement of principles. Seeing that all controversies and schisms have arisen from the three differences, of opinion, method and temper of discussion, and form of worship, he prescribes for the cure of each. In the first place, almost in the words used later by Jeremy Taylor and Stillingfleet, he would reduce the sum of fundamental doctrine to its minimum in the Apostles' creed. For the second, he would revive the forgotten discipline of practical theology, empowering the Superintendents to check mere scholastic controversies, and to encourage the study of the higher casuistry, as in England Sanderson and Taylor understood it. Less practical or possible are his recommendations for the abolition of all sectarian names, and less admirable his proposal for a Censorship upon theological writings.

And it seemed at the time that he first made these proposals that success would attend his hopes. In the years 1630 and 1631, as if in celebration of the great centenary of Augsburg, the Protestant cause, with its new champion from the North, was in height of prosperity; and the hearts of even the bitterest controversialists more open to thoughts of union. In the same year, 1631, two important events, on the Reformed side, at the Synod of Charenton, and of Lutherans, the Colloquy of Leipzig, marked a real advance towards mutual comprehension. At the former, under the

auspices of Amyraut, Blondel, and Mestrézat, it was decided that Lutherans should be admitted to Communion, "since"—as it was declared—"the churches of the Augsburg Confession agree in fundamental articles with the Reformed churches, and their service is without idolatry and superstition." At Leipzig, the Reformed churches declared their admiration of, and assent to, the Augsburg Confession (meaning, naturally, its later redaction), and gave assent also to a number of articles proposed with a specific purpose of furthering reunion.⁹

If the practical work achieved was slight and of scant duration, that which was important in the Leipzig Colloquy was the fact of nearer personal contact and mutual understanding. And a proof, not without value, of the advance made was afforded by the indignant protests from the Roman camp against these dangerous signs of alliance; more than one Jesuit denouncing this new heresy as leading surely to indifference in religion, and from thence as surely to atheism.

On Abbot's death, Durie found that all his hopes of support from England depended on a personage of different character. But whatever judgment may be passed on Laud's policy within the English Church, it is impossible to deny that, in his dealings with the Protestant cause on the Continent, it was as broad and statesmanlike as that of Abbot himself. The sole condition imposed was the reception of Anglican Orders; and to this Durie assented, as Leighton twenty years later, and was supplied with credentials more full and authoritative even than before. But from henceforth Durie was to experience a series of disappointments and failures. In Sweden, whither he next

bent his steps, filled with highest hopes of success through Oxenstierna's influence, and from the many links of analogy between the Swedish and Anglican reformations, he was received with jealousy and suspicion. His very right to speak in the name of the Reformed Churches was openly doubted; and when at last admitted to a public hearing, he was silenced by the raising of side-issues, and soon after was directed to leave the country. In Denmark he experienced a similar failure; for the demand of the Lutheran clergy that the Reformed, as a preliminary step, should "renounce all their distinctive opinions," could hardly have inspired hope even in Durie's sanguine disposition. Then for many years he abandoned his wanderings, but while resident in England was ceaselessly active in propaganda. Without a suspicion from either side of interested motive, he accepted each phase of religious change; he subscribed the Covenant, and then the Engagement; but would not join the Westminster Assembly without the King's consent, against whose trial he vehemently protested. Preaching before Parliament in 1645, he besought them not to "make the gates of their Jerusalem too narrow." Sent by Cromwell forth once more on the work of his life, he remembered the Swedish difficulties, and sought to procure a preliminary union of all sections of the Reformed ranks. Here he was partly successful; but in Germany the frequent enquiry why he did not first unite Christians in his native land, before coming to other countries, was perhaps more difficult to answer than the other arguments employed against him. And for twenty years after the Restoration he continued in the same activity, never bating heart or hope till the very last, when a great pang of disillusion seems to have over-

come him, and is breathed in his last utterance: "The fruit of my labour is but this, that I see more misery among Christians than among heathen; I see the cause of this misery, and the need of remedy; and I have but the witness of my own conscience that I strove to apply it."¹⁰

If such seeming failure was the lot of the wandering prophet, little better was the fate of the great scholar Calixtus, who, at the end of his life, when all his hopes seemed near consummation at the Synod of Thorn, found himself excluded by Lutheran bigotry from the very assembly which had met to accomplish the objects he had consistently advocated.¹¹ And yet the real influence of Calixtus, and of the University of Helmstädt in that age, can hardly be overrated. If it does not present the unique picture of Geneva in the former century, with siege and pestilence on either hand, and those teachers with their meagre pittances and myriad hearers; yet, in its absolute unity of spirit and teaching (for at last the colleagues of Calixtus had been all his pupils), the spectacle is almost as remarkable. As Durie represents the endeavour after reunion from the side of practical theology, Helmstädt urged the historical side with an authority and learning which could not be denied. By the admission of objective tests, more extensive than those which Durie at any time demanded or would concede; by accepting the consent of the first five centuries, Calixtus placed himself once more in possible relations, not only with the Anglican hierarchy, but the moderate section of the Gallican and Austrian clergy. Indeed, Calixtus' many anti-Roman writings are directed rather against the new school, the Jesuits, and the renegades like Nihusius, bitter against the faith which had been abandoned.

But it was reserved for one, greater far than Durie or Calixtus, and who all his life had been eager in the same cause, to close this chapter in the history of Christian Reunion. And there is the more reason to dwell upon the share of Hugo Grotius in this work, since a misrepresentation of it—"gross as a mountain, open, palpable"—has long been regarded as a faithful record, coming as it does from the hand of a great English historian, whose conspicuous, and, indeed, in almost every case merited distinction, is his impartiality. Unlike Calixtus, whose life has been fitly recorded by one of his own spiritual descendants, Grotius, whose country but recently has given him the tardy tribute of a prophet's tomb, yet lacks the rarer monument of fitting biography. Before Grotius had been long dead, we know that Richard Baxter, in one of his least happy moments, charged him with having virtually seceded to Rome, and the Anglican theologian, Bramhall, vindicated the great memory wronged, in a memorable treatise. But it seems hardly credible that the authority of Hallam's name should have been given, and for so long without question, to a statement which is not even free from material inaccuracies, which is based upon a most imperfect grasp of facts, and throughout adopts the method of a hostile advocate. That statement is made at great length, with strong profession of accuracy, and with all its apparatus of quotation from the epistles. Its conclusion is to represent Grotius as "stooping to nonsensical evasions," "run away with vanity," a "searcher for subtle interpretations, by which he might profess to believe the words of the Church, though conscious that his sense was not that of the imposers;" his change of standpoint is attributed to "ill-usage

received from the Huguenots," and the "caresses of the Gallicans."¹² And as, upon the mind of the general reader, the pointed English phrase leaves surer dint than the most faithful Latin quotations, what wonder that many may have eagerly added Grotius to that category of the "*greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind,*" the imagined extension of which gives so much consolation to mediocrity. And so, for more than a generation, that verdict has stood unchallenged and unanswered—

*"As London's column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies."*

That the statement contains much that is true in substance can be readily admitted. That Hallam doubtless believed he was fairly judging Grotius may be as certain as our knowledge that the impartiality he invariably meted to a character he disliked, he here fails to grant to one which he admired but could not comprehend. Nor is it any discredit to that universal reading which is already impossible, and soon will be inconceivable, that Hallam had failed to master that literature of Dutch and French Protestant theology belonging to the first half of the seventeenth century, which alone would furnish labour for a life-time. But we may wonder that he should have failed to remember that noble *Apologia* for his own life and opinions which Grotius gives in the introduction to his *Votum pro Pace ecclesiastica*, and written in 1642, three years before his death:

"Instructed from my childhood in the Holy Scriptures, but by teachers who thought not alike concerning things Divine, I understood that Christ had willed that all named after him, and trusting in his salvation, should be one, as

he is one with the Father. . . . And the beauty of the primitive Church did greatly please me, at that time when she was without question Catholic, since all Christians, save a few separated and clearly distinguished parts, remained in one communion, from the Rhine to Africa and Egypt, from the Britannic ocean to the Euphrates."

But as my limits forbid the preferable task of giving Grotius' vindication in his own words, suffer me, in concluding this section of my subject, to state the moments which are traceable in his admitted change of attitude, and which the verdict of Hallam seems to have in some places imperfectly judged, and in others completely misapprehended.

To charge it as a piece of reaction against Calixtus and Grotius that they had strong respect for antiquity, is surely a proof of more than careless statement. Melancthon at Augsburg, or Jewell in his Apology, as we know, were strenuous champions on a field which is now deserted by their old opponents. Even so strenuous a champion of the Reformed Church as Du Moulin writes thus to Bishop Andrewes :

*"I am not so brazen-faced as to give sentence against those lights of the ancient Church. . . . The venerable antiquity of those primitive ages shall always weigh more with me than any man's new-fangled institution."*¹²

But while, from the first, the recognition of, and appeal to, antiquity was integral part of the Reformation platform, it may indeed be admitted that, gradually, as new points of controversy arose, two schools of opinion within the Reformation were evolved, the one giving less and the other more relative weight to the verdict of antiquity; while the attempt

to urge the individual authority of certain Fathers as a bar without appeal, seemed at last, to a great body of Protestants, to be a threatening evil, for which Daillé applied a somewhat extreme but not unneeded antidote.

Nor, secondly, can any personal pique at the narrow feeling of the French Protestants be regarded as an efficient cause of Grotius' change. As a Remonstrant, he had been, indeed, at first repelled from their communion, an act of intolerance not to be defended. But those who study the annals of French Protestantism will understand why, instead of the syncretism which their own interest seemed to suggest, a hardness and rigor appears in their controversial literature. It was the result, not only of long years of persecution, but of the fatal political birthright of the Edict, making them a separated community, cut off from the sympathies of fellow citizens by the very privileges which were one by one destroyed.¹³

But the third moment to be regarded is in the attitude of Grotius to the movement for reunion as a work of his life. He who was a statesman, who had made history with Gustavus and Richelieu, was not content, like Durie, with declarations and colloquies; nor, like Calixtus, would deign to bandy pamphlets with opponents like Calov and Hülsemann. He saw the failure of their work, which he had ardently helped, and aimed at some scheme where action was possible, and success within measurable sight. As he had seen Protestant union a failure wherever tried, so he now turned to the wider scheme which had for its goal the reunion of Western Christendom.¹⁴

But, lastly, there is one point, indeed, where those who desire to play the schoolmaster to Grotius may prove him

wrong. He believed, and believed without reason, that it was possible to take up in 1640 the plan which Cassander had offered in vain in 1560. But the stream which then was narrow, and might have been bridged over by a few practical reforms, and a few prompt concessions, was now a wide gulf. Yet still there was possibility, if a concurrence of political interest and of developed sympathy could be found; and, in any case, there are some who, if they had lived at that time, would not have grieved to err with Grotius and Leibnitz, if, indeed, they erred at all.

And here, with a final record of failure, this section of my subject ends. And the failure seemed irremediable. Who could unite with those whose reply, like Luther's to Zwingli's outstretched hand and offered friendship at Marburg, was: "*Ye have another spirit!*" Who could not feel that some inherent drawback must attach to schemes which no efforts, no faith, could bring to success? And there was the consciousness reawakening, thought on by Calixtus, pressing on Grotius, carried by Leibnitz into practice, that schemes which at best only reunited a fraction could not have elements of finality in them. How could eternal foundations be laid for temporary expedients?

And in our memories the onward vista of later attempts confirms the prognostic of Grotius. We know the failure of Tillotson's splendid effort, supported by his sovereign and by that galaxy of names illustrious in theology. We know how two genuine efforts to unite the Prussian and Anglican Churches failed; we know the history of that union of the two Protestant sections in this century, the failure of which broke Frederick William's heart, and dashed the life-long hope of Bunsen; we know how the

Evangelical Alliance, with all its splendid promise, has been sterile of practical result. And the reason was in the conviction that, however it might be justifiable to erect barriers against persecution, such methods lost with their object their reason of existence; it was in the conviction that the work of Christianity is not to perpetuate divisions, but to end them; that as the heathen could conceive nothing human alien to himself, so the Christian scheme knows no barriers of eternal separation between those who profess to call themselves after the name of Christ.

NOTES ON LECTURE II.

¹ The work of Tabaraud (*Histoire critique des projets d'union*) was written early in the century, but suppressed. It was published in 1824.

² *Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionsversuche*, Leipz., 1836, remains still the standard work upon its subject, and is so acknowledged by authorities like K. Hase and Niedner. Its account of the labours of Melancthon and Durie is still the best; but recent publication of the Leibnitz Correspondence has thrown much new light on the later phases of the work of Union.

³ That which may be called the "definitive word" upon the character of Melancthon was uttered by Richard Rothe, in his speech delivered in the *Aula* of the University of Heidelberg, on the three hundredth anniversary of Melancthon's death. (Apr. 19, 1860.) He described M.'s career as "the great turning-point in the history of Christianity, from the exclusively religious-ecclesiastical, to the religious-ethical aim." He believed that not one of M.'s contemporaries, not even Zwingli, was able to appreciate him.

⁴ Scaliger said that he had sometimes thought of writing upon the corruptions of the text of Scripture. Cf. *Scaligerana* II., s. v. Josephus: "Il y a plus de 50 additions on mutations au N. T. et aux Evangiles; c'est chose estrange, je n'ose la dire; si c'estoit un auteur profane; j'eu parlerois autrement." He gave his reasons for holding back in some verses addressed to De Thou:

"O Musas et nos parili amplexus amore," etc.

(see Bernays, p. 204), and in plain words addressed to Martinus Lydius in Franeker. (Scal. *ep̄p.*, p. 576.)

⁵ "Divers members of both Houses were members of the Assembly of Divines, and had the same liberty with the Divines to sit and debate. . . . In which debates Mr. Selden spake admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And sometimes, when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them: '*Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles, with gilt leaves, the translation may be thus, but the Greek*

or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus ;' and so he would totally silence them." (Whitelock's *Memorials*, ed. 1732, p. 71.)

⁶Tholuck has given an exhaustive account of the "*peregrinatio academica*" in his "*Academisches Leben*," cited *supra*.

⁷John Lightfoot (1602-1675), author of the *Horae Hebraicae*.

⁸Cf. Hering, *Unionsversuche*, I., 283.

⁹Cf. Hering, *Unionsversuche*, I., 326-358.

¹⁰For the life of Durie, which still demands an adequate biography, there are abundant MS. materials at Cassel, Cambridge, and doubtless other places. The account given by Hering, in the second volume of his work, is still the best, and is closely followed by Moller in Herzog-Plitt's *Encyclopädie*.

¹¹Hering, loc. cit.; Henke, *Leben von G. Calixt*, II., 186.

¹²Hallam, *History of Literature*, II., 208, note.

¹³Du Moulin (Molinei ad episc. Wint., epist. III.).

¹⁴As far back as the year 1614, on the occasion of the National Synod of Tonneins, Grotius had fully recognised the narrower and less attractive side of Huguenot orthodoxy. With grave humour he pointed out that one difficulty in the way of any approximation between the Reformed Church of France and that of England was in the fact that the extreme Huguenots, like the Scottish Puritans, regarded episcopacy as "an invention of the devil and the mark of the beast." (Hering, I., 322.) He perceived, also, the deficiencies of Du Moulin himself for the task pressed upon him by James I.

¹⁵Grotius admitted that he had gained his first ideas of Reunion from Fr. Junius (*Votum pro pace eccles., contra Rivetum*), and had strengthened them by the perusal of Cassander's writings. A mind temperate and philosophic as his, nourished upon severe and universal study, was unconsciously impelled by the shallow polemics of his contemporaries to take a more favorable view of the objects of the invectives. He pointed out the weakness of the arguments which identified the Papacy with Antichrist, as also the pleas of the victorious party at Dort. His sympathies to the last were with the efforts of Durie, to whom he wrote in warmest terms in 1641, shortly before his death.

LECTURE III.

CHRISTIAN REUNION.

LECTURE III.

Μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.

(*Matth.* v. 9.)

IN the necessarily abbreviated account of the efforts to promote reunion among the Protestant churches, the endeavour has been made to show that their failure was due, not merely to the intolerance of Lutherans and Reformed on either side, but to an essential and insuperable difference of opinion on the question of the Church. Calixtus, in his later stages, and Grotius more constantly and systematically, had upheld a theory, far indeed removed from the Roman conception, but which was as unacceptable on other grounds to his Protestant contemporaries.

And when we consider that theory, to which, in the present century, Thomas Arnold gave such epigrammatic expression in one of his best-remembered letters;¹ when we consider that Grotius denied Episcopacy to be a vital note of the church, while recognising its historical position, and its utility as an element of practical organization; when we remember his view of the function of the State, and that no man ever held more strongly the belief that, everywhere, “over all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil,” the secular power should be supreme, we may well wonder at the superficial criticism which inferred an approximation to Rome on the part of one who was Rome’s most dangerous, because most temperate and most intelligent, adversary.

And, on the other hand, while the Augsburg Confession, unlike the Reformed symbols, whether Anglican or Galli-

can, held to the statement, "*quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit,*" it is difficult to understand why, on this side, Grotius did not find support in the more conservative Lutheranism which carried so many ecclesiastical theories into strenuous practice.

And yet it was without bitterness that the great scholar relinquished his hopeless task, nor even without a certain satisfaction, "for even the endeavour after that which is noble," he writes, "yields the fruit of joyful recollection." And, in another place: "If we obtain no more than that we diminish hatred, and make Christians kinder and nearer to one another, is not this even worth the labour and the obloquy with which we must purchase it?" Those words were to be, for half a century, the epitaph upon Protestant Reunion.

But another influence had its weight alike in the earlier efforts as in the subsequent relaxation and abandonment. It is customary to speak of England as the country, *par excellence*, where ecclesiastical changes were due to political forces. And yet, not even in the days of pliant Tudor parliaments, do we find such absolute expression of what has been called "cæsaro-papism," as when, in the space of fifty years, one German state changed five times from the Reformed to the Lutheran side; and when the bright exceptions in the rulers of Hesse and Electoral Saxony, whose own aspirations seemed to reflect those of their people, only threw into more vivid relief the arbitrary subjection of religion to political expediency. For many of the countless religious colloquies of the sixteenth century were but political measures, and the interest in them ceased, on the part of princes, when the treaties of Westphalia settled the Germanic system. The princes cared not for efforts after

religious federation, the success of which might lessen their own absolute authority. And, therefore, the virtual erection of numerous Protestant state-churches, although a sure barrier against Roman aggression, was a hindrance, not only to any progress towards national unity, but to that conception of Christianity in its aspect of a universal church which their own creeds acknowledged.

And now, from another side, the cause of union was to be advocated. That aggressive progress which was the feature of the Roman Church during the first half of the seventeenth century ended with the treaties of Westphalia; but numerous converts from all classes of society, from many of the reigning houses, and even some additions to the more enviable conquests from the ranks of scholars of European reputation, which had begun with Justus Lipsius, and added Lucas Holsten and Nihusius, were not wanting. And the interest which the apprehensions of Rome began to direct towards reunion is proved by the many treatises which from this time were published, such as the *Meditata Concordia*, by the Jesuit Masen, in 1664, the *Aurora pacis*, by the Bishop of Mainz, in the following year, the *Tuba pacis* of Prætorius, and many others.²

It is significant of the modern spirit which from the middle of the century pervades Europe that it was a commercial enterprise, an association to promote trade with India, that enlisted the sanction of the Roman power on behalf of Christian reunion. Rojas Spinola, Bishop of Tina, is in more than one respect the counterpart of Durie. We find in him the same overpowering possession by one idea, the same unquestioned sincerity, the same self-sacrificing exertions. Whether the authority he claimed from the

Emperor and from the Pope would have proved as complete in ratification as in promise, has been doubted, and must always remain a question. But a remarkable document, preserved in a transcript from the hand of Leibnitz, proves beyond doubt that, on the side of the Emperor at least, the measures proposed were in full accordance with the policy of Vienna, and were watched and encouraged with keenest interest. And it was abundantly clear that, as the previous efforts for Protestant reunion had laid bare some irreconcilable differences in the Protestant ranks, so now, on the side of those accepting the Roman obedience, differences as marked, and as much based on the existence of divergent principles, became manifest. Cassander, speaking of the state of theological parties in France in the middle of the sixteenth century, had remarked that, besides the blind followers of Rome and the Huguenots, there was a third party, "*ordo moderatorum et pacificatorum,*" who recognise, he says, "the need of many reforms in the Church, but yet disapprove of the importunity of the new preachers. These seek such means by which the Church, with least possible revolution, should be brought into harmony with Holy Scripture and antiquity; and that both sides, or at least those of both sides, '*qui saniores sunt,*' should be restored to Christian unity."³

Especially in France and with the house of Hapsburg the memory of the old antagonism with Rome had not been obliterated, and in both territories the results of successful resistance survived, not only in a measure of practical independence, but in a recognised theory. If this is less manifest in the case of Austria, owing to the fact that the efforts of bishops were often neutralized by the superior influence

of the Imperial confessors, generally Jesuits, and always attached to Rome, it cannot be forgotten how three successive Emperors, in the era of the Reformation, had held the scales; how Charles V, although personally averse to Luther's movement, had rivalled the deed of Genseric, while his two immediate successors had each shown the strongest leaning to measures of reform and reunion.

And the Gallican Church, from the time of Charles the Great, had preserved an ideal not unworthy of an origin which claimed an inheritance from Irenæus and Hilary. Not as claiming an exceptional position in the universal church, but as affirming in her own case a general and certain rule of ecclesiastical common law, she maintained her own principles, customs, and liberties. Indeed, this ideal, to which few could refuse admiration, had not always been clearly grasped. Sometimes on the side of the crown, sometimes from the bishops, there had been lack of energy, or of consistent action. But there was always a recuperative force in the very possession of a great tradition, and again and again, as under Hincmar and Yvo of Chartres, Saint Louis, and Philip IV, the encroachments of the Papacy had encountered strenuous and successful resistance.⁴

But the opportunity of an alliance between these kindred ecclesiastical traditions in Austria and France was checked by the long-continued political opposition between the two courts. And the phases of the political conflict are strangely intermingled with those of the irenic effort of Spinola we have now to examine; each of the two countries, in turn, making effort to secure an agreement with Protestant powers like Brunswick and Hanover, which political reasons alone made advantageous.

For a time Spinola's exertions bore but scanty fruit.⁵ But in 1671 he gained an earnest adherent in Cardinal Albrizzi, the Nuncio at Vienna, and six years later the scheme came under the official cognizance of Innocent XI. The question of practical concessions, such as the cup and the marriage of clergy, were favorably considered; and either on this, or on the occasion of a later visit, the Pope gave sanction to the declaration, by virtue of which the salvation of those outside the pale of the Roman obedience, a Grotius, a Leibnitz, or an I. Newton, might be deemed possible, through a charitable supposition of their invincible ignorance.

But it was in the school of Helmstädt, where Calixtus had left adequate successors in his son, in Conring, and above all, in Molanus, Abbot of Loccum, that Spinola was to find most friendly reception and readiest agreement. And it must be admitted that the plan explained to them was one that might well have excited interest and a hope of ultimate success. It was not asked of the Protestants that they should abandon a single article of faith, of constitution, or of ceremonial. Nor should the rights of princes or of pastors suffer diminution. The great Anathema of the Bull, *In cæna Domini*, with which the Council of Trent had incorporated all Protestant Churches, annually proclaimed, was no longer to be published. The decisions of Trent itself were to be considered as suspended. A new general council, at which the Protestant churches should be summoned, not as culprits, but as legitimate members, should decide the future practice and doctrine of a reunited Church. The primacy of the Pope was to be indeed acknowledged, but without necessary admission of divine right, or of any

historical theory of its origin, but solely as a matter of practical utility.

Such concessions, so sweeping and unexpected, while they provoked suspicion in many minds, had an irresistible attraction for those among what may be called the Grotian section of Protestants. Spinola's principle of "suspension," that is to say, of preliminary union, with suspension of all controverted points, commended itself above all to those who desired Reunion from its political and social side, and it attracted no more ardent adherent at Hanover than the famous Electress, distinguished even among the many women who in that age took conspicuous part in literature and politics, the mother of English kings; and it was her friend and confidant, LEIBNITZ, into whose hands the direction of further negotiations was entrusted.

To Leibnitz the question was one long ago studied with interest. When, after his early academical disappointments, he had accepted at Mainz the service of the Archbishop, and enjoyed the intimacy of Boineburg, he had lived in the very atmosphere of that liberal Catholicism of the Cassandrian type which was separated by so narrow a division from Melanthonian Protestantism. And his wide studies in comparative politics, and, above all, that note in his character of which he boasts, "that my preference is to seek that which is admirable in every system, and not that which merits blame," combined to prepare in him not only a favorable prepossession for the cause of Reunion, but also a thorough acquaintance with its possible conditions.

The same rumours which had been circulated concerning Grotius accompanied Leibnitz in his visit to Rome in 1689. Yet the offer of the Vatican librarianship, with pros-

pect of the Cardinal's hat, did not for a moment tempt him to the indispensable condition; and he returned to the North, if not with the after influences of Luther's visit, yet with clear conception of the absolute and irremovable differences which separated himself from the Roman system. And when he again took up the reunion question, the proposals of Spinola had slender value in his eyes. It is in a Catholic federation independent of Rome that he now saw prospect of success. Austria, ever untrustworthy, was swayed by changing political motives. It was to the Gallican Church, then in the crisis of controversy with Rome, that he turned his hopes. And he believed that he might find a fit and willing colleague in that prelate who, but a few years before, had proclaimed the Gallican liberties, and who enjoyed the support of a monarch whose power as yet had known no check.

Bossuet's name was already famous in the history of attempted ecclesiastical reunion by his "*Exposition of the Catholic Faith*," a treatise in which, with unequalled brevity and lucidity, he had placed the central doctrines of his Church in their most favorable light and most moderate expression. And it is significant that the only objection made to that treatise, on the part of those to whom it was addressed, was a doubt as to the authority with which he offered so minimized a statement. And there seemed, indeed, to be some foundation for the doubt, since eight years elapsed before a Papal Brief expressed a formal approbation of the treatise. It will be remembered that, in this masterpiece of controversial skill, the opposition of the Lutherans and Reformed, as well as their partial approximation in France in the year 1631, are made use of

in the most effective, because most courteous and moderate manner; and how, in conclusion, the right claimed by his opponents of enforcing synodical decisions upon recalcitrant individuals is contrasted with the claim of appeal to Scripture and the spiritual enlightenment of the individual Christian. And when, seven years later, Bossuet and Claude, the representative leader of the Huguenots, met in an almost public discussion, it is equally significant of the changed situation that, instead of debating, as their fathers at Augsburg and Trent, the profounder points of doctrine at issue, "Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate: Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," the only question mooted is that of the authority of the Church.

It was well known to Leibnitz that the tension between France and the Papal See had increased year by year. In 1682, before the four central articles of the Gallican Church were affirmed at the Assembly of the French clergy, he remembered the famous sermon on the "Unity of the Church," when each incident of past resistance to Rome, each acknowledgment of independence, was emphasized with a distinctness which lost nothing from the accompanying protestation of attachment and allegiance to the Pope. Surely there seemed no unreasonable hope that the exponent of such opinions would welcome an alliance from a quarter where there was so much sympathy and so little seeming difference.

For a time the intercourse between them was carried on by means of intermediaries, but at the close of the year 1691 we find Leibnitz and Bossuet in direct correspondence.

The former, although he had seen reason to think lightly of Spinola's mission, had completely accepted his method,

that of *suspension*. In a remarkable state paper, which his latest editor is inclined to date as early as 1684, he had passed in review all the various expedients which had been tried with such scant measure of success; the failure of public colloquies, of attempted distinctions between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines, of attempted historical standards which defined by an arbitrary date a supposed limit of primitive purity.⁶

Leibnitz, with obvious reference to the decision of Pope Innocent, points out that every Christian is admittedly within the pale of the universal Church, and can neither be styled heretic nor schismatic, who professes a desire to believe and obey what is taught by Scripture and made clear by authorized interpretation. And errors of fact will not debar him from this right and privilege, as if he should have failed to acknowledge some council as œcumenical. This point is naturally emphasized by a quotation from Bellarmine as to the last Lateran Council, who candidly admitted that "*etiam inter catholicos*," a doubt as to its œcumenical character remained.

And so, by disregarding the Council of Trent, and awaiting final decision from a free Council to be convoked, he saw real prospect of union, if each party met in the same spirit. He believed that the Protestant seniors and superintendents would willingly accept episcopal consecration, with the title of *Bishops of the Teutonic rite*, having equal rank with their colleagues of the Latin and Greek rites. And, with a retrospective reference to the Regensburg Conference, when reunion seemed so near at hand, he concludes by declaring that, now once more, the hour has come.

The severest critic of Bossuet's ecclesiastical policy will admit that the correspondence that now began with Leibnitz is marked on his side with an absolute candour. From the first he rejected the method of *suspension* as inadmissible, while he hopes much from that of *exposition*. On matters of practice there might be concessions, but on cardinal points the Roman Church would not give way. With the Council of Trent she stood or fell.

In some degree this negative attitude, so disappointing to Leibnitz, may justly be attributed to causes outside the mere theological question. In Spinola's mission, which Bossuet regarded as an Austrian political expedient, he took no interest, and the acute phase of the relations between the Court of Louis XIV and Rome made it needful to observe a guarded attitude. He knew how powerful were the influences already at work at Versailles in weakening the Gallican cause and aiming at a retraction of its declaration, and he feared, not without reason, that by committing himself to a scheme like that of Leibnitz, he might forfeit the confidence of the Gallican clergy, and be disavowed by the Court.

But, even with these needful admissions, it is obvious that, to Bossuet's clear intelligence, the practical difficulties of the system of "suspension" were not hidden. He felt, also, that the Council of Trent was the real barrier between them; that a plan of union possible before it, now found in it an insuperable hindrance. And it is upon this point alone that the remaining portion of the first correspondence turns. Leibnitz adduces argument upon argument to prove that the Council had never been accepted universally. It had not been formally accepted in France; Henry IV, at his

abjuration, had especially excepted it; it had not been accepted by the Prince Primate of the German Empire, the Archbishop of Mainz. He reminds Bossuet of its one-sided constitution. Out of 281 bishops, more than the half had been Italian, and only two Germans had been present.⁷

And he shows further, that, even assuming an œcumenical character, that had never absolutely precluded a practical suspension in the interest of the whole Church. At the Council of Basel an express decree of Constance had been suspended in order to admit the Bohemian Calixtines. Should not a similar concession be possible when the whole Protestant world was in question? *

Broken off for some years, the correspondence was resumed in 1698 by a further appeal from Leibnitz to the Bishop of Meaux. The issue is now still further narrowed to a discussion of one decision of the Council of Trent in reference to the Apocrypha. After urging those irresistible arguments drawn from the history of the Canon, Leibnitz declares that, on this point, at least, the method of exposition is impossible.⁹

Even with adversaries so courteous, the tone of discussion had gradually become warmer. Bossuet did not always restrain a tone of superiority, so natural to one who had as yet never met an intellectual equal. And Leibnitz did not spare occasional irony at a method of controversy which assumed authority and certainty instead of proving them; and at last, rising to a pitch of earnest feeling of which his character was rarely susceptible, he adjured the Bishop to beware, lest in striving to uphold the authority of the Catholic Church he should inflict upon it irreparable hurt. He pointed to the state of France; he appealed to

him to use the great talents entrusted to him in the cause of charity and peace. "I know not whether that would not be the interest even of Rome, but certainly that of the Truth!"

And thus the effort ended. The victory on all points will be adjudged, and rightly, to Leibnitz; but there are few who will have refused some chivalrous sympathy to his adversary, now in advanced age, and broken health, who at the same time was occupied with the Quietistic controversy, and with a proposed censure upon Jesuit casuistry; who was attacking Rome herself in his denunciation of the loose Pelagianisms of Cardinal Sfondrati,¹⁰ and yet found energy to break a lance, not ingloriously, with the master-mind of Europe.

And the victor himself abandoned the cause he had so long befriended, when the passing of the Act of Settlement in England made the Protestantism of Hanover a matter of highest political necessity.

Once more he occupied himself with a project of Protestant reunion, and for a time it was hoped that by the efforts of the Archbishop of York, much interested in the scheme, a form of episcopal government on the English model might have been introduced into Prussia.¹¹

But the work he had abandoned had taught to him, and to the world, another of the great experimental lessons which are ever purchased with the failure of so many high hopes and strenuous efforts. He found no consolation in the speedy humiliation of that Gallican Church which had refused his overtures, and which was forced, by political necessities, to humble itself at the feet of Rome.

He could not read the future, nor understand that while the Protestant Churches were to experience the successive

solvents of Pietism and Rationalism, Rome was to continue unchanged, rejecting each generous movement from within, as she had rejected the overtures from without. Sailer and Wessenberg were to learn, by bitter experience, the lesson of Pole and Contarini, — that for primitive doctrine and primitive life there was in the Roman Church only jealousy and suspicion. But, little as they knew it, Grotius and Leibnitz had not laboured in vain. Not their schemes of ecclesiastical union, but their political labours had advanced the idea of Nationality; they recognized some of its claims and attributes; they realized the personality of the State. And that true instinct within them, that “*The Fatherland must greater be,*” greater than dynastic or geographical limits, though it erred in supposing that the outward organization must share the universality of the ideal, yet it brought together, if not in order, each element of the problem, on the one side the individualism of Nationality, on the other the universal brotherhood of Christianity, and the prediction of Leibnitz, “We labour for posterity, but one day the work will end itself” (*res ipsa se aliquando conficiet*), will find in its fulfilment the noblest monument of his labours and of his faith.¹²

NOTES ON LECTURE III.

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*. Letter to Mr. Justice Coleridge, II., p. 265: "I am for High Church and no priest."

² Biedermann, *Geschichte des XVIII^{ten} Jahrhundert*, I., 324.

³ "Et tertio loco est ordo moderatorum et pacificorum, qui et corrigenda nonnulla in Ecclesia agnoscunt, neque tamen importunitatem novellorum (ut vocant) concionatorum approbant; hi quærent consilia quibus Ecclesia ad normam divinæ Scripturæ et ecclesiæ prisæ, quam minima fieri potest mutatione, et retentis quod fieri potest antiquitatis reliquiis, constituatur, ut utraque pars, vel certè *qui in utràque parte saniores sunt*, ad Christianam concordiam et unionem reducantur." (Cassander, ap. Gieseler, IV., 576, note.)

⁴ Niedner, *Kirchengeschichte* (1866), p. 740.

⁵ Spinola's first relations in the Protestant camp were with Molanus, Abbot of Loccum, a pupil of Calixtus, and the inheritor of the Syncretistic principles of his master. Molanus left a memorandum of the results of the correspondence in his "*Regulæ circa Christianorum omnium ecclesiasticam reunionem*," included in Bossuet's Works, ed. Versailles, xxv., 205. He believed that both sides might be reconciled by mutual declarations of unity in fundamentals. Another personage who played a part in the correspondence was the sister of the Electress Sophia, Abbess of Maubuisson, a friend of Bossuet's. Through her influence, the latter was at length persuaded to take part in the efforts. See Planck's *Geschichte der Prot. Theologie*, p. 314.

⁶ The memoir is entitled "*Des Méthodes de Réunion*," Cf. Klopp, I., 19-36.

⁷ Leibnitz to Bossuet, May 8, 1699.

⁸ His authority being the *Miscellanea Bohemica* of the Jesuit Balbinus, and Goldast, *de regno Bohem.*

⁹ "La conciliation par voye d'exposition cesse ici." (L. to B., April 30, 1700. Cf. Foucher de Careil, II., 301.)

¹⁰ Celestino Sfondrati (1644–1696), while professor at Salzburg, had attacked the Gallican declaration in his *Tractatus Regaliae* (S. Gall., 1682) and other treatises. Raised in 1695 to the Cardinalate, he published, in the following year, his “*Nodus praedestinationis dissolutus*,” the unsound theology of which gave Bossuet his opportunity. In 1697, and again in 1700, a formal denunciation was laid before the Pope, combined with a censure of Jesuit casuistry.

¹¹ The efforts at union planned by Jablonski and Archbishop Sharpe have been often narrated. (See Newcome’s *Life of Sharpe*, Lond., 1825, and documents in the Museum Haganum, III., 1–174.)

¹² The stages of Leibnitz’s efforts for union may be thus defined:

(a) Intercourse at Mainz with Boineburg and J. Ph. von Schönborn.

(b) The “Academie-Vorschlag” of 1669–72. (Cf. Briefe von L., ed. Klopp, I., 19.)

(c) Meeting with Spinola at Hanover (1679).

(d) Relations with Huet and Bossuet. The central topic not discussed until 1679. Then with Molanus, Barkhausen, and Ulr. Calixtus; the manifesto of Molanus (*Methodus unionis*) was published in 1683. In the following year Spinola obtained, at Rome, from Innocent XI, with full approval of Noyelles, general of the Jesuits, the decision upon “invincible ignorance.” In 1685 Leibnitz wrote his memorandum “*Des Méthodes de Réunion*.” Four years later he made his memorable journey to Rome. (Cf. Guhrauer’s *Leben*, II., 90.) Then followed the correspondence with Pellisson and Madame Brinon, in which Bossuet was clearly a constant adviser.

(e) 1691–95: First correspondence between Leibnitz and Bossuet.

(f) 1698–9–1702: Second correspondence between Leibnitz and Bossuet, the latter seemingly reluctant, and only writing once between January 11, 1698–9. and January 9, 1699–1700. The last letter (Leibnitz to Bossuet) dated February, 1701–2. [Cf. edd. of the Letters by Foucher de Careil and O. Klopp, *passim*, many included in Bossuet’s *Oeuvres* and Guhrauer’s biography. Also the essay by E. Pfeleiderer: *G. W. Leibnitz als Patriot*, u. s. w. (Leipz., 1870).]

LECTURE IV.

CHRISTIAN REUNION.

LECTURE IV.

Ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ Θεός· ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ εργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην, δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἔστι. (Acts, x., 34, 35.)

Ἴνα πάντες ἐν ᾧσι. (John, xviii., 21.)

IN the record of futile efforts to promote the reunion of Christendom, certain external causes of those failures, now distinct, now in combination, have been apparent. At one time we have seen the offered treaty repulsed as a betrayal of orthodox purity, or virtually rejected by demands which implied recantation rather than compromise. At another time, the very process of negotiation has revealed the existence of incurable division, and not infrequently in the very section from which the proposals had emanated. Again, and most frequently, political interests, which had suggested and supported these efforts for a time, abandoned them. But it is obvious that these external causes do not account sufficiently for the invariable failure of efforts so numerous, of which the previous record has noticed only the most typical instances in one period alone. It seems that some inherent defect in the very theories of union must have existed; and it is therefore needful, in this last section of my task, to endeavour to trace, or at least to suggest, whether, and to what extent, the ideals of Leibnitz and others were based upon an accurate representation of facts; and how far certain principles, such as that of

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Nationality, may have, in these latter days, so far modified the conditions of the problem as to suggest hope of its ultimate solution.

And in the writings of Leibnitz, the personage of all others fitted by character and study for the work which he made his own, who to the rare gift of impartial sympathy with all forms of thought and energy, added a statesmanlike instinct, which did not desert him even when it enforced the modification of his own theories, are found ample proof of this inference. Living in a time of transition, in the new political world founded upon the Westphalian treaties, we cannot wonder that a certain inconsistency is to be traced in his views of Church and State. We may exclude some early and pseudonymous treatises in which he gives utterance to opinions far more seemingly favorable to Roman claims in Poland, and in the question of embassies, than those he afterwards embraced. Some of these, as the *Georgius Ucolovius* and the "*Caesarinus Fürstener*," may be regarded as an advocate's speech or memoir, in which the writer identifies himself with the interests of a particular claimant or cause. While there is no doubt that Leibnitz's development progressed from views not far removed from the mediæval conception of Pope and Emperor to the most advanced territorialism, it would be as much an error to identify his name with the latest as with his earliest formula. For to his insight all institutions and worldly relations were in a state of constant flux and change, to which science could dictate no unalterable laws, but must observe and record. On the three great objects — Christianity, Nationality, Humanity — his gaze

was fixed; and his aim was that each should find in the State its fitting place and right, but none at the cost of the others. And, therefore, he understood how the mediæval system had once had its necessity and its value in Europe, as it might have again in some dawning civilisation in another part of the world. And, similarly, while no one ever exposed more unsparingly the evils of Jesuitism, moral and political, Leibnitz is one of the very few Protestants in the seventeenth century who does justice to their marvellous civilizing work in South America, and he strenuously defends their policy against Rome itself in the matter of the Chinese rites.

But with these frank admissions, it is with the greater weight that he declared the modern Roman system to be the absolute bar, the enemy, in fact, when civilized states, with their majority fully attained, were in question. The inherent danger, and its gradual progress, he describes in one of his greatest works, that history of the Empire which was interrupted by his death. But the practical conclusion, as we have seen, had been the result of personal experience. Like Grotius, one who revered antiquity because he understood it, he saw the impassable gulf between that primitive Church whose apologists saw something of the Holy Spirit even in the heathen philosophies, and that modern system which could only imagine a Bacon or an Isaac Newton saved — by their invincible ignorance. And, unlike Grotius, he realised at last not only the absolute impossibility of any union with Rome herself, but even with any power which was in alliance with her. The corruption and the fall of Gallicanism were the irrefragable proofs of his prediction. And that

which he also saw, if not with absolute clearness, was the ideal state, in which Christianity is realised in its highest, that is to say, its religious-ethical expression, where there is need neither for balance nor for restriction of the secular and ecclesiastical elements, because both are harmoniously welded in the same living organism.

And he saw, and it was natural in his age, the expression of this religious nationalism in a Good Prince, a Constantine, a Karl the Great, or, as in the Reformation time, that great ruler of a little State, whose constancy became his enduring title, and who, after being the leader and moderator of his people, was himself the Confessor of their faith. Yet, at the time when Bossuet was degrading his office and his genius by unworthy flatteries and concessions to his sovereign, as in England bishops as well as poets found inspiration in the virtues of Charles II, Leibnitz reminds his prince that he is not the possessor, nor even the usufructuary, of his land, but only its steward; that his care is for souls as well as bodies; and that the waging of an unjust or needless war is the greatest crime that can be committed. It is this ideal Christian State, thus ruled, that rises above the obligations and precedents of ecclesiastical law. Having its guiding principle in itself, it needs not the help of councils and synods, neither of papal bulls nor of symbolical books. The absolute imperative for it is the welfare of the citizens, spiritual as well as temporal.

It is when we pass from this highest realization of the State in the writings of Leibnitz to his proposals for Christian Reunion, that the difficulty of reconciliation begins: a difficulty of which he himself, in more than one place, seems

conscious. Hanging round him is still the survival of the idea of a visible universal Church, united not merely in the acknowledgment of one Master, and in the spirit of love, but objectively in creed and rite and outward organization. On the one side, he never fully accepts the Protestant distinction between the Invisible Church and the congregation of the faithful, while he rejects the consequences of the opposite theory asserted by the Church of Rome. And yet, had he succeeded in his effort, and formulated an alliance with the Gallican Church by some adroit treaty which might have satisfied, or least dissatisfied, each contracting party, we know by the historic sequel that he would but have prepared for himself a more bitter disappointment. And we know that, but a few years later, an English Archbishop, filled with the same lofty hope, and the same earnest zeal, discovered, even sooner than Leibnitz, the hopelessness of the effort, and withdrew from it with the consolation that he had at least followed after the things which make for peace.¹

But, in thankfully admitting the great contribution of his thoughts and deeds, we may yet acknowledge that certain principles were imperfectly recognized in his age. In that age, and especially in Germany, the idea of Nationality had not emancipated itself from diplomatic fetters. The State was personified in the "Good Prince," and circumscribed, if it had not been created, by treaties.

Nor yet had the word of Scripture, "*. . . in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable,*" found adequate interpretation. Not even, a generation after the death of Leibnitz, did that great commentator, so full in his brevity, lay bare the full meaning

of the text, when he declared: "*Non indifferentismus religionum, sed indifferentia nationum, hic asseritur!*"² For while indeed, as against Jewish particularism, Christianity proclaimed the "*indifferentia*" of Nationality, the "*differentia*" also was recognized in the concessions to Gentile-Christendom, and indeed throughout St. Paul's teaching. But not till the end of the last century did men begin to re-discover that because the words meant something less than theological, it meant far more than mere geographical equality. It proclaimed the fact that, as chemistry recognizes certain elemental substances which can be combined, but cannot be reduced to simple forms, so Nationality must be admitted as a fact—an element in the evolution which follows the eternal purpose of GOD.

But now this is admitted. Everyone acknowledges the differences and the rights of nationality in matters political and social. We are no longer obnoxious to the satire of the philosopher who described his countrymen as puzzled how a man could be a Persian!³ For a statesman who shall speak of "natural enemies," as Fox, just a century ago, declared England and France to be, would meet scornful contradiction from the least educated auditory. We have passed on further indeed, and the war of mutual depreciation and caricature bids fair to be at no distant date as obsolete as the theory of natural enmity.

In one word, we have learned, in matters political, to understand equality of rank and right amid diversity of form and type. And surely this is progress also, if less rapid and marked, towards an equal recognition of national differences of form and character in matters of religion. To almost every creed and symbol one article is com-

mon, the article of belief in the Communion of Saints. However torn by division and prejudice, and governed by shibboleth, we yet believe that men like ourselves, who on earth were different the one from the other, not only in race and language, but often in the forms of religious observance and utterance, are ONE BODY, fulfilling in their blessedness the divine supplication "*that they all may be one : as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee ; that they also may be one in us.*"

There together the Fathers of the great ages of ecclesiastical conflict are at peace, seeing the truths for which they contended no longer as through a glass—darkly. There Benedict and Francis and Theresa rest from their lives of purest self-abnegation and example. There Luther and Erasmus have forgotten their strife, and remember only that cause of Truth which was the joint goal of their separated paths. There Jewell, who hurled immortal defiance against Rome, meets Fénelon, who proclaimed the tidings of his own censure. There Ken, the singer of immortal strains, and the faithful adherent of lost causes, is joined to Tillotson, whose charity, rising above rubrics, strove, with failure more glorious than many victories, to bring together the divided ranks of Christianity in England.

And yet this belief hinders not the conclusion that the only possible reunion will be a federation. The greatest historian of this century spoke here the perfect expression of the idea almost grasped by Leibnitz: "It can be no longer thought possible to confer universal authority upon any one confession. Each state and each nation, from its own religious basis, must develop its forces: on this depends the future of the world."⁴ True, in one sense,

indeed the highest sense, Christianity may be called extra-national, but never anti-national. For, as in old time Hooker and Field so irresistibly showed forth, the Church of a nation stands on a foundation which no narrower area can claim.⁵ We know that it has been the national and not an ecclesiastical voice by which all great movements have been proclaimed. It was the national voice and not the ecclesiastical voice that declared from Cromwell's lips that the Savoy persecution should no longer be, or through Pitt and Wilberforce that slavery should no longer claim the protection of the English law. It was the national and not the ecclesiastical voice when Abraham Lincoln, at Gettysburg, called his fellow-citizens to the consciousness of high responsibilities for past and future. It was the national and not an ecclesiastical voice which proclaimed that a German emperor would never again make the journey to Canossa.⁶

Who does not remember that for centuries a great cathedral on the Rhine remained a fragment, and how one of the keenest of German thinkers saw in that imperfection the very symbol of the diminished influence of the ecclesiastical idea.⁷ And then, when the completion of that mighty fabric was claimed as a national privilege, came the offerings from far and wide, from other lands and other creeds; and now in its strength and completeness it is the fit temple of a united people.

And surely from such sources, growing in strength, the spirit of mutual understanding will at length develop itself. Men will understand that there are necessary differences in practice between the Anglican and Gallican, a Germanic or a Russian Church; but they will be members also of a great

Free Masonry which will cover all the world, by which none will be a stranger who professes and calls himself a Christian. Nor will this be a mere union of sentiment, for in and by means of that brotherhood, far sooner than by positive propaganda, there will be intelligent and appreciative study and comparison of institutions ; and, unhampered by party influences, the claims of those which are best will not lack recognition and assimilation.

And may not we feel that to the Church which alone at the present day is alike Catholic and Protestant, and National, which accepted Reformation and yet never broke with history, there is a mighty work reserved.

Once, in those days when the Parliament of England was the object of admiration and envy to all the world, in far distant villages in Germany and France men read with enthusiasm the words of a Burke or a Canning, and longed that their country also might have such institutions, and the men worthy of them. And so, may not a glory greater than any earthly victory be reserved for the Church of England. By her means and her example France may regain that great lost opportunity when her king, still favourable to the Reformation, would fain have called Melancthon to his side. Germany may unite the simple devotion of her country people to the learning of her universities. In Italy the great prophecy of Petrarch, which roused even the cool heart of Macchiavel, may find spiritual, and not merely political fulfilment ; and the seed sown by Ochino and Paleario will bear its fruit. And East and West will forget the long division, and remember their common origin ; Polycarp and Anicetus may yet meet again at Rome to agree in difference and rejoice over agreement.

And yet such a prospect, which if distant is not impossible, that fulfilment of the dreams of philosophers and the prayers of saints, would be only for time, and for this world's necessities. Beyond, when we shall know even as we are known, it is another Reunion that we then shall realise; we shall learn to worship the GOD who is a Spirit, neither on the mountain nor in the city, or even in the separated temple, but there, "*where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all.*"

NOTES ON LECTURE IV.

¹ The correspondence of Archbishop Wake and Dupin, Cf. Mosheim, ed. Stubbs, Appendix.

² Bengel in *Act.* x. 34.

³ Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes*.

⁴ Leopold v. Ranke, quoted by Pichler. *Leibnitz*, etc., p. 427.

⁵ Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.*, v., § 60, and Cf. III., § 1. Field, ed. Brewer, p. 32, *seq.*

⁶ “*Nach Canossa gehen wir nicht!*” [Speech of Prince v. Bismarck in the Culturkampf.]

⁷ D. F. Strauss, *Gespräch ü. d. Kölner Dom*.

THE HUGUENOTS

AND

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE HUGUENOTS AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.*

Οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης.

(*Αποκ.*, vii. 14.)

AMONG the ruling theological ideas which seem to have lost somewhat of their authority is that which, for so many centuries, ranked Martyrdom as the distinguishing note, if not the absolute criterion, of a true faith. Long after Christendom had exchanged suffering for power, in the seventeenth century, when toleration was already an admitted principle, even in the eighteenth, when it had become a commonplace, two such opposite minds as Pascal and Paley could make the fact of martyrdom the basis of their apologetic systems. There was something of subjective feeling, something of sad personal experience, perhaps, which made the disciple of Port Royal enunciate a principle so congenial to his own strenuously suffering minority; while, on the other hand, that prudent divine whom Cambridge was pleased to constitute her official casuist in morals and religious evidence, could hardly have been attracted to this doctrine from any ground but that of its adaptability to the necessities of his ingenious argument.

Perhaps the gradual diminution in its authority may be attributed to two causes. The history of the ages of persecution, written and studied now with more critical method,

* A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge on the 4th October, 1835.

has made known to an increasing number the fact that the annals of martyrs and confessors form one of the most difficult, if one of the brightest, features in that history. That in the later and serious persecutions the number of those who evaded suffering by flight or submission vastly exceeded those who endured to the end; that the honours of confessorship were often very cheaply purchased, and sometimes very scandalously abused; that writers like Tertullian¹ and Cyprian² were forced to dwell on these evils, that Eusebius in more than one place very clearly lifts the decent veil of obscurity;³ that the Church, not without justification, abandoned her old position, and almost encouraged that flight which before had been branded as the basest apostasy; and, finally, the consciousness of the illogical and unscriptural theories of vicarious benefit which popular superstition created and developed; all these considerations might well have tended to depreciate the value of Martyrdom, or to lead to the conclusion that its bright exemplars owe something of their vivid relief to the peculiar darkness of their background.⁴ And history teaches us that every religious body, every phase of opinion, has had its martyrs, the Arians as well as the Athanasians, Papist and Protestant, the Moors in Spain, the Anabaptists in Germany, the Quakers in New England, the Jews everywhere; and it has concluded that readiness to suffer may be an effective sign of personal conviction, but cannot prove more. Yet still, in the mind of the great mass of the people the simple argument has never wholly lost its force, and the belief still remains that the surest token of a doctrine's truth is that it can induce men to die in its belief. And even of ourselves,

when we try to conceive the ideal of the primitive Church, it is not the dialectical triumphs of the Fathers, or the thundering anathemas of Councils, but rather the recollection of the young African matron in the arena, guiding herself the stroke that was to liberate her from her sufferings.⁵ And for our own Church, it is not the historic glories of Lambeth, or even a Butler, planning his great apology amid the comforts of preferment and Court favour, but the mind recurs rather to the magic page of Foxe, and we seem to see Rowland Taylor parting from his wife and child, or Latimer, on that sad October morning, bidding Ridley play the man.⁶

Thoughts such as these present themselves naturally to the mind of one who is linked by ties of blood and sympathy to the Protestants of France, and is called to the pulpit of his University at this particular time. It is two hundred years, almost to the very day, that all Europe rang with the tidings of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,⁷ two hundred years ago from this very pulpit may have been uttered one of the many protests which, in spite of Court disapproval, found expression throughout the length and breadth of England.⁸ Nor was it mere pulpit rhetoric or empty sympathy that welcomed the exiles that crowded the shores of this kingdom. A bounty more than English even in its munificence, a hospitality more than royal, which foresaw not that the industry of the visitors would one day repay the gift.⁹ And that which made the kindly reception still more sweet was the knowledge that the refugees were pitied not more on account of their suffering than from its cause. They were received not only in the name of common

humanity, but as martyrs of a common faith. It was not merely that vague antiquarian sympathy of these latter days, which suggests graceful essays in periodicals and eloquent speeches at memorial banquets. It was the belief held by the vast majority of English Churchmen that the Huguenots belonged to the same Universal Church, and had striven and suffered for the faith of Reformed Christianity. And more than this: the names of Huguenot divines stood in the foremost rank of an age when a monumental scholarship served as the handmaid of theology, still the queen of sciences. Calvin's name, indeed, had ceased to exercise, save with the minority, its once preëminent sway. But they might claim the vast erudition of Saumaise,¹⁰ which would descend to us with a far brighter lustre had it not been his evil fate to encounter one who neither feared nor spared. Their's also was a name still more illustrious; for, although holding himself scornfully aloof from the contests of professional theologians, yet as a Frenchman by birth, and a Protestant by mature conviction, it was on the side of the Huguenots that were ranged alike the beliefs and the sympathies of Joseph Scaliger.¹¹ Blondel¹² and Rivet¹³ were renowned among the episcopal divines for their historical learning and skill in controversy; Casaubon¹⁴ and Dumoulin¹⁵ had been honoured guests in England in time past; the researches of Samuel Bochart¹⁶ in sacred, archæology have still the esteem of scholars; the polemic of Daillé¹⁷ and his great work upon the Use of the Fathers had been regarded as making an epoch in the history of theology; Peter Baro, the Cambridge Regius Professor, had led the reaction against the dominant Augustinianism of his uni-

versity; Durell¹⁸ and Brevint¹⁹ in more recent times had been adopted among her own dignitaries; Isaac Basire, Huguenot by origin, Anglican by adoption, is the unique missionary figure of his age. Indeed, at the time of the Restoration, when much depended upon the question of the King's religious views, it was from the Huguenot ministers of Charenton that Charles II sought and obtained a declaration that satisfied those to whom he owed his throne.²⁰ And if a still higher title to respect be sought, may not those who have visited the old library near the ruined cathedral of Dunblane, and have noticed Moïse Amyraut's treatise on Predestination scored and re-scored with approving comments from the hand of the noblest of the sons of the Church of England, may not they fancy that it was from a Huguenot source that deeper and wider thoughts as to the awful mysteries of destiny and grace dawned upon the mind of Robert Leighton.²¹

And now all has changed. The leaders of the Reformed Church of France are hardly known even by name to the Anglican student, and communion between the two bodies has long ceased. Surely a phenomenon so remarkable and so regrettable deserves more than a passing comment. For all the reasons that would justify on either side a formal separation are conspicuously absent. It might be justified by a departure from a common faith: but the old *Confessio Gallicana* of 1559, so nearly allied to our own xxxix Articles, holds still the same honoured place in Huguenot estimation; it was solemnly re-affirmed at the last general Synod; and it is received with as much readiness and completeness of assent as could be claimed, individually and collectively,

on behalf of their own symbol, for the members of the Anglican Church.²²

Nor is the Huguenot body fallen into that stagnant repose which, as in the community of Dutch Jansenists, and some ancient Oriental churches, causes a virtual, though not a justifiable, isolation. That same vitality, of which future historians of the Church of England will justly boast, is to be found there also. While, on the one side, the evangelical school of Monod presents fidelity to the older standpoints of confessional strictness and biblical literalism, on the other side there is the same expansion, the same willingness to accept the results of scientific thought and investigation; and if there be somewhat more of explicitness in the demarcation of opinion, it may well be accounted for by the conditions of a body which possesses neither the advantages nor the disadvantages of exclusive state support and wealthy endowments.²³

But the causes of the alienation may be traced, if they cannot be justified; and he would have studied the constitution of both churches but empirically and superficially who did not fully recognize that the danger was always imminent.

1. That remarkable dualism in the constitution of the Anglican Church, its union of Catholic and Protestant elements, which suggested Chatham's shallow epigram, but which has abundantly contributed to her duration and present activity through the necessary sequences of alternate movement and reaction, would alone difference her from churches which, at the time of the Reformation, experienced a more logical, but far less practical development.

2. Nor can it be forgotten that although the idea of episcopal succession as a note of the church had never been abandoned at the English Reformation, yet it held a far less prominent and exclusive position until the circumstances, first of the Puritan movement, and later of the Civil War, brought it to the front as a crucial distinction. And even, as will be seen later, when the reaction against Puritanism had obtained the mastery in the Church of England, those who honestly study the writings of the Laudian school of divines, both in their controversies with Rome and with the Puritans, cannot but recognize that, although the dilemma was neither admitted nor admissible, yet their language was as absolute and decided against episcopacy without reformation as it was against reformation without episcopacy.

3. And another cause, closely connected with the preceding, was the gradual weakening of the old tie of combative union, the alliance defensive and offensive against the Church of Rome. The great period of anti-Roman polemic in England was at its height when the Huguenot Refugees demanded English hospitality. Tillotson and Stillingfleet and Barrow, and so many others, had but recently spoken, or were still to put forth those utterances which ended argument, though they could not end controversy. That the alliance should fail at last is intelligible, since any merely negative union must be in its nature transitory, but regrettable to those who recognize that its failure is less due to any real tendency towards peace and union than to torpid indifference, or even the abandonment, consciously or unconsciously, of vital principles.

4. Nor can the disastrous results of the long separation of the eighteenth century be forgotten. We know well that the circumstances of the Huguenots who remained in France, and the horrors of their persecution, were but partly known in England. Also that the great ecclesiastical generation of the Tillotsons and Wakes was followed by those who mirrored instead of resisting an age of political corruption. And since the Huguenots in France were accounted rebels if they exercised their service, the English Church may be pardoned on political grounds for not attempting overt interference. But when we compare the annals of the two Churches during the time,—on the one side the comfortable hierarchy, intriguing for preferment and translation, engaged in deistical controversies, and fulminating charges against enthusiasm; and, on the other, the pastors of the desert venturing with their lives in their hands to preach the Word, and to administer the sacraments to their scattered flocks, their children bastards by law, their property confiscated, each public service at once an act of heresy and treason, not even the primitive church can display a life like that of Paul Rabaut,²⁴ nor endurance comparable to that of the desert pastors. The persecutions of the early Christians were few and intermittent. This lasted for more than a hundred years. And yet no word of protest, no cry of sympathy, came from the Potters and Herrings and Huttons and Seckers who ruled the Church of England. The acute Paley could trace no evidential martyrdom among those thousands who, too ostentatiously, perhaps, could “keep a conscience.”²⁵ It was the voice of the sceptic Voltaire alone that aroused Europe and avenged the judicial murder of Calas.²⁶ If, then, there was separa-

tion, if there was a breach of communion, whose was the fault? Whose the loss?

But it is not to recall sad memories of past controversies, but rather the fact that for so long a time relations of brotherly affection, and afterwards of courteous recognition, at least, united the Churches. All will admit the gross historic fallacy of dating the Church of England from the Reformation only, and ignoring the precious links of union with Augustin and Columba, Anselm and Grosseteste. But is it not an equally disastrous error to efface the whole of Post-Reformation history from Edward VI to Charles I; virtually to excommunicate all the Archbishops from Parker to Abbot; to stamp implicitly as heretical the doctrines which in this University were taught alike by Whitgift and Cartwright, by Chaderton and Whitaker, Playfere and Davenant,²⁷ which Hooker accepted, which Donne and Andrews preached, which George Herbert illustrated in his saintly life? And even when we pass on to the period of the Laudian movement, we find the same full and frank admission of the Protestant name, and the catholicity of all Protestant Churches.

For if these Churches, as we are sometimes assured now, are mere alien communities beyond the limits of the Catholic Church, this was unknown to OVERALL, who said: "Though we are not to lessen the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy, where it is established and may be had, yet we must take heed that we do not, for want of Episcopacy, where it cannot be had, cry down and destroy all the Reformed Churches abroad, and say that they have neither ministers nor sacraments."

It was not known to COSIN, who declared in his testament: "Wheresoever in the world Churches bearing the name of Christ invoke and worship, with one mouth and heart, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, if from actual communion with them I am now debarred . . . nevertheless always in my heart and soul and affection I hold communion and unite with them — that which I wish especially to be understood of the Protestant and well-reformed Churches."²⁸

It was not known to BRAMHALL, when he declared that "the Episcopal divines in England unchurch not the Protestant Churches. We do readily grant them the true nature and essence of a church, if not the integrity and perfection."²⁹

It was not known to SANDERSON, who never lost an occasion of expressing reverence for the great teachers of France and Germany. It was not known to LAUD himself, who declared that "his continued labours were to reconcile the divided Protestants in Germany, that they might go with united force against the Romanists."³⁰

It was not known to the non-juror SANCROFT, who joined with Tillotson in his efforts to restore communion with foreign Protestants, and asked Dissenters to join with him "in prayer for a blessed union of áll Reformed Churches at home and abroad."³¹

It was not known even to the last of those champions of lost causes in church and state, who for more than a century was to shed lustre upon the title of High Churchman: for FRANCIS ATTERBURY at the supreme moment of life, with the turned axe and Tower Hill seemingly full in

prospect, declared before his judges that throughout his life he had ever been faithful to the Protestant cause.

But this *is* known, and is confidently proclaimed to us by those modern teachers who arrogate to themselves the right to appoint the limits and the landmarks of the Universal Church, who excommunicate and unchurch the bodies to which the great scholars of time past extended affection and communion; and who lavish on the theology of all foreign churches, and of the greatest centuries of the Reformed Church of England, a contempt which seldom owes its birth to familiarity. We know that it is not to the wise and prudent always that mysteries are revealed; but it is hard to understand that the true doctrine of the Church of England, and of its relation to other churches, should have been entirely hid from the great divines of these past ages, and should have been reserved as a special revelation for the anonymous journalists of our own more fortunate times.

True it is that none should regret the decay of the merely negative, merely combative Protestantism, with its often savage polemic and its platform rhetoric; but some of us may well regret the gradual loss of the old Protestant spirit, the rugged simplicity of the Elizabethan writers, the sobriety and breadth of the Jacobean and Caroline divines, and to have gained in exchange that which, at its very best, represents the same error it rightly detects in the negative Protestantism of the past — the error of confounding an element of religious life, a principle, and a force, with the whole substance of religion itself.

But it is not from sentimental and antiquarian motives alone that the Huguenot Churches can plead for sympathy; not merely by quoting the blazons of illustrious ancestry.

They can plead at once the intense urgency of the situation in France, the total lack of other agency, and their own active qualifications for the work. There are some, perhaps, who recollect the old glories of Gallican independence, and looking on theology rather from an aesthetic than a religious point of view, feel that, side by side with François de Sales and Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Fénelon and Massillon, the figures of the Huguenots seem pale and meagre. But those glories of Gallicanism are past and gone. No longer is there a Bossuet to uphold the standard of national liberty in defiance of the Vatican. No longer a Launoi, carrying his ruthless historical criticisms to the very calendar of saints. No longer a Richard Simon, the creator of modern biblical science. No longer a Pétau or a Huet, a Mabillon or a Montfaucon, leading the van of contemporary learning. No longer a Lacordaire or a Ravignan, a Montalembert or a Dupanloup, on whom the last declining rays of Gallicanism cast something of the old radiance.⁵²

And what had this dominant Church done for France? Two hundred years ago it expelled the Protestants; it reserved for itself the full, the sole privilege of instruction, and the awful responsibility of failure. Surely it must answer for the present national degradation. For now in France every high aspiration has perished, and every great man has passed away: the poet who had so long survived his own generation, as well as the orator who seemed able to rule the democracy he had called into existence. And with them seem to have departed those qualities which even the most scornful critic conceded to the French nation, the chivalrous admiration for suffering nationality, even the old military discipline and enthusiasm. Immorality,

not to be paralleled in the days of Roman decadence, has penetrated to the inmost recesses of family life; corruption in every department of the State; nowhere a glimpse of light, merely the wonder when the next cataclysm is to come.

And in this terrible crisis, surely the prayers of the English Church should be with that small minority which is striving to stem the torrent. Ah! the Protestants of France know the magnitude of the task, and their need of allies. They have no mind to waste the priceless moments in denunciation of the past. If there be one note in their history which commends them to our sympathy, it is that, in the very midst of persecution, mindful of their Great Exemplar, they never upbraided their persecutors, as when Saurin the exile, preaching to a congregation of exiles at the Hague, prayed for the King who had driven them forth, that he who had been the instrument of GOD'S wrath might become one day the minister of his grace and bounty.³³

Should not the great Church of England remember the old brotherhood, the utterances of her noblest sons, and stretch forth the hand of fellowship. More than three centuries ago it was granted to the foreign Protestants to worship in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, and to this very day the small remnant there assemble, nestling under the very shadow and protection of the Church of England, not acknowledging all her formularies and ordinances, not bound by the dead letter of subscription, but by the living bond of gratitude and affection.³⁴ It may be that the worshipper in that Cathedral hears at times, amid the pealing chords of the anthem, the lowly echoes of the old Protestant psalmody. Surely this will not be discord: for he may

trace something of a mysterious harmony which is a diviner music than mere unison.

And will not Cambridge look with sympathy upon the descendants of those who were once honored within these walls? It was to a Huguenot, in acknowledgment of the gift of that famous manuscript which lies exposed to the first gaze of the visitor to yonder library (surely not only as a sign of that New Testament study which here has found its greatest representatives, but as a proof of international amity); it was to Beza that Cambridge wrote: "*Nam hoc scito, post unice Scripturæ sacratissimam cognitionem, nullos unquam ex omni memoria temporum Scriptores extitisse quos memorabili viro Johanni Calvino tibi que præferamus.*"³⁵

Shall we dismiss this as idle compliment, as conventional hyperbole, belonging to an age which lavished its doctissime and its dignissime as we our "faithfulness" and "obedient service?" No, surely Cambridge spoke forth then a word which was as true as courageous. In every age there is utterance which stands "next to the Holy Scriptures," indeed with long interval, but still the efflux of that Spirit which is poured out on every nation and given to every man. Calvin and Beza, in their age, and for their age, were indeed "next to the Holy Scriptures," but they only formed one link in the eternal chain, and after them were to come those who should be preferred before them.

For not to one church only, or to one people, was the great promise of my text. Those who had come "out of the great tribulation, and who had washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, were

A GREAT MULTITUDE, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues." To that glorious company every church will contribute its part; nor will it be only those who have gained the actual crown of martyrdom, for there will be found the ruler who has executed justice, the law-abiding citizen, the scholar who sought knowledge and spoke truth, the minister whose royal priesthood has been the consecration of his citizenship; but surely in the foremost rank will be those who have passed through the discipline of suffering, whether (as in time past) the torture and the stake, or the bloodless rack of obloquy and slander and exclusion. "Therefore," we are told, "*are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more. . . . For the Lamb, which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them into living fountains of waters: And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.*"

NOTES.

¹ TERTULLIAN. Although Tertullian's complaints are directed rather against unworthy evasions (esp. *de fuga in persec.* and *de corona*, both referring to the persecution under Sept. Severus), and the attempts to gain the authorities by bribery (*de fuga* II-13), he more than once denounced the pretensions of those who, on the strength of a brief imprisonment, attempted to pose as martyrs. (*Adv. Prax.* 1.) He also alludes to the case of those who sustained their failing courage by intoxication at the last. (*de jejun.* 12.)

² CYPRIAN. Notwithstanding the difficulties of his position, owing to his own flight, Cyprian protested against the extraordinary pretensions of the Confessors at Carthage, after the Decian persecution. (Opp. ed. Paris, 1643, epist. 14, 15, 21, and Rettberg, *Cyprianus*, p. 66, seq.)

³ EUSEBIUS. As to the disorganization under the Decian and Valerian persecutions see H. E. vi. 41 and viii. 1; much fuller disclosures, however, being found in the *liber de pœnitentia* of Petrus Alexandrinus, with regard to the persecution of Diocletian. Cf. Routh. *Rel. sacr.* iv. 22, seq.

⁴ The whole subject of the *Lapsi* and the kindred question of the claims of the confessors is best illustrated in the treatise of Petrus Alexandrinus, quoted above. Besides the well-known classes of *libellatici* and *traditores*, he speaks of those who sent their heathen, and sometimes even their Christian slaves, to personate them in the act of sacrifice. In Carthage and Alexandria the episcopal authority was practically overthrown by the indiscriminate use of *litterae pacis* by the confessors, while in Rome and Antioch the milder rule finally obtained acceptance. Cf. Hausrath, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 45, 6.

⁵ PERPETUA. "Perpetua autem, ut aliquid doloris gustaret, inter costas puncta exululavit; et errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in jugulum suum posuit. Fortasse tanta femina aliter non potuisset occidi, quia ab immundo spiritu timebatur, nisi ipsa voluisset."

[*Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, ed. Hurter, in *SS. Mart. Acta Selecta*, p. 142.]

⁶ FOXE, *Acts and Monuments* (1838), vi. 694, and vii. 550.

⁷ The date of the Revocation, which has been contested in recent times, seems satisfactorily fixed by the entry in Dangeau's Journal: "*Lundi, 22 Octobre, à Fontainebleau: Ce jour là on enregistra dans tout le royaume la cassation de l'édit de Nantes. et l'on commença á raser tous les temples qui restoient. . . . Le soir it y eut comédie italienne.*" *Journal de Dangeau*, Paris, 1854, I, 237.

⁸ ENGLISH FEELING IN 1685. As far back as 1681, before the *Dragonades*, while what may be called legal persecution only was practised, public opinion had forced a Proclamation from Charles II, which offered to the immigrants already flocking to England, letters of denization without any charge, and many other civic privileges. It promised a general Bill of Naturalisation. This document had a great effect in France, and for a time suspended the persecution. (R. L. Poole, *Hug. of Dispersion*, p. 76.) In the autumn of 1685 a royal brief for a national collection was issued, concerning which see the following note. The popular indignation was manifested in pamphlets, of which a great number are preserved at the British Museum, such as *The Great Pressures and Grievances of the Protestants of France*, by E. E. [Edmond Everard], 1681, fol. James II's dislike to the Huguenots was clearly manifested in the order for the burning of Claude's *Plaines des Protestants*, the order appearing in the *Gazette* of May 8, 1686. Cf. Benoist, iv. 491; *et seq.*, Kennet, *Hist. of Engl.* iii. 403, and Cooper, *Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens*, p. xviii. (Camd. Soc. 1862.)

⁹ For the history of the Royal Bounty see *Supplementary Note 5* of Mr. R. L. Poole's *Huguenots of the Dispersion*, a work to which French students will admit their great indebtedness. The researches on the subject had already been undertaken by Agnew, *Protestant Exiles*, i. 36-58, but in a manner not very accessible to the general reader. The two national collections of 1681-2 and 1685, together with parliamentary and other grants, realised nearly £200,000. The subsequent history of the fund, "not very creditable," as Mr. Poole justly says, "to the national financiers," may be read in his appendix. But the unfortunate epilogue in no way concerns the spontaneous munificence of the national gift.

¹⁰ SAUMAISE (1588-1658) had known Casaubon in Paris, but became a Protestant while studying at Heidelberg under Denis Godefroy. He married the daughter of Desbordes, a zealous Huguenot. The only personal annoyance he suffered on account of his religious views was when Marillac, the *Garde des Sceaux*, refused assent to the resignation by the father of his office in favour of his son.

¹¹ SCALIGER. According to *Scaligerana* II (s. v. Scaliger), he was converted to Protestantism at the age of 22. "Il avait 22 ans quand il fut catechisé par M. de Chandien et par M. Viret. Ce fut le frère de M. de Buzenval, qui est maintenant Papiste, qui me mena au presche durant les premiers troubles." Bernays (*J. J. Scaliger*, Berl. 1855), explains the seemingly contradictory statements in the *Scaligerana*: "Wie alle Menschen, die sich einen gleichmässigen Fortschritt ihrer wissenschaftlichen und religiösen Entwicklung zu erhalten verstehen, legte auch Scaliger in reiferen Jahren manche Starrgläubigkeit seiner Jugend ab."

Sc. was not at all edified by many of the Protestants, particularly as to the extreme sections, who discredited all non-Biblical learning. Arminius, indeed, was "*vir maximus*" (Scal. II, s. v. Arminius), but of Gomarus: "Il pense estre le plus scavant theologien de tous. Il s'entend à la chronologie comme moy à faire de la fausse monnoye."

¹² DAVID BLONDEL (1591-1655.) As early as 1619 his *Modeste déclaration de la vérité des égl. réformées* appeared. His fame as an anti-Roman writer was established by his *Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes* (1628), a work greatly admired by English divines, and which, as far as scholars were concerned, finished the Isidorian controversy. His even greater work, *De la Primauté de l'Eglise* (1641), was viewed with favour even by the French court. Cf. Nicéron, viii. 48, *seq.*

¹³ ANDRÉ RIVET (1572-1651), like Blondel, spent the greater part of his life in Holland. Although distinguished in the polemic against Rome, his main claim to distinction is in his exegetical works, his *Isagoge ad scripturam sacram V. et N. T.* (1616) long remaining a standard work.

¹⁴ CASAUBON. The admirable monograph of the late Rector of Lincoln College has raised a monument to one Huguenot worthy only to be paralleled by Professor A. Schweitzer's study on Amy-

raut, *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1852, and some of the articles in the new edition of Haag's *France Protestante*.

¹⁵ PIERRE DUMOULIN (1568-1658), the most indefatigable combatant of a polemical age, whose life has yet to be written. C. Schmidt's article in the new edition of Herzog's R. E. enumerates his works, and the leading incidents of his life. He was created D. D. by Cambridge on the occasion of his first visit to England, in 1615, when invited by James I, at the suggestion of Duplessis Mornay, to discuss a union of Protestant Churches.

¹⁶ SAMUEL BOCHART (1599-1667), nephew of Pierre Dumoulin, educated under Saumur influence, visited Oxford with Cameron. His famous works, *Geographia Sacra* (1646) and *Hierozoïcon* (1663), were esteemed by Catholics as well as Protestants; the latter was dedicated to Charles II. In 1650 he engaged in a friendly controversy with Morley, the result of which was published in his *Epistola qua resp. ad. III quaestiones*.

¹⁷ JEAN DAILLÉ (1594-1670), for list of works, see new edition of Haag, *Fr. Pr.* His treatise *De l'Employ des saints pères* was comparatively an early work (1632). No less than 724 of his Charenton sermons were published.

¹⁸ JOHN DURELL (1626-1683), Dean of Windsor. His "*View of the government of the Reformed Churches* (1662), contains a very sufficient proof of the friendly attitude of Charenton to the Church of England.

¹⁹ DANIEL BREVINT (1616-1695), Dean of Lincoln. Acted with Durell in 1659 in procuring from Daillé and the other Charenton ministers the declaration concerning the Protestant orthodoxy of Charles II. See next note.

²⁰ The many rumours in circulation as to the conversion of Charles II to the Roman Catholic faith, and the fact that his hopes of Restoration in 1659 depended on the sanction and efforts of the Presbyterian party, induced him to apply to the Consistoire of Charenton for a declaration of his Protestant orthodoxy. This was readily granted, and letters to that effect were written by Daillé, Drelincourt, Delangle, and Gaches. See Kennet's *Register and Chronicle*, 1728, pp. 91-4, containing the letter of Gaches to Baxter, and of Daillé and Drelincourt to the Huguenot ministers

in London, Stoupe and Leroy. Gaches vouched for the fact of Charles's attendance at the Protestant service at Rouen and Rochelle. When, in 1661, the Savoy congregation adopted a translation of the Anglican liturgy, the question as to the legitimacy of the step was submitted to the Charenton *Consistoire*, which unanimously decided "that they ought not to make any scruple to submit to the order of that Church." (Kennet, p. 460, and see Durell's *Reformed Churches*, 1662.) An interesting letter of Amyraut's, given by Dubourdieu in his *Appeal to the English Nation*, p. 105, gives the view of that great theologian on the same subject: "*Veterem illam vestram liturgiam legi attentissime: est autem illa sane talis, meo iudicio, ut in multis zelum vere christianum incendere et fidem efficacissime fovere apta nata est. In aliis, omni veneno caret; universe, illibata religione, et non modo sine conscientiae ullo vulnere, sed etiam cum admodum memorabili pietatis fructu, celebrari et usurpari possit.*" The passage is quoted in Mr. Poole's work already cited, suppl. Note iv.

²¹ The Leightonian library at Dunblane was opened in 1688, the catalogue first printed 1793. For particulars of foundation see Irving's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, 1839, II, 146. Leighton's notes can be easily recognised by comparing his autograph. Among the books may be mentioned, as showing Leighton's wide reading, Arndt's *Paradies Gärtlein* (1666), Balzac, *Lettres* (1634-6), the Bible in Irish, Swedish, Italian, Spanish, Brantôme's *Mémoires*, Lord Brooke, Cowley, Saint Cyran's *Lettres Spirituelles*, a great number of Daillé's works, Donne, Du Bartas, a forgotten book called "*l'Evêque de Cour opposé à l'Evêque apostolique* (1675) of suggestive title, Falkland, Selden, only two of Fuller's works, John Hales, Hobbes, G. Herbert's *Temple and Remains*, nothing of Shakespeare or Milton, but Montaigne's *Essais* (1636), Henry More, T. More's *Utopia*, Pascal's *Pensées*, but not the L. Pr., Quevedo's *Villegas discursos*, all Sir Thomas Browne's works, and every work of Jeremy Taylor, even to the *Measures and Offices of Friendship*.

²² THE CONFESSIO GALLICANA of 1559 belongs to the same group as the Anglican XLII Articles of 1551, the *Confessio Scotiana* (1560), *Hungarica* (1557-8), *Belgica* (1562), and the *Conf. Sigismundi* or *Marchica* (1614), and all derive much of their foundation from the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549). The C. G. consists of 40 articles drawn up in May, 1559, under the influence of

Chandieu, and accepted by the national synod of the same year, confirmed by Henri IV in 1571. Cf. Augusti, *Corp. libr. symbol.*, 1846, p. 126, *et seq.*

²³ As it would be impossible in the limits of a note to furnish any account of the present state of French Protestantism, the reader must be referred to Decoppet, *Paris Protestant* (1876), and Th. de Pratt, *Annuaire Protestant*. There is a somewhat meagre but impartial sketch by C. Pfender in the new edition of Herzog's R. E.

²⁴ PAUL RABAUT (1718-1794), his life now fully known since the recent publication by M. Picherat-Dardier of his correspondence. He served the great cause from boyhood, first as a guide to the itinerant ministers, then as a reader, *proposant* (he only studied half a year at Lausanne). His career as preacher began 1742. The bitterest persecution took place 1742-5, but there was no real amnesty till the edict of toleration of 1787. Then Rabaut enjoyed a few years of rest, though the Revolution at last molested him.

²⁵ As to Paley's remark, "*that he could not afford to keep a conscience*," see Meadley's Memoir of W. Paley, 2nd ed., Edinb., 1810, p. 89, and also the Life by Chalmers, prefixed to the edition of Paley's Works, published in 1819, p. xvii.

²⁶ Among the causes for the cessation of intercourse should be mentioned the eccentricities of the Camisard "prophets" in London, which provoked Francis Lee's *History of Montanism*, and his own reversion to High Church principles.

²⁷ For the theology of Cambridge in the Elizabethan age, the reader must be referred to Strype, supplemented by Mr. Mullinger's excellent history. An article on Peter Baro will be found in the last published volume of Mr. Stephen's *Biogr. Dictionary*. It is remarkable that a Huguenot should have led the Arminian reaction. The very high esteem in which the foreign reformers were held at Cambridge was evidenced in 1595, when William Barret, fellow of Caius, for contemptuous language about Calvin, was censured and forced to sign a retractation. [Cf. Strype's Whitgift, IV. caps. 14-16, and Append. 22-25, and Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, II, 529-536.]

²⁸ The passage quoted from Overall was the favourite *dictum* of his pupil Cosin, who referred always to him as his "lord and master Overall." It will be found in Cosin's works (Angl. Cath. Lib. iv. 449), where also is included (ib. pp. 400-409) Cosin's own view of the Huguenot ministry and sacraments, in his letter to M. Cordel of Blois. The testament is given in the Life by Basire, and also in Works, Vol. I.

²⁹ *Vindication of Grotius*, in Ang. Cath. Libr. Bramhall's Works, III, 518. Sanderson, *Episcopacy not prejudicial*, II, 15.

³⁰ *Hist. of Troubles*, pp. 100, 134, 355, 419 (ed. 1695).

³¹ Abbey and Overton, *Hist. of England in 18th Century*, I, 370.

³² The last step of decadence was reached even before the Vatican Council, when the notorious journalist Louis Veuillot was practically upheld by the Curia against the censure of Mgr. Dupanloup. The last moments of Montalembert, and his treatment by the Vatican authorities, are also memorable.

³³ *Sermons de Saurin*, Paris, 1835, II, 107, *et seq.*, translated into English, 1775-6, at Cambridge, in six vols.

³⁴ See *Hist. of the French Refugee Church of Canterbury* (1881) by M. le Pasteur Martin. A modification of the English liturgy was adopted by Pasteur Miéville in 1790, but the sitting posture at the reception of the Holy Communion is preserved. Laud's attempt in 1634 to suppress the service was ineffectual.

³⁵ Scrivener, *Cod. Bez.* p. vi., and Heppe, *Th. Beza's Leben u. ausgewählte Schriften*, p. 364. The Codex was presented to Cambridge in 1581.

APPENDIX.

(See Preface.)

PARIS,
216 Boulevard Pereire,
Le 23 Février, 1886.

Je partage tout à fait vos vues, et je me félicite de les sentir défendre avec. . . . Je me suis souvent entretenu de ce sujet avec le doyen Stanley et le vénérable archevêque Tait qui tous deux portaient un vif intérêt à l'Eglise Réformée de France. J'ai toujours regretté que nos églises n'eussent de relations officielles qu'avec les presbytériens anglais ou écossais, et que cette simple question d'organisation ecclésiastique fût considérée comme le signe de l'union, lorsque nous avons tant de motifs d'attachement pour l'Eglise anglicane. Vous savez sans doute que je suis l'un de ceux qui sentent le plus douloureusement les lacunes du presbytérianisme, et que j'ai fait un grand effort (effort qui a réussi à Paris) pour introduire un service liturgique analogue à celui de votre Eglise dans ses traits essentiels.

L'une de mes ambitions serait de renouer les liens qui ont uni autrefois les églises réformées de France avec l'Eglise anglicane ; je ne voudrais pas me borner à une union théorique. Il y aurait quelque chose de *pratique* à créer. L'Angleterre ne connaît souvent nos Eglises que par les collectes que nos sociétés font chez elle pour soutenir nos œuvres. Cela est deplorablement insuffisant. Il y aurait lieu de nous rencontrer sur un terrain plus élevé, sur celui de la pensée chrétienne, et d'unir nos efforts pour soutenir la grande cause de la vraie catholicité chrétienne. J'appelle sur ce point votre plus sérieuse attention.

EUGÈNE BERSIER-

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“The task has been performed with careful research, united with a broad outlook and the preservation of a catholic spirit, which make the volume, comparatively small as it is, one of real value.” — *Theological Review*, Oct. 1879.

“Das Ergebniss, zu welchem der Verfasser dieser tüchtigen Arbeit betreffs des Montanismus gekommen ist, wird am kürzesten an dem Schluss-satze seiner zusammenfassenden Beurtheilung desselben (S. 116) erkannt: ‘So, one by one, the fundamental principles of Montanism, its links with the Apostolical Church, were regarded as heresies.’ Dieses Ergebniss ist nicht neu: es ist von G. Arnold, Wernsdorf, Ritschl u. A. angebahnt, resp. festgestellt. Der Verf. hat das seinige dazu gethan, um es noch einmal und pünktlich zu begründen.” — Adolf Harnack in the *Theol. Lit. Zeitung*, Dec. 1878.

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