

virtues, disinterested, catholic, gentle in his conduct yet firm in his determination, and always in pursuit of what he believed to be the interests of truth. With him the Church, that is the papacy, was not the grand idea. One of still larger dimensions occupied his mind, the honour of God and the welfare of mankind. He took the name of Clement XIV.

The Jesuits in every country in Europe had accomplished their own disgrace. Protestant literature had left them far behind, and Protestant universities had taken the higher branches of education out of their hands. Their politics were odious; Choiseul, the prime minister of France, detested them. The bankruptcy of a mercantile house connected with the Jesuits, involved a multitude of other failures, and the sufferers appealed to the courts of justice. Louis XV. was unable to save the order from the indignation of his people; and on the 6th of August, 1762, the parliament decreed the suppression of the Jesuits in France. Carvalho, the minister of Portugal, was bent on their expulsion. They were charged with an attempt to assassinate the king in 1758; the rack and other torments were turned against them; and they were expelled the country under a tempest of popular rage. Even Spain and Italy refused to allow them to remain. All the great Catholic countries in Europe remonstrated with the pontiff, and demanded their suppression. On the 21st of July, 1773, the order was abolished. "Inspired, as we humbly trust," said the pope, "by the Divine Spirit, urged by the duty of restoring the unanimity of the Church, convinced that the company of Jesus can no longer render those services to the end for which it was instituted, and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy which we hold locked in our own breasts, we abolish and annul the society of Jesus, their functions, houses, and institutions." What further reforms Ganganelli meditated were cut short by his death, in September, 1774,—it was said, by poison administered to him in a cup of chocolate during his celebration of the mass: a report from his physicians denied the fact without satisfying the public mind. The annual cursing and excommunication of heretical princes and others, by the public reading of the bull, *In cœna Domini*, was discontinued throughout his pontificate; it has been since revived by his successors, and is now practised at Rome on Maundy Thursday, in the presence of the pope and cardinals, and a vast assemblage.

The storm was now preparing which was soon to burst over Europe. The progress of infidel opinions was feebly met in France and Italy, by dammatory bulls and lists of books proscribed. The Church was no longer feared; succeeding events showed how little she was loved. Joseph, the German emperor, before the French revolution broke out, suppressed upwards of a thousand monasteries, forbade the purchase of papal dispensations, and declared himself supreme in all the secular affairs of the Church. From Austria, the spirit of independence was communicated to Tuscany and Naples; and in a short time, most of the German principalities asserted their independence by various acts vexatious to the papacy. But the French Revolution appeared, and in its surging tide these minor conflicts were forgotten, while the papacy itself seemed on the point of ruin. At the earlier periods of the Revolution, the National Assembly aimed only at the assertion of its own independence. But its claims became, day by day, more urgent. It declared its right, in 1790, to dispose of the estates of the Church as national property; substituted popular election for the installation of bishops under the concordat, and salaried the priesthood by the state, seizing upon the Church properties in return. The monastic orders were suppressed, vows dissolved, and dioceses altered, at the will of the government. But all this was transient. The Revolution advanced; Louis was dethroned and executed, a republic proclaimed, and religion under every form denounced. The Gallican Church was turned up by its roots, and not a trace remained. The campaign of 1796 placed Italy in the hands of France: Rome was invaded, and the Vatican invested. It was in vain that Pius VI., an old man of eighty, implored that he might die where he had lived; he was told that he could die anywhere. The room in which he sat was stripped and plundered; the ring was torn from his finger; and at length he was carried off to France, where he died in August 1799. A new century dawned, and the papal throne was vacant: it was fondly believed among Protestants, that the chair of St. Peter would never be occupied again.

In the history of the world there has been nothing more surprising than the sudden renovation of the Church of Rome. During the last half-century, she seemed to be at the point of death; she has reinstated herself in her long-lost dignities, and

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# HISTORY

OF

## CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS

FROM THE

*Earliest Ages of Christianity.*

BY THE REV. J. B. MARSDEN, M.A.

INCUMBENT OF ST. PETER'S, BIRMINGHAM,  
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY AND LATER PURITANS,"  
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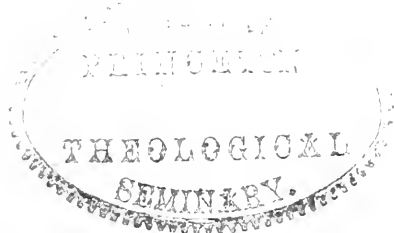
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# HISTORY

OF

## CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.

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**H**UNTINGDON'S (LADY) CONNEXION.—Selina, wife of the ninth Earl of Huntingdon, and daughter of the second Earl Ferrers, of the ancient and noble house of Shirley, gives her name to this community. She became the friend and correspondent of the Wesleys at the opening of their career. In 1739 she was a constant attendant at their chapel in Fetter-lane, and a member of the first Methodist society formed in that place. A division soon occurred in the infant society between the Moravians and the Methodists, and Fetter-lane was abandoned to the Moravians. The Wesleys retired to the Foundry, and Lady Huntingdon accompanied them. Here she was, for some time, one of the most eminent members of the small community, at the head of which were the Wesleys, and their eloquent and zealous coadjutor Whitfield. Whitfield soon afterwards undertook a mission to Georgia, a colony already of importance; but on his return, after four years' absence, in 1748, differences arose between the Wesleys and himself, which widened into an open breach. Whitfield embraced the Calvinistic doctrines, the Wesleys were Arminians; he was forbidden to preach at the Foundry, and he complains that he was even shut out from a chapel in Bristol which he himself had founded.

The clergy of the Established Church were equally indisposed to admit either party to their pulpits. The Wesleys formed the society which bears their name. Whitfield, too, as a substitute for parochial congregations, formed societies, as they were

then termed, in various parts. In June 1741, he opened the Tabernacle, a temporary screen or shed in Moorfields, thus named in allusion to the moveable tent at which the Israelites worshipped, by divine command, in their journey through the desert. Such was the power of his ministry, and the attraction of his eloquence, that great numbers of the nobility crowded the lowly structure even during the winter season; amongst these were Sarah, the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough; Catherine, Duchess of Buckingham; the Duke of Cumberland, and his brother Frederick, the father of George III. And amongst the most constant in their attendance were the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon. The Earl died soon after, but Lady Huntingdon's attachment to the cause suffered no abatement. At her suggestion, it was resolved to rebuild the Tabernacle: it was opened in June 1755, and, though capable of seating four thousand persons, was crowded in every part. In the same year, Whitfield obtained possession of Long-acre chapel. Here he was interrupted by a noisy mob, and one effect of this persecution was the immediate erection of a large chapel in Tottenham-court-road; it was opened for divine worship, according to the forms of the Church of England, in November 1756. Whitfield's intention was to have placed the chapel under Lady Huntingdon's protection. He was her chaplain, and he hoped by this means to secure himself from interruption. "We have consulted Doctors' Commons," he says, "about putting the chapel under your Ladyship's protection;—this was the answer, 'No nobleman can license a chapel, or in any manner have one, but in his dwelling-house; the chapel must be private, that is, not with doors to the street, for any persons to resort to at pleasure; for then it becomes public. A chapel cannot be built and used as such without the consent of the parson of the parish; and when it is done with his consent, no minister can preach therein without license of the bishop of the diocese.' There seems then," he adds, "but one way; to license it as other houses are." Thus the foundations of a new dissent were laid, and Tottenham-court chapel was licensed as a meeting-house. Yet neither at this time, or to the close of his life, was Whitfield a dissenter. He had no preferment; and choosing rather to preach in sheds and tabernacles than to be silent (for few of the clergy would now admit him to their pulpits), he embraced the only alternative

which lay before him. We may date from this event the formation of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, although its formal establishment took place some years later.

Whitfield was assisted occasionally at the Tabernacle both by eminent dissenting ministers and by several clergymen. His popularity was astonishing. The meanest beggar heard him with profit; the greatest orators, the wisest and the most thoughtful men—the elder Fox and Pitt, Soame Jenyns, and the accomplished Chesterfield—listened with admiration and delight. The theatre lampooned the Methodists in vain in a ridiculous farce called “The Minor;” and Garrick was not ashamed to sanction the miserable piece of buffoonery: but this only increased Whitfield's popularity. Hundreds who had enjoyed the farce at Drury-lane paid a visit to Tottenham-court chapel, in the hope of further entertainment: they returned sad and silent, or sought relief in the vestry, throwing themselves at the preacher's feet and asking his forgiveness. The subscriptions after several of Whitfield's sermons disclose both the extent of his popularity and the wealth of his audience. For the French Protestants in Prussia he once collected 1,500*l.* Had vanity been predominant in Whitfield's character, here was an ample field for its indulgence. But when he had provided for the duties of his chapels at home, he withdrew to America to superintend an orphan house and do the work of a missionary to the colonists; and there he died in 1770. The characteristic of his eloquence seems to have been intense and vehement simplicity. That his preaching should have produced such astonishing effects on the illiterate is not surprising. Its influence with the higher classes is only fully explained when we call to mind their profound ignorance, at this period, upon the whole subject of religion. His voice and manner were probably those of a more perfect orator than the pulpit of England has produced in any second instance. Still his boundless popularity remains in some measure unexplained. The depth and fervour of their piety alone redeem his printed sermons from utter neglect; and the same remark applies, with equal truth, to his correspondence. We look in vain for the flashes of genius, for force or grace of language, or for originality of thought.

We may here observe that Whitfield's chapels, of which there were several, were vested in trustees; with whom, the congrega-

tion consenting, the appointment of the minister rests. A very considerable number of chapels has been since built on this principle in England and Wales, belonging to the various divisions of the Calvinistic Methodists. None of these are strictly in connexion with Lady Huntingdon's societies; though, for the most part, a union of affectionate regard exists between them. The Calvinistic Methodists are, in fact, independent Churches; they differ from the old Independents in two points; they originated with Whitfield and Rowland Hill, his younger friend and zealous associate; and they retain, in general, a warmer regard to the Church of England. Many of them use the Liturgy, with a few alterations, and they adhere to her Articles as the standard of faith.

Lady Huntingdon herself laid out vast sums, contributed by generous friends, in addition to her own private liberality, in building chapels and founding colleges for students for the ministry. At first she confined herself, with few exceptions, to ministers of the Established Church, many of whom accepted her invitations and laboured in her chapels. But her zeal increasing with her success, she built or hired chapels in most of the large towns; and as they multiplied, the clergy were unequal to the task of supplying them. Some were unwilling to move about in a field so wide and various. Great complaints were made by many Churchmen of the irregularity of their proceedings, as inconsistent with the discipline of the Church of England. As the work extended and became more systematic, the clergy were more dissatisfied with it. We must add that Lady Huntingdon was imperious, and that the clergy who joined her often found their liberty restrained rather than increased by their secession. In 1767 she founded her college at Trevecca, in South Wales. Its basis was broad and generous; she proposed to admit young men of real piety who wished to be trained up for the ministry. They were to remain three years. Their education, their board, even their clothing, was provided for them. They were then at liberty to enter into the ministry either, as literates, in the Church of England, or amongst any body of orthodox Protestants. As to the course of study, she consulted Wesley, Venn, Romaine, and Fletcher, the last of whom became the first master or president. The outline of study which he proposed was meagre enough no doubt; but, at

the same time, it was much better than that of either of the Universities. We quote an interesting passage on the subject from one of Fletcher's letters, dated January 1768; it will show the intentions of Lady Huntingdon's advisers. "A plan of study must be fixed upon first, before proper books can be chosen. Grammar, logic, rhetoric, with ecclesiastical history, and a little natural philosophy, and geography, with a great deal of practical divinity, will be sufficient for those who do not care to dive into languages. Watts' Logic and his History of the Bible seem to me to be excellent books of the kind. Mr. Wesley's Natural Philosophy contains as much as is wanted, or more. With regard to those who propose to learn Latin and Greek, the master your Ladyship shall appoint may choose to follow his particular method. Mr. Wesley's books, printed for the use of Christian youths, seem to me to be short and proper. Two or three dictionaries of Bailey or Dyke, for those who learn English, with two or three Cole's dictionaries, Schrevelius's and Pasore's, for those who will learn Latin and Greek, may be a sufficient stock at first." The students from this college, who joined Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, received ordination at the hands of her ministers, or else without ordination were content to preach as laymen. A considerable number took orders from time to time in the Church of England; and if not distinguished by their learning, they were almost invariably zealous and useful ministers. Thus provided at length with a staff of earnest, enterprising students, the zeal of the foundress aspired to evangelize the kingdom. In 1781 we find four of the students sent out on a preaching mission for three months. Their commission ran thus: "It was concluded at a late meeting, that the only means effectually to reach the multitudes was, that the four principal ministers—Mr. Glascott, Mr. Wills, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Plassy—should, for three months, visit universally in four different departments, and thus severally preach through the towns, counties, and villages of the kingdom, by a general voice or proclamation of the glorious Gospel of peace to lost sinners." They preached in the open air and frequently to immense congregations. One of the missionaries reports, that at Bosveal not less than ten thousand assembled in a large, deep, hollow ground, a natural amphitheatre, "rendered convenient for the preacher and hearers by circular benches cut out of the sides from the top

to the bottom." Their success seemed to be great in every direction, and they contributed, no doubt, their full share to that revived interest in religion which marked the period. Wesley, who was now regarded by Lady Huntingdon as scarcely orthodox, was at the same time bringing the same machinery to bear upon the wants of England. His field preachers were neither more numerous nor more zealous than those of Lady Huntingdon; and the latter had the advantage of some training and mental discipline. Yet lasting success lay on the side of Wesley. Lady Huntingdon's Connexion was most vigorous in its infant days; the Wesleyan societies grew into a mighty manhood, and prospered long after their founder's death. The success of Wesleyan Methodism, and the causes of it, we describe in another article. The comparative want of success of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion was probably inherent in the system.

It was not Lady Huntingdon's wish at this period of her life to secede from the Church of England; but the bishops, displeased with their irregularities, at length refused to ordain her students. She and her friends resolved, in consequence, to form a Secession Church, and "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion" appeared. The experiment was interesting. It was an attempt to model an eclectic Church out of materials afforded chiefly, but not entirely, from the Church of England. Its Liturgy, its forms, and even its vestments, were retained, with a few alterations in the former, and less precision in the use of the two latter; but episcopacy was dismissed. Her churches became Presbyterian in their orders; and, in discipline, they partook both of presbyterianism and independency. To the eye as well as to the mind, however, the service in her chapels was that to which the hearer had been accustomed in his parish church. It might have been foreseen, that the connexion would thrive only where the Church of England was slothful, or in bad hands. There was no mechanism to entangle the hearer and prevent his return to the Church. And the fact that its forms of worship and so many of its peculiarities were retained, would leave but little scope for Lady Huntingdon's preachers, had they been so disposed, to depreciate the National Church. The irregular ally, then, would cease to be followed wherever the parent institution recovered its vigour: or, if really dissatisfied with her terms of communion, the member of Lady Huntingdon's connexion

would associate himself with some of the more palpable forms of dissent. A consideration of these causes will explain the slow progress and comparatively slender triumphs of this bold experiment.

The first ordination did not take place till the year 1783 : it was held at the Countess's new chapel in Spa-fields. Six students from Trevecca were ordained, by imposition of hands, by Messrs. Wills and Taylor, presbyters of the Church of England, who had previously resigned their parochial charges. Wills defended the proceeding in an able address to the assembled congregation. "Our dissenting brethren," he argued, "cannot dispute the point against us. Condemning us, they censure their own forefathers, who acted as we do now. It is only the Established Church that, with any appearance of consistency, can contest the matter with us. Let us meet them," he said, "on Scripture ground ;" and he argued at length to show the right of presbyters, as well as bishops, to ordain. But considerations of greater weight, with Lady Huntingdon at least, followed. "What was to be done? her Ladyship had stepped in to fill up the gap, and proclaim the Gospel here, where once had been a synagogue of Satan" (the building had been erected for a theatre). "What was the consequence? her right was called in question; some of her ministers were cited to the Ecclesiastical Courts, so called, and tried and silenced one after another. Was the cause of God to be deserted? was this, were other, chapels to be closed? A minister of a parish says, You shall not preach here; a bishop says, You shall not preach here. Whether in this case we are to hearken to men more than God, judge ye." The candidates for ordination gave in writing a declaration of their faith, in fifteen articles. These are the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, with some alterations which appear to have been based upon the Assembly's Catechism. The seventeenth article on predestination is adopted; and on the subject of reprobation, silence is observed. A declaration is affixed, "that some things in the Liturgy, and many things in the discipline and government of the Established Church, being contrary to Holy Scripture, they have felt it necessary to secede;" but there is no detail given of the points objected against. Thus Lady Huntingdon's Connexion was at last completed.

During her lifetime Lady Huntingdon appointed and removed

the ministers who officiated in her chapels at her pleasure ; and also appointed laymen, termed managers, in each congregation, to superintend its secular concerns. On her death, June 17th, 1791, in the eighty-fourth year of her age, her chapels were devised to four trustees, possessed in all respects of the same powers which she herself had exercised. Rules for the management of her societies had been drawn up in 1785, and only those who conformed to them were members of the connexion. In the year 1792, the lease of the College of Trevecca having expired, the institution was removed to Cheshunt. The College is vested in seven trustees, who have the sole right of admitting and rejecting students, and the appointment and dismissal of the tutors. It has been endowed from time to time with legacies and presents to a considerable amount, and is one of the wealthiest of the dissenting colleges or seminaries. But its field is narrow: it professes to educate only for the ministry, and the students are supported entirely from the funds of the Institution. The same generous spirit which was shown by the Countess at Trevecca is still maintained at Cheshunt ; and the student, when his education is complete, is at full liberty "to serve in the ministry of the Gospel, either in the late Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion abroad, or in the Established Church, or in any other of the Churches of Christ."

The reader will have observed that the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion can be so termed only with considerable latitude. In the strict sense of the word there is no connexion. The trustees appoint to the various chapels such ministers as they please ; but each of these chapels, or congregations, is conducted upon the independent model: there is no combined or federal ecclesiastical government, and several of them have merged into purely independent Churches.

The number of chapels in England in 1851 was 109. The number of attendants, according to the census, was 19,159. Dr. Haweis, one of the trustees of Lady Huntingdon, says in 1795: "Those who are immediately with us, or though gone out are still in union with us, preach, I think the Gospel, every Sabbath day, to at least 100,000 people." If this statement were correct, the declension is remarkable: since not more than a fourth part of the number now remains. The fact is, no doubt, that the Connexion has served as a feeder to dissent on the one



hand, and to the Church of England on the other: and in both instances, by its moderation and its soundness in doctrine, it has been highly useful.

*Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, by a Member of the House of Shirley, 1835. Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters. Life of Rev. Rowland Hill, by Sidney. Wesley's Journal. Whitfield's Sermons.*

**I**NDEPENDENTS.—The Independents maintain as a fundamental principle that every society of believers united for religious fellowship and Christian worship is a perfect church within itself, that it possesses full power to regulate its own affairs, and is independent of all external control. They have lately taken the name of CONGREGATIONALISTS; but are better known in history by the older designation.

No record exists of any Church formed on the independent model from the close of the first century to the Reformation. Still it is asserted that this was the primitive and apostolic form. The Churches of the New Testament, they conceive, were formed upon these principles, which were stifled by the early corruptions of Christianity, when the spirit of the world established the domination of the few over the consciences of the many. When the Reformation had relieved men from the yoke of Rome, and given them leisure to attend to the discipline of the Church, the congregational, or independent, system was revived as a complete restoration of the primitive regimen of the churches. The Baptists were the first to establish independent churches; this they did in Germany prior to the English Reformation. They were followed by the Brownists in the reign of Elizabeth, who, retaining infant baptism, agreed on other points with the Anabaptists. Of these two bodies some account has been given. (See BAPTISTS and BROWNISTS.) It was not till the Commonwealth that the Brownists took the name of Independents, and it is from this period their history properly begins.

The Westminster Assembly of Divines met in 1643: besides ten lords and twenty members of the House of Commons, it consisted of one hundred and twenty-one divines, and six deputies from Scotland. The English divines were appointed by the parliament; and their business was, the reformation of the

national Church, and the establishment of a purer discipline. The divines, with the exception of the Scotch, had all been members of the Church of England; a few of them still adhered to Episcopacy, but after a few sittings these ceased to attend. The rest were strongly in favour of Presbyterianism, as it existed in the Church of Scotland; and it was soon apparent that, if they had the power, they would establish a Presbyterian Church in England. Upon this point they would have been unanimous, had it not been for two or three Erastians (so called from Erastus, a German physician, who wrote a treatise denying the right of self-government to Christian churches, and placing them under the power of the secular magistrate) and a small body of five "dissenting brethren." These last were the leaders of the Independents. Their names were Nye, Simpson, Burroughes, Bridge, and Goodwin. Under the recent persecutions of Laud, they had been driven to Holland, where they had formed Independent Churches. Adopting the Brownist discipline, they rejected the name, and severely censured the asperity and exclusiveness of the old party. Nor did they wish to be called Independents. In a memorial which they addressed to the parliament they say, "that proud and insolent title of Independency was affixed unto us as our claim, the very sound of which conveys to all men's apprehensions the challenge of an exemption of our Churches from all subjection and dependence, or rather a trumpet of defiance against whatever power spiritual or civil, which we do abhor and detest." *Apologetic Narration, presented to the Parliament, p. 22.*

The five dissenting brethren were at first supported in the Assembly by not more than four or five divines. But these numbers convey no adequate notion of the real power of the party in other places. In the House of Commons the Independents, already powerful, soon became supreme. In the army, Cromwell espoused their principles, and they soon had many followers amongst the men who drew the sword. In short, the clergy were more Presbyterian than the nation. Yet partly out of deference to the Scotch alliance, and because no other scheme of discipline had been matured, the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed by the Assembly and House of Commons, on the 25th September, 1643, and a few days afterwards, by the House of Lords. It was designed to lay the foundation of a

Presbyterian Church in England ; but as it merely asserted "the necessity of endeavouring the preservation of the reformed religion according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches," the Independents, with one exception, yielded their assent to it, and the solitary dissentient was immediately excluded from the Assembly, and deposed from his living. The whole nation was called upon to subscribe the Covenant, and no public office, ecclesiastical or civil, could be filled by those who declined to do so. Thus the ground was prepared for the construction of a national Church, in lieu of the old episcopacy.

The question of the government of the future Church was warmly contested in the Assembly : the Presbyterians maintaining the divine authority of the Presbyterian discipline ; Nye, and the Independents, protesting against the ecclesiastical tyranny which they believed it would introduce. "It is inconvenient," said Nye, "to nourish such a vast body in a commonwealth : it is not to be endured. Men are already troubled to think whether a presbytery shall be set up *jure divino*, and no wonder ; for, if it be, it will grow so as to become as big as the civil power. When two vast bodies are of equal amplitude, if they disagree it will be naught, and if they agree it will be worse."

The Presbyterians prevailed both in the Assembly and the House of Commons. The five Independent leaders drew up a protest, their "Apologetical Narration," which, in 1644, was presented to the House of Commons. The tide still drifting against them, both in parliament and the Assembly, they were driven to ask for toleration as a favour, and this was stoutly refused by the Presbyterian party. The heats in the Assembly produced uneasiness in parliament, which was now beginning to look on the demands of the Presbyterians for a spiritual jurisdiction, similar to that in Scotland, with strong aversion. In September, 1644, the "Grand Committee of Accommodation" was formed out of a committee of lords and commons, the Scotch commissioners, and a committee of divines, "to take into consideration the differences of the opinions of the members of the Assembly in point of Church government, and to attempt an union, if possible." Before them the Independents pleaded for toleration and indulgence. They agreed, they said, with the Presbyterians in one confession of faith ; and they humbly prayed that they might not be forced into subjection to the Pres-

byterian courts or "classes," which it was now proposed to erect in every parish, that they might have liberty to abstain from the parish church, and to form congregational churches, possessing ecclesiastical power within themselves, and subject only to the parliament. But these demands the Presbyterians were by no means disposed to grant. Such a concession would imply, they said, a total separation from the established Church. It would admit the lawfulness of "gathered," or independent churches. Should the parliament consent, it would destroy its own work. The members of these gathered churches would have a degree of liberty denied to the members of the established Church; the latter must submit to the ecclesiastical courts, the former might set them at defiance. This would countenance a perpetual schism, and introduce confusion. One favour they would grant, out of regard to tender consciences; that those who, after conference with their parish minister, were not satisfied with the Presbyterian Church, should not be compelled to communicate in the Lord's Supper, nor be liable to censure from the classes or synods, provided they joined with the parish congregation, and submitted in other respects to the Church which was about to be by law established. Thus the Independents met with the same harsh treatment at the hands of the Presbyterians, of which the latter had complained so loudly from the hands of Laud and the prelates.

To these disputes we owe our first acquaintance with the doctrines of toleration. The Independent cause, argued with ability by Nye and Burroughes in the Assembly, was defended elsewhere by champions of another order. In 1644, Milton published his "Areopagitica." The Presbyterians were already lagging behind in the revolution they themselves had mainly brought about. Stung by a thousand pamphleteers, they would have revived the most odious of the practices of the Star-Chamber, and laid an embargo on the press. This attempt produced Milton's work, which contributed in no small measure to turn the wavering tide; and henceforward the Presbyterians rapidly declined. The nation was afraid of another spiritual despotism, and Milton gave eloquent expression to its alarms. "If," said he, "it come to inquisitioning again, and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves and suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the

contents are ; if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall now come to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some, but a second tyranny over learning ; and will soon put it out of controversy, that bishops and presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing."

John Goodwin, the Arminian leader, though doctrinally opposed to the Independents, and never recognized amongst them, promoted their views in London, where he held one of the city churches. He was a man of great courage, eloquence, and energy. His insulated position, shunned by all parties, led him to cherish those tolerant principles which a similar necessity had lately imposed on the Independents. The city of London, devoted as it had been to the Presbyterian cause, began to apprehend danger to the cause of civil liberty. A *jure divino* claim to establish spiritual courts in England, with universal authority, when once understood, was indignantly rejected. The Presbyterian establishment in fact was never set up. In March, 1646 an ordinance was obtained from Parliament for establishing a presbytery in London ; but upon trial it proved so defective that the city and the London ministers petitioned against it ; while the Assembly itself protested, on the other hand, that the ordinance "prescribed no penalty on dissentients," and therefore "gave no power of vigorous enforcement." In Lancashire the system was also tried, and a presbytery formed at Manchester. But the civil war grew fiercer. Cromwell became the leader of the parliamentary forces, and his influence was given to the Independents. Their opponents became more and more unpopular ; while the Independents, advocating liberty and popular rights, and carefully avoiding the appearance of a spiritual despotism, as rapidly gained the confidence of the nation. They filled many of the best benefices. John Owen, who became their head, was vice-chancellor of Oxford ; and before Cromwell's death the Independents, dominant in the army and the state, were at least a powerful minority in the parishes and pulpits of England.

The religionists of whom Cromwell was one, necessarily became a political party, and during the twelve years of his rule and protectorate the Independents had the greatest share in the government of the country. But this we pass over, confining

ourselves to their religious history; and we bring the reader at once to the synod of 1658.

The Independents were now a numerous and wealthy body, but on several points their principles were still indefinite. They appealed to the Protector for permission to hold a synod, in order, amongst other matters, that they might prepare and publish a uniform confession of their faith. Cromwell, with much reluctance, consented a few months before his death. It has been thought he dreaded a second Westminster Assembly, or that his interest lay in keeping the great religious factions in a divided state. The Independent synod met on the 29th of September, 1658, at the Savoy in the Strand.

We may judge of the progress which Independent principles had made in England by the fact that upwards of one hundred churches were represented by ministers and lay delegates; the latter, according to Neale's statement, being the majority. It is said that of the stricter Independents many refused to attend, apprehending danger from too close an alliance with the state. It was determined to draw up a confession of faith; and a committee, consisting of Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill, with the famous Dr. John Owen at their head, was appointed. They prepared "a Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England; agreed upon and consented to by their elders and messengers, in their meeting at the Savoy, October 12, 1658." It was at once accepted by the synod; for in fact it was a republication of the Westminster Confession, with the omission of those passages which maintain the Presbyterian discipline, and with the addition of a chapter in which the Independent scheme is asserted and explained. The other alterations are few and unimportant. Each church is regarded in this document as invested with all power essential to self-government. The office-bearers are declared to be pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. Synodical authority is disclaimed, but the association of churches for union and mutual counsel is recommended. A fine spirit of forbearance, and at least an approach towards the doctrines of religious freedom, are perceptible in these documents. The preface, supposed to have been written by Owen, affirms, "that among all Christian states and Churches there ought to be a mutual forbearance and indulgence to saints of all persuasions that hold

fast the necessary foundations of faith and holiness." He goes still further: "All professing Christians with their errors which are purely spiritual, and entrench and overthrow not civil society, are to be borne with, and permitted to enjoy ordinances and privileges according to their light, as fully as any of their brethren who pretend to the greatest orthodoxy." Owen appears to have been the leader of the liberal party among the Independents; he was far beyond the best men of his age, in the catholicity of his principles. Yet he was a warm advocate of the union between Church and State, and at a much later period of his life he wrote strongly in favour of the magistrate's using coercive measures in matters of religion. In his "Enquiry into the Original of Evangelical Churches," published in 1681, he says, "It is granted that the magistrate may dispose of many outward concerns of the Churches, may impart his favour to them, or to any of them, as he sees cause; may prohibit the public exercise of worship, idolatrous or superstitious; may remove and take away all instruments of idolatry; may coerce, punish, and restrain, as there is occasion, persons who, under pretence of religion, do advance principles of sedition or promote any foreign interest opposite and destructive to his government, the welfare of the nation, and the truth of religion, with sundry things of the like nature. And herein lies an ample field, wherein the magistrate may exercise his power and discharge his duty" (pp. 1, 4, 5). The declaration was presented to Richard Cromwell, on behalf of the synod, by Dr. Thomas Goodwin. It is evident from his language that the Independents of that day regarded the chief magistrate as the secular head of the Church. But we prefer that his sentiments be expressed in his own words. "And now we present to your highness what we have done, and commit to your trust the common faith once delivered to the saints. The gospel, and the saving truths of it, being a national endowment bequeathed by Christ himself at his ascension, and committed to the trust of some in the nation's behalf (committed to my trust, saith Paul, in the name of the ministers); and we look at the magistrate as *custos utriusque tabulae*, and so commit it to your trust, as our chief magistrate, to countenance and propagate." These sentiments prevailed throughout the Independent churches, and were repeated from time to time. After Richard's abdication,

when all parties were in a state of confusion, the ministers and delegates of the Congregational churches assembled in London, and passed a series of resolutions, in the first of which they express "a desire that such a parliament may be called as may preserve the interests of Christ in this nation." The second we give at length. "As touching the magistrate's power in matters of faith and worship, we have declared our judgment in our late confession; and though we greatly prize our Christian liberties, yet we profess our utter dislike and abhorrence of an universal toleration as being contrary to the mind of God in his word." Thirdly, they "protest against the taking away of tithes, until as full a maintenance be equally secured and legally settled upon the ministry." And fourthly, they say, "It is our desire that countenance be not given or trust reposed in the hand of Quakers, they being persons of such principles as are destructive to the gospel, and inconsistent with the peace of civil societies."

Mr. Fletcher, himself an Independent, in his history of Independency adds the following remark: "All these resolutions are utterly inconsistent with the hypothesis, of which modern Independents are too apt to boast,—that the leading Congregationalists of the Commonwealth period were advocates for a perfect liberty. The last of them in particular attaches a stigma to their names which nothing can remove," vol. iv., p. 182. It is well that the advocates of a system should deal honestly with its faults. In fairness, however, let it be added, that the Independents were, after all, imbued with a deeper sense of justice, and better understood the principles both of civil and religious liberty, than any party then existing in Great Britain.

With the Restoration in 1660, the Independents lost all their political importance, and as a religious body they soon fell into decay. They suffered much from the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the Conventicle Act of 1664, and the Five-mile Act of 1665, in common with other nonconformists. Their sufferings were increased, perhaps in some measure caused, by their want of a good understanding with the Presbyterians. Had the two bodies been united in favour of a general toleration, to which Charles himself was by no means indisposed at any period of his life, the consent of parliament to such a measure might possibly have been gained. But the Presbyterians were utterly averse to a toleration of the Papists, and the Independents were divided



amongst themselves. After the fire of London, in 1666, temporary places of worship, called Tabernacles, were set up among the ruins, and some of the nonconformists were permitted to collect large congregations; amongst whom we notice the now venerable names of Caryl, Brook, Goodwin, and Owen. Twenty years of persecution followed, and under it nonconformity of every kind declined. The Independents would seem however to have been, at this time, already more numerous than the Presbyterians. In 1673, Caryl was the minister of a church in London, of which Fleetwood, Desborough, Berry, heroes of the Commonwealth, Sir John Hartopp, Lord Haversham, and others of note were members. In 1674, of six dissenting chapels in Bristol, three were Baptists, two Independents, and one Presbyterian. Bristol has always been the Baptist metropolis; but with regard to the other sects, the proportion of Independents to Presbyterians probably indicates their relative strength in other places. At length the Revolution brought relief.

The Act of Toleration was passed in 1689; it is still regarded by dissenters as the charter of their religious freedom. The statute is entitled "An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws." After rescinding many penal statutes enacted at different periods since the accession of Queen Elizabeth, so far as they related to Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, this Act requires them to take the oath of allegiance; to declare their abhorrence of the pretended power of the Pope to depose princes; and to subscribe the thirty-nine articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and these words in the twentieth:—"The Church hath power to decree rites, or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." The Baptists are exempted from subscribing part of the twenty-seventh article, respecting infant baptism; and the Quakers are required to declare their fidelity to King William and Queen Mary, their abhorrence of the pretended Papal power, their firm belief of the doctrines of the Trinity, and that the Holy Scriptures are of Divine inspiration. Under these conditions "Dissenters from the Church of England, having their places of assembly registered, are allowed, and protected in the public worship of Almighty God."

In 1691, heads of agreement were drawn up in order to an

accommodation between the Presbyterians and the Independents. The three denominations—Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents—effected a more complete union in 1696, and afterwards about 1730. It is rather a political than religious compact, and formed the basis of other agreements. The three denominations still approach the throne as one body, and act together from time to time in defence of the rights or general interests of nonconformity. It appears from the agreement of 1691 that each party abandoned something of its former rigidness. The Presbyterians, as Neale observes, abandoned their servile doctrines, and appeared in defence of the civil and religious liberties of mankind. They admitted, too, the grand article of independency, that every congregation is to be governed by itself. The Independents gave up the theory of a ruling elder, an officer independent of the pastor. “Whereas,” they say, “divers are of opinion, that there is also the office of ruling elders who labour not in word and doctrine, and others think otherwise, we agree that this difference make no breach amongst us.” But the cause of dissent was losing ground. Their clergy, deprived of the advantages of Oxford and Cambridge, sunk in general esteem for want of learning; constant defections took place of their best preachers to the Church of England. Dissent in all its forms felt the depressing influences of an irreligious age. Internal dissensions broke out. Antinomianism destroyed some congregations; Arianism infected others. Yet the number of dissenters was still considerable. In a petition to parliament in 1714 they state their numbers at one million. From this period, that is from the close of the reign of Queen Anne, while Presbyterianism gradually declined in England, and became at length all but extinct, the Independent dissenters rallied. Under each of the Georges they gained fresh accessions of strength, and now stand at the head of Protestant nonconformity.

The renovation of the Independent cause from about this period may be partly traced to the peculiarities of the congregational system. Each assembly being perfectly free to act for itself, none of those difficulties are felt which operate so disadvantageously amongst other bodies. A few zealous men, without interference and without control, form themselves into a Church; and each new congregation, instead of creating a schism, adds another perfect church to the Independent brotherhood. The

machinery of Church government is always at hand and always inexpensive. In pushing forward the outworks of Christianity such a system possesses great advantages.

Another circumstance which tended to revive the drooping interest of dissent was the appearance, about this time, of several men equally distinguished for abilities, zeal and piety. Dr. Isaac Watts and Matthew Henry will occur to the reader's mind. Both of these were the children of persecuted nonconformists; both of them imbibed in their infancy, and retained through life, the strongest affection for what was now termed the dissenting interest; and both of them were free, to an extent rare indeed in those days amongst earnest men, from party spirit and its bigotry. Dr. Watts preached in a meeting-house in Mark-lane; Matthew Henry, for the greater part of his life, in Chester. They were both of them useful and impressive rather than eloquent, though at the time their preaching was much admired. It was by the pen they rendered such eminent service not only to the cause of nonconformity but to that of pure religion in the widest sense. Watts' theological writings were the first among dissenters in which the truths of the Gospel were displayed in a pure and classical style. He showed that, in order to be a faithful minister of Christ, it was not requisite to be quaint and vulgar on the one hand or pedantic on the other. He was the father of a new style of composition on sacred subjects. It is true his refinement is excessive, and that he often loses in force more than he gains in elegance. But those who rejoice that religion should be dissevered from barbarous taste and scholastic jargon, will always gratefully acknowledge the services of Dr. Isaac Watts. His metrical version of the Psalms and his hymns, produced a revolution in public worship. The nonconformist poet has reformed the psalmody, not only of every body of dissenters but of the Church of England. There are few parishes in which a collection of psalms and hymns, in addition to the authorized version, has not been introduced; and still fewer in which the greater proportion of the new psalmody is not the work of Dr. Watts. He lived to old age, and died in 1748. Matthew Henry possessed the genius which perceives the want of the age, and supplies it with something that is at once ready for immediate use and for the necessities of future generations. The dissenters, who read Steele and Addison and Pope during

the week, wanted something else than the old Puritan quartos on Sunday. Matthew Henry supplied the want in his Commentary on the Old and New Testament. It was read by all dissenters, and after a hundred and thirty years is still the popular commentary amongst all classes of Protestants. Henry died suddenly in 1714 in the midst of a vigorous and useful life.

To these men Philip Doddridge succeeded; a correct and even elegant writer, and an accomplished though by no means a profound scholar. He too was a sacred poet, and we are indebted to him for a few of our best hymns. He wrote an exposition, with critical notes, of the New Testament, which is remarkable for piety and good sense. This work, and some practical treatises, particularly one on the Evidences of Christianity, have become standard books in divinity. The Evidences of Doddridge, and Watts' Logic, used to form part of the university course of reading at one, if not both, of our ancient Universities. To Doddridge the dissenters owe their academies; and to these institutions, in no small measure, their success. Excluded by the tests, and by poverty, from the Universities, their youth brought nothing but zeal and good intentions to the ministerial work. Doddridge collected several promising young men under his roof, and gave them the elements of a sound education. Thus the Northampton academy originated, for the education of students for the sacred office. It was afterwards removed to Daventry, where it produced several divines and scholars of considerable note. Here Dr. Priestley received his education after the death of Doddridge, and the account he gives in his memoirs of its internal state leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the Independent leaders a century ago had ceased to attach much importance to the doctrinal creed of their fathers. "In my time," he says, "the Academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance; such as liberty and necessity, the sleep of the soul, and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy; in consequence of which all these topics were the subject of continual discussion. Our tutors also were of different opinions, Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark, the substitute, that of heresy; though always with the greatest modesty." *Memoirs*, p. 17.

Priestley became a Socinian. Mr. Belsham, the theological tutor, also embraced the Socinian creed. Under him most of the pupils became Socinians, and the trustees at length determined to strike at the root of the evil and dissolved the Academy. Academies for the education of dissenting ministers, chiefly Independent, have been formed at various places; at Hoxton, and afterwards at Homerton and Highbury. For some years Dr. John Pye Smith presided over the academy at Homerton, Dr. Andrew Kippis and Dr. Abraham Rees, men of literary eminence, were also connected with an academy in London, of which Dr. Jennings was the principal; but heterodox principles once more broke up the institution. In short, all the academies of the last century appear to have shared the same fate, and perished under the influence of Socinianism. But with a returning spirit of deeper piety and zeal, new institutions sprung up. A second academy was founded at Hoxton in 1791, which at the beginning of the present century, under the care of Mr. Henry Foster Burder and others, tutors of evangelical principles, was in high repute. In 1812 nearly a hundred and fifty ministers had been educated at this institution, which has since been removed to Highbury. For many years an academy has existed at Rotherham; and at the present time, besides an academy near Birmingham, there is a flourishing college at Manchester. Since the foundation of the University of London, the students from these academies frequently graduate in arts, and their education resembles that which the clergy of the establishment receive at Cambridge and Oxford. But the University of Oxford is now accessible to dissenters, and it remains to be seen whether English dissent will gain more by the education of its ministers in that ancient seat of learning, or lose by the associations and influences of the place. This is a subject upon which thoughtful dissenters express some anxiety.

To resume the history of the Independents. The successes of Whitfield and the Wesleys in the middle of the last century were highly advantageous to their cause. The Wesleys, it is true, formed societies after a model of their own. The friends of Whitfield formed Lady Huntingdon's Connection, of which we have given a sketch. But the overflowing waters of this religious commotion were still sufficient to refresh and fill the reservoirs of the old dissent. From the period of Whitfield's

ministry, the Independents, in common with every other class of orthodox dissenters, received large accessions. A spirit of religious inquiry succeeded to a long period of indifference. The Church of England was supine, the dissenting leaders energetic, and the harvest fell into their hands. No technical difficulties interfered to prevent the erection of meeting-houses wherever a spot of ground could be had and funds obtained; and churches on the Congregational system sprung up in every market town, and every considerable parish. Many of these, especially in Wales, assumed a form of government slightly modified, trustees and managers being introduced in the place of deacons, or in addition to them. They bear the general name of Calvinistic Methodists, and the members amount, in Wales only, to about fifty thousand. The English followers of Whitfield, if not of Lady Huntingdon's Connection, have swelled the ranks of the Congregationalists.

The opinions of Dr. Priestley and his party were pushed so far and stated with so much warmth about this period that it became impossible for the orthodox dissenters any longer to observe even the appearance of neutrality. "The unlawful truce with error," say Drs. Bogue and Bennett, "which was too long the sin of many dissenters, and which did more mischief than any form of warfare, was broken. To Dr. Priestley, in a great degree, must be attributed the violation of the unholy league. Dr. Priestley's zeal exposed the folly of the orthodox in being induced by the sounds of charity, candour, and forbearance, to tolerate fatal errors; and, from this time, dissenters ceased to seek an equivocal middle course. This decided change was highly advantageous to the cause of evangelical dissenters."

At first the breach with these, the relics of the elder Presbyterians, was attended with considerable polemical asperity; but the orthodox dissenters, desisting from a worn-out controversy, now directed their energies to the diffusion of religion. They entered vigorously on the work of missions; and the London Missionary Society, formed at the close of the century, is a noble monument of their faith and zeal. It was intended, by the union of Christians of every orthodox communion, to make one grand and simultaneous effort for the conversion of the heathen. An Independent minister first called the attention of English Christians to the subject. The Independent churches and their pastors entered with great ardour into the project; they were joined by

the Calvinistic Methodists, a few Scotch Presbyterians, and by many distinguished laymen and clergymen of the Church of England. The scheme, as originally planned, was soon found impracticable: the members of the Church of England retired, in a friendly spirit, and formed the Church Missionary Society, and the Scotch Presbyterian Church, though not till after the lapse of more than twenty years, established missions of her own. The Baptists likewise, strict Independents in Church government, found it necessary to form a separate missionary society; and thus the original institution was left almost entirely in the hands of the Independents. Into the details of their missions we do not profess to enter. In zeal, or in success, perhaps no other institution of the same description has outrun them. They have civilized the islands of the South Pacific, and converted Otaheite to the Gospel. They have established vigorous missions in India, and their agents are working with success amongst the Mahomedans and the decayed churches in the East.

In the United States, to which the reader may expect that some reference should be made, the history of Independency has only been written as that of the Pilgrim Fathers, the Brownists, who settled at Boston in the reign of Charles I. Its progress, however, has afforded few important incidents, nor has its success been very great, except among the Baptists. Thus, by the seventh census of the United States recently published, while the Methodists have upwards of twelve thousand churches, accommodating upwards of four millions two hundred thousand persons, the Baptists have eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-one churches, with accommodation for upwards of three millions. But the Congregationalists, or Independents, have but sixteen hundred and seventy-four churches, accommodating only seven hundred and ninety-five thousand persons. This does not include the Unitarians, who are also Independents, and number upwards of two thousand churches. In Great Britain and Ireland, in 1842, the number of congregational churches was two thousand one hundred and seventy-three, and the number of ministers, exclusive of itinerant and lay agents, nineteen hundred and seventy-nine. The Baptists had in addition about two thousand places of worship. Nine years later, in the census of 1851, the Independents, exclusive of Baptists, made a return of three thousand two hundred and forty-four places of worship, accom-

modating one million and sixty-eight thousand persons. Thus in nine years Congregationalism added one-third to the number of its chapels. It may be supposed that the increase of worshippers was in the same proportion.

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During the long reign of George III., the dissenters took a conspicuous place in English literature. The names of Priestley in science, of Dr. Aiken in polite literature, and of a host of others on the current politics and polemic theology of the day, were well known. But it seems to be a necessary consequence that in churches unendowed, the impoverishment of literature amongst the clergy should be in proportion to their increase of zeal and piety. The duties of the ministry properly discharged so occupy the time and thoughts, that except it be on questions of immediate interest, leisure is seldom found for the employment of the pen. At the present time the literature of dissent in England is chiefly displayed in criticism, and in the production of memoirs or historical sketches and reviews, which aim at nothing beyond an immediate sale and general usefulness. The "Eclectic" and the "British Quarterly" Reviews, the literary organs of dissenters, sustain a high reputation beyond the circle of their religious party. The general consent of all orthodox divines has admitted the "Scripture Testimony to the Divinity of the Messiah," by the late Dr. Pye Smith, into the first rank of critical theology. Of living writers, of course we may not speak, except it be to say that several of them are capable of higher flights than they have yet attempted; and that the great fault of the literature of dissent at present is its exclusive character. The ground which is common to all Christians is unoccupied, or only made subservient to the promotion of their private views. Nothing is wanted more than a generous spirit on their own part, to introduce some living authors to a far wider circle of readers, and a far wider influence, than as the mere exponents of dissent they can ever hope to gain.

See *Walker's History of the Independents. Works of John Owen, D.D. Hetherington's History of the Westminster Assembly. Fletcher's History of the Revival of Independency in England. Hanbury's Historical Memorials relating to the Independents, 4 vols. Bogue and Bennett's History of Protestant Dissenters, 2 vols.*



**I**RELAND, CHURCH OF.—Christianity has existed in Ireland from a very early period. St. Patrick, its reputed apostle, is supposed by Archbishop Ussher and others to have opened his mission about the year 432. The island was then occupied by colonists of different tribes, who probably spoke in various languages. And, if the accounts in which Irish historians love to indulge of the civilization of the country at a period still more remote be true, it was again relapsing into barbarism. A great change was undoubtedly wrought by St. Patrick, and considerable portions of the island embraced the faith. Beyond these simple facts we have little to relate; for the history of those times is distorted by fable or buried in obscurity. According to Nennius, who was abbot of Bangor in the seventh century, the name of Patricius or Patrick was given to him by Pope Celestine, by whom he was consecrated a bishop, and sent into Ireland. The form of Christianity which he introduced was most probably that which existed amongst the Picts and Britons. It embraced a few great facts, and founded upon these a moral code, imperfect indeed compared with the lofty standard of the New Testament, yet incalculably superior to the usages of barbarous and heathen tribes.

Centuries of darkness follow. The same causes which obscure the history of the Church in England, almost obliterate that of the sister country. Amidst frequent invasions of Danish pirates and increasing warfare between its native princes, religion decayed, and the native literature was lost. All that we seem to know with certainty is this, that the original constitution of the Church was episcopal. Indeed, in the earliest ages of its existence, its bishops are said to have exceeded three hundred; but many of these must have presided only over a cluster of hamlets, or a small district, and their number was soon reduced. Still in the year 1152, four hundred years before the Reformation, they assembled in a national synod to the number of thirty-four; of whom five were in the province of Dublin, ten in that of Armagh, seven in Tuam, and eleven in Cashel. Many of these had disappeared at the time of the Reformation.

It is also sufficiently attested, that, whether St. Patrick received his orders from Celestine or not, the pre-reformation Church of

Ireland maintained itself independent of the Church of Rome, at least till the middle of the twelfth century. The archbishops of Armagh were in spiritual things supreme, creating archbishops and erecting bishoprics without consulting the pope. The vacant bishoprics were filled by candidates chosen by the clergy or laity of the diocese, or by the influence or nomination of the civil power, still with the approbation of the clergy and people. Some parts of the Island, peopled by colonies from the North of Europe, regarded the English Normans as their countrymen, and sent their bishops to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but in every case, both appointments and consecrations were independent of the papal see.

The submission of the Irish Church to Rome was voluntary, although the motives which led to the step are uncertain. Malachy O'Morgair, Archbishop of Armagh, dissatisfied upon some account or other, resigned his post in 1137, and retired to the suffragan bishopric of Down. The question of the celibacy of the clergy had long agitated the whole of Christendom, and Rome now promoted to the utmost those views which she soon afterwards rigidly enforced. It is probable that O'Morgair wished to assimilate the usages of his native church to those of Rome, on this as well as some other points. He made a journey to Rome, and solicited from Pope Innocent II. the pallium or pall, an ensign of dignity which the pope had begun to confer on archbishops, for the see of Armagh, as well as for that of Cashel, which had just been erected into a metropolitan church. He was received with courtesy, and sent back as the pope's legate in Ireland. But, with regard to the palls, he was informed that a matter of so much importance must be conducted with great deliberation, and he was advised to call together, in his new capacity, a synod of his countrymen, at whose request alone the favour could be granted. O'Morgair obeyed his instructions with the zeal of a new proselyte, and in the year 1148, at a synod assembled at Holm-Patrick, fifteen bishops, two hundred priests and a considerable number of the inferior clergy are said to have joined in soliciting the pope for these badges of their own dependence. Eugenius III. now filled the papal chair, and to him the petition was addressed, and O'Morgair at his own request was deputed to convey it. The legate died upon his journey; but the opportunity for papal interposition was not

lost, nor were the proceedings delayed. John Paparo, a cardinal, was appointed apostolic legate from the pope in Ireland. He arrived in 1152 with four palls, which he was commanded to confer on the Archbishops of Dublin, Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam. On his arrival he convened a national synod at Kells. Some of the clergy refused to sanction the council by their presence; but the majority of the bishops obeyed the mandate, and conferred the pall on each of the four archbishops, recognizing Gelatius Archbishop of Armagh, in accordance with ancient usage, as the Primate of all Ireland.

The Irish Church followed the downward course of Christendom. But it does not appear that papal interference extended further than to bestow the pall, as sees fell vacant, for half a century. In 1172, Henry II. completed the conquest of Ireland, and in 1175 he exercised his power by giving the bishopric of Waterford to an Irishman named Augustine, whom he sent to the Archbishop of Cashel for consecration. In 1202, John had succeeded to the throne, and he plunged into one of those fruitless controversies with the papacy, a recurrence of which embittered and disgraced his whole life. The archbishopric of Armagh being vacant, there were several competitors. The king decided in favour of Humphrey de Tickhull, while the pope declared in favour of another candidate, Eugene MacGillivider. The king incensed sent mandatory letters to all the suffragan bishops of that province, forbidding them to acknowledge Eugene for their metropolitan; and circulated duplicates among all his faithful subjects of the province, imposing on them the like prohibitions. But the king's archbishop died, and he immediately confirmed the election of a third candidate, while MacGillivider hastened to Rome, and procured a formal ratification of his claim. On his return, the king was bribed by three hundred marks of silver, and three marks of gold, and was thus induced to acquiesce in the pope's pretensions. This is the first instance in which an archbishop of Armagh received his appointment from Rome.

In obedience to her usual policy, the advantage thus gained was turned by the papal court to the best account. The appointments in Ireland were often disputed. It was seldom that the sovereign, the people, and the clergy could agree. If the chapter, or cathedral body, elected without the king's license, or *congé d'elire*, he annulled the act, and commanded them to proceed to

a new election. If he named the person to be chosen, the chapter, supported by the suffrages of the people, elected some one else. The pope was ever on the watch for these quarrels, which he generally set at rest by placing a creature of his own in the vacant see, out of the plenitude of his apostolic power, and in equal contempt for the rights of both of the contending parties. At first he professed to control only the spiritualities of the sees he thus disposed of, leaving the temporal concerns entirely to the crown; but occasions presented themselves when the embarrassments of the sovereign invited further aggression, and the papal court began to hold at its disposal both the spiritual and the civil rights of the Irish prelates. In short, the encroachments which were resisted successfully in England, were tamely submitted to in the sister country. Thus, in 1258, when Henry III. was at war with his barons, Pope Alexander IV. commanded him to restore forthwith the temporalities of the archbishopric of Armagh, which he had conferred on O'Conellan, the archbishop, and which Henry had on some account withheld; and the king was obliged to consent. This contest was carried on with various success till the Reformation. The Irish bishops were obliged by the sovereign to receive consecration in England, and they were then compelled to renounce in person any claims prejudicial to the crown contained in the pope's bulls. In 1306, Edward II. withheld the temporalities from Walter, Archbishop of Armagh, until he had renounced the secular rights conferred upon him by the pope, and paid a fine of five thousand crowns for the misdemeanour. Success in this dispute depended on the vigour of the sovereign, on the one side, and on the cunning and pertinacity of the pope, on the other. One device of the papal see was to affect that a flaw existed in the title, owing to some informality in the election, or to other causes. The candidate, wearied with delay, was induced to resign his pretensions and then to receive his bishopric back again by donation from the pope. This occurred in the case of William de Birmingham, elected Archbishop of Tuam in 1289, who on his resignation of his lawful claim was reappointed by the pope.

In other respects the influence of the papal see was prejudicially felt in Ireland. First, in 1229, a tenth of all the moveables was demanded to assist the pope in his war against the emperor. In 1240, Pope Gregory demanded further, under pain of excom-

munication and other censures, a twentieth part of the whole land. In 1270, a nuncio was sent to claim the tithes of all spiritual preferments for three years to come. The power of Rome was now at its height; a fact in proof of which two curious instances are related. In 1329, the pope sent over a commission to the Dean of St. Patrick's, by which he was authorized to hear the Archbishop of Dublin's confession of certain crimes, at his own request; and the dean was empowered to remit all the sins which might be confessed by the archbishop, except contempt of the papal authority. And in 1394, Pope Boniface IX., to make room for a favourite of his own, degraded William O'Cormacain, against his will, from the archbishopric of Tuam and removed him to the bishopric of Clonfert. Thus presuming to do, as an Irish historian remarks, what the king could not do; namely, to deprive a man of his freehold without the judgment of his peers.

The example of the papal see at length infected the Irish clergy, and more especially those of rank and station. The two centuries before the Reformation were spent in an unceasing effort on their part to get rid of the supremacy of the English crown. We should be disposed to regard their conduct with more complaisance had they not shown, at the same time, a spirit of abject prostration to the pope. It was not a struggle for the independence of the Irish Church, but merely for the transfer of its allegiance from one master to another. Ireland was certainly governed at this time with a lenient hand; for had the same offences been committed in England by rebellious prelates, they would have been rewarded with imprisonment for life, or the more speedy justice of the halter. Thus, besides repeated efforts, made by the bishops in a body, to prevent their tenants from suing in the king's court without a license from the pope, the Bishop of Down claimed the right of pardoning felons; the Archbishop of Armagh seized the revenues of Dromore, the see being vacant; and soon afterwards, in 1291, openly placed himself at the head of a treasonable association. This confederacy included the three other archbishops, all the suffragan bishops, all the deans and chapters, and the other orders of the clergy, who bound themselves, not only under their hands and seals, but by the sanction of an oath, to the following articles. They swore, first, "that if they, or any of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions,

liberties, or customs, should, by any lay power or jurisdiction whatever, be impeded, resisted, or grieved, they would at their common expense, in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain, and defend each other, in all courts, and before all judges, either ecclesiastical or secular." Secondly, "that if any of their messengers, proctors, or the executors of their orders, should suffer any loss or damage in the execution of their business, by any lay power or jurisdiction, they would amply and without delay, make up to them all such losses and damages, according to a rateable proportion of their revenues." Other articles of the agreement pledged them to mutual co-operation; others enforced sentences of excommunication; so that, if a person excommunicated in one diocese, should flee to another, the place where he continued should be put under an interdict; and they further laid every archbishop and bishop, who should be negligent in executing the agreement, under a penalty, respectively, of five hundred marks, and two hundred pounds to the pope. This agreement was executed in the Dominican convent at Trim, the Sunday after St. Matthew's day, and needs no comment.

The behaviour of the prelates, and their factious quarrels, not unaccompanied with frequent violence, bears a painful testimony to the wretched state of religion about this period. A controversy existed for three or four centuries between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin as to the right of either to bear his cross erect in the province of the other. The contest was carried on by force and fraud; sometimes the obnoxious cross was carried off by stealth; more frequently the retainers of the offended prelate fell upon the bearers and blood was shed. The controversy was still raging when the Reformation put an end to it. A contention arose between the prelates of Waterford and Lismore about certain lands to which each of them laid claim; the question was referred to delegates appointed by the pope, who gave their decision in favour of the Bishop of Lismore. His episcopal rival formed a plot, with some of his dependents; seized him in his own cathedral during divine worship, tore off his episcopal robes, besides plundering the church, hurried him from place to place, and at length imprisoned him in irons in the castle of Dungarvan. He contrived to escape after seven weeks' confinement, having suffered cruelly, when he was again surprised

by one of the clergy of the diocese of Waterford, who drew his sword and attempted to cut off his head. In 1353, a strange contest arose between the Archbishop of Cashel and his suffragan the Bishop of Waterford. The latter, without the license of his Metropolitan, had committed two heretics to the flames. The archbishop took his revenge, came at midnight with a numerous body of men well armed, attacked the bishop in his apartments, robbed him, and retired, leaving him severely wounded. A few years afterwards, viz. 1369, matters were reversed, and now a Bishop of Limerick fell upon an Archbishop of Cashel. The former being cited upon the charge of violating certain privileges of the Franciscan friars, assaulted his Metropolitan, tore the citation from his hands with such force that he drew his blood, and threatened him and his attendants with further violence unless they instantly retreated. The archbishop fled from Limerick, and the bishop in his pontifical robes publicly excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, every citizen who had given him entertainment. The archbishop returning afterwards, to preach at Limerick, according to custom on a stated solemnity, the bishop, by proclamation, threatened with excommunication all who should hear the sermon, and did in fact proceed to excommunicate those who heard it. When the archbishop left the city the bishop sent his followers after him, who tore the bridle from his horse and otherwise insulted him.

The character of the inferior clergy was of course like that of their superiors. In the year 1307 the prior of New Town was accused of murdering one of his own canons and of assisting his brother in the murder of another. He evaded justice by the plea that he was a clerk, and not amenable to the civil courts—a plea, however, which, at that period, would have effectually secured him, even if the crime had been committed in England, or indeed in any part of western Christendom. In 1390, the king having issued Letters Patent to inquire into certain extortions and offences in the Cistercian Abbey of Dunbrody, the royal commissioner on his arrival was assaulted with violence by the abbot, his monks, and their associates. They seized and destroyed the king's letters, and imprisoned the commissioner until they had extorted an oath that he would not prosecute any of the persons concerned in the transaction. At a much later period, in 1529, the clergy of Limerick were again aroused to

violence. The occasion of the tumult was a canon, enacted in the provincial synod, giving authority to the mayor of Limerick to imprison clerks in orders until their debts were paid, without the risk of excommunication. A more expressive comment on the low condition of the Irish Church at the time just preceding the Reformation is not wanted.

In other respects the morals of the clergy were at the lowest ebb. Celibacy was introduced in the twelfth century, and from that date the clergy rapidly degenerated. Incontinence has never been the vice of the Irish character. The Irish clergy have been the only exception. It were needless, says Bishop Mant, in his *History of the Church of Ireland*, as it is revolting, to dwell on individual examples of this profligacy: its extensive prevalence appears even amongst the municipal regulations of the town of Galway, and we refer the reader to his pages for an extract from the records of that city, which painfully confirms the charge. John Bale, the first Protestant bishop of Ossory, relates that, when he arrived in Ireland, it was esteemed an honour to be the illegitimate offspring of a priest. In 1537, the grand jury of Clonmel charged several of the regular priests before the king's commissioners, for living in adultery. And in the Irish Statute Book there is an Act (11 Elizabeth, chapter 6, anno 1569) to put an end to "the great abuse of the clergy of Munster and Connaught, in admitting unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities, which had not lawfulness of birth; but were descended from unchaste and unmarried abbots, priors, deans, chapters, and such like; getting into the said dignities either with force, simony, friendship, or other corrupt means, to the great overthrow of God's holy Church, and the evil example of all honest congregations."

The intellectual condition of the clergy was on a level with their morals. The seculars were not able to say mass, or even to pronounce the words in the Latin tongue. A college existed at Armagh where a few of the higher clergy received their education; and an attempt had been made to found a university in Dublin. A bull was obtained from Clement the Fifth by the archbishop for that purpose in the year 1311, but his death occurred soon after, and the project failed. It was revived by his successor in 1320; and a divinity lecture was founded by King Edward the Third; but from the want of sufficient endowments, and the poverty or



the country, the college fell into decay and had ceased to exist in the time of Henry the Eighth. Monastic institutions however abounded, and feebly supplied the place of colleges and schools. The number of monks was almost incredible. They are said at one time to have equalled all the other inhabitants of the kingdom. Archdall, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," gives an account of about eleven hundred religious houses; to which Grose, in his "Irish Antiquities," adds three hundred more. Many of these were very obscure, and had gradually perished. The number suppressed at the Reformation did not exceed five hundred. Compared with the magnificent abbeys of England these institutions were poor; yet fourteen abbots and ten priors sat amongst the Lords of the Irish Parliament.

The finest qualities of the Irish character, its susceptibility to religious impressions, together with the absence of that cunning which teaches men to suspect deceit in others, laid it open to the artifices of a designing priesthood. In consequence, superstition has made Ireland her chosen home. Legends and miracles, the most extravagant, adorn, or disfigure, almost every well and river, and glade and mountain-side. Of these traditions some have at least poetical beauty to commend them, others are destitute even of this redeeming feature. Of the former class is the story of Saint Nesson who dwelt in Ireland's Eye, or Saint Nesson's Island, where he gave himself to prayer and fasting. In this place the evil spirit appeared to him in the form of a very black man: the saint pursued him, holding a bunch of hyssop full of holy water, and the tempter fled out upon the sea. Nesson followed, walking safely on the waters, overtook his adversary, and chased him to a cavern in the Hill of Howth, at the mouth of which may still be seen his image in the native rock. In his pursuit the saint lost his copy of the Gospels in the deep: it was found long afterwards, without a stain, by some fisherman; and for ages Saint Nesson's Gospel was held in such reverence that no false witness would venture to make oath upon it; for the perjurer fell instantly before the Divine vengeance. No Church was more rich in relics. A catalogue of those of the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, has been preserved in the library of Trinity College. It is a singular proof of ignorance and credulity. Besides the bones of innumerable saints, there was an image of the Saviour which had spoken twice; his staff, conferred by an

angel on St. Patrick; a thorn from the crown; the cloak in which he lay in the manger: also the girdle of the Virgin, and some of her milk; the stone upon which the law was given to Moses; parts of the sepulchre of Lazarus, and of that of the Virgin Mary; and, lastly, the stone altar of St. Patrick, on which a leper had been miraculously transported from Ireland to the Welsh coast. In England, penances were comparatively rare; a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury always savoured of making holiday; but in Ireland penances were at once severe and general. These we need not describe, because they are practised to this day, and known to every reader. The tens of thousands of both sexes who crawl, bare-legged and bleeding, around Saint Patrick's purgatory, on the Island of Lough Dourg, represent the tens of thousands who performed the same penances upon the same spot long before the Reformation dawned. Lough Dourg indeed had already gained its scandalous notoriety; and the pilgrims who had lacerated themselves by day, consoled themselves by debaucheries at night. Pope Alexander the Sixth, in 1497, commanded the destruction of the "station;" but the interest of the priests, who throve upon the sufferings of the deluded people, was stronger than the Papal arm; and Lough Dourg exhibits in the nineteenth century, fanatical superstitions scarcely to be equalled in any, at least, of the Transalpine dependencies of Rome.

We now take our leave of the Church of Rome in Ireland to trace the progress of the Reformation, and the fortunes of the Protestant Church, as it was by law established.

The first step was taken in 1537, when Henry the Eighth asserted his supremacy. The consequences of this claim were at once perceived, and the adherents of the Papal Church determined to resist it. They were led by Cromar, Archbishop of Armagh, a prelate of gravity, learning, and popular manners. He had lately held the high office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland; his influence was great; and he made use of it with success amongst the suffragan bishops and inferior clergy; urging them to support the pope's supremacy in despite of the pretensions of the king. Such contumacy Henry would not have endured in England from the proudest of his prelates. But, either indifferent or afraid, he temporized in Ireland. Cromar, though primate of all Ireland, was permitted to retain his post, and thus the Reformation was

crippled from its birth. The first Protestant archbishop was George Brown, promoted to the metropolitan see of Dublin in 1535. A man of learning and piety, educated at Oxford, and formerly president, or provincial, of the order of Augustine Friars in England. He had been for some time known as a student of Luther's writings and a friend of the Reformation; he had even taught his Augustine monks to forsake the worship of the Virgin, and address their prayers to Christ alone. He was consecrated by Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Shaxton and Fisher, Bishops of Salisbury and Rochester; and a commission was issued, about the same time, to confer with the government in Ireland for the removal of the pope's authority. Bills were introduced into the Irish parliament declaring the king's supremacy over the Church in Ireland, and taking away the authority of the bishop of Rome. They were strongly opposed, particularly in the upper house; but through the influence of the archbishop were passed. The first fruits, by another act, were given to the king. Thirteen religious houses were suppressed; the twentieth of the profits of all spiritual promotions was ordered to be paid yearly to the king for ever; and the payment of Peter-pence or other fees to the bishop of Rome was forbidden. Another act was passed of which the effect has been unfortunate. It forbade spiritual promotions "only to such as could speak English," unless after four proclamations in the next market-town such could not be had; and an oath was to be administered to every person in orders, that he would endeavour to learn the English tongue, and speak the same to all under his care, and preach the word of God in English, if a preacher. The statute was no doubt well meant; but its fruits have been disastrous. It was hoped that the native Irish, forgetting their mother-tongue, would forsake its superstitions. But the result has been, that the reformed clergy have always been regarded as aliens, and the national Church a foreign institution.

The Protestant Archbishop of Dublin appears to have entered upon his arduous duties in a temper at once sincere and moderate. But his success was slow; and in 1537 an angry letter was addressed to him by Henry's command, in which he was threatened with the king's displeasure on account of the tardy progress of the Reformation. The fault lay chiefly with the king himself. Cromar, the primate, was at the head of the

Popish party, and if he did not openly defy the king's authority, he secretly countermined it. The Archbishop of Dublin attempted to remove the images and relics from his cathedral. The Archbishop of Tuam protested against the sacrilege, and sought assistance from the Pope. Backed by such authority, the prior of the cathedral, and the Dean of St. Patrick, were encouraged to resist their own diocesan. From a letter addressed by the Archbishop of Dublin to Lord Cromwell, dated January 8th, 1538, and preserved at Lambeth, it is evident that the Reformation was already blighted in the bud. He complains that while, upon the one hand, he was insulted and imprisoned by the Lord Deputy, as a man who had fallen beneath the king's displeasure, he was left, on the other, to fight the battle of the Reformation single handed. The clergy were utterly refractory; not one of them could he induce "either to preach the word of God, or to own the just title of our most illustrious prince." They would not even remove the name of the bishop of Rome out of the mass-books; while a general pardon for disobedience to the king from the pope of Rome was publicly received. "George, my brother of Arnagh," he says in a subsequent letter, "doth underhand occasion quarrels; and is not active to execute his Highness's orders in his diocese." The pope issued his bull of excommunication against all heretics; and especially such as denied supremacy to him and his successors in all things, spiritual as well as temporal. A rebellion instantly broke out, headed by O'Neal, a Papist, which was defeated with much bloodshed. The Lord Deputy himself was a favourer of image worship. A commission was at last issued from London at the archbishop's request, and a visitation was made in some parts of Ireland. In the presence of the commissioners two archbishops and eight bishops took the oath of supremacy. The dissolution of the monasteries now proceeded; that of the Holy Trinity in Dublin was converted into a dean and chapter, and is since known as the cathedral of Christ Church. In 1536, three hundred and seventy religious houses were suppressed, of the yearly value of 32,000*l.* Their chattels were rated at 100,000*l.* These comprehended all the monastic establishments of importance, although a few still remained which were suppressed afterwards. Their value, in so poor a country, was considerable. In England the Church was possessed at the Reformation, of at least one-third of the whole property of the

kingdom. It seems probable that in Ireland the proportion was at least as great ; and yet the people remained in a state of utter barbarism. Their clergy were illiterate ; “ many of them knowing,” as the Archbishop of Dublin says in one of his letters, “ no more Latin than might be taught to a bird,” and repeating a service the words of which they pronounced with difficulty. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the religious houses were the receptacles of sloth, and if so, beyond a doubt of vice and disorder.

Under Edward the Sixth the Reformation made some progress. Protestant bishops were appointed in 1550 to five vacant sees, as well as to the archbishopric of Armagh. The English Bible and liturgy were introduced in 1551. A Bible and liturgy in the Irish tongue might have saved Ireland from three hundred years of disgrace and wretchedness. But in that age of sagacious statesmen and dauntless reformers, the importance of the measure was not felt. Bishop Burnet says that no attempt was made to introduce the Bible or the Prayer-book in the Irish language. The diligent research of Bishop Mant has discovered that this is not strictly true. Some steps were taken with a view to the translation of the liturgy, but nothing was effected. Turner, being nominated by the king, was urged by Cranmer to fill the see of Armagh. He showed the utmost repugnance to accept it ; if he went thither, he said, he must preach to stone walls and empty benches ; for the people understood no English. Cranmer urged him to learn the Irish tongue ; wisely adding that both his person and his doctrine would be more acceptable, not only to his diocese, but through the whole of Ireland ; but Turner was resolute in his refusal, and the vacant see was given to Hugh Goodacre, the fifth person to whom it had been offered. So reluctant were the English clergy to enter upon this missionary work. Of the new bishops, Bale of Ossory seems to have possessed in a high degree all the qualifications, except a knowledge of the Irish language, for his arduous post. Divine worship was performed for the first time in the cathedral church of Dublin, according to the English liturgy, on Easter-day, 1551, before the viceroy and the civic authorities. Dowdall, now Archbishop of Armagh, like his predecessor, was opposed to the Reformation. He was either deprived, or retiring in disgust a voluntary exile, the primacy was conferred on the Archbishop of Dublin.

King Edward died, the Reformation was again suspended, and popery was at once restored. Mary issued a commission in April 1554 to Dowdall, now again Archbishop of Armagh, whom she had also reinstated in the primacy, and other delegates, for restoring the ancient faith, and punishing those clergymen who had been guilty of violating the law of celibacy by marriage. The Archbishop of Dublin, and the other Protestant bishops, were deprived; most of them fled; Bale was surrounded in his house by a rabble led by the popish priests; five of his servants were killed before his face, and his own life was saved by the opportune arrival of a military force. After many perils he reached Basle, which was then filled with English fugitives, and he remained there till the death of Mary. He is one of the seven prelates named in the warrant for the consecration of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1559, after the accession of Elizabeth; but he was not restored to his Irish diocese, and died a prebend of Canterbury. Probably advancing years indisposed him to return to the scene of his former labours. No Protestants were burnt in Ireland, but a commission is said to have been issued for that purpose, when the death of Mary, happily for the world, occurred, and prevented its execution. Archbishop Ussher and others, relate, that Dr. Cole, a furious papist, was entrusted with this commission, and had arrived at Chester on his way to Ireland with it. Here his vanity led him to boast, in the hearing of his hostess, that he carried that in his bag which would lash the Protestants of Ireland. The woman was a Protestant, having a brother a citizen of Dublin; much troubled at the doctor's words, she watched her opportunity to open the box and take the commission out of it, placing in lieu thereof a sheet of paper with a pack of cards, and the knave of clubs placed uppermost. Cole arrived in Dublin on the 7th of October, 1558, and immediately waited on Lord FitzWalter, the Lord Deputy, and the Privy Council. Here he first discovered his loss, but not till he had made a speech and presented the box in which the commission had been enclosed. The Lord Lieutenant seems to have enjoyed the embarrassment of the Queen's messenger, being probably averse to the fanatical measure. "Let us have another commission," he said, "and we will shuffle the cards in the meanwhile." "The doctor, being troubled in his mind, went his way and returned into England,

and coming to the court obtained another commission; but staying for the wind at the water-side, news came to him that the Queen Mary was dead."

Nearly a year passed after the accession of Elizabeth before any measures were taken to complete the reformation of the Irish Church. In January, 1560, an act was passed in the Irish parliament which restored the supremacy to the Crown in things spiritual, and by a second act the Prayer-book, as revised in 1559, was legally enforced. The second Prayer-book of King Edward had not been introduced, and it deserves to be remarked that, while in England the penalty for nonconformity was excommunication, in Ireland the punishment was deprivation and imprisonment, in the case of the clergy,—in that of the laity fine and imprisonment, according to the number of offences. It seems as if the court were unwilling to enforce the dreaded sentence of excommunication amongst a superstitious and irascible people. Another concession, far less excusable, was made by the Irish parliament. On the plea that ministers who could officiate in English were not to be found, and that the service could not be conducted in the native language, "as well for difficulty to get it printed as that few in the whole realm could read the Irish letters," (which resemble the Anglo-Saxon characters) it was therefore allowed "to say and use the Matins, even song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and all the common prayer, in the Latin tongue, in such form and order as is set forth in the said book established by this act." Nothing could more forcibly express the heartlessness of those to whom the reformation of the Irish Church was entrusted. Edward the Sixth's instructions were, that the liturgy should be used in the Irish tongue "in places where it was needed." No pains, it seems, had been taken either to print an Irish Prayer-book or to instruct a native clergy in the vernacular tongue. Of Latin they were at least as ignorant, and the permission to read the Protestant Prayer-book in the Latin language was a shameless concession to popery. By other acts of the parliament in Dublin, the twentieth, and the first-fruits, were restored to the Crown, the mass abolished, popish ceremonies forbidden, and the right of conferring bishoprics vested in the Crown without election of deans and chapters, or the issue of a writ of *congé d'élire*.

Adam Loftus was appointed to the primacy in 1563, and the care of the infant cause of Protestantism in its most delicate and sickly form, was committed to an inexperienced head, fresh from Cambridge, of whom historians are not agreed whether he was in the eight-and-twentieth or thirtieth year of his age. He was one of Elizabeth's favourites, of an ancient family and a graceful person, and skilled in disputation, and she permitted him to hold the deanery of St. Patrick in commendam. The archbishopric, it appears, at this time, in common with all the bishoprics in Ireland, had been greatly impoverished by the frauds of previous occupants. From various returns made in the reign of Elizabeth it seems that, whilst all of them were poor, to some nothing whatever had been left.

In 1566 a synod was held in Dublin, consisting of the archbishops, bishops, and others, her Majesty's high commissioners, for causes ecclesiastical for the same realm, which issued a book of articles. They have been long since superseded and are scarcely known. They are twelve in number, evidently drawn up by those who took the articles of the Church of England for their guide. They display the same moderation, and sometimes adopt the same expressions. The first and second articles assert the doctrine of the Trinity, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, and the truth of the three creeds. The third, upon the authority of the Church, is as follows: "I acknowledge, also, the Church to be the spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truly taught, the sacraments orderly ministered according to Christ's institution, and the authority of the keys duly used. And that every such particular Church hath authority to institute, to change, to clean put away ceremonies, and other ecclesiastical rites, as they take to be superfluous, or be abused, and to constitute other, making more to seemliness, to order, or to edification." The sixth article on the papacy simply declares, "the authority of the bishop of Rome to be no more than that of other bishops in their respective dioceses." His holiness made but an indifferent return for this forbearance in excommunicating the queen, and stirring up a fierce and bloody rebellion in Ireland.

The condition of the country was deplorable. It was not immorality and irreligion that prevailed, but heathenism and the habits of savage life. The viceroy reported in 1565 that even



the Pale, a part of Ireland so called, which had long been tenanted by Scotch and English colonists, was overrun with robbers and soldiers of fortune, who lived upon the people. Leinster was harassed by the factions of the O'Tooles, Cavanaghs, O'Moores, and others; and Kilkenny was almost desolate from similar causes. Munster was ruined by the fights and quarrels of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond; and the barony of Ormond was overrun by Pierce Grace, an adventurer. Thomond was desolated by the wars between Sir Daniel O'Brien and the Earl of Thomond. Connaught was almost wasted by the feuds between the Earls of Clanricarde and Outer; to say nothing of lesser contests between other chiefs. Ulster, which for some time had been the magazine of all the plunder of the other provinces, and so was richer than the rest, was in open rebellion under Shane O'Neill, supported by the papists. They had sent the brother of the Earl of Desmond, with two of their titular bishops, Cashel and Emly, to the pope and to the King of Spain, to solicit assistance, and to rescue their church and country from the hands of Queen Elizabeth.

From a letter addressed to Elizabeth in 1575, by the lord-lieutenant Sir Henry Sidney, these general statements receive a distressing confirmation. He reports that in the bishopric of Meath, the most populous part of the country, there were two hundred and twenty-four parish churches. Of these, one hundred and five were impropriated, leased out for years, or held in fee-farm; no parson or vicar being resident on any one of them, "and a very simple or sorry curate, for the most part, appointed to serve them; among which number of curates only eighteen were found able to speak English; the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning or civility." The faithful deputy proceeds to tell her Majesty, that such being the condition of the best-peopled diocese, and the best-governed county in the realm, she may easily conjecture the condition of the rest. "Your Majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth there is not a Church in so miserable a case." He does not hesitate to blame the queen herself for something of this misery, "which consisteth," he says, "in these particulars; the ruin of the very temples themselves, the want of good ministers to serve in them, when they shall be re-edified, and competent living for the ministers, being well chosen." Sir

Henry Sidney writes like a statesman, and a wise and zealous reformer. Would that Elizabeth had listened to his counsels! The dilapidation of the churches might easily be repaired if the queen would restore the revenues she had seized, and compel inferior delinquents to follow her example. Good ministers might be found, if the stipends were restored, who could speak in Irish; for these men search should be made in the universities: "Let them be sent here, though somewhat to your highness's charge, and, on the peril of my life, it shall be restored again before three years be expired;" or if the universities failed her Majesty, "she might write to the regent of Scotland where there were many honest, zealous, and learned men of the Reformed Church that could speak this language." There were many other enormities which ought to be remedied. "Cause the bishops," he exclaims, "of that your realm of England, to undertake this apostleship, and that on their own charges. They be rich enough; and if either they be thankful to your Majesty for your immense bounty done to them, or zealous to increase the Christian flock, they will not refuse this honourable and religious travail; and I will undertake their guidance and guarding, honourably and safely, from place to place." But other cares engaged the attention of Elizabeth and her privy council; even the wise Burleigh had few thoughts to spare upon the ecclesiastical affairs of a remote and barbarous dependency. The opportunity was lost, and the Reformation halted in its progress.

During the remainder of the long reign of Elizabeth few bright spots adorned the annals of the Irish Church. The foundation of the University of Trinity College, Dublin, however, deserves notice. It was opened for the admission of students, the 9th of January 1593. Cecil, lord Burleigh, was its first chancellor; Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, the first provost; and amongst the first three scholars, is the distinguished name of James Ussher, afterwards lord primate of Ireland. It has been the singular good fortune of this institution to stand out in brilliant contrast, the resort of letters and the abode of solid learning, when all around presented one dismal void of abject superstitions; and, though its disadvantages are not few, it justly claims a place amongst the great schools of Europe in the nineteenth century. It was originally endowed with the suppressed

abbey of Allhallows, of the yearly value of twenty pounds ; and the charter empowered the provost and three fellows, of whom the foundation originally consisted, to accept of lands or contributions to the amount of four hundred pounds per annum. The appointment of Henry Ussher to the archbishopric of Armagh in 1595, was also an occurrence of moment in the history of the Irish Church. Through his influence and labours the new University was founded and endowed ; and his name would have descended as one of the greatest benefactors of the Protestant cause in Ireland had it not been partially eclipsed by that of his still more illustrious nephew.

James Ussher was scarcely in orders, when his piety, learning, and eloquence secured for him the foremost place in the controversy, then raging with great heat on both sides, between the Jesuits in Ireland and the Protestant Church. In the year 1600 he was appointed to preach regularly before the court in Dublin ; and though a mere youth, he gave lectures on the principles of religion, and in opposition to the errors of popery, in the university. The Court of High Commission had been established in Ireland in 1593. Its method of promoting uniformity was the same which it had enforced in London, only that papists were treated with a degree of consideration unknown to English Puritans. In 1590 an order was issued by the government, in submission to its instructions, compelling the Papists to attend Divine service in the parish churches, under a fine of twelve pence. As a measure of policy it was not altogether inexcusable. Ireland, always in rebellion, was looking for assistance from the Spaniards, who landed soon after, and were beaten at Kinsale, December 24, 1601. Had they succeeded, a massacre of the Protestants was to have ensued. A compulsory attendance at the parish church was a weekly muster of the disaffected. But the Protestants of those days would have sought for no such excuses. Strangely ignorant of human nature, they believed that a compulsory attendance would end in a sound conversion. The churches were crowded ; and the Papists, alarmed by their defeat at Kinsale, and awed by the terrors of the High Commission, appeared to be diligent and punctual in their attendance. But Lord Mountjoy succeeded the Earl of Essex as lord-deputy, and he adopted a milder policy, being resolved, he said, to deal moderately in the great matter of religion. Even Ussher was

alarmed. He availed himself of a special opportunity, when preaching before the viceregal court, at the cathedral of Christ Church, to protest against what he considered a dangerous and sinful toleration of popery. Choosing for his text Ezekiel iv. 6, where the prophet, lying on his side, was to bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days, a day for a year. "From this year," he exclaimed, "will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." In 1641 the massacre broke out, in which at least one hundred thousand Protestants were slaughtered. The coincidence was remarkable: though no prescience was required to foresee that the Papists would again rebel, or that Irish rebels would, if possible, exterminate their foes. On the strength of this prediction, the Protestants long revered the memory of Ussher as a prophet.

A convocation was held in Dublin in the year 1615, whose proceedings were unfortunate. So far, the Irish clergy had, in every important point, adopted the forms and confessions of the English Church. Since the year 1562 they had subscribed the English articles on their admission to orders, and on their appointment to a cure of souls. They now determined to assert an independent character, and frame articles of religion of their own. In this attempt they followed the continental reformers in their diffuse systems of divinity, rather than the English Church in the conciseness and simplicity of her thirty-nine articles. The Irish articles of 1615 consist of one hundred and four sections, in nineteen chapters. Some of them are discursive and too diffuse. Subjects are introduced, such as the fall of angels, the primeval state of man, and the condition of the soul after death, on which some diversity of opinion has always existed amongst the orthodox. Above all, the nine Lambeth Articles of 1695,\* which Whitgift had drawn up and unsuccessfully attempted to enforce at Cambridge, were introduced. The biographers of Ussher, on his behalf, have undertaken the defence of the Lambeth Articles: it is probable, therefore, that he was a chief party to their introduction. A decree of the synod was annexed, forbidding any minister, of whatsoever degree or quality, publicly to teach any doctrine contrary to these articles; "after

\* For which see vol. i, page 253.

duc admonition, if he do not conform himself, and cease to disturb the peace of the Church, let him be silenced and deprived." The articles were signed by Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, being then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, by the speakers of the two Houses of Convocation, and by the Lord Deputy, with the authority of King James I.

It has been often said, that in adopting these articles, the Church of Ireland placed herself in opposition to the Church of England. This is an overstatement. The Church of England has left to those who subscribe her articles, a certain latitude of private judgment on the Calvinistic points. Archbishop Whitgift, when he wrote, and Ussher and his friends, when they adopted, the articles of 1695, intended nothing more than a full and accurate exposition of doctrines which, as understood by them, were already taught in the seventeenth of the thirty-nine articles, and elsewhere, by the Church of England. The Arminian controversy, however, partly in consequence of the Lambeth articles themselves, was raging furiously in 1615, and why the Irish clergy should have taken upon themselves to import the quarrel into their native land, and to exclude Arminians of every shade from the service of a Church so much wanting recruits, is, we confess, a perplexing question. The facility with which the sanction of James was obtained is no less remarkable. In England he had cast off his Calvinistic prepossessions, and was drawing round him the heads of the Arminian party. Just at the beginning of this century, a large colony of Presbyterians from Scotland had been settled in Ulster; and it has been suggested, that the Lambeth articles were introduced in order to conciliate the disciples of Knox, by making the creed of the national Church expound more accurately the views of the Scotch reformer and his great master Calvin.

The Irish Convocation met again in 1636. Laud was now Archbishop of London, and Ussher Archbishop of Dublin, though no longer primate; for in the year 1626, after ages of controversy, it was decided by the crown that the primacy of Ireland had pertained from the remotest antiquity to the see of Armagh, and should there remain. Laud, violent in his Arminianism, was anxious to rescind the articles of 1615. The Court of London forwarded his views, not merely from regard to his theology, but on account of the political inconveniences which were already

apparent from the two standards of faith of two sister churches. Strafford, Lord Wentworth, was Viceroy, the pliant agent of Laud and Charles. At their suggestion he proposed to the Irish bishops that the articles of the English Church should be introduced, and those of Ireland quietly superseded; or to use his own words, "silenced without noise." Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, introduced the matter to the Irish Convocation, in a speech of great moderation. "It were to be wished," he said, "that articles might be framed in which all orthodox Christians could agree. The two Churches were in reality of the same opinions: the sense of their articles was the same—though their adversaries clamoured that they were dissonant. The articles of every national Church should be worded with that latitude that persons dissenting on those things that concerned not the Christian faith might subscribe, and the Church not lose the benefit of their labours for the sake of an opinion which, it might be, they could not help." The Convocation, with a single dissentient voice, received the English articles.

But thus the Church of Ireland had two standards of faith, or at least two sets of articles. Heylin, Collyer, and other Arminian writers have affirmed, that the Irish articles were now abrogated and repealed; and even Fuller speaks of them as being "utterly excluded;" but these statements are incorrect. They profess indeed no better foundation than that which is inferentially supplied, on the supposition that the two codes are inconsistent with each other: a supposition which the Dublin Convocation of 1636 was so far from admitting, that the very canon by which the thirty nine articles are accepted declares, "that it was done for the manifestation of their agreement with the Church of England in the same Christian faith." In fact Ussher, and several other Irish bishops, required of their clergy for some years afterwards subscription to both sets of articles. By degrees those of 1615 fell into neglect; subscription to two confessions, which one party in the Church believed to be contradictory, seemed to be scandalous. On the Irish rebellion in 1641 the Church fell into decay: then came the protectorate of Cromwell, and the abolition of episcopacy; and after the Restoration the Irish articles came into neglect. At the same Convocation canons were framed for the government of the Irish Church. Laud had great influence in Ireland, and his friends

proposed the adoption of the English canons. To this the Irish primate was averse, not merely because the circumstances of the two Churches were different, but further, too, lest the Church of England should seem to be permitted to usurp authority over the Church of Ireland. The eighth canon is the most important, and unfortunately the most neglected of the whole. It is now, and ever has been, a dead letter. It enjoins that the confession, absolution, and communion-service to the homily or sermon, when the people are all or most Irish, shall be used in English first, and after in Irish. Even this was but scanty justice to the natives, who were still doomed to listen to a sermon in an unknown tongue. And the boon, such as it was, lost much of its value by the permission, granted in canon 86, to the parish clerk, "where the minister is an Englishman," to read the Irish portions of the service. Had the native Irish accepted the reformed faith under allurements such as these, they would have exhibited an indifference to their ancient creed, and a passionate fondness for abstract religious truth, such as no nation on earth has ever yet displayed!

We do not relate the dismal tragedy of the Irish massacre. It broke out in 1641, and raged with little intermission for twelve years, when it was finally put down, and righteously avenged, by the iron hand of Cromwell. The rebels formed a disciplined army, acting under a commission from the pope. To exterminate heresy, and of course to annihilate the reformed Church, was their avowed intention. Henrietta, the wife of Charles the First, was undoubtedly their friend, and his own memory is not cleared from the imputation of conniving at their rebellion, partly to conciliate the pope, whose aid he was imploring against his puritanical parliament, and still more, perhaps, to propitiate the queen.

In 1642 the rebels, in a general assembly, headed by their lords temporal and spiritual, and other representatives of the confederates, decreed that the possessions of the Protestant clergy belonged, in right of the Church, to the Roman Catholics, and the Papal hierarchy was at once restored. In 1645 Innocent the Tenth instructed them, through his nuncio, to prosecute the war till popery should be established, the decrees of the Council of Trent acknowledged, and Ireland placed under a lord-lieutenant of the true faith. It is by no means clear that Charles

would not have conceded even these demands. Bishop Mant has published a letter from the Marquis of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant, to Lord Digby, Charles's confidential adviser, dated 25th December, 1646, which betrays the misgivings of one who, devoted in his loyalty, was still painfully conscious of the duplicity and the weakness of his royal master. "I shall beseech you to be careful of one thing; which is, to take order that the commands that shall be directed to me touching this people, if any be, thwart not the grounds I have laid to myself in point of religion, for in that and in that only, I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject, to obey by suffering: and particularly that there be no concession to the papists to perpetuate churches or church-livings to them, or to take ecclesiastical jurisdiction from us. And as for other freedoms from penalties for the quiet exercise of their religion, I am clear of opinion, it not only may, but ought to be given them, if his majesty shall find cause to own them for anything but rebels."—p. 575.

In this dark period the Irish prelacy, as a body, command our high respect. A bishopric in a barbarous country, where intestine warfare never ceased, was not an object of ambition to aspiring churchmen. These posts were left to men cast in another mould, whose noble ambition it was to extend the boundaries of the pure Church of Christ. Yet they achieved but little; embarrassed, as we have seen they were, by circumstances over which they had little influence. Some of them appear to have thoroughly understood their work; others were of that large class who work well beneath specific instructions, but have not the power of fashioning new enterprises. Ussher did not feel his episcopal office degraded by preaching in the sessions house at Drogheda to Roman Catholics, whose prejudices forbade them to listen to him in a church. The rebellion drove him from his post, to which he never returned; and we know him rather as a great divine than as an enterprising bishop. The latter character belongs to Bedell, provost of Trinity College, and afterwards Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, to which he was consecrated in 1630. He found his diocese, "saving a few British planters here and there, and these not a tenth part of the remnant, entirely popish." He determined to attempt their conversion; and, as the readiest way to the hearts of the people, began with the priests. Their ignorance was profound; but with several of them



he succeeded. A convent of friars was induced to listen to his instructions, and read his books, and some sense of religion dawned amongst them. Prayers were read in Irish in his cathedral: a short catechism, some prayers, and a few pregnant texts of Scripture, were printed on a sheet in English and Irish, and thankfully received throughout the diocese. The New Testament and the book of Common Prayer were now translated. He began too a version of the Old Testament, having made himself acquainted with the language on purpose; nor was he ashamed to ask the assistance of Irish scholars more competent than himself. Arrangements were already made for printing this great work, when the rebellion broke out. Bedell was seized and imprisoned in a small castle, or rather dungeon, in the centre of Lough Outer, and died shortly after his release from the effects of sorrow and ill-usage. The rebel chieftains followed him to the grave, and there they discharged a volley over the best and last of the English bishops; exclaiming in Latin "Requiescat in pace—ultimus Anglorum!" May the last of the English rest in peace.

Jeremy Taylor was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor, after the Restoration, in 1660. He is known to the world as an eloquent preacher and writer, and a somewhat fanciful divine. But he left no impression on the Irish Church. The courtly preacher, whom Laud patronized and Charles flattered, felt himself lost in honourable exile in an Irish diocese. At the request of the clergy he drew up his "Dissuasive from Popery;" but neither his style, nor the language in which he wrote, commended his labours either to Irish priests or to an Irish peasantry. He seems, from his letters, to have looked round him with dismay upon the degraded state of his adopted land, and to have acquiesced in the conclusion of his own helplessness.

The accession of James the Second gave another triumph to the Papal party. Determined that Ireland should be at once restored to the see of Rome, he introduced a Romish viceroy, Lord Tyrconnel, who filled up every place of trust with Roman Catholics. The Protestant soldiers were disbanded, and the officers, on various pretences, cashiered. The clergy were insulted in the streets, the revenues of most of the bishoprics sequestered, and the bishops themselves compelled to fly. Everything portended a general massacre. The priests interdicted their people from the mass, unless each of them came furnished with a dagger

and a large half-pike, under the penalty of excommunication ; and they were enjoined to be ready, at a moment's warning, for any service for which the priests might need them. Fourteen hundred Protestant families left the country. Happily, the Revolution of 1688 occurred at this crisis ; but, after a short retreat in France, the exiled king landed at Kinsale, 12th March, 1689. He entered Dublin in great pomp on the 24th, preceded by the host, and attended by the Romish hierarchy, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people. A parliament was called in Dublin, in which it was easily contrived that the papal influence should preponderate. Under various pretexts the Protestant nobility, prelates, and gentry were attainted, and their estates forfeited. The property of absentees was seized and vested in the king. The jurisdiction of the Protestant Church was annulled, and tithes, fees, and other Church property, as well as the churches themselves, were granted to the Papists. The cathedral of Christ Church was closed, and a senior fellow who was a Papist was thrust upon Trinity College. The Provost and Fellows protesting, the buildings were seized and the chapel was converted into a magazine, the courts and chambers were used for a garrison, and the foundation itself was promised to the Jesuits. The Protestant party was utterly ruined by confiscations ; which, besides all the nobility and the prelates of Ireland, included three thousand private gentlemen. And their case was hopeless ; for in the act of attainder, a clause had been introduced by which the king himself was forbidden to grant a pardon. Protestant worship was now forbidden ; more than five Protestants were not allowed to meet together in the street ; and Ireland was once more purged of heresy. Happily the battle of the Boyne followed, when James was finally defeated by his son-in-law, and fled into exile ; the Protestant Church was reinstated ; and the tyrannical acts of the Popish parliament of Dublin were repealed.

For more than a century we have little to relate. The eccentricities and vices of Dean Swift forbid us to make honourable mention of his name. He was presented to the deanery of St. Patrick's in 1713, as a reward for political services, and to secure his caustic pen for the ministry of the day. That Swift was not quite destitute of piety has been charitably argued by Dr. Johnson, and succeeding biographers ; that he promoted the

cause of real religion, whether by his life or his pen, has never been seriously maintained. Many of his writings were held, even in that age, to be disgraceful to his profession, and are now banished with disgust. The zeal of the early Methodists made scarcely any impression in Ireland, though Wesley went over and formed a few societies. Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, would have adorned the brightest annals of the Christian Church; and many exemplary men conducted, each in his obscure sphere, a laborious and faithful ministry in dark times. But Protestantism won no triumphs, contented supinely to retain her own. There were two races and two religions; and the highest ambition of both parties, or at least of Protestants, was to slumber undisturbed. At the close of the nineteenth century the population of Ireland was about five millions; the number of Protestant churchmen about six hundred thousand. There was an equal number of Presbyterians in Ulster.

By the Act of Union, which came into effect on the 1st of January, 1801, the national Churches were "united in all matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline," under the title of the United Church of England and Ireland. By this measure the English Canons do not, however, seem to have become the law of the Irish Church. Indeed, having no legal authority at home, they could not be legally imposed elsewhere by a mere act of incorporation with the Church of England. The 32nd of the Irish Canons of 1636 imposes subscription, for orders in Ireland, to the first four of those Canons; and of these four the first adopts the English Articles. The Irish bishops do not consider themselves at liberty to impose any other test. The Irish Act of Uniformity (xvii. and xviii. Car. II.) also requires subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. And this is the latest parliamentary enactment on the subject of subscription in Ireland.

During the last half century the progress of the Church of Ireland has been gratifying. The education of the native Irish has been at length undertaken in their own tongue. Several societies were formed thirty years ago for conveying instruction, through the means of day-schools, Sunday-schools, the circulation of the Irish Scriptures, and the introduction of controversial lectures on the subjects in dispute between Protestants and Roman Catholics. As an inevitable consequence irritation followed; and the Romish priesthood resolved, if possible, to

overthrow the national Church. The payment of the church cess, and of all tithes and dues, was denounced; and the Protestant clergy, under a reign of terror instituted by O'Connell, were in great distress. In 1833, Lord Grey, the prime minister, brought the condition of the Irish establishment before Parliament, with a view to the removal of existing abuses. An Act was passed (iii. and iv. of William IV. chap. 37.) the merits of which are matters of keen discussion. It is still affirmed, on the one hand, that the measure was salutary, while at the same time it was inevitable; and on the other, that it was, to use the words which have since become a proverb, a heavy blow and a great discouragement to the Protestant cause in Ireland, dealt out to propitiate O'Connell and his party. Briefly, the provisions of the Act were these: the payment of first fruits to the Crown, an imposition against which the Irish Clergy had long protested, was abolished; but in lieu of it, an annual tax was imposed, upon a graduated scale, of from two and a half to fifteen per cent. upon benefices; and from five to fifteen per cent. on episcopal revenues. And, we may here add, that, by a subsequent Act, a reduction of twenty-five per cent. was made upon the tithes payable throughout Ireland. The incomes of the sees of Armagh and Derry were reduced; ten bishoprics were suppressed; and the deanery of St. Patrick's was united with that of Christ Church, Dublin. The funds obtained from the suppressed bishoprics, as well as the annual tax, was applied to "the building and repairing of churches, the augmentation of small livings, and such other purposes as may conduce to the advancement of religion." For the management of these funds, and other purposes, an ecclesiastical commission for Ireland was appointed, with perpetual succession, to consist of the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Lord Chief Justice, the Archbishop of Dublin, with four Irish Archbishops or Bishops. The following were the sees suppressed:—

Cashel (Archbishopric) united to	.	Armagh.
Tuam (ditto)	. . . . .	Dublin.
Dromore (Bishopric)	. . . . .	Down.
Raphoe	. . . . .	Derry.
Clogher	. . . . .	Armagh.
Elphin	. . . . .	Kilmore.

Killaloe and Achoury . . . .	Tuam.
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh . . . .	Killaloe.
Kildare . . . . .	Dublin.
Ossory . . . . .	Ferns and Leighlin.
Waterford and Lismore . . . .	Cashel and Emly.
Cork and Ross . . . . .	Cloyne.

The period since the passing of this Act has been one of still increasing vigour in the Irish Church. Assuming at length her true character, as a great missionary institution, she seems to have undertaken with earnest zeal the work of conversion. Large parishes, nay whole districts, such as Doon, Achill, and Connemara, have embraced the reformed faith; and we have the testimony of the several prelates in whose dioceses the conversions have taken place, that the change in the habits of the people is of the happiest character. The work is chiefly carried on through the agency of different societies. At the head of these stands the Society for promoting Irish Church Missions, whose income, for the year 1854, amounts to upwards of 39,000*l.* Of this sum the greater part is raised in England. All the Irish Societies are mainly indebted for support to English contributions. Ireland, vexed with intestine broils and smitten with a grievous famine, has been reduced, within the last few years, to an extremity of wretchedness unknown for ages to the rest of Europe. Emigration and disease have, within ten years, swept away nearly three millions of her people. These, being the poorest, were chiefly Roman Catholics. At the same time, so great has been the number of converts, and such, too, the influx of Scotch and English settlers, that the Protestants are now two millions. The Roman Catholics are computed at less than four millions, these are wasting away from daily desertions, and an emigration, which has been compared to the restless movement which compelled Huns and Visigoths to forsake their homes, when they poured down upon the plains of Southern Europe. In short, after a long course of misfortune and disgrace, of which one great cause has ever been the neglect, or the injustice, of the English government, the Irish Church displays those high gifts of piety, vigour, learning and discretion, which seem to justify the warmest hopes in those who look for the regeneration of Ireland through the introduction of a pure faith.

The number of parishes is about one thousand: this may not be exact, for many ancient parishes have been formed into unions, while others have been subdivided. Her income is also uncertain. By her opponents it has been stated at 1,000,000*l.* sterling per annum. Unless this include the great tithes in the hands of lay impropriators, which are lost to the Church, it is, we conceive, an exaggerated statement.

*Carte's Life of Ormond. Fuller's Church History. Ware's Irish History and Antiquities, Vol. I. Life and Works of Archbishop Ussher. Ditto of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, etc. Statutes of the Irish Parliament. Statutes at large.*

**IRVINGITES.**—The followers of the Rev. Edward Irving designate themselves the Catholic Apostolic Church. No one section of the Universal Church, however sound it were, is entitled exclusively to this distinction; we therefore use the title which is at once the more appropriate and the more generally employed. The Irvingites declare, however, that they make no exclusive claim to this name; they simply object to be called by any other. They do not profess to be separatists from the Church established, or from the general body of Christians. And far from professing to be another sect, in addition to the numerous sects already dividing the Church, or to be the one Church, to the exclusion of all other bodies, they believe that their special mission is to reunite the scattered members of the one body of Christ. Yet their peculiarities are those of Edward Irving; he is justly entitled to be regarded as their founder; and we shall preface the history of their tenets and their progress with a brief outline of his life.

Mr. Irving was born at Annan in 1792, and was educated at the University of Edinburgh with a view to the ministry of the Church of Scotland. He was a youth of solitary studies, but his early career was by no means brilliant. He is said to have excelled in mathematics and classics, and to have been well acquainted with modern languages and literature; and he made some attainments in natural philosophy. But he had arrived at the mature age of thirty without “a call” from any presbytery or patron, and consequently without employment in the Church. He was indeed invited to preach on trial in various places; but

the result was constantly the same ; he got no second invitation. He is represented, even by his admirers, as obstinate, wayward, and somewhat overbearing ; and “he had fed his soul,” says one of them, “with the words of Chrysostom, the Christian Plato ; of Jeremy Taylor, the English Chrysostom ; and of Hooker, the Bacon of the Church, till he had come to regard as of mean speech and feeble thought all living preachers and theologians, with the exception of Chalmers,” who had started into favour just about this time. Finding no employment congenial to him, he had formed, in 1819, a romantic scheme of travelling through Europe, penetrating into the East, and working alone as a missionary in Persia ; and, with his usual energy, had begun to qualify himself for this arduous enterprise by a course of appropriate study. At this juncture he received an invitation to preach for Dr. Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh, with an intimation that Dr. Chalmers, who was in want of an assistant, would be present. This led to an engagement with Chalmers, as assistant-minister of St. John’s, Glasgow ; and the Oriental mission was abandoned. Here he remained three years, when he received a call to London. He took leave of the church at Glasgow in a sermon which displays an independent spirit, rather, as it seems to us, than a deeply-thinking or a deeply-pious one. It is a cutting diatribe against the style of preaching then prevalent in the Scottish Church, and an almost arrogant defence of his own pretensions. In force of thought, and in composition, this sermon, however, his first essay in print, is equal to any of his later writings. “We plead and exhort,” says the eloquent declaimer, “not in defence of ourselves, but in behalf of our brotherhood, and of the ancient liberty of prophesying, against those narrow prescriptive tastes, bred not of knowledge, nor derived from the better days of the Church, but in the conventicle bred ; and fitted perhaps for keeping together a school of Christians, but totally unfit for the wide necessities of the world (else why this alienation of the influential of the world from the cause?) We are pleading against those shibboleths of a sect, those forms of words, which do not now feed the soul with understanding, but are, in truth, as the time-worn and bare trunks of those trees from which the Church was formerly nourished, and which have now in them neither sap nor nourishment. We are pleading for a more natural style of preaching, in which the

various moral and religious wants of men shall be met, artlessly met, with the simple truths of revelation, delivered as ultimate facts not to be reasoned on, and expressed as Scripture expresses them ; which conjunction being made, and crowned with prayer for the divine blessing, the preacher has fulfilled the true spirit of his office." This is a fair specimen of Mr. Irving's best manner. An accident had brought him acquainted with a work, little read at any time in Scotland, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," when he was but a boy. His taste was formed upon this model ; and he was bold enough, in an age when they were utterly neglected, "to assert," as he expresses it, and as far as he could to imitate, "the splendour of those lasting forms of speech which Hooker, Bacon, and Milton chose for the covering of their everlasting thoughts."

In 1821 Irving came up to London, warmly invited, as a candidate for the Caledonian Church in Cross-street, Hatton Garden. It was not till July in the following year that he fairly entered on his ministry in the metropolis. The congregation did not muster more than fifty, and it was with apprehension that they ventured to invite a minister whose stipend they could scarcely secure. But within the first quarter of a year the fifty seat-holders increased to fifteen hundred. A blaze of popularity welcomed the stranger from the north, which threw in some respects even the triumphs of Whitfield into the shade. Members of the royal family, the statesmen of the day, wits, authors, the leaders of the world of fashion, to say nothing of men of piety of every sect, besieged the doors, and were admitted by tickets into the obscure chapel in Hatton Garden. Mackintosh, Canning, Brougham, and Wilberforce heard him, and were loud in his praise. The enthusiasm was too passionate to last. Within two years it entirely died away ; but a steady congregation remained, who built a new church for their pastor in Regent's-square, St. Pancras, of which he took possession in 1827.

In 1825 he published a discourse on the Revelation, entitled "Babylon Foredoomed." England was then anxious and restless : the subject of Catholic emancipation was uppermost in every mind ; and thoughtful men distinctly foresaw that great social and political changes were at hand. These subjects fired the imagination of Mr. Irving, and henceforth he stands in a new character before the world. His scheme of prophetic interpreta-



tion presented little or nothing that was original. But it surprised the world by the singularity of its style, and the confidence of its assertions. The subordinate parts are contradictory in many points; the work was hastily thrown together, and was popular chiefly because it was peremptory. The battle of Armageddon he declared to be at hand. "In 1846," he says, "the sanctuary will be cleansed in Jerusalem; and the power which now polluteth it will be scattered; so that, some time before that period, the battle of Armageddon will have been finished." "In 1867 the millennium is to commence, and the resurrection of the righteous to take place," p. 219. Soon afterwards he published a translation from the Spanish of "The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty," by Juan Joshephat Ben Ezra, a converted Jew. The subject of the second coming of Christ, and his personal reign on earth, now dazzled him. In May, 1828, he went to Edinburgh, chiefly for the purpose of delivering a series of lectures on the book of Revelation: he dwelt especially on all those prophecies which concern the millennial state of the earth, and the promises of glory and triumph to the Church. "He is drawing," writes Chalmers, "prodigious crowds. We attempted this morning to force our way into St. Andrew's Church, but it was all in vain. He changes to the West Church for the accommodation of the public." Again, Chalmers records: "Monday 26th. For the first time heard Mr. Irving in the evening; I have no hesitation in saying that it is quite woful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty; but withal a mysticism and extreme allegorization which, I am sure, must be pernicious to the general cause. This is the impression of every clergyman I have met; and some think of making a friendly remonstrance with him upon the subject."

About the year 1827 Mr. Irving was observed to speak in a new strain concerning the human nature of Jesus Christ; and his friends became alarmed for the soundness of his faith. He maintained, in opposition to all the reformed Churches and to the Church of Rome, that "our Lord took upon him fallen and sinful flesh, with like appetites and desires as are found in us." It would have been strange if such a doctrine had not aroused the suspicions of the whole Church, or even its indignation. Mr. Irving was vigorously assailed by many pens, and from many pulpits. But unfortunately opposition, from whatever quarter it

proceeded, only strengthened his resolution. His mind was scarcely open at any time to the conviction that he might have erred. He spoke, and wrote, and acted, as if he were infallible. The controversy gave him an opportunity, in which he seemed to glory, of stating the obnoxious doctrine in the most offensive terms. In a sermon he declared that our Lord's body was "devil possessed." And in a paper in the "Morning Watch," he asserts, "that every variety of human wickedness which hath been realized, or is possible to be realized, was inherent in his humanity" (vol. i., p. 164). These evil propensities were of course restrained by the power of the Holy Spirit, so that, in fact, Christ did no sin. Mr. Irving, on a visit to Scotland in 1829, preached these doctrines. Mr. J. A. Haldane denounced them as heresy, and published "A Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving, respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ." During the years 1830 and 1831, numerous discussions took place before the Scotch presbytery in London, and amongst the members of the Church, on the subject, now a familiar topic, of the sinfulness of Christ's humanity. Mr. Scott, a Presbyterian clergyman of Woolwich, imbibed the doctrine, and publicly defended it. The subject was brought before the General Assembly of Scotland, and immediately taken up by the presbytery in London. But while the agitation was at its height, the world was startled with a new phenomenon. Mr. Irving's followers declared themselves to be in the possession of miraculous powers. The gift of speaking with tongues, they said, was now restored to the Church.

The gifts first broke out in Scotland, in the person of a young woman under the instruction of Mr. Scott, whose name has been already mentioned. These "utterances," as they were named, were soon after heard in London, in the year 1830. We shall make no attempt to describe, what is still in the recollection of many of our readers, the astonishment, the joy, the grief, the hope, the shame, with which these gifts were witnessed or described by various parties. The chief, if not the only, miracle was that of the unknown tongues. Sometimes the utterances were in English: those who were gifted with utterance would rise up on a sudden in the congregation, and pronounce a few sentences in an extraordinary power of voice, accompanied by a most unnatural expression of countenance. The utterances in

the tongues were unintelligible. The sounds were taken down from the lips of the speakers on several occasions, and submitted to the most learned linguists, amongst others to Professor Lee, of Cambridge, who agreed in thinking them a mere jargon, a collection of incoherent sounds. The tongues were chiefly uttered, it was noticed, by females. When they spoke in English, the prophets testified of the nearness of the coming of Christ, and the judgments which would immediately precede it. Another subject of the utterances was the sinfulness of Christ's human nature: in fact, the utterances bore testimony in confirmation of all the peculiarities of Mr. Irving's creed. Mr. Baxter, who, after having implicitly received these utterances, and indeed shared in them himself, left the Church, and published a recantation of his errors, writes thus: "The effect of the utterance upon those who received it, as from God, was to raise the highest expectations. The bestowal of miraculous powers was daily expected. The judgments upon Christendom, and the second advent of Christ, were constantly predicted. It was declared that the persons speaking in power, or gifted with the utterances, were the two witnesses of the eleventh of Revelation, who are said to prophecy three years and a half, and then be slain and raised again, and caught up to heaven. Another step was, the prophecy that at the end of three years and a half, when the witnesses were raised again, all living believers would be translated into heaven, and the earth be given over to judgment. We were also promised, that after the close of three years and a half of testimony to the world, commencing from the 14th of January, 1832, the Lord Jesus would come again in glory; the living saints would be caught up to meet him; the dead saints would be raised; and the world would be given over to judgment for an appointed season." Mr. Irving, in his preaching, repeated these as unquestionable predictions, of which God was the author. "He set forth also, that the gift of tongues was but the lowest of all gifts, and that very shortly larger miraculous endowments would be granted."

On the other hand, let the reader peruse a description of these utterances from the eloquent pen of Mr. Irving himself. "The words uttered in English are as much by power supernatural, and by the same power supernatural, as the words uttered in the language unknown. But no one hearing and observing the utterance could for a moment doubt it; inas-

much as the whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power, and strength, and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from the person's ordinary utterance in any mood; and, I would say, both in its form and in its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit, after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophecy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neill. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying; it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard; some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and of art exhibited at the oratorios in the Concerts of Ancient Music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likeliest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service; inasmuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive Church. Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or shorter period; sometimes only occupying a few words, as it were filling the first gust of sound; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deep-felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker are manifestly much moved, to tears and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy and mirth and exultation, and even laughter of the heart. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly-formed, well-proportioned, deeply-felt discourse, which evidently wanteth only the ear of him whose native tongue it is, to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech. But as the apostle declareth it is not spoken to the ear of man, but to the ear of God. 'He that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God; for no man understandeth' (1 Cor. xiv. 2). We ought to stand in awe, and endeavour to enter into spiritual communion with that member of Christ who is the mouth of the whole Church unto God."

But, after all, few of Mr. Irving's congregation could be won over either to his doctrine of the humanity of Christ or to believe in the miraculous gifts. The former was brought incidentally before the notice of the General Assembly in 1831, and by them condemned, on behalf of the Church of Scotland, in the strongest terms. The trustees of the church in London, in the course of the same year, laid a complaint before the London presbytery; and prayed for Mr. Irving's deposition from his living. Omitting the question of false doctrine, they confined themselves to the single charge, that he had allowed the service of God to be interrupted and disturbed by unauthorized persons, neither ministers nor licentiates of the Church of Scotland, some of them being females, "for said persons to exercise the supposed gifts with which they professed to be endowed." The court was unanimous; its decision was, that the Rev. Edward Irving had rendered himself unfit to remain the minister of the Caledonian church, Regent-square, and ought to be removed therefrom. The General Assembly in Edinburgh now took up the question of his doctrine, and directed the presbytery of Annan, where Mr. Irving had been ordained, to investigate the charge. The trial came on in 1833; Irving defended himself with great vehemence; the presbytery seem to have thought, with arrogance. The members of the court were of one mind, and Mr. Irving was deposed from the ministry of the Scottish Church. Before the sentence was pronounced, Mr. Irving hurried out of the church, exclaimed to the crowd, "Stand forth! stand forth! as many as will obey the Holy Ghost, let them depart!" and in his absence the sentence was pronounced.

Driven from the kirk as well as from his flock in London, Mr. Irving removed, with a small part of his once vast congregation, to a room which had been used as a horse bazaar, in Gray's Inn-lane, and soon afterwards to a smaller but more convenient apartment in Newman-street, once the studio of Benjamin West; and here the Irvingite Church was formed.

On the removal into Newman-street all the arrangements were made in obedience to utterances supposed to be inspired. The room was fitted up with pews and galleries. Instead of a pulpit there was a raised platform, to contain about fifty persons. The ascent was by several steps, and in front of the platform were seven seats; that in the centre was filled by the angel or

bishop ; those on each side by the six elders. Below these were seven other seats for the prophets, the centre seat being allotted to Mr. Taplin, lately the missionary of the church in Regent-square, as the chief of the prophets. Four of the prophets were females. Still lower were seven other seats appropriated to the deacons ; that in the middle occupied, as before, by the chief deacon. " This threefold cord of a sevenfold ministry was adopted under direction of the utterance." There were also twelve apostles, several of whom were prophets. The body of the chapel was appropriated to the members of the church, and the galleries were open to strangers. The angel ordered the service, and the preaching and expounding were generally conducted by the elders, in order. The prophets, speaking in utterance, came after them. There were also sixty evangelists, whose name was taken from the New Testament, while their number was taken from the old. " The sixty evangelists" (says the author of a 'Chronicle of certain Events, which have taken place in the Church of Christ,' &c.) "were antitypical to the sixty pillars of the court of the tabernacle." The church was at first compared to the candlestick in the holy place of the tabernacle ; the prophets interpreted the shaft to represent the pastor and people, and the branches the elders. Afterwards the favourite comparison was with the tabernacle, of which, while the sixty pillars prescribed the number of evangelists, the pillars, the curtains, the taches, were represented by living men ; and any person who was brought into the congregation in Newman-street was said to be brought in by the pillars, and brought up to those who represent the altar and the laver ; other individuals were supposed to represent the holy place, and the vessels therein ; in short, the whole building and all its parts being appropriated to individual representation. The tabernacle was now said to be duly pitched. The service of the communion was changed soon after the removal to Newman-street, by substituting unleavened for leavened bread, by direction of an utterance. The bread and wine were given by the angel to the elders, by the elders to the deacons, who administered to the people kneeling, contrary to the usage of the Church of Scotland.

The church in Newman-street was scarcely completed when its head expired. At the early age of forty-two, on the 8th of December, 1834, Edward Irving died. A man of brilliant ima-

gination, of fair attainments, of a stout and resolute heart, and, until his judgment was obscured, and, in failing health and blighted hopes, he abandoned himself to the dictation of those whom he had himself, in the first instance, contributed so greatly to mislead, of spotless integrity and truth. In private life he was playful, affectionate, and artless, until he felt it necessary to assume a character, and to act the part of an Elijah or a Knox. His person was tall, his hair luxuriant and dark, his eye and brow commanding, his features full and well-proportioned, his voice, in its lower tones, was music. He wrote much; but his style was redundant, turgid, and often barbarous. Except from curiosity he was never much read beyond the circle of his personal admirers. Sometimes his sentences remind us of the prose of Milton, but the weighty thoughts are wanting. It is no great achievement either, to imitate the style of the best writers of the fifteenth century. Let the man who aspires to the fame of Milton or Hooker write as such men would have written had they been living now, and the world will not be slow to acknowledge his supremacy. Of Irving's eloquence, if we may speak from our own recollections of it, we should say, that it was at once grand and barbarous. The charm consisted chiefly in the manliness of the action and the music of the voice. His declamation bordered on invective; his argument wanted clearness, force, and brevity; his illustrations were often good, sometimes extremely felicitous, but they were taken from a narrow field—his early associations, and the scenes, or the story of his native land. To that mighty power, which the Christian orator should chiefly cultivate, of so grappling with each man's conscience that the hearer shall be startled with the suspicion that his private thoughts have been betrayed to the preacher, he was a stranger. All his statements were general, so were his denunciations. The hearer was allowed to retire strongly impressed with the wickedness of the times perhaps, but still with a very fair opinion of himself. Whether in his last days Mr. Irving felt that he had been misled is uncertain. Two letters were published in the Gospel Magazine for May 1835, written while he was in Scotland, expecting the hour of his dissolution. They certainly contain strong expressions of penitential sorrow. "I tremble when I think of the awful, perilous place, into which I was thrust." And again, "I confess to myself that I was very

slow, yea, and reluctant, to turn back from my evil way." But as no particular sins are specified these expressions are somewhat vague. "I cannot but grieve," said Dr. Cumming, in a funeral sermon at the Scotch Church, Crown-court, Covent-garden, on the 14th of December 1834, "at the awful eclipse under which he came, and the early tomb he has found. He is gone to the grave. *I have reason to believe, with a broken heart.*"

The death of Mr. Irving did not seriously affect the church in Newman-street. An angel was appointed in his place, and the work went on. In 1835 other congregations had been formed in London to the number of seven. They were called "The Seven Churches," and now the system was complete. The apostles were commanded by an utterance to go into all the world and preach; but afterwards, by the same authority, they were re-manded to Albury, there to remain for study and consultation. The Church, being guided by utterances which are supposed to be divine, is of necessity open to fresh influences from year to year. Thus in 1832 the apostles were appointed; and it was revealed that the right mode of ordination was by the imposition of their hands upon those angels who had been designated to the office by the prophets. Under this revelation there was ordained an angel, or chief pastor, of the church at Albury; and Mr. Irving, now deprived of his ministry in the Church of Scotland, was reordained angel of Newman-street. In the course of the next few years, churches were formed in several of the great provincial towns. The proper times and modes of worship, the right of the priesthood to a tenth part of the income of the laity, the authority of the angels to govern, and to interpret the tongues, were thus communicated through the "prophetic word." In 1836 a council was established, the symbol of which was shown, in the word of prophecy, to have been given in the construction of the tabernacle of Moses, where also, as in a figure, the true and spiritual worship of God was set forth. In 1836 a testimony or protest, prepared by the apostles, was presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury and most of the bishops, as well as to the clergy of those places in which churches had been formed. A similar testimony was presented to the king, and many of the privy council; and afterwards a Catholic testimony was presented to the sovereigns of Europe, to many of the bishops and patriarchs, and through Cardinal Acton, to the pope. In 1838 the



apostles, in obedience to another prophecy, departed for the continent, and visited, for two years, most of the European countries, with the object of remarking closely the condition of the general Church, and gleaning from each portion its peculiar inheritance of truth. They, in 1840, were recalled to settle some disputes which had arisen in their absence, with respect to the comparative authority of the apostles and the council above referred to: The apostles stilled these symptoms of dissension by asserting their supremacy; and the meetings of the council were suspended, and have not yet been revived. These measures led moreover to the secession of one of the apostles, whose successor has not yet been named. Seven of the remaining eleven again dispersed themselves in foreign parts, to be again recalled in 1835, in order to determine what liturgical formalities should be observed. This settled, they once more proceeded to their work abroad; the senior apostles, who remained at Albury, having the charge of all the London churches (now reduced to six). The principal work of recent years has been the gradual completion of the ritual of the Church. In 1842 a liturgy had been framed, "combining the excellences of all preceding liturgies." In this a portion of the service was allotted to each of the four ministers already mentioned—the angels, prophets, priests, and deacons. The communion had for some time been received before the altar, kneeling; and now the consecrated elements, before their distribution, were offered as an oblation before the Lord. Simultaneously, appropriate vestments were prescribed—the alb and girdle, stole and chasuble, for services connected with the altar; and a surplice, rochette, and mosette for preaching and other offices. In 1847 considerable additions to the liturgy were made, and the use of consecrated oil was permitted in the visitation of the sick. In 1850 it was ordered that a certain portion of the consecrated bread and wine should be kept in an appropriate ark or tabernacle, placed upon the altar, to be taken by the angel, at the morning and evening services, and "proposed" as a symbol before the Lord. The latest ceremonial additions were adopted in 1852, when lights—two of which were placed upon, and seven before the altar—were prescribed, and incense was commanded to be burnt while prayers were being offered.

The Church is said to have made considerable progress during

the last few years. In England there are about thirty congregations, comprising nearly six thousand communicants, and the number is gradually on the increase. There are also congregations in Scotland and Ireland, a considerable number in Germany, and several in France, Switzerland, and America.

A magnificent structure in Gordon Square, equal in size and beauty to the choirs of our old cathedrals, from which it seems to have been modelled, was opened in 1853 for the congregation which had hitherto met in Newman Street. As the building is magnificent, still more gorgeous was the ceremonial of its consecration. The service commenced at ten o'clock, at which hour, the chief officer of the Church, the angel, entered, magnificently clad, wearing a purple cap, the colour denoting authority. Then followed the next order of the ministry, designated prophets, with blue stoles, typical of the skies, whence they draw their inspiration. Following these were evangelists, habited in red, the colour denoting the blood which flowed from the cross. Then came pastors, elders, and the other officers. A sermon was preached by one of the elders. A "Gloria in Excelsis" was given on a splendid organ, which has been erected in the south aisle. Attached to the church is a small chapel, which is used on rare occasions, and which we are informed by a tablet placed therein, was raised by the piety of two ladies, who contributed the munificent sum of 4,000*l.* in aid of the work. The chief feature of the church, however, is the altar, which is carved out of various kinds of coloured marble, and is superbly decorated.

The only standards of faith recognised, are the three creeds of the Catholic Church—the Apostle's creed, the Nicene, and the Athanasian. They are distinguished from other Christian communities, in that they hold apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors, to be abiding ministries in the Church; and that these ministries, together with the power and gifts of the Holy Ghost, dispensed and distributed among her members, are necessary for preparing the Church for the second advent of the Lord. They believe that supreme rule in the Church ought to be exercised as at the first, by twelve apostles, not elected or ordained by men, but called and sent forth immediately by God. The direct, or as we should say, miraculous intervention of God in the affairs of the Church, is of course implied in the selection of the apostles. The priests, in like manner, are first called to their office by the

voice of inspiration, uttered by the prophets. The angels or bishops are chosen, by a like call and ordination, from among the priests. The deacons are chosen by the congregation. With regard to the holy Eucharist, the Irvingites hold the doctrine of a real presence; whether by transubstantiation or otherwise we are uncertain. It is administered every Lord's day, and more or less frequently during the week according to the number of priests in each congregation. Their zeal and fervour are remarkable. Where the congregations are large, the first and last hour of each day, that is from six to seven both morning and evening, are appointed for divine worship; and, if there be a sufficient number of ministers, there are daily prayers at nine and three, with other services for the more especial object of teaching and preaching.

Nothing now remains which would indicate the presbyterian origin of this community. The simplicity of the Church of Scotland, its free prayer, its studied avoidance of the slightest approach to the forms of popery, are superseded by a pomp and splendour nowhere to be found except at Rome or Constantinople. In their ritual observances and offices of worship, material symbols have an important place. They contend, indeed, that as through the washing of water men are admitted into the Christian covenant, and as bread and wine duly consecrated are ordained, not merely for spiritual food, but for purposes of sacramental and symbolic agency, so too the use of other material things—oil, lights, incense, robes, and vestments, as exponents of spiritual realities, belongs to the dispensation of the Gospel.

"The Catholic and Apostolic Church" numbers amongst its adherents a large proportion of men of wealth and station. No Christian community in England of equal size can boast of so many families of rank and wealth, or, we must add, upon the other hand, has made so little progress amongst the poor. At present it does not feel the want of endowments. Besides free will offerings, every member of the Church dedicates to its service the tenth of his increase, including income of every description. It is regarded as a sacred duty that tithes should be dedicated to the service of God, and by them the ministry is supported.

*Thirty Sermons by the Rev. Edward Irving, preached in London during the first three years of his residence. Life of*

*the Rev. Edward Irving, M.A., by William Jones, M.A. Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical Biography: by Washington Wilks, 1854. Irvingism; Its Rise, Progress, and Present State: by Robert Barter, 1836. A Letter to the Gifted Persons. A Letter to the Rev. E. Irving, of Newman Street, London, by M. D. A Chronicle of certain Events which have taken place in the Church of Christ, principally in England, between the years 1826 and 1852. Dr. Chalmers' Life and Letters, by D. Hannay, 1852. Report on Religious Worship, in Census of 1851.*

**L**UTHERANS. Martin Luther, the founder of the Church which bears his name, was born in humble life, at Isleben in Saxony, in 1483. He was well educated for the times, at the school of Eisenach and the university of Erfurt. In 1505, the death of a fellow-student, who was killed by lightning at his side, first gave to his mind that solemn tone by which he was ever after distinguished. He became a monk and was ordained in 1507, choosing the order of the Augustines. We need not describe a character the features of which are so well known. Luther, profoundly superstitious and entirely devoted to the papacy, had a force of mind, a moral and physical courage, and an earnestness in the pursuit of truth which seldom meet in the same person. He became professor of divinity in the university recently erected at Wittenburg, in 1508, and was sent to Rome on business connected with his order soon after. Leo X. occupied the papal chair; at heart an infidel; the patron of the fine arts and a polished scholar; but a sensualist who scarcely condescended to wear the mask of a professional religion. Luxury and vice met Luther's eye at every turn, and the clergy in private conversation scoffed at the religion they taught in public. Luther came home abashed and wondering, and the seeds of the Reformation were already planted in his inmost soul.

In 1517, Tetzel, a Dominican friar, came through Germany to sell indulgences. Leo was building St. Peter's, and by such means the funds were to be raised. Tetzel, who had been created archbishop of Metz to give the more influence to his mission, disposed of his spiritual wares with a low and impudent audacity. The accounts which are given of his proceedings in

fairs and market-places through the towns and villages of Germany, remind us of the similar exhibitions of mountebanks and quack doctors. Tetzels does not seem to have been a whit more refined or more scrupulous. He stooped to the lowest buffoonery, and dealt in the most extravagant deceptions. Luther, shocked with his profanity, first remonstrated, and then publicly denounced the gigantic fraud. He denied the right of the pope himself to pardon sin; he denied that indulgences were of any other value than as a release from the censures of the Church. These, with various other propositions to the same effect, Luther drew up in the form of scholastic theses, nailed them to the door of the church at Wittenburg on the 31st of October, 1517, and added a challenge to Tetzels and all other adherents of the papal system, to confute them. Almost all Germany took up his cause, partly from disgust with Tetzels's conduct, and, in no small degree, out of admiration of their countryman. Tetzels and the Dominicans were furious; they denounced Luther and burnt his theses; the students of Wittenburg in return burnt a copy of Tetzels's commission from the pope. After the slumber of ages, Germany was now agitated with religious controversy. As the conflict spread, divines of the greatest renown were drawn into it. Melancthon and Carlostadt came to the aid of Luther, and Eckius, professor of divinity at Ingoldstadt, challenged Carlostadt to a public disputation. The rumour of these quarrels was carried to Rome, where Leo at first received it with polite indifference. It was the squabble of a few German monks, he thought, and brother Luther had shown a fine spirit. But he was soon convinced that the affair was too serious for a jest, and Cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, was despatched as the papal legate to Augsburg, to examine and decide the matters in dispute. Cajetan was ill fitted for the task. Instead of persuasion and argument, he assumed a haughty bearing, and commanded Luther to yield implicit submission to the Church's infallible head. Luther, no doubt anticipating violence, quietly retired from Augsburg. Cajetan returned to Rome, and represented to the pope how Tetzels, and Eckius, and he himself had been set at naught by the bold monk of Wittenburg. Leo's pride got the better of his prudence, and he drove his opponent at once to the alternative of resistance or despair. On the 15th of June, 1520 a bull was issued in which forty-one heresies

taken from Luther's writings, were condemned ; his books were ordered to be publicly burnt, and he was again summoned, on pain of excommunication, to confess and retract his errors, and throw himself on the mercy of the sovereign pontiff. Luther's mode of reply was characteristic of the man. On the 10th of December, 1520, he erected a huge pile of wood without the walls of Wittenburg, and there, in the presence of an immense multitude of people of all ranks, he threw into the flames both the bull and sundry canons and decretals, which set forth the papal supremacy. By this act he renounced the communion of Rome ; and the Lutheran Church dates its origin from this transaction. Leo merely displayed his own want of temper by a second bull of the 6th of January, 1521, in which Luther was excommunicated with the usual parade of threats and cursings.

The German princes were no indifferent spectators of the contest between Luther and the pope. Frederic, elector of Saxony, from political motives, warmly supported his courageous subject against a power which no independent sovereign could regard without alarm ; and moreover the principles of the Reformation had already taken hold of his own mind. Charles V. succeeded to the empire in 1519 ; he was a devoted papist ; and Leo, reminding him of his high titles of advocate and defender of the Church, demanded from him the exemplary punishment of the rebellious Luther. But Charles himself was, in a great measure, indebted to Frederic's support for his own election, against so formidable a rival as Francis I. of France who had also been a candidate for the imperial throne. It was, therefore, resolved that Luther should not be at once condemned unheard ; and a diet was assembled at Worms in 1521, before which Luther was commanded to appear and plead his cause. It may seem strange that a great religious question should be discussed and determined in a public diet. But these diets, in which the archbishops, bishops, and abbots had their seats as well as the princes of the empire, were not only political assemblies, but also provincial councils for the whole of Germany ; and to their jurisdiction, by the ancient canon law, such causes as that of Luther properly belonged.

Luther's conduct before the diet is one of the noblest instances on record of moral courage made sublime by religious principle. He obtained a safe conduct from the emperor, and repaired

immediately to Worms against the remonstrances of his more timid friends. "The cause is God's," said he, "and I will go if there are as many devils in the place as there are tiles upon the houses." He was now the head of a large party; he was supported by patriots who were jealous for the independence of Germany, and reformers who could no longer bow in blind submission to the pope. He entered Worms in a kind of triumph, escorted by a vast multitude, who joined with him in singing a psalm, afterwards known as Luther's hymn, which, from this circumstance, became at once a national melody. Luther pleaded his cause with great firmness and address, though with all the respect that was due to so august a tribunal. Being asked whether he would maintain those propositions in his writings which had been offensive to the pope, he requested time for consideration, and the next day replied in substance thus:—That of the doctrines he had advanced he retracted nothing; that the accusations he had levelled against the papacy were true; but that being a man, infirm and sinful, it was possible he might have expressed himself in an unbecoming manner; he appealed to the Scriptures, they were his only rule, for popes and councils contradicted one another, and both were liable to error. If the diet could prove him wrong from Scripture, his own hand should commit his writings to the flames. If not, he could neither abandon his opinions nor alter his conduct. Threats and promises were tried in vain, when argument failed; and Luther left the diet under a safe conduct from the emperor, for one-and-twenty days, when the sentence was to be pronounced. On the 8th of May, 1521, he was condemned as a notorious and obstinate heretic, and the severest punishments were denounced in the usual terms against all those who should countenance his errors or continue to befriend him. His patron, the Elector Frederic, determined that Luther should not perish as a heretic in the flames, had him seized while riding through a wood, by armed men disguised in masks, and carried to his own castle at Wartzburg. Here he lay concealed ten months maturing his plans, and writing tracts against the papacy. Thus the imperial edict was frustrated. Indeed, there is some reason to believe that the Emperor Charles himself, having pacified the pope, was not unwilling that Luther should escape. The edict was most unpopular in Germany; its severity was

hateful. Luther had not yet been heard at Rome where he had a right to make his appeal; his doctrines had not been calmly discussed and refuted at Worms, but rather denounced and execrated. Again, the emperor had pronounced an authoritative sentence against the doctrine of Luther, and doing so had assumed the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, points which should have been decided by a general council; and, above all, many German princes, the Electors of Cologne, Saxony, the Palatinate, and other sovereigns, had not been present at the diet, nor did they approve of the edict. Thus the thunders of this formidable court rolled harmless over Luther's head. Leo X. died while he was concealed at Wartzberg, and the Reformation spread with astonishing rapidity through Saxony by means of his writings. In 1522, Luther published his German version of the New Testament. It was followed by the whole Bible, which was published in short portions as the work advanced. The effect of this sudden burst of light was marvellous. Hundreds of the monks renounced their vows; images were demolished, and at Wittenberg the mass was abolished. But some evils attend all sudden changes which affect the multitude, and the difficulties of the Reformation were now beginning.

Luther heard in his retreat of the proceedings of some of his friends with great uneasiness; and at the hazard of his life returned to Wittenberg. Carlstadt, professor of divinity there, was rash and weak; he led on the populace in their attacks upon the images in the churches; and Luther, at this period at least, was by no means averse to the use of images. A still more serious difference arose soon afterwards which insulated the Lutheran Church from Protestant Christendom, and left it, of all the Churches of the Reformation, the nearest to the Church of Rome. A curious and instructive lesson—the most violent of the reformers achieved the most imperfect of the reformations.

Luther, in 1524, had rejected the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, and in its place substituted that of impanation or consubstantiation, which is still the peculiar feature of Lutheranism. Under these terms the presence of the real body and blood of Christ in the sacrament is held as fully as by the Church of Rome, the difference being only as to the mode in



which it exists. While the Church of Rome teaches that the bread and wine lose their natural qualities, the Lutherans hold that they retain them, both agreeing in the real presence in the same sense of those words. The method of this union was a mystery which, however, Luther endeavoured to explain by the following illustration: "As in a red-hot iron two distinct substances, iron and heat, are united, so is the body of Christ joined with the bread in the Eucharist." Carlostadt now went to the other extreme; he forsook Luther and embraced the doctrine of Zuingle and those Swiss reformers who afterwards opposed Calvin on this as well as some other doctrines. They taught that the bread and wine were nothing more than external signs or symbols, without any presence, real or spiritual, whether in the elements or the recipient. The sacrament was not a means of grace, but merely a commemorative rite.

The Anabaptists, under the enthusiast Múnzer, rose in arms in 1525. Their violence was, of course, charged upon Luther and his doctrines by the papists; but, in truth, it was an insurrection of the serfs against the lords of the soil, resembling the rebellions of our own Cade and Tyler, and arising out of the same causes. Vassalage, another term for slavery, was expiring, and these were its convulsive throes. Religion was merely the pretext, and naturally so, when all men's minds were inflamed upon the subject. The insurrection was still raging when the Elector Frederic died. He is charged by German writers, devoted to the Lutheran cause, with indecision and a want of courage, but his sincerity is unquestioned. His successor was a man of greater resolution; he threw off the authority of Rome, and established the Reformation in his dominions in 1527. A code of ecclesiastical government was drawn up by Luther and Melancthon for his dominions, and the same forms of worship and discipline were immediately copied by the other states of Germany where the sovereigns favoured the Reformation. But some of the states were unprepared for so great a change, and, in consequence, Germany became a divided people, partly Romish and partly Protestant, and such it still remains.

We do not profess to give the history of the various fortunes of Luther and his followers, still less that of the German states, through the stormy period which followed. A diet was held at Spires in 1526, at which the German princes, in opposition to

the wish of the emperor, resolved not to insist upon the rigorous execution of the edict of Worms. Each state was left at liberty to conduct its own ecclesiastical affairs, and the reformers made use of this brief interval of sunshine to diffuse their principles. But a second diet was held at Spires in 1529, and the decisions of the former were revoked. A general council, it was said, alone had power to settle their religious differences; and, until it should be called, all changes in doctrine, discipline, or worship were declared unlawful. Against this iniquitous decree a solemn protest was made on the 19th of April, 1529, in these words: "We protest publicly before God, our only Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Saviour, who, as the only Searcher of all our hearts, judgeth righteously, and we also protest before all the world, that both for ourselves and for all our connections and subjects, we do not consent to, nor agree with any resolutions or acts contained in the last decree of Spires above referred to, which, in the great concern of religion, are contrary to God and to his holy word, injurious to our soul's salvation, and also in direct opposition to the dictates of our conscience, as well as to the decree issued by an imperial diet of Spires; and we hereby solemnly declare that, from reasons already assigned, and from other weighty considerations, we regard all such resolutions or acts as null and void." The protest was signed, besides the Elector of Saxony, by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Prince of Anhalt, the Duke of Brunswick, and his brother Ernest the Confessor, hereditary prince of Saxony, and others of high rank; they were supported by thirteen imperial towns, and also by Luther and Melancthon, by whom the protest was prepared. The reformers ever since have taken the name of Protestants.

The Protestant leaders appealed to the emperor, who was now in Spain. He seized their ambassador, and assumed a hostile bearing; and they, alarmed for their safety, formed a solemn confederacy at Smalcald, binding themselves to assist each other. Charles perceived that menaces would not subdue the spirit of the Reformation, and for actual warfare he was not prepared. He first attempted to persuade the pope to call a general council; but the angry pontiff thought of nothing but force and chastisement. With a view of terminating the disputes which threatened the empire with destruction, the emperor once more called together the diet. It met at Augsburg in 1530. Charles

himself knew little of the merits of the case ; he had been absent from the previous diets, engaged in foreign wars, and indeed, had he been present, it was still true that Luther had been condemned unheard. The Elector of Saxony, therefore, requested Luther and other divines to prepare, in order to lay before the diet, a summary of their creed, and of the differences which compelled them to forsake the Church of Rome. These were drawn up and presented to the elector in 1529. They were called the Articles of Torgau, from being presented to the elector at the town so named. They were reviewed before the Protestant princes, and it being thought desirable that they should be extended and enlarged, the work was assigned to Melancthon ; and thus was completed the famous confession of Augsburg, the standard of faith in all the Lutheran churches. When read before the diet by the Chancellor of Saxony, in the presence of the emperor and the assembled princes, it produced a deep impression. Of the Romish party, some were surprised to find that the sentiments of Luther, which they had been taught to regard as fanatical and vile, were pure and rational, and in accordance with the word of God. History has long ago determined that the Augsburg confession, marked with the strong sense of Luther, and the classic taste of Melancthon, should take a high rank amongst a class of documents the fewest in number, the most difficult, and, excepting the sacred canon, the most important in existence. It was signed by four princes of the empire, by the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and by the Elector of Saxony. The Romish clergy present at the diet—Faber, Eckius, and Cochläus—drew up a refutation which was publicly read in the diet, the emperor demanding the acquiescence of the Protestants ; for he was now determined to insist on their submission, and to close the dispute. This they refused. The emperor again took counsel with the pope, and the result was an imperial edict, commanding the princes, states, and cities which had thrown off the papal yoke, to return to their duty, on pain of incurring the displeasure of the emperor as the patron and defender of the holy see. Then came the league of Smalcald in 1531, when the Protestant sovereigns of Germany formed a religious alliance, to which they invited England, Denmark, and other states in which the Reformation had now dawned. In 1532, the peace of Nuremberg composed for a time the

differences between the emperor and the reformers; the Lutherans were permitted the free exercise of their worship, until a general council or another diet should finally determine the faith of continental Christendom. In 1535, the pope, Paul III., proposed to summon a general council at Mantua. The Protestants of Germany, well satisfied that no advantages would result from such a synod, assembled at Smalcald in 1537, and published a solemn protest against the constitution of the council as partial and corrupt. To this they added a summary of their doctrine, drawn up by Luther, in order to present it to the council, if the pope should persist in calling it together. This summary, which was distinguished by the title of the Articles of Smalcald, is generally joined with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran Church. The pope, however, died, and the council at Mantua was postponed. New projects were raised, with the vain hope of setting at rest the spirit of religious freedom by which all Germany was now disturbed. The emperor summoned a conference at Worms in 1541, and Melancthon disputed for three days with Eekius on the points at issue. A diet followed at Ratisbon, another at Spires in 1542, and a third at Worms in 1545; the emperor vainly attempting to intimidate the Protestants, or to induce their leaders to consent to a general council to be summoned by the pope. But their resolution was fixed; they denied the pope's right to summon a general council; they regarded the proposal as a snare, and treated it with scorn. The Council of Trent met in 1546, but no Protestant representatives appeared. It thundered its decrees, and the Protestant princes of Germany bade it defiance. The emperor, exasperated by their resistance, and stimulated by the pope, assembled his forces, resolved to crush the spirit he could not otherwise subdue. All Germany was arming in defence of Protestantism or in submission to the emperor, and the storm darkened on every side. Such was the state of Germany when Luther died. Full of faith and charity, and confident in the truth of his cause, he left the world in peace, February 18th, 1546, at Isleben, where he was born.

A religious war now broke out. The emperor was victorious, and the Interim followed. This was an imperial edict, issued in 1547, granting certain concessions, more specious than really important, to the Protestants, until the decisions of a general council should be taken. It satisfied neither party, and the war

soon raged anew. The Emperor was defeated by the German confederates, under Maurice of Saxony, in 1552, and the pacification of Passau followed. At last, in 1555, the diet of Augsburg met, peace was restored, and the Protestant states of Germany secured their independence. It was decreed that the Protestants who embraced the Confession of Augsburg should be entirely exempted from the jurisdiction of the Romish pontiff, and from the authority and interference of his bishops. They were free to enact laws for the regulation of their own religion in every point, whether of discipline or doctrine. Every subject of the German empire was allowed the right of private judgment, and might unite himself to that Church which he preferred; and those who should prosecute others under the pretext of religion were declared enemies of the common peace.

The Lutheran Church, as thus at length established, professed no other rule of faith than holy Scripture. Such at least is the statement of its learned defender and historian, Dr. Mosheim, himself a Lutheran. The Confession of Augsburg, with Melancthon's defence of it, the Articles of Smalcald, and the larger and smaller Catechisms, are generally received as containing the principal points of doctrine, arranged, for the sake of method and perspicuity, in their natural order; but these books have no authority but that which they derive from the Scriptures; nor may the Lutheran clergy so interpret them as to draw from them any proposition inconsistent with the express declarations of the word of God. The only point of much importance on which the Augsburg Confession is different from that of Calvin and the Reformed Church is the real presence in the Eucharist. It is to be noted, however, that while this is maintained, it is denied that the mass is a sacrifice, or that it ought to be worshipped or adored. On the Arminian question the Confession of Augsburg carefully avoids the explicitness of Calvin, and sets an example of moderation which was probably copied by the framers of our Thirty-Nine Articles: "Like as the preaching of repentance is general, even so the promise of grace is general, and willet all men to receive the benefit of Christ; as Christ himself saith, 'Come unto me all ye that are laden,' &c." In practice the Lutheran Church has always leaned towards the extreme of low Arminianism.

The constitution of the Church is simple, and in its form of

worship studiously plain. It is a modified presbyterianism. The head of the state is acknowledged as the supreme visible ruler of the Church. It is governed by a consistory, composed of divines and civilians, frequently appointed by the sovereign himself. The German Lutherans reject Episcopacy; but as the Reformation extended, Sweden and Denmark, embracing the Lutheran faith, retained the Episcopal government, and these kingdoms are governed by bishops and superintendents, under the authority of the sovereign. The archbishop of Upsal, primate of Sweden, is the only archbishop amongst the Lutherans. The incomes of these prelates are extremely moderate. The archbishop's revenue is less than 1000*l.*; those of the bishops about 400*l.* per annum.

The forms of worship vary. Each state has a Liturgy of its own, which may, or may not, agree verbally with that of neighbouring churches. The Lutherans claim in this the same liberty which is exercised in the Church of England in our various selections of psalms and hymns. Festivals in commemoration of the great events of the Gospel history were once observed, as well as some few saints' days, but they are now suffered to pass almost unnoticed. Ecclesiastical discipline is almost unknown, and religion itself has long, it must be confessed, been at a low ebb in most of the Lutheran churches.

Luther himself foresaw, and frequently predicted, the decline of Lutheranism. "Our cause," he said, "will go on as long as its living advocates—Melancthon and the rest, survive; after their death, there will be a sad falling off." Seckendorf describes him as the Jeremiah of his own church, constantly bewailing the sins, and predicting the sorrows of his people. And both Seckendorf and Mosheim, devoted Lutherans, admit that his forebodings were but too correct. Luther anticipated danger from the growth of the sectarians—Anabaptists, Antinomians, and Sacramentarians. But more grievous perils were at hand from other sources. The great Lutheran historians admit that there was an immediate relapse into vice and irreligion. Within a few years of the death of the great reformer, the lives of those who professed his principles were a disgrace to the Reformation. The German states which had embraced, were not more virtuous or more devout than those which had rejected, the doctrines of Luther. The confession is painful, but still it must not be con-

ceased that zeal and fervent piety almost forsook the Lutherans when Luther died. Ponderous learning, recondite criticism, and historians, laborious, if not eloquent and philosophical, the Lutheran Church can boast, and but little more. It has never grappled with the warm affections of an ardent people, or subdued and governed the intelligence of a thoughtful race. It has been for centuries a state machine from which little was expected, and by which little has been done. Sharing deeply in the collapse of Protestantism in other lands, it has scarcely shared in any of its revivals. Its career has been monotonous and undisturbed. When its children have woken up to a due sense of the importance of religion they have forsaken its communion. Thus, Zinzendorf, in the middle of the last century, replenished the Moravian Church with Lutherans. But, amongst themselves, there has not, at any time, been a marked revival of religious power and life such as those with which all other Churches of the Reformation have been visited.

Nor is it difficult to explain the causes of this want of success. In the first place the Lutheran Church, in the judgment of the Reformation, was still tainted with one of the great errors of the Church of Rome, the doctrine of the real presence in the mass. Consubstantiation excluded the Lutherans from the fellowship, and in a great extent from the affections, of all the reformed churches. It must have had another effect; agreeing upon a point so vital with Rome, the Lutheran Church occupied a midway position between her and other Protestant churches, and so became the antagonist of both. Against the Church of Rome it was difficult to maintain its favourite dogma, which either conceded or refused too much; against other Protestants it was still more difficult to maintain either its peculiar creed or its insulated position. The Lutheran divines, with almost one consent, abandoned the field of dogmatic theology and buried themselves in antiquarian researches or philological speculations.

Again, the defection of several of the German princes crippled the Lutheran Church in its infancy. Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, forsook Lutheranism and joined the reformed or Calvinistic church, in 1604, removing the Lutheran professors from the University of Marburg, and the clergy from their churches. In 1614 Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, followed his example. Contests arose between the professors of the rival

churches, and the strength which should have been spent in assaults on popery, or in advancing pure religion amongst themselves, was wasted in these unnatural conflicts. In Brandenburg disputes ran high, and the peace of the state was in danger. At first a "form of concord" was enacted, and the two communions were invited to dwell in peace. But the Lutherans of Saxony were outrageous in their violence. The form of concord was in consequence suppressed, and the subjects of Brandenburg were prohibited from studying divinity in the University of Wittemberg. The repeated attempts which have since been made to unite the Calvinists and Lutherans in Prussia, and other states of Germany, have been already mentioned.—(See CALVINISTS.)

A third cause of the little success which has blessed the Lutheran Churches is to be found in the metaphysical subtleties by which the simple theology of Luther was soon displaced. We utterly despair of putting the reader in possession of these disputes, some of which are long since forgotten, while others form the basis of those speculations both in metaphysics and theology with which Germany is now distracted. In the seventeenth century the German Churches repeated most of the follies of the early Christians. There was the same attempt to clothe Christianity in philosophical forms; to divest it of the marvellous; and to present it as a code of ethics, instead of a revelation of grace. At the head of this school of divines was Calixtus, a minister of Schleswick: his followers took the name of Syncretists; their chief aim was to promote union, and, if possible, to reunite in one body all the Protestant Churches, or even, as some assert, the whole of Christendom, including the Church of Rome. Whether Calixtus was a sound divine and a wise diplomatist, is a question to be dug out of many a folio of hard divinity. To us it has but little interest. From his times, if not from his teaching, arose that succession of philosophical divines in Germany which is now represented by the great Neologian or Rationalistic party. Opposed to these Spener appeared at Francfort, the leader of the Pietists, about the year 1670. It is admitted, even by his opponents, that his intentions were good, and that he was a man of piety. His own followers claimed for him far higher praise. They look upon him as the restorer of true religion in a dark and profligate age. The Syncretists treated revelation with some degree of levity; Spener with profound reverence. He



formed societies for the devout study of the Bible, promoted scriptural expositions and lectures in the churches, and social meetings for prayer and devotional exercises. The Pietists made a great impression. Their meetings were crowded, their converts multiplied. But severe charges were brought against them, and in 1695 Spener was punished as a preacher of dangerous and erroneous tenets. Amongst general accusations of enthusiasm and extravagance, of obscuring the sublime truths of religion by a gloomy kind of jargon, of believing themselves to be under a divine impulse, and the like—charges which, in every age, encounter the friends of pure and earnest religion—there are scattered some few accusations of a graver sort. It is said that some at least of the Pietists assumed the authority of prophets, terrified the people with pretended visions, denounced existing institutions, and proclaimed the millenium at hand as a carnal paradise. But these, if true, were but passing foibles. A great religious movement sweeps along with it a number of the vain, the ignorant, and the fanatical, who are no more to be confounded with it than the rabble of sutlers and thieves who follow a well-disciplined army with the soldier in the ranks. A graver accusation still remains. Spener and his followers, the old Pietists, indulged to a great extent in that dreaming mysticism, that sentimental piety, which, if not fatal to religion, is one of its worst maladies. Mosheim writes the history of the Pietists in a severe strain: he says they despised philosophy and learning, and placed the whole of their theology in certain vague and incoherent declamations. No doubt there was much extravagance, which was carried to its extreme height by Petersen, a pastor in Lunenburg. Of this he gave a painful specimen in 1691, publicly maintaining that Rosamond Juliana, countess of Asseburg, was honoured with a vision of the Deity, and commissioned to make a new declaration of his will to man. Yet the instances which Mosheim furnishes will scarcely be thought to support the charge of vagueness and incoherence in the theology of the Pietists. With respect to morals, they taught, he says, that no person who was not himself a model of piety and divine love was qualified to be a public teacher of piety, or a guide to others in the way of salvation. They forbid dancing, public sports, and theatrical diversions. With respect to doctrine, they are accused of denying justification by faith alone,

without good works. But this, if true in some few instances, is to be received, with regard to the Pietists in general, as an extravagant assertion. They insisted much upon works of charity and holiness of life, and were therefore charged with a denial of the doctrine that men are accounted righteous before God for the sake of Christ, and by virtue of his atonement.

The history of the Lutheran Church since the beginning of the eighteenth century presents few points of interest. Two subjects for a long time absorbed all her energies. These were, the growth of infidelity and the project of a union with the Calvinists. The former has at length terminated, so far as the Rationalists or anti-Evangelical party are concerned, in what we can only term a compromise. The attempts to effect an union with the Calvinists were frequently renewed, and ended at length in the fusion of the two Churches in Prussia, and the establishment of the Evangelical Church of that kingdom in 1817.—(See CALVINISTS.)

At present Lutheranism is most powerful in Denmark and Sweden. In Denmark the whole population, which amounts to two millions, with the exception of less than twenty thousand dissenters of various creeds, is Lutheran. There are eight bishops and about fifteen hundred clergy. At Copenhagen there has existed since 1714 a Missionary college, and from about that period must be dated the origin of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar. To the Lutheran Church belongs the honour of having been the first of Protestant communities in missionary enterprises. Each of the great missionary societies of the Church of England has been thankful to accept the services of Lutheran missionaries; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in India, and the Church Missionary Society, till a very recent period, in all her missions. The people of Sweden, upwards of three millions, are Lutheran with a few exceptions, as in Denmark. The constitution of these Churches is episcopal. In the Protestant states of Germany and in Holland the Lutheran is, upon the whole, the prevailing faith, though the proportion of Roman Catholics is often great. In some of the states Catholics and Protestants are equally divided, and we fear it must be added that in few of them does the Lutheran Church present that aspect of wisdom, zeal, and piety which is calculated to win over the subjects

of the Pope. In France the Lutherans have about two hundred and fifty congregations.

*Seckendorf, Historia Lutheranismi: Leipsic, 1692. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History. Life of Martin Luther. Luther's Table-Talk, edited by John Aurifaber; 1569. Dr. J. Merle D'Aubigné, History of the Reformation in Germany. Scott's continuation of Milner's Church History.*

**M**ORMONITES, OR LATTER DAY SAINTS.—Mormonism is not entitled to be termed a Christian sect. It stands in the same relationship to Christianity with Mahomedanism. In both instances the founder of a new faith professed himself the author of a new revelation; while at the same time the Holy Scriptures were treated with a certain measure of respect. The reader unacquainted with the peculiarities of Mormonism may, however, have referred to our pages for information; and under this protest we shall narrate, with the utmost brevity, the strange story of the Mormons.

The sect first appeared in America, and Joseph Smith was its founder. He was born at Sharon, in the state of Vermont, in 1805, being the son of a small farmer. When about fifteen years of age he was present at one of those religious revivals which have become so frequent in some of the transatlantic churches. Whether from insanity, enthusiasm, or sheer hypocrisy, the lad professed to have been favoured, while in prayer, with a miraculous vision. "A pillar of light above the brightness of the sun gradually descended upon me," he says, "and I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air." They assured him that his sins were forgiven, and forbade him to join any Christian Church, since all existing Churches were alike in error. His vanity led him to proclaim his vision, and the persecution which he says he met with in consequence, from professors of religion, made him only the more obstinate. He admits that, as he grew up, he led a vagrant life. By the help of a divining-rod he pretended to be able to discover treasures buried in the earth, and was known as "the money-digger." He earned a precarious living by this and similar contrivances till 1823, when he had a second revelation, and an angel directed him to a spot near Palmyra, in Ontario

county, where he found, engraved on thin plates of gold, certain records prophetic and historical. They were written in the "reformed Egyptian character," and had once belonged to the American Indians, who were a remnant of the Israelites; and they contained the necessary instructions for the formation of a pure Church. Besides the record engraved on the gold plates, he found with them two stones, or lenses, set in silver; these were the Urim and Thummim of the ancient seers, by means of which he was enabled to translate the book. It was not till 1827 that Smith was permitted by the angel to remove his treasure, though he continued to receive supernatural instructions during the interval. Such was Smith's story. In 1830 the book was published under the title of the book of Mormon.

The real history of the book of Mormon has been ascertained, beyond a doubt, to be this:—Solomon Spalding, a Presbyterian minister of little note and imperfect education, who had retired from the ministry and engaged without success in business, attempted the composition of an historical romance. He chose for his subject the history of the native American Indians. He represented them as the descendants of the patriarch Joseph, and traced their history from the time of Zedekiah, king of Judah, for a period of a thousand years. It was written in rude imitation of the style and language of the Old Testament. The author was so illiterate that chronology, history, and the simplest rules of grammar, were outraged on every page. Spalding is said to have tried in vain to persuade any publisher or printer to undertake the publication of the book. He died, leaving the manuscript in his widow's possession; and as she lived in the neighbourhood of Smith's parents it came, about twelve years after the author's death, by what means is uncertain, into Joseph Smith's possession. He prefixed the title by which it has since been known, "The Book of Mormon," and pretended that it contained a translation of the characters engraven upon the golden tablets, to which he had been directed by the angel. "An exposé of Mormonism" was published at Boston in 1842, in which are given the depositions of Spalding's brother, of his widow, and of Lake, his partner in business, all of whom assert that the Book of Mormon is no other than this historical romance, which they had often seen and read. Smith himself is said at first to have laughed at the deception he was practising; but the

seriousness with which the imposture was received, seems to have suggested to him the facility with which the credulity of his neighbours could be made to contribute to his fortunes, far beyond the mere sale of a few editions of a stupid literary imposture. The story of the revelation, written upon tablets of gold, was widely circulated: it is not pretended that, except by ten or twelve chosen witnesses, who of course were Smith's coadjutors, the gold plates were ever seen by mortal eye; indeed, "the angel in a short time resumed them, and has them," says Smith, in his autobiography, "in his charge till this day." Harris, a neighbouring farmer, who had been induced to advance money to Joseph Smith for the expenses of printing, was favoured with a fac-simile of one of the gold plates. Finding himself impoverished by the speculation, he quarrelled with Smith, renounced Mormonism, and carried the fac-simile to Professor Anson of New York, who published, in February 1837, a letter, in which he describes the engraving as "the work of an artist who probably had before him a book containing alphabets in various languages. It consists of Greek and Hebrew letters, crosses, and flourishes, Roman letters inverted or placed sideways, the whole ending in the rude delineation of a circle copied from the Mexican calendar, given by Humboldt, but copied in such a way as not to betray the source from whence it was derived. I am thus particular," he adds, "as to the contents of the paper, inasmuch as I have frequently conversed with my friends upon the subject since the Mormon excitement began, and well remember that the paper contained anything else but 'Egyptian hieroglyphics.'"

It is to be noticed that the Book of Mormon is free from heretical statements or novel dogmas, if we except the denial of infant baptism. It asserts the perpetuity of miracles in the Church: and on this account the Irvingites were induced to send a deputation, in the early stages of Mormonism, to express their sympathy with Joseph Smith. For a short time they too were the dupes of his imposture. According to Smith, Mormon was the name of a prophet who lived in the fourth century, and who engraved on plates of gold a summary of the history of the American tribes, which had now become degenerate, and were soon afterwards extinct. These plates were buried for safety by his son Maroni, in the spot to which Smith was directed by the angel, about the year A.D. 420. The evidence of the Spaldings

declares that Mormon and Moroni were conspicuous personages in the historical romance of their deceased relation.

At first the imposture, like that of Mahomet, moved slowly, but a few converts were made, and in 1830 the Mormon Church, or, as Smith named it, the Church of Latter Day Saints, was formed. As the Book of Mormon forbade infant baptism, Smith began to baptize a few of his converts, amongst whom were his own father and other members of his family. About the same time he appears to have been joined by Sidney Rigdon. Rigdon was a printer; he had been employed in an office to which the historical romance had been offered during the life of Spalding, and is supposed to have made himself acquainted with its contents, and to have been the instrument of placing it in the hands of Joseph Smith. He had been a preacher, in what sect we are not informed, but having some smattering of theology he was the better qualified to carry out the scheme in which he now embarked. Smith announced him as his prophet; for whenever occasion required, a revelation through the angel gave fresh powers to the Mormon leader; and Rigdon signalized his entrance upon office by the production of an inspired code of "doctrines and covenants" for the more complete guidance of the Church. Its outward constitution was now finally arranged, of course by revelation. The priesthood was two-fold; there was the order of Aaron and the order of Melchisedek. All the officers of the primitive Church were revived; prophets, evangelists, apostles, bishops, priests, and deacons.

The pretensions of Smith were received by his neighbours, who were acquainted with his previous character, with general contempt; which, as he gained a few converts, was exchanged for indignation. He found it expedient to remove; and in 1831, in company with Rigdon, he took up his abode at Kertland, in Ohio. Here they formed a mercantile house in their capacity of stewards for the consecrated property of the Mormonites. They also purchased goods on credit to a large extent; and, in order still further to increase their profits, opened a bank and issued promissory notes. The credit of the bank was suspected, and the holders of its notes were of course anxious to discover the amount of capital possessed by the bankers. The Mormon leader had prepared for this emergency; he filled one box with dollars and about two hundred others with stones and iron. Having

assembled his creditors, he showed them the two hundred boxes, each marked "1000 dollars," and satisfied their curiosity by opening that which contained the only treasure he possessed. The trick answered for a time. The notes were passed off by the elders of the Mormon Church, who obtained, some of them twenty, some even forty thousand dollars in this way; boasting that they had "sucked the milk of the Gentiles." But the bank failed; many of the Mormonites, not in the secret of their leaders, were pillaged, and they denounced the prophet for a swindler. He was seized by the populace, tarred and feathered, and narrowly escaped with his life. He took his revenge in denouncing his creditors as wicked dissenters, wanting faith, on whom the vengeance of heaven was about to fall and the earth to swallow them up, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.—'Gleanings by the Way,' by the Rev. J. A. Clarke, D.D., Philadelphia.

Soon afterwards Smith and his companions removed to a settlement on the banks of the Missouri. Here the new community built the town, or city, of Zion; and in 1832 the settlement was tenanted by no fewer than twelve hundred Mormonites. But the indignation of the old settlers was again aroused; partly by the immoral practices which already began to be charged on the sect, and still more perhaps by their vaunts and arrogance. For they boasted they should soon possess the whole country, and that the infidels would be rooted out. A public meeting was held in the county, and the Mormonites were commanded to depart. Resistance was in vain. Nor could they obtain redress from the legal tribunals. Zion was abandoned, and the Mormonites, who now amounted to twelve thousand, crossed the Mississippi in 1837, and took refuge in the state of Illinois. Here they built Nauvoo, which, according to the Book of Mormon, signifies beautiful. The compact order, the voluntary obedience, above all the intense fanaticism of the Mormonites, wrought in a short time astonishing effects. In eighteen months Nauvoo contained two thousand houses. The proselytes numbered fifteen thousand. A flourishing commonwealth existed, and Joseph Smith presided, with more than the power of an oriental despot, over willing subjects. A magnificent temple was begun in 1841, the foundations of which were laid with civic and military pomp; for the Mormonites had now a well-trained militia of their own body; and a mansion was begun in which Joseph Smith and his family were to reside at the public cost. A solemn revelation was an-

nounced, in which the faithful were commanded to build the house; and it was declared to be the will of God that Smith and his family should dwell in it for ever without charge or cost, supported by the offerings of the Church. A mission had been sent to England, and already their tenets were making rapid progress. Within five years they had baptized ten thousand British subjects.

Again the popular indignation broke out against the Mormonites. In truth, they were formidable neighbours. They had now, in 1842, an army of four thousand men, in a state of great efficiency, commanded by a general who had served in the army in the United States. In 1844, Smith offered himself as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, a proceeding which has been regarded as mere bravado, but one, at the same time, in which a true patriot might reasonably feel ground for some alarm. But what most of all aroused the vengeance of his countrymen was the audacity with which Smith now invoked religion as the minister of his profligacy. In July, 1843, he announced a revelation (which is printed in full in the 'Millennial Star,' No. XV., p. 5, the organ of Mormonism) authorising him and all those whom he should license, to take an unlimited number of wives. At first the revelation was kept a profound secret, or communicated only to the leaders of the party; but the infamous conduct of Smith and his apostles to the females in Nauvoo, produced a strong remonstrance from a local newspaper, called the 'Expositor,' which published in its first number the affidavits of sixteen women, who alleged that Smith, Rigdon, Young, and others, had invited them to enter into a secret and illicit connexion, under the title of spiritual marriage. Smith commanded the office of the 'Expositor' to be levelled to the ground. His mandate was instantly carried into effect, and the obnoxious editors fled for their lives. They obtained a writ from the authorities of the state of Illinois against Smith and his brother. The execution of the warrant was resisted in Nauvoo, and Smith ordered the officer entrusted with it to be driven away; but the militia of the state were in motion, and it was perceived that hostilities were hopeless against an overwhelming force of 60,000 men. Smith and his brother surrendered, and were committed to the county jail at Carthage, to take their trial for treason against the state. A mob broke into the prison, armed with pistols, and the two brothers were despatched. Joseph Smith



was shot, June the 7th, 1844, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

His vacant office was eagerly contested by several competitors. "The apostolic college" elected Brigham Young, in opposition to Sidney Rigdon, who, disputing the election, was himself excommunicated and expelled. Brigham Young is now president of the Latter Day Saints, and of the territory of Utah. Rigdon had already quarrelled with Smith, and having now no further interest in the imposture which he had helped to frame, he threw off the mask, and denounced his associates. Bennet, who had been mayor of Nauvoo, and a disciple, but forsook the Mormons on account of the infamous conduct of Smith, explains the secession of Rigdon thus: "Smith," he says, "taught that the blessings of Jacob were granted to him, and, consequently, that he had divine authority and permission for indulging in unrestrained polygamy. He had thus induced several English and American women, whose husbands and fathers had been sent on distant missions by the prophet, to become his spiritual wives. But having attempted to add to their number the daughter of Sidney Rigdon, the feelings of the father were too strong to permit such an abomination; and Rigdon, who had accompanied the prophet in his long and hateful course of imposture and hypocrisy, at once dissolved all connexion with this abandoned wretch, and exposed his infamous proceedings in several newspapers. He spoke of him, as well he might, in terms of unmeasured severity, as one polluted mass of corruption, iniquity, and fraud."—(Prof. Caswall, 'Prophet of the Nineteenth Century,' who quotes the above from the 'St. Louis' newspaper.) Yet after this, it seems, Rigdon was a candidate for the office of Mormon chief, left vacant by Smith's death!

Nauvoo prospered once more. The magnificent temple rose upon the summit of a hill, as if in defiance, and the number of converts still increased. The jealousy of the neighbouring settlers had never slumbered; the Mormons were regarded with a hatred not unmixed with fear, and a league was formed for their extermination from the soil. They wisely resolved to bow before the tempest, abandon the territory of the United States, and find another home in the recesses of the wilderness. In 1846 Nauvoo was forsaken; but it was not till after a march of a whole year, across the Rocky Mountains, that the first

detachment reached their new settlement in the basin of the great Salt Lake, in Upper California. A second and a third party followed, suffering dreadful hardships on the way, and losing thousands by hunger and distress. Only about four thousand of the twenty thousand inhabitants of Nauvoo reached the region of the Salt Lake, their new abode.

But it seemed as if, until some mysterious purpose were fulfilled, no disasters and no disgraces could affect the progress of the Mormon cause. The career of the new commonwealth has been one of boundless prosperity. The descriptions of the scenery of the valley of the Salt Lake, and the character of the new institutions there, forcibly remind us of the glowing accounts of Mexico, which have been left by the companions of Cortes. A lake, fifty miles in length, studded with beautiful islands, washes on all sides a plain of marvellous fertility. This is girded round with mountains, whose peaks of perpetual snow are burnished by a dazzling sun. The valley is entered only by a deep ravine, five miles in length, through which a river winds its way. Nature has rendered the spot impregnable. Its entire seclusion from the world, its exquisite beauty and genial clime, its prolific soil, and its safety from the attacks of enemies, have suggested to the Mormons a new fable. The territory of Utah, as it is termed, is the land of promise. Their city is the true Zion, and its foundations are eternal. To this spot the promises of God pertain, as well as the more questionable predictions of the Mormon seers.

By a treaty between the United States and Mexico, the region of the Salt Lake was annexed, in 1848, to the territory of the former power. The Mormonites requested the Congress to admit them into the number of sovereign states, as the state of Deseret. This was refused; but in 1850 the Mormon district was formed into a territory, the governor of which is appointed by the president of the United States. At present the head of the Mormon Church holds that distinction.

But it is not difficult to foresee the dangers which threaten the very existence of Mormonism in the United States. In other countries it is a foreign institution, and every zealous member of it feels himself an exile. In America it aspires, not merely to independence, but to sovereignty. Its prophets are loud and clamorous in their predictions; and those predictions are the

same which Hebrew prophets denounced against the enemies of God. At its present rate of progress, Deseret (the name was taken from the Book of Mormon, under prophetic instruction) may claim, within seven years, to be an independent state in the great American republic; for this distinction is granted to a new territory when its population amounts to 60,000. The number of inhabitants now probably exceeds 40,000; and in 1851 not fewer than 3,000 emigrants arrived. An emigration fund, amounting to 35,000 dollars per annum, is liberally spent upon poor Mormons who may be anxious, but unable, to reach the mother colony. It is probable that the demand to be admitted into the federal union, as an independent state, will be rejected. It will be received by a vast number of the citizens of the great republic with feelings of strong aversion. The subject of polygamy is full of peril. It is illegal; the children are illegitimate; and the courts of law throughout the republic are already apprehensive of the consequences when the question shall come before them. Meanwhile the indignation of the states is gathering force daily, excited alike by the arrogance of the Mormons, and their immorality. A portion of the American press has begun, not only to denounce polygamy, but to call upon Congress to put down, even by force of arms, "this abominable domestic institution." It is questionable whether the Mormonites will be more dangerous as one of the United States, or as an independent government; for, if their claim be rejected, they will, no doubt, proclaim themselves a sovereign state. They may be crushed, or perhaps exterminated; but it seems not beyond the reach of probability that they may long continue to hang on the outskirts of civilization, to spoil and devastate,—the Mahomedans of the Western world.

The doctrines of a sect whose boast it is that their system is progressive, and that they daily receive new revelations, cannot, of course, be accurately described. The real tenets of Mormonism are rendered the more obscure, because, in the first place, the initiated have a creed the mysteries of which the new converts and the unbelieving world are not permitted to explore. Polygamy furnishes an example. Only three years ago, it was indignantly denied in the official Mormon publications intended for the public eye; it is now as openly avowed. Orson Pratt, who has since appeared as its advocate in print, then spoke of it

with abhorrence, and his "letter to the Saints" was brought forward, even by writers professing to be unprejudiced, as a triumphant vindication of a maligned sect. And again, the doctrines maintained as fundamental at one time, have been repeatedly set aside by counter revelations at another. The Mormon creed, printed for general circulation, omits most of the questionable points both of their faith and practice. It is as follows:—

"We believe in God the eternal Father, and in his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgressions.

"We believe that, through the atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

"We believe that these ordinances are—1st. Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. 2nd. Repentance. 3rd. Baptism, by immersion, for the remission of sins. 4th. Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Spirit. 5th. The Lord's Supper.

"We believe that men must be called of God by inspiration, and by laying on of hands by those who are duly commissioned to preach the Gospel, and administer in the ordinances thereof.

"We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church, viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c.

"We believe in the powers and gifts of the everlasting Gospel—viz., the gift of faith, discerning of spirits, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, tongues and the interpretation of tongues, wisdom, charity, brotherly love, &c.

"We believe in the word of God, recorded in the Bible. We also believe the word of God recorded in the Book of Mormon, and in all other good books.

"We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal; and we believe that he will yet reveal many more great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God and Messiah's second coming.

"We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the ten tribes; that Zion will be established upon the Western continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth one thousand years; and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaical glory.

“We believe in the literal resurrection of the body, and that the dead in Christ will rise first, and that the rest of the dead live not again until the thousand years are expired.

“We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, unmolested, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how or where they may.

“We believe in being subject to kings, queens, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law.

“We believe in being honest, true, chaste, temperate, benevolent, virtuous, and upright, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, we ‘believe all things,’ we ‘hope all things,’ we have endured very many things, and hope to be able to ‘endure all things.’ Everything virtuous, lovely, praiseworthy, and of good report we seek after, looking forward to the ‘recompense of reward.’”

But many of the doctrines taught in the accredited Mormon books are irreconcilable with this creed. Some of them are such as a devout Christian must regard with abhorrence, and others are childish and absurd. Of the former class are the descriptions of the Deity. In the “Millennial Star,” volume vi., Joseph Smith himself teaches the following blasphemies:—The Deity is a material person with human passions. He is a material, organized intelligence, possessing both body and parts. He is in form of man, and is, in fact, of the same species. He eats, he drinks, he loves and hates; he goes from place to place. His omnipresence is denied; he cannot be in two places at once. He was once a man, and from manhood by continual progression became God. Man, likewise, is a creature of continual progression, and will in time possess more power, more subjects, and more glory, than is now possessed by Jesus Christ or his Father; while at the same time they will have had their dominion, kingdom, and subjects increased in the same proportion. In the “Book of Doctrines and Covenants,” (page 87, third European edition,) the reader is informed, that unless he receive baptism by Mormon hands he shall perish everlastingly. From the same source, (page 318,) we learn that the multitude, who, from our Lord’s time have died believing the gospel, are in purgatory. These, without one exception, continued to suffer torment till

the year 1830, when Mormon baptism was instituted; and the only method of escape is by the vicarious substitution of a Mormon saint, who receives on their behalf what is termed "baptism for the dead." In this revelation, Smith has given explicit directions for the appointment of clerks or recorders to keep the books in the Mormonite temple at Nauvoo, in which the names of those deceased persons shall be entered on whose behalf any living man receives "baptism for the dead." Notwithstanding the fair professions of benevolence and philanthropy in the creed, 'The Book of Doctrines and Covenants,' is filled with bitter denunciations against unbelievers, and revenge is inculcated as a duty. "And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall lay hands on you by violence ye shall command to be smitten in my name, and behold I will smite them according to your words." The doctrine of spiritual marriage, as recently set forth in the 'Seer,' and the 'Millennial Star,' is this: No marriage is lawful without the sanction of the Mormon priesthood, by whom it may also be dissolved. Polygamy is the privilege of the faithful, and the Mahomedan paradise, with its sensual indulgences, is distinctly taught. Indeed the grovelling sensuality with which Mormonism invests a future state of being is the climax, at once hideous and most appropriate, to the most transparent, and yet hitherto the most successful system of imposture which ever duped the credulity of man.

Besides the great Mormon tribe, as they may be termed, in North California, the sect is now to be found in many states of Europe, in the Sandwich Islands, and in the East Indies. Its success, we are ashamed to say, has been great in England. In 1851, the census reports 222 places of worship belonging to this body, most of them, however, being only rooms. The number of sittings in those places was about 30,000. From an official census of their own, published half yearly, we learn that in July, 1853, the British Mormonites amounted to 30,690. The number of those who bear office is a large proportion of the whole, about one in five, and to this circumstance their success no doubt is much indebted. The officers of the Church in England numbered 40 Seventies, 10 High-priests, 2,578 Elders, 1,854 Priests, 1,460 Teachers, and 834 Deacons. The most numerous body in England is in Manchester, where the Mormon Church contains 3,166 members. The excitable character of the Welsh pea-

santry has afforded some of its greatest triumphs to the Mormon cause: thousands have emigrated; but the Church at Merthyr Tydvil still contains 2,338 members.

See the following publications of the Mormonites:—1. *Book of Mormon, American edition*, 1830. 2. *The Book of Doctrines and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints; selected from the Revelations of God, by Joseph Smith, President; second European edition: Liverpool*, 1849. 3. *The Millennial Star; a weekly periodical: Liverpool*. 4. *Patriarchal Order, or Plurality of Wives, by Orson Spencer, Chancellor of the University of Deseret: Liverpool*, 1853. See too, *The Doctrines of Mormonism: London*, 1854. *Edinburgh Review*, No. 202, Article, *Mormonism. Report on Religious Worship, Census 1851. The Mormons, or Latter Day Saints, a contemporary history: London*, 1852.

**N**ESTORIANS.—In the fifth century Nestorius, a Syrian, was bishop of Constantinople. The Arian controversy was now growing extinct. Out of its ashes had arisen new fires. In their zeal to establish the deity of the Son of God, the Alexandrians and Copts had begun to speak of the Virgin Mary in terms hitherto unknown. They called her Theotokos, or Mother of God. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, is said to have introduced the phrase, and the use of it was defended by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, the rival of Nestorius. Anastatius, a presbyter of Constantinople, declaimed against the attempt to invest the Virgin with a title which seemed to convey at once the ideas of blasphemy and idolatry, and he was warmly supported by his bishop, Nestorius. Cyril obtained the assistance of Celestinus, bishop of Rome, assembled a council in Alexandria, A. D. 430, and anathematized Nestorius.

The Eastern empire was in flames with the quarrel of the rival patriarchs, for Nestorius and his opponent are both described as haughty, bold, and resolute; the emperor Theodosius was, therefore, induced to assemble a council at Ephesus. This was the third general or oecumenical council, and it met in the year 431.

Two disputes, the one theological, the other historical, arose

out of the proceedings of this council: they are in agitation to this very day.

First, as to the title itself: it is disputed whether it was understood to affect the Virgin or the Virgin's Son; to exalt the mother, or simply to declare that her offspring was divine. The Church of Rome, and some Anglican divines, affirm that both meanings were intended. Was it simply a question as to the divinity of our Lord, or did the opponents of Nestorius covertly intend to exalt the Virgin? or, in the heat of controversy, was it that they obstinately clung to an expression which they had, in the first instance, rashly adopted? The term *Theotokos* is not in use among the apostolic fathers in their genuine epistles, or in those that are attributed to them, of which the authorship is uncertain, although they are full and clear on the doctrine of the union of the divine and human natures in one Christ. Before the Council of Ephesus, the original sense in which the word *Theotokos* was used was as a protest against the Apollinarian and Arian heresies. It does not occur in the remains of Justin Martyr, Irenaens, or any other Greek writer, before Origen. Tertullian and Cyprian appear to be equally ignorant of *Deipara*, *Dei genetrix*, and *Mater Dei*; and it is certain that no one of these terms was generally acknowledged by the Church before the Council of Ephesus. The word was used, however, as Bishop Pearson has shown, before this time, by Origen, Dionysius, Alexandrinus, Alexander bishop of Alexandria, Eusebius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Athanasius: and Soerates, the ecclesiastical historian, tells us that the use of it was confirmed in the time of Justinian, by the synod of Constantinople. And it was by the denial of this term, he adds, that the heresy of Nestorius was first discovered, not in himself, but in his presbyter, Anastatius, who first in a sermon authoritatively delivered that no one should call Mary *Theotokos*, because she was but a woman, and that God could not be born of a woman.—*Ecel. Hist.*, lib. vii., ch. 132.

Again, the question is not yet determined whether Nestorius was fairly treated by the council. Cyril, his powerful adversary, presided, and was at once the judge and the accuser. Nestorius remonstrated in vain against the precipitation with which Cyril, as he affirmed, was urging on the case, without waiting for the arrival of the Eastern bishops. According to Soerates, Cyril



refused to hear his explanation, although he offered to concede the title of Mother of God to the Virgin Mary, provided that nothing else were meant thereby but that the child born of her was united to the Godhead. On the other hand, he is charged with levity and presumption. He was accused by his opponents of dividing the nature of Christ into two distinct persons. This he denied; and Luther, and after him many German divines especially, have concluded that the doctrine of Nestorius, and that of the council which condemned him, was, in fact, the same; that their difference was only one of words; and, consequently, that the whole of the blame is to be charged on the turbulent spirit of Cyril and his hatred of Nestorius. In short, Nestorius was condemned in his absence, and that of the Eastern bishops, on the charge of blasphemy. He was deprived of his bishopric, and banished, first to Petrea, in Arabia, and afterwards to Oasis, in the deserts of Egypt, where he died about the year 439.

The Eastern prelates, resenting the affront which Cyril had shown them, took part with Nestorius. They met at Ephesus, and excommunicated Cyril. Retiring eastward, the disciples and friends of Nestorius carried his doctrines with them, and diffused them in all directions. The Christians in Persia maintained, when the tidings reached them, that he had been unjustly condemned at Ephesus, and charged Cyril with confounding the two natures of Christ. Schools were erected; zealous preachers advocated the cause; the Persian king was induced to espouse their interests, and before the close of the fifth century the Nestorians were the only Christians to be found in Persia. Within the next century they spread themselves through parts of Egypt, Syria, India, and Tartary, and they are said to have made some converts even in China. Several ages of darkness follow, and we know scarcely anything of the state of the Nestorians. The ancient Chaldea seems to have been their proper home, and from hence they diffused some faint knowledge of Christianity amongst Turks and Tartars.

The story of Prester John belongs to the tenth century. About that time, a Tartar prince, if the tradition may be received, was converted by the Nestorians to the Christian faith, and took, at his baptism, the name of John, to which he added, instead of other titles, the humble designation of Presbyter. The suc-

cessors of this monarch retained the name until the time of Genghiz Khan, in the thirteenth century. In the middle ages a Christian sovereign was supposed by all Christendom to reside somewhere in the centre of Asia, and the report appears to have originated amongst the Nestorians, whose missionaries were probably protected by some powerful sovereign. Ough Khan, a Tartar chief, was defeated by Genghiz Khan, and died in battle A. D. 1202. He was reported in Europe to be a Christian, and to have taken priest's orders, and letters were published, said to have been addressed by him to the Pope, the king of France, and others, in which he is made to style himself John the High Priest. Several missionaries were sent out at different times from France, with a view of discovering the remote nation governed by a priestly sovereign. Their inquiries were always fruitless, but the story continued to be believed in western Europe till the close of the fifteenth century.

In the sixteenth century a schism arose among the Nestorians, which ended in the subjection of one party to the Church of Rome. Two rival patriarchs were nominated by two contending factions. Sulaka, one of the candidates, sought the aid of Rome, which was cheerfully granted on the terms which the sovereign pontiff invariably exacts, namely, the promise of unlimited submission to the papal see. He was consecrated patriarch of the Chaldean Church by Pope Julius the Third, A. D. 1553, receiving the name of John, a badge of his disgraceful subjection to a foreign power. He returned, attended by several monks, skilled in the Syriac language, by whose aid the papal faction was firmly established in the Nestorian Church. Since this period the Nestorians have continued to exist as two separate churches—the ancient disciples of Nestorius, and the Chaldeans, who are members of the Church of Rome. When the Portuguese, in the sixteenth century, invaded the Coromandel coast of India, they found there a Nestorian Church, who called themselves the Christians of St. Thomas, and held traditionally that the apostle Thomas was their founder. They were living in purity and simplicity, retaining the Holy Scriptures in the Syriac language, using two sacraments, and exhibiting many of the features of primitive Christianity; and they were governed by bishops under a metropolitan. They had been once an independent nation, for when Vasco de Gama arrived at Cochin, on

the Malabar coast, in the year 1503, he was shown the sceptre of the last Christian king ; he had lately died without issue, and his throne had devolved upon one of the native princes.

The Portuguese, to their surprise, found upwards of a hundred Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. "These churches," said they, "belong to the pope." "Who is the pope?" said the natives, "we never heard of him." De Gama's chaplains were yet more alarmed when they found that these Indians maintained the discipline of an Episcopal Church, and that for thirteen hundred years they boasted of a succession of bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. When their power became sufficient for the purpose, they invaded these tranquil churches, seized some of the clergy, and put them to the death of heretics. The inquisition was introduced at Goa, and there its fires were lighted. They seized the Syrian bishop, Mar Joseph, and sent him a prisoner to Lisbon ; and then convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches called Diamper, near Cochin, at which the Romish archbishop, Menezies, presided. At this compulsory synod one hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared. They were accused of the following practices and opinions:—That they had married wives ; that they owned but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper ; that they neither invoked saints, nor worshipped images, nor believed in purgatory ; and that they had no other orders or names of dignity in the church than bishop, priest, and deacon. These tenets they were called on to abjure, or to suffer suspension from all church benefices. It was also decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects that could be found should be burned ; in order, said the inquisitors, that no pretended apostolical monuments may remain. The churches on the sea-coast were thus compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope ; but they refused to pray in Latin, and insisted on using their own language and liturgy. The pope submitted to a compromise. They still retain the Syriac language in their public worship, though the primitive liturgy has been altered in some points to suit the views of the papacy, and they still have a Syriac college. The churches in the interior resisted. After a show of submission for awhile, they proclaimed eternal war against the Inquisition, hid their books, fled to the mountains, and sought the protection of the native princes.

Two centuries had elapsed without any particular information concerning the Nestorian Christians in the interior of India. It was doubted by many if they were still in existence, when they were visited by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, in 1807. He found in the neighbourhood of Travancore the Syrian metropolitan and his clergy. They were much depressed, but they still numbered fifty-five churches. They made use of the liturgy of Antioch, in the Syrian language. They had many old and valuable copies of the Scriptures. One of these, a Syrian manuscript of high antiquity, they presented to Dr. Buchanan, by whom it was placed in the university library at Cambridge. He describes the doctrines of the Syrian Christians as few in number, but pure, and agreeing in essential points with those of the Church of England. There were then, he computed, 200,000 Syrian Christians in the south of India; besides the Indians who speak the Malabar language, and are subject to the Church of Rome. Dr. Buchanan thus describes the appearance of Mar Dionysius the metropolitan:—"He was dressed in a vestment of dark red silk, a large golden cross hung from his neck, and his venerable beard reached below his girdle. On public occasions he wears the episcopal mitre, and a muslin robe is thrown over his under garment; and in his hand he bears the crosier, or pastoral staff. He is a man of highly respectable character in his Church; eminent for his piety, and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions." Later visitors speak in less glowing terms of this interesting people. Their general ignorance seems to have been much greater than Dr. Buchanan was led to suppose, and they observed superstitions with which he does not appear to have been made acquainted. In quitting the subject we may add that this Syrian branch of the Nestorian Church still retains its independence, and that its metropolitan holds friendly intercourse, on equal terms, with the English prelates in India. It has been supplied with copies of the Scriptures in abundance by the agency of the British societies.

We now return to the Nestorians of Persia and the neighbouring countries. They, too, had perished from the sight and knowledge of European Christendom, and their existence was forgotten. Within the last twenty years they have, however, been visited by many travellers, especially by clergymen, both English and American, sent out on purpose to ascertain their state, and if

possible to establish missions amongst them. From these sources we have derived the following statements.

Dividing the Turkish from the Persian empire is a wild range of mountains, now called Kourdistan, which includes within its boundaries portions of the ancient Assyria, Media, and Armenia. In the most accessible parts of this district the Nestorians dwell. They are still governed by melicks, or kings, chosen from their own people by the popular voice irregularly expressed. The office of these chiefs is usually hereditary, in the same family. The Turkish government, however, is making vigorous efforts, through the agency of the neighbouring Koords, to reduce these independent Nestorians to a state of vassalage. Dwelling in these mountainous recesses their independence is dearly purchased; they find it difficult to obtain a bare subsistence, and many of them are miserably poor; numbers travel abroad and beg as a profession. Their fare is coarse and their manners rude. During the summer many of them descend to the plains of Oroomiah, at the foot of the Kourdistan range, and here a considerable body of Nestorian Christians have fixed their residence. They have a tradition that their ancestors came down from the mountains to live on the plain five or six hundred years ago. It is probable that they were entirely swept away from this province during the devastations of Timourlane, but there are monuments of their residence here at an earlier period. The oldest mosque in the city of Oroomiah was once a Christian church. The Nestorians of the plain partake in their manners of the urbanity of the Persians, and they themselves denominate their fellow Christians, the mountaineers, wild men. Though suffering oppression and extortion from the Mahomedans, their circumstances are tolerable for a people in bondage. The country is fertile, and the industrious among them are surrounded with plenty. Their character is bold, generous, kind, and artless; oppression has not broke their spirit. They are still brave and restless; and, so far as a subject people can be, independent. The Nestorians of the mountains, with all their rudeness and even ferocity, possess the same traits of kindness and generosity. The hungry man will divide his last morsel of bread with a stranger, or even with a foe. The Nestorians of the plain, as a matter of calculation, lay in liberal stores for their poor countrymen of Kourdistan, when, pinched with want, they come down in the winter to seek subsistence.

The total number of the Nestorian Christians, exclusive of the Jacobites or Monophysite Syrians, and the Chaldeans or converts to the Romish faith, was computed by the American missionaries, in 1840, at one hundred and forty thousand; one hundred thousand in the mountains, and thirty or forty thousand in the plain. Later travellers confirm this statement.

The patriarch of the Nestorian Church resides at Diz, a village in one of the most inaccessible parts of the Kourdish mountains. In early times, the patriarch resided at Seleucia; after A. D. 752 at Bagdad and Elkoosh. Since the quarrel of the rival candidates and the defection of the Chaldeans to Rome, about the close of the sixteenth century, the patriarch has taken refuge in the mountains. The patriarch professes only to wield spiritual power, but amongst the mountaineers his word is law, both in matters spiritual and temporal. Amongst the Nestorians of Oroomiah his power is more limited; he seldom ventures to come amongst them; and being thus beyond the reach of the full exercise of his authority, the people have become lax in their regard for his spiritual prerogatives; still they look up to him with respect and veneration. The patriarch does not receive the imposition of hands at his consecration, since it cannot be performed by his inferiors; but all orders of the clergy, from the deacon to the metropolian, are ordained by him with the imposition of hands. Under the Nestorian patriarch are eighteen bishops, four of whom reside in the province of Oroomiah. A diocese varies in size from a single village to twenty or thirty. The bishops ordain the inferior clergy, make annual visitations, and superintend the diocese. Besides deacons and priests there are archdeacons, subdeacons, and readers. The office of metran or metropolitan, is distinct from that of the patriarch, although, it is true, they are often united in the same person. The canons of the Nestorian Church require celibacy, but only from the episcopal orders, from whom they also demand abstinence from animal food, even from their infancy. The mother of the candidate for the episcopate or patriarchate must observe the same abstinence while she nurses the infant. The Nestorian bishops do not defend these practices from Scripture, but only as matters of propriety. Neither celibacy nor abstinence from animal food are required of the inferior clergy, nor do monasteries or convents exist among the Nestorians. The clergy are

usually poor. They cultivate the ground, or teach a few scholars, or gain a small pittance by marriage fees and small contributions. It can be no matter of surprise that some of them can scarcely read. When visited by the American missionaries in 1833, a majority of them could merely chant their devotions in the ancient Syriac, and even some of the bishops were in the same predicament. The Syriac Bible has since been distributed freely amongst them, and the state of general knowledge is improved. The patriarch receives an annual contribution, collected for him by the bishops; it seldom exceeds three hundred dollars. The Romish agents leave no measures untried, of force or fraud, to seduce the Nestorian Church and even its patriarchs. A few years ago a Jesuit offered to the Nestorian patriarch ten thousand dollars, it is said, on condition that he would acknowledge the papal supremacy. He made answer in the words that Simon Peter once addressed to Simon Magus, "Thy money perish with thee." A more adroit overture was made afterwards, though with as little success, in the offer to canonize Nestorius.

Religion, in the proper sense, is in a low condition. The vice of lying is almost universal among clergy and laity; intemperance is very prevalent. The Sunday is to a great extent regarded only as a holiday, and profaneness and some other vices are very common. Still a venerable remnant exists of a primitive Church, founded, as they invariably maintain, not by Nestorius, but in apostolic times, by Thomas the Apostle. It is beset with dangers on every side. The artifices of the Jesuits are unceasing and sometimes successful. Recently a patriarch was bought over by violence to the Church of Rome. On the other hand, the Mahomedans attempt to proselyte. Nestorian girls are occasionally kidnapped or decoyed away, and become the wives of the followers of the false prophet. Some hardened culprits apostatize for the sake of escaping punishment, but these are all the triumphs of which the Mahomedans can boast.

The sword of the Moslem has not spared the Nestorians. Grievously oppressed and ground down with taxes and impositions, the lofty spirit of the mountaineers at length ventured to rebel, and an indiscriminate massacre was the penalty. "What can we do?" said they to the European visitors who enquired the cause of their rebellion; "if we descend into the plains,

build villages, plant vineyards, and till the barren soil, we are so overwhelmed with taxations and impositions of every kind that our labour, though blessed of God, is of no profit to ourselves. If we take refuge in the mountains, even here we are liable every year to be hunted like partridges. Such is our lot; but God is merciful." Mr. Badger, who visited the Koords, on behalf of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, relates, that as he passed through Marden, a village on one of the summits of the mountain range, in 1843, he saw in the market place several human heads rolling in the dust which had been brought in as trophies by the soldiers of Mahommed Pasha. "The next day," he says, "I saw a large number of horses, asses, mules, and even cows, laden with booty taken from the same people, the Koords of a neighbouring district. Amongst these, there were loads of human heads, and a number of prisoners, some of whom were to be impaled on the morrow. The collector of taxes in the district had embezzled a sum of money, and the Koords were ordered to make good the deficiency. As they were unable or unwilling to comply, a troop of Albanians was sent against them, who plundered the refractory villages, massacred about a hundred and fifty persons, and committed other excesses too horrible to relate. Such was the Ottoman rule."

The Nestorians have been termed, with some propriety, the Protestants of Asia. Their creed and practice is more simple and more scriptural than those of the Greek or any other Oriental Church. They entertain the deepest abhorrence of image worship, auricular confession, and purgatory. Their doctrinal tenets lie under suspicion; yet the American missionaries do not hesitate to vouch for their correctness. Mr. Perkins was sent out by the American Board of Foreign Missions, and lived amongst them six years, labouring apparently with considerable success. "On the momentous subject of the divinity of Christ," he says, "in relation to which the charge of heresy is so violently thrown upon them by the papal and other Oriental sects; their belief is orthodox and scriptural." Mr. Badger also judges favourably of their orthodoxy. He thinks that, although in error with respect to the language in which they express their belief with regard to the second person in the Trinity, the Nestorians hold, nevertheless, in effect the true Catholic doctrine as it is revealed in holy Scripture, and as it was set forth by the council of Ephesus.



Several writers have lately placed translations of the Nestorian rituals within the reach of English Christians. These, however, are so overlaid with Oriental figure and sentiment that to ascertain their exact meaning on the points at issue, is by no means an easy task. We make a single extract from a service for the holy Nativity: "Blessed art thou, O Virgin, daughter of David, since in thee all the promises made to the righteous have been fulfilled; and in thee the race of prophecy has found rest; for after a wonderful manner thou didst conceive as a virgin, without marriage, and in a wonderful way thou didst bring forth the Messiah, the Son of God; as it is written, the Holy Spirit formed Him in thee, and the word dwelt in him by union without conversion or confusion, the natures continuing to subsist unchanged, and the Persons also, by their essential attributes, the divinity and humanity subsisting in one Parsopa of Filiation. For the Lord is one, the power is one, the dominion ruling over all is one, and He is the ruler and disposer of all by the mysterious power of his divinity, whom we ought ever to thank and worship, saying; Blessed is the righteous One, who clothed himself with Adam's (humanity) and made him Lord in heaven and earth."—*Badger*, vol. ii., page 34.

The Nestorians receive instruction gladly, and seem to view the labours of missionaries who have once gained their confidence with generous satisfaction, well satisfied with any attempts to improve their Church, so long as its discipline is not invaded. The Nestorians are the only Church, except the Moravians, and those which appeared at the Reformation, which acknowledges the supreme authority of holy Scripture, holding, with ourselves, no doctrine or practice essential to salvation which may not be proved therefrom. The reverence in which the inspired volume is held, has made them the fortunate possessors of some of the most ancient and valuable manuscripts in existence. Their ancient language was the Syriac, of which the modern vernacular is a dialect, corrupted by contractions and inversions and a great number of Persian and Turkish words. Amongst their books are some very ancient copies of the Scriptures in Syriac. Several of these are at least six hundred years old; and the missionaries were shown a copy of the New Testament which purports to be fifteen hundred years old. These copies are regarded by the Nestorians with much veneration,

and used with great care; they are wrapped in several covers, and when taken into the hands are reverently kissed. The Bible has recently been introduced amongst them, in the Peschito or pure Syriac, and by the American missionaries, in the modern vernacular Syriac. Their other books are few. Dr. Grant found in the library of the patriarch not more than sixty volumes, all in manuscript, and a part of these were duplicates. They have no works of value, except on devotional subjects. Once an educated people, the Nestorians are now perfectly illiterate. The only books they possess are the Church rituals; to be able to read these, and to write fairly, is considered a high education, and is all that is desired, even from candidates for holy orders. Except the priests, few or none can read. The laity are regular in attendance at church, where they hear a liturgy of great beauty, partly chaunted and partly mumbled. The New Testament is read in the old Syriac; but this differs considerably from the dialect in common use, and it is read withal in such a manner as to be almost unintelligible. Certain prayers are familiar to all ranks, and persons devoutly disposed are often seen retiring to a corner of the church to pray in secret. There is no sermon to arouse reflection or to sustain faith, by impressing the conscience and the understanding; no lecture to expound the difficulties of Scripture. Thus the main body of the Nestorians are only nominal Christians, and such they must probably remain until more favoured nations come to their relief. The existence of such a people for seventeen hundred years, amongst hostile nations and circumstances so disastrous; and their own preservation, too, of so much of the pure doctrine of the gospel as they still retain, seems to be an intimation from the sovereign ruler of the Church that the Nestorians are not utterly rejected, but that days of spiritual glory and prosperity yet await them.

Dr. Grant, a learned American missionary, has recently put forth an argument to show that the Nestorians are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. He insists strongly on their Jewish physiognomy, on the frequency of those proper names which occur in the Old Testament, on the peculiarities of their customs, and on other points of resemblance. His proofs are not regarded as satisfactory by his co-missionaries, nor by Mr. Badger, who contests his facts. It is a question, however, of detail and

research, and we refer the reader to Dr. Grant's volume, and to the discussions it has provoked.

One service of the Nestorian Church certainly partakes much more of a Jewish than a Christian character: this is a commemoration for the dead celebrated in all the mountain villages once a year, on some Saturday in the month of October. For some days previous to the festival each family prepares its offerings. These consist of lambs and bread, which are carried into the churchyard. After the people have partaken of the holy Eucharist, the priest goes out, cuts several locks of wool off the fleeces, and throws them into a censer. While a deacon swings this to and fro in the presence of the guests the priest recites an anthem, in which the oblation is offered to the Lord, and prayers are offered both for the living and the dead. The service concluded, the lambs and bread are divided amongst the company. Many come from distant villages to join in the commemoration. Those who can afford it kill a lamb and distribute bread and other provisions amongst the poor after the death of their relations, hoping that these offerings will, in some way, profit the souls of the departed. Dr. Grant mentions another sacrifice which is offered occasionally as a thank-offering for blessings received. A lamb is slain before the door of the church, when a little of the blood is put on the door and lintel; the right shoulder and breast belong to the officiating priest, and the skin is also given to the priest, as was required in the law of burnt offerings. (Leviticus vii.) But these strange customs may have been derived from the Mahomedans, who often sacrifice a lamb with the same intention at the doors of their shrines throughout Turkey, and sprinkle the building with the blood, after which the animal is distributed amongst the people of the village. As might be expected in a people so ignorant, the Nestorians are superstitious. They observe many fasts. Their ritual contains offices for the purification of those who have touched the corpse of an unbeliever, and a service for the purification of unclean cisterns and fountains, some parts of which are extremely beautiful. The Nestorians place a high value on charms and talismans, and the clergy are generally the authors of these profane and absurd effusions, which they transcribe and sell to the people.

The CHALDEANS, or Nestorians in communion with the Church

of Rome, are computed at twenty thousand souls, scattered over a large surface extending from Diarbekir to the frontiers of Persia, and from the borders of Tyari to Bagdad. They are governed by a patriarch and six bishops, but these have lately been pensioned by the Propaganda; the patriarch receiving a yearly salary of 20,000 piastres, or 200*l.*, and the bishops sums varying from 2,000 to 8,000 piastres each. Through the influence of the French embassy, in 1845, Mar Zeyya obtained a firman from Constantinople acknowledging him as patriarch of the Chaldeans. This was the first recognition by the Ottoman Porte of the new community.

But the patriarch soon discovered that his functions were virtually exercised by the Propaganda. He grew weary of the interference of the Latin missionaries, and resisted their demands. Various charges were brought against him in consequence, and he was summoned to Rome to answer for himself. He chose rather to resign his office, and was succeeded, in 1846, by Mar Yoosef. In effect, the Chaldeans have no longer an independent existence. They are a section of the Romish Church, their connection with which, while on the one hand it has introduced amongst them schools and education after the European manner, has on the other infected them with deeper superstitions; and the only benefit which they have derived from a change of name and communion is the promise of political protection from France, with occasional presents of ecclesiastical vestments, pictures of saints, and rosaries,—“Gifts,” says Mr. Badger, “which they know not how to use, and show no disposition to learn.”

*Ainsworth: Travels and Researches in Mesopotamia, &c.*  
*Luyard: Nineveh and its Remains.* *Dr. Grant: The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes.* *Perkins: Eight Years spent among the Nestorian Christians; New York, 1843.* *Badger: The Nestorians and their Rituals; 1852.* *Christian Researches in the East, by Claudius Buchanan, D.D.* *Assenutni Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. i. ii. iii.* *Mosheim: Eccl. Hist.* *Etheridge: Rituals of the Syrian Churches.*

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**PRESBYTERIANS.**—Presbyterianism in England (to which this article refers) dates its origin from the Westminster Assembly. Charles I. and his parliament were on the eve of the final rupture, when, in deference to the petition of the London clergy, praying for ecclesiastical reform, the House of Commons requested that a general synod might be called by royal authority. For the present the king refused compliance, and in 1642, while matters stood thus, the civil war began. The Scotch, with an army of twenty thousand, marched into England to assist the parliament, and they naturally used all their influence to persuade the latter to introduce Presbyterianism. The House of Commons resolved, in consequence, “that such a government should be settled in the Church as might be most agreeable to God’s holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and bring it into nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and the reformed Churches abroad.” An ordinance followed, bearing date June 12, 1643, “for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.” This was the origin of the Westminster Assembly.

The Westminster Assembly first met in Henry VII.’s Chapel, July 1st, 1643. It was composed of one hundred and twenty-one divines, selected by the House of Commons; six deputies from Scotland; ten English peers; and twenty members of the Lower House of Parliament. But of this number seldom more than sixty were in attendance. There were amongst them a few Episcopalians, including Archbishop Usher, and the bishops of Bristol and Exeter, with Drs. Sanderson and Hammond. But the king, by proclamation, forbade the Assembly, declaring it illegal, and the Episcopalians immediately withdrew. Of those who remained, a few were Independents; a few, of whom Selden was the leader, were called Erastians; not that they held all the opinions of Erastus (who had maintained that the Christian minister was a mere lecturer on divinity, and that Christian Churches were merely secular associations), but that they showed no great respect for any of the theories of Church government

then so clamorously argued on all sides. But the great body of the clergy were Presbyterians, or at least so favourably inclined to that form of government as to be easily induced to accept it.

Their first business was, of course, to settle the constitution of the future Church of England. Prelacy was already overthrown. In its place Archbishop Usher would have proposed a scheme of "reduced Episcopacy," as it was termed, in which the bishop should retain his office, assisted by a council, but stripped of his rank, and secular distinctions. This met with little favour, and was not even discussed in the assembly. The crisis was urgent. The Scotch allies were impatient, and the House of Commons was anxious to dismiss a question which distracted its attention, while it agitated the whole kingdom. Vane and two other commissioners were sent to Edinburgh, where they accepted, on behalf of England, the ancient Scottish Covenant, with a few slight alterations, under the title of the Solemn League and Covenant. The House of Commons solemnly subscribed their hands, and swore to observe it, in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, on the 15th of September, 1643; and the House of Lords, or rather that small section of the peerage which had not joined the king and still remained at Westminster, followed their example a few days afterwards.

The Covenant consists of six articles. The first sets forth the lamentable condition of the Church and nation, and expresses a determination to reform religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, discipline, worship, and government, "according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches." The next clause binds the English and Irish nations, in effect, though not expressly, to embrace Presbyterianism. It runs thus: "And we shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship, and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us." The second article denounces popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness. Prelacy is explained to signify "Church government by archbishops, bishops, chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy." The remaining articles bind the covenanters to maintain the

rights of the king and parliament, to expose malignants and incendiaries, and to persist through life in carrying out the principles of this solemn league.

The Assembly now addressed itself to its two great tasks; namely, to provide first a scheme of doctrine and next a scheme of government for the national Church which was next to rise upon the ruins of the Episcopal Church of England.

The first of these undertakings was prosecuted during four years with unceasing application, and unquestionably with great success. It was not till the 11th of December, 1646, that the Assembly laid its great work, the Confession of Faith, upon the table of the House of Commons. It has been severely censured, and, perhaps, extravagantly praised; but at least it deserves the qualified applause with which Neal dismisses it: "Upon the whole," he says, "the Assembly's Confession, with all its faults, has been ranked by very good judges among the most perfect systems of divinity that have been published on the Calvinistic principle in the last age." The Shorter Catechism was presented to the House of Commons on the 5th of November, 1647, and a Larger Catechism on the 5th of April, 1648. The Confession and the Catechisms were published, by authority of parliament, for public use; and in the same year an ordinance was passed forbidding the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The Confession was immediately approved and adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at Edinburgh, as the standard of her faith and order. The Catechisms were also adopted and approved, and these documents still hold their position as the standards of faith and discipline in all the orthodox Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, Ireland, and America, and, we may add, throughout the world. The labours of the Westminster Assembly entitle them, as theologians of a high order, to great respect.

In their attempt to establish a Presbyterian Church in England their merit, if we may judge by their success, was less. They projected a scheme of discipline, which was equally distasteful to the House of Commons and the English people; and in consequence the intended Church was never fairly launched. We will lay before the reader, in the fewest words, a summary of the remarkable disputes which now arose.

The Assembly decided, by large majorities, that the Presbyterian

discipline was most agreeable to the word of God ; they proposed, therefore, the following scheme : Several congregations were to form a presbytery or classis ; a given number of these a synod ; and out of the synod a national assembly was to be created, to which, in the last instance, all ecclesiastical questions were to be referred, and by which the ultimate sentence in all spiritual causes should be pronounced. But the House of Commons, now conscious of its power, was very little disposed to lend a helping hand to the establishment of a spiritual jurisdiction which should own no superior, and assert its independence even of parliament itself. The same quarrel arose which has lately rent the Church of Scotland. The secular power was jealous of the spiritual ; and the supreme courts of the former demanded submission from the supreme courts of the latter. The question at issue was the same, but the battle was fought on other grounds. The free churchmen of Scotland maintaining that, since they demanded supremacy only in things spiritual, the civil power had nothing to dread nor any right to interfere. The Presbyterians of the Assembly took higher ground, asserting that the presbyterian form of government was a precept of the gospel ; it existed *jure divino* ; it was in fact the only scriptural or lawful form of Church government ; it was to be submitted to because it was ordained of God. This ground was expressly taken by Marshall and Henderson against the king's chaplains, at the treaty of Uxbridge, and against the Independent party and the leaders of the House of Commons, Whitelocke, Selden, and others, in the Westminster Assembly. For fifteen days the Independents argued against the divine right of presbytery before the Presbyterians ; and then for fifteen days the Presbyterians maintained their thesis against the Independents. At last a large majority decided that presbyterianism was a divine ordinance, and now its triumph seemed complete. But the question was no sooner transferred to the House of Commons than the lustre of the victory was tarnished. On the motion of Whitelocke, it was merely carried in general terms, "that it is lawful and agreeable to the word of God that the Church be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies." The Presbyterians were greatly dissatisfied. Their interest was great in London ; petitions were presented in favour of a Presbyterian Church, and the lord mayor and aldermen went up to parliament with a prayer for "the speedy settlement



of Church government according to the Covenant, and that no toleration might be given to popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, profaneness, or anything contrary to sound doctrine, and that all private assemblies might be restrained." But the House of Commons, led by Selden and Whitelocke, voted the petition scandalous, and resolved that "the presbytery should not meddle with any thing of *neum* and *tuum* till it were determined by the civil magistrate." The Presbyterians claimed for their supreme court the power of excommunication, and for the inferior tribunals the right of suspension from the sacrament. Selden argued that for four thousand years there had been no trace of any law in the Church of God to suspend persons from religious exercises; strangers were kept away from the passover, but they were pagans, and not of the Jewish religion: but now, said he, the question is not for keeping away pagans in times of Christianity, but Protestants from Protestant worship; and "he challenged any divine to show that there is any such command as this to suspend from the sacrament." "Mr. Speaker," said Whitelocke, "the assembly of divines have petitioned that in every presbytery, or presbyterian congregation, pastors, or ruling members, may have the power of excommunication, and of suspending such as they shall judge ignorant or scandalous persons from the sacrament. The duty of a pastor is to feed, and not to disperse and drive away the flock. Excommunication is a total driving or thundering away of the party from all spiritual food whatever. The best excommunication is for pastors, elders, and people to excommunicate sin out of their own hearts and conversations. To suspend themselves from all works of iniquity.—But only the ignorant and the scandalous are to be suspended. I am sure I am a very ignorant person, and I fear we are all more ignorant than we ought to be of the truth of Christ; but to keep an ignorant person from the ordinances is no way to improve his knowledge.—Scandalous persons are likewise to be suspended; and who shall be called scandalous is to be referred to the judgment of the pastors and ruling elders; but where their commission is it will be hard to show. Both pastors and people are scandalous in the general sense, and our best performances are but scandalous. To excommunicate those who are so, deprives them wholly of the best means for their cure."

The Presbyterian party felt, perhaps, that they were treated

like children, with banter instead of argument. But their power, though rapidly declining, was still so great in London and some other parts, that they extorted a compromise from the House of Commons. A table of rules for suspension, in cases of ignorance and scandal, was published by the Parliament, and the elders had power within these limits to suspend. But even to this ordinance a provision was attached which effectually crippled the Presbyterian system. It enacted that "if any person find himself aggrieved with the proceedings of the presbytery to which he belongs, he may appeal to the classical eldership; from them to the provincial assembly; from them to the national; and from them to the parliament. The ecclesiastical courts were also forbidden to interfere "in matters of contracts and payments, or in any matter of conveyance, title, or property in lands or goods."

With these conditions an ordinance was passed by the House of Commons, and, after some delay, by the House of Lords, on the 6th June, 1646, by which a Presbyterian Church superseded the old Church of England. It decreed that all parishes and other places whatsoever should be brought under the exercise of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies; the private chapels of the king and the nobility only being excepted. In these, however, the Presbyterian mode of worship must be used. The province of London, which superseded the ancient diocese, was to be divided into twelve classical elderships, each to contain about twelve parishes. The several counties of England and Wales were to be divided into provinces, and these into classical presbyteries, by Parliamentary Commissioners. It was ordered that the presbytery of every parish should meet once a week; the classical assemblies of each province once a month; provincial assemblies twice a year; "national assemblies as often as they shall be summoned by Parliament, and to continue sitting as long as the Parliament shall direct and appoint, and not otherwise." The constitution of these courts was thus provided for: every congregational or parochial eldership to send not less than two, nor more than four elders, and one minister, to the classical assembly; every classical assembly within the province to send two ministers, and at least four ruling elders, but not exceeding nine, to the provincial assembly; and lastly, the national assembly was to be composed of two

ministers and four ruling members, deputed from each provincial assembly.

The scheme was no sooner launched than it seemed in danger of making shipwreck. To all parties it was alike unwelcome. The Episcopalians, of course, rejected it, and they were still numerous and powerful, though sharing deeply the reverses of the royal cause. The Independents were yet more formidable, for they were rising every day in public estimation, and Cromwell and the army were their friends. The Sectaries regarded it as a new tyranny, and spoke of it with the same contempt and scorn with which they had lately spoken of the prelates. The Scotch protested against it in several points. They objected to the power assumed by the English Parliament to control the national assembly; to its restraining the elderships in carrying out their discipline; and to its code of rules. Marshall, as the spokesman of the English Presbyterians and of the Westminster divines, presented a remonstrance against the restraining clauses at the bar of the House of Commons. He again asserted the divine right of Presbyterian government, and complained that an appeal should be suffered from the censures of the Church to a Committee of the House of Commons.

The House chafed under this opposition from a creature of their own, and threatened the Assembly of Divines with a præmunire for their rash and offensive conduct; requesting to know from them, however, in return, which particular in the Presbyterian scheme was a divine ordinance? or which of the four courts was *jure divino*? or whether all of them? And if so, demanding the proofs from Scripture. Marshall and his party returned an answer in general terms, "that there was, set forth in Scripture, a spiritual government distinct from that of the civil power;" thus, for a time, evading the difficulty.

A furious controversy raged meanwhile between the Presbyterians and Independents; the latter praying to be left to the free exercise of their own Church government, the former demanding from them a strict conformity to the Presbyterian discipline. There was no other point of difference. Both parties accepted the Westminster Confession, and both agreed to conduct their worship according to its "Directory,"—a manual of instructions for the public services of the Church. But the Independents prayed for toleration, and the Presbyterians sternly refused to

grant it. It would be offensive to God; it would justify schism; it would promote heresy. Toleration, granted to Independents, could not be refused to Quakers and Anabaptists, and then chaos was complete. The Scotch Parliament came to their assistance, and set forth a declaration "Against toleration of sectaries and liberty of conscience." Liberty of conscience, they say, would supplant true religion; it is the nourisher of all heresies and schisms. "And however the Parliament of England may determine in point of toleration and liberty of conscience, they are resolved not to change, but to live and die for the glory of God and the entire preservation of the truth." *Neal*, iii. p. 244. Burroughes, Goodwin the Arminian, and his still greater contemporary, Dr. John Owen, with Milton for their brave ally, pleaded in vain for those elementary principles of justice which all parties in their turn had fought against, and beneath which all of them have been driven thankfully to take shelter in later days.

But the Presbyterians were still losing ground. The self-denying ordinance had been fatal to them in the House of Commons. The distance between the army and their few remaining leaders grew wider from day to day. They were royalists, and Cromwell and the officers had now seized the king, and were bent on a republic. On the 14th June 1647, the army marching towards London in a threatening attitude, eleven members of the House of Commons, the Presbyterian chiefs, were impeached as the enemies of their country, and the cause of all the mistakes into which the parliament had fallen. They fled abroad to avoid the impending blow, and the triumphs of the Presbyterian party were at an end. Few or none of them returned home till the Restoration, which they promoted to the utmost of their power; and their leader, Deuzil Hollis, was rewarded with a peerage.

The parliamentary commissioners appear to have proceeded so far on their task as to have marked out some districts into provinces, with their classes and presbyteries. But it is a question upon which even contemporary writers differ, whether a presbytery was ever actually established so as to have been legally in force in any part of England. Baxter tells us that the ordinance for setting up presbyteries was executed in London and Lancashire, but neglected in all other parts of the country.

Echard affirms that it was never established in any one part of England. Presbyteries were certainly held in Lancashire ; but it is highly probable that under the government of Cromwell they were not recognised by law, and were merely private assemblies to regulate the interior affairs of their own community. In the life of Flavel, prefixed to his works, we read that he was the moderator of a provincial synod, in the county of Devon, about the year 1650. Wherever Presbyterianism prevailed, classes and presbyteries probably existed ; but it does not appear that they ever formed a part of the ecclesiastical constitution of England : they stood on the same footing as the Wesleyan conference or the general assembly of the free Church.

At the Restoration, in 1660, the Presbyterians and Independents would have laid aside their differences with each other, and rejoined the Church on the basis of Archbishop Ussher's reduced episcopacy. This was proposed at the Savoy conference, but haughtily rejected by the prelates and the court. Baxter and the moderate Presbyterians were willing to allow that their provincial assemblies might be governed by a bishop. Moderate churchmen admitted that a bishop might be assisted, and even controlled in some cases, by a clerical council. On this platform it was not impossible to have effected an union once more ; but the project failed. The Act of Uniformity followed, and both Presbyterians and Independents were ejected from their livings. The Presbyterians had been active in bringing back the king. They had all along been royalists ; protesting against the execution of Charles, and treating Cromwell as an usurper. The Act of Uniformity was revengeful and unjust. That some law was wanted to produce uniformity amongst so many jarring sects, and to restore them, if possible, to the bosom of the national Church, will not be denied. This might have been accomplished to a great extent by enlarging her terms of communion, and relaxing some trifling matters in her forms and discipline. Unhappily the attempt was made in the opposite direction. The terms were made more rigid and compliance was more rigorously enforced.

From this period the English Presbyterians become one of the three divisions of the old dissenters ; and their history, during the long reign of Charles II., a shameful record of suffering and oppression, is scarcely to be distinguished from that of the other

two—the Baptists and the Independents. The Revolution at length brought repose to the nonconformists. It was the wish of King William to include them once more in the national Church. A deputation of the non-conforming clergy, about ninety in number, waited upon him on the 2nd of January, 1689, when Mr. Howe presented an address of congratulation; in his reply to which he said, “My great end was the preservation of the Protestant religion, and I will use my utmost endeavours so to settle and cement all different persuasions of Protestants in such a bond of love and union as may contribute to the lasting security and enjoyment of spirituals and temporals, to all sincere professors of that holy religion.” The king was perfectly sincere; but his views were thwarted by the Jacobites. The Toleration Act of 1689, however, was no sooner passed than Presbyterian chapels began to spring up in every part of the kingdom. Presbyteries were formed and ministers ordained. Within five-and-twenty years fifty-nine congregations were formed in Yorkshire; and throughout England, says a Presbyterian writer, the entire number was not less than eight hundred. He adds, that at this time they were the largest and most important section of those who were not comprised in the establishment, and formed at least two-thirds of the whole body of nonconformists, both the number and size of the Presbyterian congregations being nearly double those of the Independents; and their superiority was evidently conceded, he contends, by the arrangements when the three denominations met for business. For one Independent and one Baptist there were always two Presbyterians. This statement is taken from a sketch of the History of the Presbyterian Church in England (Nisbet, London, 1850). But it does not agree with statements we have made elsewhere (see INDEPENDENTS) as to the relative proportions of the three denominations, and we think it is to be received with hesitation.

In 1691 the Independents and Presbyterians entered into articles of agreement. They were nine in number, and professed to lay down certain principles on which the two bodies were agreed. On the whole, these articles must be regarded as a large concession on the part of the Presbyterians. They had evidently abandoned the notion of a Church government *jure divino*, in behalf of which their forefathers had braved the displeasure of the English parliament, and incurred the destruction of Pres-

byterianism as a national Church. These articles deserve to be recited. The first treats of Churches and Church members; under which it is said, each particular Church has a right to choose its own officers, and hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself; and it belongs to the pastors and other elders of any particular Church (if such there be) to rule and govern, and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the gospel. Under article second—Of the Ministry—which they acknowledge to be an institution of Christ, they would have the ministers to be elected by the Church, with the advice of the neighbouring Churches, and also solemnly ordained. Article third—Of Censures—decrees that scandalous or offending members be first admonished, and if they do not reform, be excluded from the Church by the pastors, but with the consent of the brethren. Article fourth—Of Communion of Churches—declares all Churches to be on perfect equality, and, therefore, independent; yet pastors and teachers are to act together, and consult on the interests of the Churches. Article fifth—Of Deacons and Ruling Elders—declares that the office of deacon or curator of the poor is of divine appointment; and whereas divers are of opinion that there is also the office of ruling elders, who labour not in word and doctrine, and others think otherwise, we agree that the difference make no breach among us. Article sixth—Of Synods—admits that it is useful and necessary, in cases of importance, for the ministers of many Churches to hold a council; and that the decisions formed in their conventions must not be rejected by the Churches without the most weighty reasons. Article seventh is, Of the Civil Magistrate, and exhorts that prayer be made for him. Article eighth treats Of a Confession of Faith, and says, “As to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient that a Church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession, or Catechism, shorter or larger, compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed on at Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.” Article ninth is, Of our duty towards those not in Communion with us.

At the beginning of the last century, the Presbyterians shared

the decline which befel every kind of nonconformity. Presbyterians assign two causes for this decay. The first and greatest was the sudden outburst of Arian and Socinian doctrine. Arianism in the second century was the offspring of a metaphysical speculation on the nature of the deity; in the nineteenth it was the result of indifference to evangelical doctrine, and to the dogmatic teaching of the New Testament. The seed was sown in the Church of England by the latitudinarian divines, but the plant, transferred to a Presbyterian soil, grew there to its full luxuriance. These opinions first appeared among the nonconformists at Exeter, where two Presbyterian ministers, who had adopted the Arian view of Dr. Samuel Clarke, refused to acknowledge the divinity of Christ, and were excluded from their chapels by the trustees. This happened in 1719. The progress of Arianism amongst the dissenters may be gathered from the fact, that when, in the following May, the doctrine of the Trinity came to be discussed before the ministers of Cornwall and Devonshire, nineteen out of seventy-five who were present refused to subscribe to the article of the Church of England on the Trinity. The doctrinal articles of the Church were at this time the admitted test of orthodoxy among the nonconformists.

The controversy was soon revived in London. At a meeting at Salter's Hall, the question of subscription to creeds was agitated, and the progress of loose opinions was now more striking. A hundred and ten ministers were present, of whom fifty-seven voted, in opposition to the eighth article of the agreement of 1691, against the necessity of subscription to creeds. This led to an immediate separation; the one party requiring subscription to the first article of the Church of England, and the fifth and sixth questions of the Shorter Catechism; and the other, though professing still to hold the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity, objecting to any subscription. The seceders gradually became Arians or Socinians. The question of subscription was agitated at the same time by the Independents; but it is said that the Presbyterians were the more hostile of the two to creeds and confessions. They certainly lapsed more generally into Arian or Socinian principles.

After the decision of Salter's Hall, the defections from orthodox Presbyterianism rapidly increased. The treatise of Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich, On Original Sin, and his other writings,



about 1740, tended greatly to consolidate and encourage the Arian party; and towards the close of the century, almost every congregation of the old Presbyterians was in fact Socinian in doctrine. Lists were published in the 'Manchester Socinian Controversy' a few years since, and transferred into various periodicals, of one hundred and seventy chapels in England now possessed by Unitarians, which had an orthodox foundation.

Presbyterian writers maintain that the failure of their cause in England was owing further to the desuetude into which their principles of Church government had been allowed to fall. To this cause they ascribe even the inroads of Arianism. The Presbyterians, they say, were, at the beginning of the last century, a numerous and respectable body, but supineness and laxity of principle were beginning to show themselves in a departure from the strict discipline of the Church. As a system of government, its details were neglected; the office of ruling elder was often vacant, Church-sessions, presbyteries, and synods were seldom convened, and when they met their influence was scarcely felt. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, when recently in England, appeared to coincide with this view of the case. "There was," he said, "a Presbyterian Church in England, and it became Socinian; but I believe it was because it was never rightly organized." It favours this opinion, to some extent, that just as the Presbyterians have become Socinian, they have thrown off the Presbyterian discipline. "The modern Unitarian congregations," says Dr. Pye Smith, in the 'Manchester Socinian Controversy,' "are not really Presbyterian. Do they constitute ruling elders in each congregation, to act in conjunction with their pastors, for judging of the qualifications of communicants, and other acts of discipline? Have they courts of review, have they classical, provincial, and synodical assemblies? Do they even, in general, maintain any kind of Church discipline whatever? In point of fact, they are as little entitled to be considered as the successors and representatives of the old Presbyterians, in relation to ecclesiastical order, as they are with respect to the most important principles of doctrine."

There are now about one hundred and sixty Presbyterian places of worship in England which still adhere to the orthodox confession of the Westminster divines and use their catechisms. Of these, a great number are in the county of Northumberland, and many of them date their existence from the Act of

Uniformity, 1662. In several of the large towns in England there are Scotch churches with which English Presbyterians have been incorporated. About sixty of the Presbyterian congregations in England are associated with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and placed beneath the oversight of the General Assembly of that body. The Churches of the Scotch Kirk and those of the Free Church are also included. After these deductions a few remain—the English orthodox Presbyterians, who may be considered as the lineal representatives of the Westminster divines. These form several Presbyteries and a General Synod, which meets annually at one of the principal towns of the kingdom, under the designation of the Presbyterian Church in England.

About the year 1830 the English Presbyterians opened negotiations with the Church of Scotland, and expressed their anxiety to be legally connected with it. But it was ascertained that the established Church of Scotland could have no jurisdiction in England, where episcopacy is established by law. The General Assembly therefore declared by an Act, passed in 1839, “that they could not go beyond an interchange of friendly communications; at the same time assuring the Synod in England of the warm and brotherly affection wherewith their Church regards it, and the earnest desire entertained by the Church of Scotland to co-operate, to the utmost of their power, in promoting the interest of the Presbyterian Church in England, to which they are bound alike in present ties and by the grateful recollections of former days.” In 1844 the English Synod, with a view of removing some apprehensions which seem to have arisen, issued a Declaration of Independence, which declares that, “in all acts of intercourse with another branch, or other branches, of the Church of Christ, or in forming or maintaining a friendly relation with them, this Church shall assert, provide for, and maintain its own freedom and independence in all matters spiritual.” The English Presbyterian Church still adheres to the principle for which the Westminster divines contended against the Long Parliament, namely, the independence of its spiritual courts. It has always been opposed to the interference of the civil magistrate, and to the claims of patronage. Consequently it regards the cause of the Free Church of Scotland with deep sympathy, and has contributed liberally towards its support. It seems,

indeed, not improbable that the English orthodox Presbyterians will finally merge into the Free Church of Scotland. A project to this effect is at present, we believe, under consideration.

To this body the honour belongs of training and sending forth the man whose name future ages will associate with the evangelizing of the Chinese empire. Dr. Morison was the son of an elder of Highbridge Church, in the town of Newcastle.

In the United States the number of Presbyterian churches is 4,584. These accommodate 2,040,316 persons. In point of numbers the orthodox Presbyterians are the third, but in wealth the first, of all the denominations. The total value of their church property amounts to 14,369,889 dollars, according to the seventh American Census, published 1854.

*Westminster Assembly, History of. Ditto, Confessions of Whitelocke's Memorials of English Affairs. Baxter's Life, by Silvester. Neal's History of the Puritans. Bogue and Bennett's History of Dissenters. Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial. Sketch of the History and Principles of the Presbyterian Church in England: London, 1850.*

**PURITANS.**—Amongst the first who introduced into England the controversy which soon after ripened into Puritanism, was the martyr, Bishop Hooper. He had lived some time abroad, and was the friend of Bullinger and Gualter, the two leaders of the Protestant cause in Germany and Switzerland. Returning home in the days of Edward VI., his piety and talents were at once appreciated, and he was nominated, in the spring of 1550, to the see of Gloucester. But his conscience was embarrassed; and in his person a contest began which has never since been stilled. He demurred first to the oath of supremacy, and secondly to the robes in which the episcopal investiture usually took place; and he wrote to the king, earnestly requesting that he might be allowed to decline the bishoprick, or to be admitted without the usual oath and ceremonial. His objection, so far as the oath was involved, seems to have been easily removed. The obnoxious passage, in which he was required to swear “by God, *by the saints*, and by the holy gospels,” was at once altered by the king’s own hand, in the presence of the council, when Hooper’s protest against the impiety of a solemn

appeal to the departed saints was placed before him. But the greater difficulty remained. Hooper would by no means consent to wear the vestments. He refused to be consecrated in robes worn by the bishops of the Church of Rome, and which he regarded as a badge of antichrist. Crammer was then archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley bishop of London, and they endeavoured to convince him that his scruples were unfounded. But their persuasions and arguments failed. The council, in the king's name, requested Crammer to give way, and to proceed with Hooper's consecration. This Crammer refused to do, "not thinking," says his biographer, Strype, "that even such a mandate was a sufficient authority for the breach of an existing law." Still he does not seem to have been insensible of Hooper's worth, much less to have been influenced by any private jealousy. His conduct claims our respect, as that of a man who, in arbitrary times, revered the authority of the law, and held it to be superior to the mere commands of the sovereign. The professorships of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge were then filled by two eminent foreigners, Peter Martyr and Bucer, whom the archbishop, by the king's command, had invited to those posts. He desired each of them to write to Hooper on the subject of the vestments, supposing that the judgment of those who were esteemed in their own churches abroad as leaders of the Reformation would have great weight. Meanwhile Hooper continued to inveigh in his sermons, and often with some asperity, against the vestments. The Privy Council, in consequence, confined him to his own house; but his ardent spirit disclaimed to be silent. His zeal was not always tempered with discretion. He could not preach upon the Decalogue, for example, (for he was still permitted to preach in London,) without referring to the forbidden subject. Amongst other flagrant violations of the Lord's-day, he introduces the teaching of false doctrine. "Further," he exclaims, "to augment the ceremonies of the Church, and bring in a new Judaism and Aaronical rites, is against this commandment. As the bishops have used the matter, there be more ceremonies in the Church of Christ than were in the Church of the Jews." He even published an answer to his opponents, which he called "A Confession of Faith." This seems to have been regarded as an act of contumacy. By order of the Privy Council he was silenced, and imprisoned in the Fleet.

The letters of Bucer and Martyr upon the subject are still extant; and it is interesting at this distance of time to observe how these men regarded the infant controversy. Bucer thought that the garments might be retained in obedience to the law of the land, but not as parts of the law of Moses: to the pure all things are pure; and upon this principle the apostles had complied with the Jews in many things. The garments were in themselves indifferent; they had been used by the ancient fathers before popery began. He wished they were removed by legal authority, but he argued fully for the use of them till then. He implores Hooper, for the sake of the Church of Christ, to dismiss his scruples, and to accept an office of such vast importance, and one to which he was so especially called by the voice of his sovereign and the necessities of the English Church. Martyr was in communication with Bucer, and approved of what he wrote. "Hooper's affair," he writes to Bucer, "has assumed a character of which the most pious must disapprove. I grieve, I deeply grieve, that such things should happen amongst the professors of the gospel. Though at this time forbidden to preach, and under confinement, he seems as if he could not rest; he has just published his confession of faith, which has exasperated many; he complains of the privy council, and perhaps, though this is not my concern, of us too. May God give a happy issue to these inauspicious beginnings." In the same strain he wrote to Hooper, imploring him to yield; "and yet," he adds, "when I consider the superstition and contention the vestments have occasioned, I could wish they were abandoned." Bishop Burnet has remarked that Cranmer and his friends habitually deferred to the judgment of Peter Martyr to a degree which almost amounted to submissiveness. It was not likely that Hooper should feel indisposed to admit his weight as an umpire. Swayed by such advisers, he consented to use the vestments in the ceremonial of his consecration, and to preach in them, once at least, before the court; for it seems uncertain whether he ever wore them afterwards. Thus he exchanged his prison for a bishopric. On the 8th March, 1551, he was consecrated bishop of that cathedral in sight of which, four years afterwards he died a martyr. Ridley, in whose diocese he had been so harshly used, was brought, and almost at the same time, to the same fiery ordeal.

This affair of Bishop Hooper made a deep impression. His elevated position, his popular eloquence, his dauntless courage and above all, his glorious martyrdom, embalmed his memory and riveted his opinions upon the hearts of the reformers. Other circumstances occurred to keep alive the controversy which had now unhappily arisen. Several congregations of German Protestants, fleeing from continental persecution, had found an asylum in England. One of the principal of these was settled in London under the pastoral care of John Alasco, a man of great repute, the friend and patron of Erasmus; while another was placed by the duke of Somerset, the protector during the king's minority, at Glastonbury, upon the lands of the famous monastery then recently dissolved.

But a change was again at hand. Mary succeeded to the throne, and the ancient superstitions were restored. The influence of the foreigners in matters of religion, however imperceptible, must have been already such as to excite suspicion; for they were commanded to leave the kingdom without delay. Nor did they retire alone. A furious burst of persecution drove with them a thousand of our countrymen, who felt that to remain at home was to incur a needless hazard. The low countries, the free cities of the Rhine, and Switzerland, were now filled with the English wanderers. Frankfort, Basle, Zurich, and Geneva were the towns of their chief resort; for there the doctrines of the Reformation had taken the strongest hold, and there its most eminent professors dwelt. Mingled with these were the leaders of the continental Reformation. The English refugees had constant intercourse with Calvin, with Gualter, with Peter Martyr, and Alasco; and above all with Henry Bullinger.

On the death of Mary our English exiles returned home, "bringing nothing back with them," says Fuller, "but much learning and some experience." It is likely that they were influenced by the manners of the German Churches. On their return to England the contrast between the splendour of the English ceremonial and the simplicity of that abroad was the more striking. Their opponents never ceased to attribute much of the discontent that followed to the Genevan exile. "They were for the most part Zwinglian-gospellers at their going hence," says Heylin, "and became the great promoters of the Puritan

faction at their coming home." The Puritans themselves were never unwilling to own their obligations to the German reformers, still, however, founding their scruples rather upon what they conceived to be the absence of scriptural simplicity than upon the practice of other Churches. But the question of the habits, or, as it has since been termed, the vestiarian controversy, was unsettled, and it now began to wear an anxious, if not a threatening, aspect.

This dispute with regard to the vestments to be worn by the ministers of Christ when discharging their official duties, lay at the root of many other controversies, and was the source from which they arose. During the reigns of Edward VI., and Mary, and the first years of Elizabeth, the controversy was managed with great ability, and generally with temper and forbearance, but as the first leaders disappeared it fell into the hands of other disputants, and was conducted in a very different spirit.

It was urged by the dissatisfied party that the imposition of the vestments was an infringement of their Christian liberty. They were called under the gospel to worship God in spirit and in truth; and no outward forms or splendours could contribute in any measure to assist the devout mind in a service so spiritual and exalted. On the contrary, the tendency of these official garments was to distract the worshipper, and to debase his devotions by an admixture of those sentiments which are allowed no place in spiritual things. The Church of Christ was only safe in its simplicity, and such was its inward glory that any attempts to decorate could but in fact degrade it. They objected too, that the vestments against which they were now contending had a Jewish origin, and belonged not to the Christian ministry, but to the priesthood of the house of Aaron. To introduce them into the Church of Christ was to pervert their meaning. They were a part of the divinely appointed constitution of the Jewish Church, and had passed away together with the rest of its figurative and mystic ceremonial.

It was a further objection, and one that appealed not only to divines and controversialists, but to the feelings of the common people, that the vestments were identical with all the superstitious of popery. They were looked upon as the badge of antichrist; and they who wore them were regarded with suspicion, as men

either indifferent to the cause of the Reformation, or not yet sufficiently enlightened as to the danger, and indeed the sinfulness, of approaching the most distant confines of a system which ought to be avoided with alarm and horror. "If we are bound to wear popish apparel when commanded, we may be obliged to have shaven crowns, and to use oil, and cream, and spittle, and all the rest of the papistical additions to the ordinances of Christ."

The question of the vestments was very soon followed by others not less irritating. From dislike to the habits the progress was very easy to a dislike of the service-book: and that of king Edward was, they believed, not free from superstition. All forms of prayer soon fell under a suspicion of popery; so that the revision of the prayer-book, which took place on the accession of Elizabeth, gave little satisfaction to those, now a considerable party, who had begun to think all forms unlawful.

Thus arose the first secession from the English Church of the Reformation. The first actual rupture took place abroad in 1554. The English residents at Frankfort entered into an agreement with a congregation of French Protestants, in whose church they were allowed to assemble, binding themselves not only to subscribe to the French confession of faith, recently drawn up by Calvin, but further, not to make responses after the minister, nor to use the litany, or surplice, and (a condition of no less importance) not to quarrel about ceremonies. Their Church discipline seems to have been that of the Independents rather than Presbyterian. They looked upon themselves as, under God, the source and fountain of ecclesiastical power. They proceeded to choose their own minister and deacons, and to invite their brethren, dispersed through the neighbouring cities, to join a community where, they said, "God's word was faithfully preached, the sacraments rightly administered, and scripture discipline enforced." Their public service was conducted thus: it began with extemporaneous prayer; a hymn was sung; the minister then prayed a second time, and more at large, concluding with the Lord's prayer. Then followed another psalm and a sermon, if a preacher were present; or otherwise, the recital of a confession of faith. The congregation was then dismissed with the apostolic benediction.

The experiment was not successful. The English divines of



Strasburgh, Zurich, and Basle, declined, in succession, the invitations of the newly-formed congregation. They next applied to Knox, and he, with two assistants, became their pastor. But difficulties arose amongst themselves; many of them were attached to the English forms. These, it seems, were the majority: they elected Dr. Cox, who had been tutor to Edward VI. and Elizabeth, their minister; and Knox found himself displaced, and was required by the government to leave the city. He retired to Geneva, and immediately gathered another congregation amongst the English exiles. But the death of Mary, which happened in the following year, again broke up his flock, and their pastor was now free to return to his native land.

The Act of Uniformity, which passed in the first year of Elizabeth, may be considered as the point of time at which the battle was at length joined, and each of the two parties—the Puritans and the Prelatists—assumed its definite position. The Act embraced two vital questions—the revisal of the prayer-book and the compliance hereafter to be rendered to the forms and ceremonies. With regard to the Book of Common Prayer, it remained in substance the second of the two prayer-books issued by King Edward, namely, that of 1552. The few alterations in it did not relieve the Puritans, nor perhaps were they meant to do so. With regard to the vestments, they felt themselves injured afresh; for they were compelled by a rubric in the revised book to retain “all such ornaments of the Church and ministers as were in use in the second year of King Edward,” the year in which his first imperfect prayer-book was put forth; whereas the second prayer-book of 1552 insisted only on the use of the surplice. As its enactments were successively urged upon them, their discontent increased. Each attempt to reduce them to an uniform submission only provoked a fresh resistance.

The Act of Uniformity was passed in May, and came into effect on the 24th of June, 1559, though not without a protest from Heath, the archbishop of York. It not only exacted a rigorous conformity in the conduct of divine worship and in the habits worn by the minister, but further empowered the queen, by the advice of the commissioners or metropolitan, to ordain and publish, at her pleasure, further rites or ceremonies, with no other limitation than what these words convey:—“As may be most for God’s glory, and the edifying of his Church, and the

due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments." The rigorous pressing of this Act, says Neale, the great historian of puritanism, was the occasion of all the mischiefs that befel the Church for above eighty years. The evils which it was meant to remedy were no doubt both real and extensive, but the measure was violent; and it fared with it according to the disastrous law which ever governs such proceedings: what was conceived with rashness was carried into effect with obstinate severity.

Parker was now Archbishop of Canterbury. On his part no pains were spared to produce an exact obedience; and the disorders which prevailed in the Church afforded a man not indisposed to wield despotic power frequent occasions to interfere. The ejection of many good men immediately followed. One of the first sufferers was Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, in the reign of Edward VI. On the accession of Mary he was imprisoned, and escaped the flames only through the intercession of the King of Denmark, to whose territories he fled. Returning at Elizabeth's accession, he assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Parker; but as he disliked the ceremonies and habits, his bishopric was not restored, and the venerable translator of the Bible was suffered to fall into neglect and poverty. When old and poor he was presented, by Grindal, bishop of London, with the small living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge. He had scarcely held his preferment two years, when he was driven from his parish by the stringent demand of a rigorous conformity, with which he could not comply. He died soon after, in 1567, at the age of eighty-one.

Sampson, dean of Christchurch, was one of the proscribed. He was somewhat rash and headstrong, but upon the whole, a man of whom Grindal and Horn attest, that his learning was equal to his piety.

Nor were these the only victims. The venerable John Foxe shared in Coverdale's disgrace. He too had narrowly escaped the flames by a voluntary exile. But he lived to return. He placed the Church of England under greater obligations than any writer of his age, by his "Book of Martyrs," and had his recompense in an old age of poverty and shame.

But it must not be concealed that amongst the Puritans themselves extreme and violent opinions appeared. As the infection spread, an angry, factions temper, or, as Bishop Coxé expressed

it, "a zeal for discord," infected multitudes. Sandys, bishop of London, writing to Bullinger, August 15, 1573, says, despairingly, "I wish for nothing more than that, relieved from those cares and anxieties with which I am now overwhelmed, I might pass the remainder of my life at Zurich as a sojourner and private person. Thoughts of this kind are continually occurring to me, nor is there anything that I should wish for more. But I perceive that this cannot be. I am not born for myself: our Church which is most sadly tossed about in these evil times, and is in a most wretched state of confusion, vehemently demands all my exertions: I dare not desert the spouse of Christ in her danger; for conscience would cry out against me, and convict me of having betrayed her. New orators are rising up among us, foolish young men, who, while they despise authority, and admit of no superior, are seeking the complete overthrow and rooting up of our whole ecclesiastical polity, so piously constituted, and confirmed, and established by the entire consent of most excellent men, and are striving to shape out for us, I know not what new platform of a Church. And you would not imagine with what approbation this new face of things is regarded, as well by the people as the nobility. The people are fond of change, and seek after liberty; the nobility (seek for) what is useful. These good folks promise both, and that in abundance. But that you may be better acquainted with the whole matter, accept this summary of the question at issue reduced under certain heads:—

"1. The civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters. He is only a member of the Church, the government of which ought to be committed to the clergy.

"2. The Church of Christ admits of no other government than that by presbyteries; viz., by the minister, elders, and deacon.

"3. The names and authority of archbishops, archdeacons, deans, chancellors, commissaries, and other titles and dignities of the like kind, should be altogether removed from the Church of Christ.

"4. Each parish should have its own presbytery.

"5. The choice of ministers of necessity belong to the people.

"6. The goods, professions, lands, revenues, titles, honours, authorities, and all other things relating either to bishops or

cathedrals, and which now of right belong to them, should be taken away forthwith and for ever.

“ 7. No one should be allowed to preach who is not a pastor of some congregation ; and he ought to preach to his own flock exclusively, and nowhere else.

“ 8. The infants of papists are not to be baptized.

“ 9. The judicial laws of Moses are binding upon Christian princes, and they ought not in the slightest degree to depart from them.

“ There are many other things of the same kind, not less absurd, and which I shall not mention ; none of which, as far as I can judge, will make for the advantage and peace of the Church, but for her ruin and confusion.”—*Zurich Letters*, vol. i.

In 1572, a Presbyterian Church was formed, and a meeting-house erected at Wandsworth in Surrey. Field, the lecturer of Wandsworth, was its first minister ; and several names of consideration with the Puritans, including those of Travers and Wilcox, were amongst its founders. Presbyteries were formed in other parts of the kingdom, and numerous secret meetings were held in private houses, which gave more alarm to the government, or at least a stronger pretext for severity. Even moderate men began to express anxiety. To meet the danger, the high court of commission, was now first put in motion. It empowered the queen and her successors, by their letters patent under the great seal, to authorize, whenever they thought fit, and for as long a period as they pleased, a commission of persons, lay or clerical, to exercise all manner of jurisdiction under the queen and her successors in spiritual things ; and, “ to order, visit, reform, and redress all heresies, errors, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever.” One of its first acts was the violent suppression of the Presbyterian meeting at Wandsworth ; its subsequent labours were of the same character.

Notwithstanding these severities, puritanism continued to increase ; for the persecution which does not exterminate a religious party never fails to strengthen it. And while the cause was gaining strength in London, it was taking firm root in the great seats of learning.

Thomas Cartwright, Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge in 1569, delivered a course of lectures in which the order

and constitution of the Church were openly assailed. His lectures were highly popular, and he was answered from week to week in the University pulpit by an opponent of no common fame. This was John Whitgift, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He, too, had lately been a Puritan, but he had renounced his party, and was now zealous for conformity. Cartwright maintained that the Scriptures contained the exact model by which the Church ought to be framed and governed, and this model was complete without bishops and archbishops. He, therefore, insisted on the establishment, in England, of a Presbyterian Church. "To effect this reformation," he said, "every one ought to labour in his calling, the magistrate by his authority, the minister by the word, and all by their prayers."

Whitgift answered, in substance, thus: Christ has left the mode of Church government to be regulated from time to time by the Church itself. No absolute form is prescribed; no minute injunctions are laid down in Scripture. Let everything be done for edification, let nothing be done contrary to an express command. Within these limits the Church is left to her own discretion. The controversy was carried on for several years: by the Puritan leaders, in two "Admonitions to Parliament for the reformation of Church discipline;" by Whitgift, in his "Answers to a certain Libel called an Admonition," &c. The first of these admonitions was presented to parliament by Field and Wilcox, who were imprisoned, and the petition was burned at St. Paul's cross. Cartwright was deprived of his fellowship, degraded from the professor's chair, and expelled the University. But the controversy continued to rage with unabated warmth for twenty years, when it began to assume new forms, and to ally itself with new disputes.

On the death of Parker, Grindal succeeded to the primacy in 1575. Though opposed to the violent extremes of Cartwright, and even ready to punish the factious Puritans with imprisonment, he would have given full scope to their zeal on the mild condition of a moderate conformity. When they established their prophecyings (for an account of which, see vol. i., p. 248), he not only gave his consent, but threw over the proceeding the mantle of his authority.

The prophecyings, as well or ill managed, might be productive of the greatest good or evil. They were highly popular, and in

some cases partially mischievous. Political discussion broke in upon religious inquiry. The hierarchy was assailed, the Prayer-book vilified, and ministers who had been silenced for their irregularities were listened to, perhaps with the greater satisfaction because of their nonconformity, in the prophecyings. Yet the need was great. In many counties scarcely one preacher could be found. In some dioceses there were but two or three; there was a general thirst for religious instruction, while the people, as the archbishop told the queen, were allowed to perish for lack of knowledge. Grindal resolved to take the prophecyings under his own care, and at the same time to remove the causes of objection. He, therefore, forbade the introduction of politics, the speaking of laymen, or ministers suppressed, and the allusions, hitherto not unfrequent, to matters of government; and instead of a chairman elected by the societies, he placed the meetings for the future under the care of the archdeacon, or of some grave divine to be appointed by the bishop. Ten bishops heartily approved of the primate's decision, and encouraged the prophecyings in their dioceses. But the queen regarded them with great dislike, and the court resolved on their suppression. It was in vain the faithful primate remonstrated with the queen. "Alas! madam, is the scripture more plain in any one thing than that the gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached? I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess that I cannot with safe conscience, and without offence to the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises." In vain did the earl of Leicester and the lord-treasurer Burghley, who presented the remonstrance, add the weight of their intercessions. The queen was enraged, and the primate, who was old and sick, was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house, and would probably have been deprived, if death had not stepped in to his release. He died on the 6th July, 1583. Preaching fell into contempt, and the Church of England has never since entirely recovered from the blow. There has always since this event been a party in the Church who have regarded this divine ordinance with real or well-feigned contempt.

The immediate consequence was to give importance to the Brownists or ultra-Puritans (*see* BROWNISTS), whose rapid triumph in the face of persecution, is one of the most remarkable episodes in the reign of Elizabeth. The moderate Puritans were stunned;

and under Whitgift first arose a high-church party, against which there was for some time no moderate party to contend ; and thus the equilibrium of the Church was lost.

When James came to the throne in 1602, the moderate or Church Puritans, took heart and presented to the new king, before he had arrived in London, a petition signed by about eight hundred of the clergy, setting forth their grievances. Their demands were moderate, and their tone respectful and submissive. James, anxious to please all parties, dismissed them with fair promises, and the Hampton Court conference was the result. It was held in 1604, James himself presiding. The Puritans were represented by Reynolds, Sparkes, Chadderton, and Newstubbs. The conference lasted several days, the prelates and law-officers of the crown, under Whitgift as their leader, being arrayed against the Puritans. To the latter the conference gave no satisfaction. They complained that the king was partial, while their opponents were insulting. Their requests were heard with impatience, and rejected with scorn. No doctrinal questions had yet occurred between them. The Puritans were moderate Calvinists ; Whitgift was an ultra-Calvinist ; and they would even have accepted his own exposition of these doctrines and incorporated the Lambeth articles in the thirty-nine. Their objections lay entirely against matters of form and ceremony, or against expressions in the Prayer-book, capable of misapprehension. They would have done away with confirmation, forbidden private baptism, and amended the terms made use of in absolving the sick ; both sides, however, agreeing in this, that the absolution had reference only to those who lay under Church censures, or, as James expressed it, "to special parties, who having committed a scandal, and repenting, are absolved : so that where there precedes not excommunication nor penance there needs no absolution." Some slight concessions were made ; private baptism by women was forbidden ; the Church Catechism was enlarged by the addition of the explanation of the Sacraments ; and to Dr. Reynolds's suggestion we owe that inestimable treasure the authorized English version of the Bible. Their requests that the cross in baptism might be omitted were received by the king with contempt ; and the Puritans retired brow-beaten and dismayed. The Puritan party was angry with their representatives, who they said had not done justice to their cause ; and with themselves, who should have

known their opponents better than to have expected from them either candour or forbearance.

The petitions of the Puritans at this famous conference were moderate. They did not ask for the subversion of prelacy or the introduction of the Geneva discipline. They sought for reforms, many of which were needed, most of which were practicable, and none of which involved the abandonment of any vital principle. They deserved better treatment; and the harshness they received soon began to recoil upon its authors.

Puritanism feeling itself oppressed became morose. Whitgift died in 1615, and his death was the signal for the introduction of a new system of theology, a low Arminianism. Within a few years all the bishoprics, except two or three at the utmost, were filled by men who formally denied the Calvinistic creed, and placed a new construction on the articles. The Puritans adhered to their Calvinism, becoming naturally more tenacious of it, or at least more systematic in their method of stating it, now that it was impeached. The consequences on both sides were injurious to religion. It wore a wrangling, disputatious character, and if it gained something in precision when these debates were over, it lost far more in real force, in attractiveness, and in its freedom from the trammels and the verbiage of systematic theology.

This was the state of things when Charles I., in 1625, succeeded to the throne. He took Laud to his councils; and upon the death of Abbot, in 1633, raised him to the primacy. Charles was now the husband of a popish queen: and the Arminianism of the Laudian party did not interfere with their tolerance of Rome. New views of sacramental grace and efficacy were every day announced; new forms and ceremonies, unknown in England since the Reformation, were everywhere seen. To Laud himself a cardinal's hat was twice offered; and the Church of England seemed to be drifting back again to popery. At the same time the terms of communion were so narrowed as, if possible, to exclude the Puritans altogether. The Laudian prelates not only enforced the harsh injunctions of Elizabeth, but added new ones of their own. They multiplied bowings and prostrations; placed lighted tapers on the altars; decorated the churches with pictures and images of saints; pronounced the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be a sacrifice, and the minister a sacrificing priest. We have the assurance of the moderate prelates,



Sanderson and Hall, that an incredible number of clergymen who had hitherto cheerfully conformed, were forced in consequence into the ranks of the Puritans. Political contentions, and the frenzy of the Sectarians, from whom the Puritans had always held themselves aloof, added bitterness to the quarrel. The sword was drawn in 1642, and the war began, which ended in the subversion of the throne and the execution of the monarch.

With the power of Charles the Church of England fell; and the Puritans for a time were masters of the field. It was a religious age; and when the people had trampled the crown beneath their feet, they showed no disposition to depreciate the office of the clergy. During the heat of the war, the Puritans, who almost to a man sided with the parliament, preached to large congregations; and, in all the great towns at least, they had the implicit ear of the people. Episcopacy being at an end, they acted, for a while, according to the dictates of conscience or mere taste; the surplice was generally laid aside; and extempore prayer was used in the parish churches even before the ordinance of parliament appeared in 1645, forbidding the Book of Common Prayer. The old puritanism, however, was now passing away. A generation had arisen in whose eyes the principles of Cartwright were crude and imperfect. They no longer contended against the forms and vestments, but against the constitution of the Church of England. Prelacy, by which we understand the episcopacy titled and associated with civil authority, was detested; all forms of prayer were decried; and episcopacy even in its mildest forms was thought unscriptural. Thus puritanism properly so called became extinct, because the grounds of the old contention no longer existed. The later Puritans appeared, and immediately fell into two great parties, PRESBYTERIANS, and INDEPENDENTS; and we refer the reader to the articles, in which, under those designations, we have followed out their history.

It may be proper to mention, in conclusion, the doctrinal Puritans. These formed, in fact, the moderate Church party during the reign of Charles I. Their leaders were Bishops Davenant, Hall, Williams, and Carleton. The title of doctrinal Puritans was fastened upon them by the Laudian party. They held and taught the doctrines of the Reformation, in opposition to the sacramental system which Laud had recently introduced. They entertained no scruples as to the forms and ceremonies of

the Church of England, to which they willingly conformed. But they rejected, with indignation, the innovations of the Laudian party; who in return branded them with the name of Puritans. It was an entirely new application of the word; and one against which they did not fail to protest. It seems to have been first used about 1625 by Bishop Montague in a controversy with Carleton, and the latter exclaims: "This is the first time that I ever heard of a Puritan doctrine in points dogmatical, and I have lived longer in the Church than he hath done. I thought that Puritans were only such as were factious against the bishops, in the point of pretended discipline; and so I am sure it hath been understood in our Church." The controversies which have ever since existed within the bosom of the Church of England now for the first time appeared. The construction of the baptismal offices became a subject of contention; and the whole question of baptismal and sacramental grace. The doctrinal Puritans adhered to the ancient forms of worship, and for doing so were severely harassed. The Laudian party maintained "that whatever rites were practised in the Church of Rome, and not expressly abolished at the Reformation, nor disclaimed by any doctrine, law or canon, were consistent with the Church of England." Under this general maxim they introduced a multitude of ceremonies, such, for instance, as bowing to the east, and placing candles on the altar, now gorgeously decorated once more; which had long been dismissed as badges of popery. And thus in a short time a difference was apparent between the two parties both in doctrinal teaching and in visible forms. To complete the quarrel the Laudians were of the Arminian school, while the doctrinal Puritans were moderate Calvinists.

For twenty years the doctrinal Puritans suffered great indignities; but they remained stedfast in their attachment to the Church, and when the storm burst upon it, they were exposed to all its fury. They took no share in Laud's convocation of 1640, and greatly disapproved of its arbitrary measures. But the popular rage made no distinctions, and the Church Puritans suffered just as much as their old opponents of the high prelate party. The Church itself was overthrown; and in the darkness and confusion that ensued, they disappear from sight during the civil war. There is no party in the Church of England to whom we are more deeply indebted, none for whom we feel a more

profound respect. They were the evangelists of their own times and by means of their admirable writings they contributed not a little to the restoration of pure religion in later days. If Laud had listened to their warnings they would have saved the Church. If the Long Parliament would have profited by their moderation, they might have saved the monarchy. They have been compared to the prophets of old, who were raised up to foretell impending ruin, and to leave both factions without excuse.

The literature of the Puritans, as a religious party, consists chiefly of controversial and practical theology, and in both its ability is confessed by friend and foe. As Whitgift and his disciple Hooker exhausted the argument in favour of episcopacy and a liturgical Church, so did Cartwright and Travers that in behalf of presbyterian discipline. The student, after a wide search amongst the combatants of later times, finds to his surprise how insignificant are all their additions to a controversy opened, and, as far as learning and argument can go, finally closed by the earliest champions on either side. Of the practical divinity of Elizabeth's reign, a large proportion was contributed by the Puritans. The party embraced men of high rank and general education as well as men of theological learning; and the literature of the age bears many tokens of their influence. If we descend to the next age, the names of the greatest men of the reigns of James, Charles I., and the Commonwealth, present themselves as in a greater or less degree connected with the Puritans. Selden, Whitelock, Milton, with their pens; Rudyard, Hampden, Vane, in Parliament; Owen, Marshall, Calamy, Baxter, and a host of others, in the pulpit; Cromwell, Essex, and Fairfax, in the field,—all ranged themselves under the Puritan cause. Never was a party more distinguished in its advocates; never was a cause lost amidst more hopeful prospects, or when to human eyes its triumph was more secure. In 1650 it was at the summit of its pride and power, with the Church of England at its feet. Ten years afterwards its influence had passed away; and, in the persons of the Presbyterians who crossed over to propitiate the young king at Breda, it was submissively pleading for its life.

*Zurich Letters. Strype's Life of Cranmer, Paull's Life of Whitgift. Brook's Memoir of Thomas Cartwright. Bishop*

*Hall's Hard Measure, and Shaking of the Olive Tree. Whitelock's Memorials. Speeches in this great and happy Parliament, 1645. History of the Westminster Assembly. Clarendon's History of the Great Rebellion. Neale's History of the Puritans. Heylin's History of the Reformation; and his Life of Laud.*

**R**OME, CHURCH OF.\*—The Church of Rome professes to have been founded by St. Peter. She maintains that he was the primate amongst the apostles, and that his primacy is inherited by the popes or bishops of Rome. It follows that to them pertains the right of governing the universal Church, and, further, that separation from her communion involves the guilt of schism.

To establish these claims it is of course necessary to prove that St. Peter was himself invested with the primacy; that he visited Rome, and was the founder of its Church; and that the popes of Rome are his lawful successors. The controversy which these points involve is one of the most extensive and profound in the whole compass of theological polemics. The primacy of St. Peter is argued by Roman Catholic divines from the fact, that in the lists of the apostles in the New Testament St. Peter's name always stands first; that by St. Matthew, as Grotius and some other Protestant commentators admit, he is especially styled *πρωτος*, *the first of the apostles*; that he alone received from our Lord a new name, changing his former designation for one which conveyed a peculiar commission, and indicating that the person who bore it had an especial authority to represent himself; and, above all, that our Lord intrusted Peter with the primacy in these express words, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." This primacy, it is contended, is recognised in the Acts of the

\* The design of this work being to furnish the reader with the facts of ecclesiastical history in their simplest form, no attempt is made, in this article, to discuss the great questions at issue between Protestants, as well as all other Churches, and the Church of Rome. As far as possible the history of the Church of Rome is told, as it is given by her own writers.

Apostles, and, in general, by the inspired writers in the New Testament on several occasions.

In proof that the bishops of Rome are St. Peter's successors, it is argued thus : St. Irenæus, in the second century, speaks of the Church of Rome as having been constituted and founded by Peter and Paul. The two apostles, he says, made Linus, of whom St. Paul speaks in his Epistle to Timothy, the first bishop ; and from him he traces the descent of the episcopate down to Eleutherus, the twelfth bishop in succession, who was then living. Tertullian, at the end of the second century, refers to the appointment of the first bishop, as having received his episcopate from St. Peter. St. Cyprian, Eusebius, and Lactantius, in later times, speak of Rome as the see of St. Peter. Other writers repeat and confirm these statements ; and the evidence they afford is supposed to set at rest the doubts which have been raised as to the fact whether St. Peter ever visited Rome or not. Of Protestant writers, Cave and Lardner admit, without hesitation, a fact which they believe to be ascertained beyond dispute by early and well-attested tradition. No other Church, it is contended, can trace up the line of its episcopate in an unbroken succession to the time of Christ. There is one apostle whose successors have been recorded ; one Church respecting which the line of the episcopate has been preserved unbroken : this Church is the Church of Rome, and that apostle was St. Peter.

Some difficulty is admitted in establishing the proof that in the first ages of the Church the primacy of the Romish bishops was either asserted or allowed. The early bishops of Rome are scarcely known in ecclesiastical history. Till the first Council of Nice, although various disputes had rent the Church, and questions of importance had solicited the interference of a master hand, it does not appear that any of these were remitted to the Romish bishop to be set at rest by his adjudication. It is replied, that the primacy might exist without discovering itself ; that as a child possesses the capacity of reason before it gives utterance to thought, so the Church may have had a centre of unity, though as yet the effects were not manifest. Antecedent probabilities, it is added, are in favour of the primacy, and not against it. Why should it be supposed that the early bishops of Rome did not possess the primacy, simply because it cannot be proved to have been exercised ? Since a primacy was given to

St. Peter ; and since it is clear that the bishop of Rome was styled his successor, the inference is that his office implied precedence over his brethren. If it be asked why the authority of the primate was not exerted to put down the various errors introduced by the Gnostics and the Arians, the answer is, that there was nothing in these heresies which directly assaulted the Church's unity, and, therefore, nothing to afford occasion for the interference of the chief bishop rather than that of his subordinates.

By such arguments the papal supremacy is maintained. It consists of three particulars, which are inherent in it, and which are said to include or involve the most important rights which have been claimed for it. First, that the bishop of Rome is the final judge in all questions of doctrine. Secondly, the right of supreme government, of assembling general councils, and presiding over them. And, thirdly, the right of making all ecclesiastical appointments.

Yet proofs are not wanting that the primacy of St. Peter's chair was a novel doctrine even in the third century. For instance, Novatian, a Roman presbyter, boldly opposed the election of Cornelius to the vacant see in the year 250. Cornelius was elected, and is said to have been worthy of the office ; but Novatian placed himself at the head of another Church, of which he became the bishop ; and though he was excommunicated by Cornelius, it does not appear either that the fact of his having opposed his election, or of his lying beneath the sentence of excommunication, exposed him to the ban of the Church Catholic. The Novatians existed as an independent Church until the sixth century. For some time their morality was rigid ; and, with regard to doctrine, there was no point of difference ; only they insisted on baptizing anew those Christians who entered their communion. Had they retained their parity, the Novatians might possibly have still existed as an independent Church.

And, further, the pretensions of the Roman bishop were firmly resisted by all the Eastern Churches. The coming of Antichrist was a subject of universal interest. It was generally expected when Rome was destroyed by Alaric ; and the heads of the rival Churches of Rome and Constantinople freely charged upon each other the marks and signs of Antichrist in the arrogance which claimed universal supremacy. Even the bishops of Rome did

not hesitate to use this argument. The patriarch of Constantinople, John the Abtinent, assumed the title of universal bishop. Against this the Popes Pelagius and Gregory protested; the latter, in letters written and published by him at different times, and this so late as the close of the sixth century, "declared before all Christendom, that whoever called himself a universal bishop, or aimed at the title, was a precursor of Antichrist, inasmuch as in his pride he exalted himself above his brethren." A protest to this effect was addressed to the Greek emperor, and to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, as well as to others. No Protestant writer has denounced the assumption of the popes in stronger language than that in which Pope Gregory himself denounces the assumption of his rival. "Our brother and fellow-bishop, John," he exclaims, "despising the commands of Christ, attempts to exalt himself above the rest. He would subjugate to himself the members of Christ. In pompous speech he claims that supremacy which belongs to Christ, and to Christ alone, who is the sole head of the Church: *ita ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, et omnia quæ soli uni capiti coherere, scilicet Christo.*" (Lib iv., Epist. 36.)

Still the power of the Western primates continued to increase. While Rome continued to be the seat of government, the primacy was claimed, and sometimes conceded, on that ground alone. When the seat of empire was removed, the patriarchs of Constantinople claimed to participate in the same distinction. In the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, the legate of Pope Celestine demanded it as an undoubted right, grounding his claim on the succession of St. Peter. The Council of Chalcedon, otherwise the second Council of Nice, A.D. 451, allowed an equal dignity to the Roman and the Byzantine patriarch. Leo, the existing pope, indignantly rejected the canon. His successor, Hilary, styles himself the vicar of St. Peter, and claims the keys of the kingdom. Pushing his demands still further, Pope Galatius, about 496, began to claim the right to govern kings. "There are two authorities," he says, in a letter to the emperor, "by which the world is governed, the pontifical and the royal: the first is the greater, having the charge of the sacraments of life." In fact, he advanced, on behalf of the papacy, all those claims, in substance, which have since been admitted. He asserted the supremacy of the Roman see, as delegated to it by Christ himself; he

affirmed the infallibility of the Church of Rome ; he drew up a list of the canonical Scriptures, in which he included several of the apocryphal books ; he issued a rescript, condemning heretical writers and their books ; and the list includes some of the works of Tertullian and Lactantius. At the opening of the sixth century, Symmachus, the pope, was summoned by the Emperor Theodoric before a council on various charges of misconduct ; but the assembled clergy declared that the pope was above all ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; and passed a resolution that the pope was judge in the place of God himself, and could be judged by no mortal. "Theodoric," to quote a sentence from Gibbon, "was made to feel the dignity and importance of the Roman pontiff: a bishop who claims such ample provision in heaven and earth, who had been declared in numerous synods pure from all sin and exempt from all judgment."

The claims of the Roman bishops, which had now so long agitated the whole of Christendom, were formally confirmed by the Emperor Justinian in his judicial code, and in a decretal epistle to the pope in the year 533. The imperial law henceforth allowed his ecclesiastical supremacy to the full extent, and undertook, moreover, to enforce his sentences against heresy. These declarations were repeated by the Emperor Phocas, who, in the year 606, issued a decree confirming that of Justinian, and placing the bishop of Rome above the patriarch of Constantinople, and all other prelates and churches. He further presented the pope with the Pantheon for a Christian church, and in return his own statue was erected in the Forum. From this point of time the papacy was secure, and it soon appeared that it was destined to wield a far greater power than that of any of the Cæsars.

Gregory the Great was now the Roman pontiff; having been elected, in the year 590, by the unanimous and enthusiastic voice of the clergy, senate, and people. He was born of a noble Roman family, and had received such an education in science and philosophy, as the increasing gloom of the dark ages denied to his successors in the papal chair. The contrast between Gregory, the last representative of an ancient civilization, and the monks who followed him, throws, no doubt, a false lustre on his character. But still his abilities were great, and at any period he would have made himself renowned. Together with a



genius for government, he had religious zeal and enterprize, and a vast ambition. The state of Europe was such as to present a field for the exercise at once of his noblest qualities and of his worst. It seemed to invite the aggression of a spiritual despot, and to suggest the idea of universal empire.

The ancient Roman empire had finally disappeared, and new-born nations were struggling into life. The Saxon heptarchy was not yet complete, but the materials were at hand. The Franks, under Clovis, had laid the foundations of the French empire. The Germans were establishing themselves upon their own soil in those national divisions which they still retain. In Italy, the struggle was scarcely concluded out of which arose the exarchate of Ravenna, and those territorial distributions which continued almost unaltered till the beginning of the present century. The kingdom of Bavaria had just appeared. Spain and Portugal, under the rude Visigoths and Suevi, had lost the civilization of Roman colonies, and had not regained either liberty or science. Thus over the whole of Europe the nations had assumed new forms, and were waiting for new institutions. To most of them religion was a blank. They had begun to feel ashamed of their old idolatry; and their acquaintance with the Gospel was so imperfect, that, except in a few highly-favoured districts, they were without the means of establishing Christianity and erecting themselves into independent Churches. Gregory saw the opportunity, and embraced it; and the religion of Rome became, in consequence, the religion of all Western Europe. Whether he foresaw the stupendous results which followed, or even desired to accomplish them, must be left to conjecture; but he made it the great business of his life to extend the influence of the Church of Rome among the Gothic tribes. The mission of his monk Augustine to France and Britain, is too well known to be repeated. He himself, before his elevation to the papedom, had embraced the life of a missionary, and had already left Rome upon his enterprise, when he was recalled by the pope, in obedience to the clamour of an affectionate people, who could not submit to the absence of their idolized and patrician teacher. In the course of the sixth century, the supremacy of the pope of Rome was acknowledged by the sovereigns of all the western nations, and the secular arm had undertaken to carry out the decrees of the spiritual head.

The discipline of the Church was extended to the newly-converted nations. A system of ecclesiastical rule, complete and perfect in all its parts, was devised. By means of decretal epistles, to which the Roman canonists attach the authority due to holy Scripture, the bishops in the remotest parts were directed and controlled. The clergy were subjected to the bishop, the bishop to the metropolitan, the metropolitan to the papal vicar, or legate, and he to the pope himself. The bishop was now elected by the clergy, subject to the papal approval. The metropolitan was instituted by the reception of the pallium, or pall, from Rome, and very soon the pall was only granted after a vow had been taken of implicit obedience to the see of Rome. These demands, no doubt, were frequently resisted, and for centuries the history of Europe is filled with disputes, and sometimes wars, between the pontiffs and the secular princes, originating solely in these demands. But the result invariably was, the triumph of the Church and the depression of the secular power. At the same time the clergy were rendered more subservient by an enforced celibacy. This had been for some time a popular doctrine, but Gregory urged it with a severity hitherto unknown. He also sanctioned the doctrine of purgatory, image-worship, pilgrimages, and the veneration of pious relics. New rites, and methods of devotion hitherto unpractised, were introduced. The Gregorian chant still bears witness to its author's fondness for that gorgeous service which was echoed during so many subsequent ages from the cathedrals of Western Europe. He prescribed a new ceremonial in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and it was termed the canon of the mass. Baptism was now administered only on the great festivals, of which the number was augmented till they were at least equal to those of ancient Rome. Litanies were addressed to the saints and martyrs; churches were built to their honour in numbers almost incredible; and the simple and credulous people began to regard them as the tutelary shrines of the patron saint to whom they were dedicated. The church became an asylum for the criminal, in which the arm of the law could not reach him, and a sacred spot in which the bodies of the departed could repose in safety, since no evil spirit would venture to intrude. To build and to endow a church was the most acceptable sacrifice that could be offered to the Most High.

To Gregory the Church of Rome is indebted for the completion of the monastic system. For two hundred years the deserts of Syria and Egypt had been the abode of monks and hermits, whose sanctity was extolled, and the story of whose miracles and devotion was now the only literature. The infection spread to Italy, and men who were anxious to excel in holiness, or to obtain the reputation of sanctity, plunged into solitude, and embraced a monastic life. Gregory, no doubt, shared in that reverence for the cloister which universally prevailed; and he probably saw, too, that if the monkish spirit could be controlled and reduced to a system, it might be made subservient to the interests of the papacy, in a degree far beyond all other agencies whatever. Nor was it difficult to accomplish a work, the materials for which lay within his reach. St. Benedict died just about the time that Gregory was born. His fame was great in Rome. He was the son of a Roman senator, born at Nursia, in Italy, A.D. 481. While yet a child he stole away from his parents to dwell in solitude. The ferocious Huns and Vandals had swept every trace of civilization from large districts, even in the heart of Italy; and at a distance of no more than forty miles from Rome Benedict dwelt for years in a perfect solitude. As the fame of his piety increased, he was persuaded to remove to Monte Cassino, near Rome, to found a monastery there, and to place himself at its head. It is said that he was influenced by no secular or ambitious motives; that it was not his intention to found a monastic order, but simply to prescribe rules for the Italian monks, in accordance with the practice of the anchorites and recluses of the early Church. But the monks of Monte Cassino were already famous when their founder died. Their monastery was distinguished by the superior intelligence, the correct lives, and the earnest zeal of its members, in a country where rapine, ignorance, and dissolute manners were universal. Gregory employed some of his leisure in writing a life of St. Benedict, in which he does not omit a long catalogue of his miracles. The saint had composed a code of rules for the monastery; these Gregory confirmed, and so added to them the sanction of the head of the Church—thus, in fact, placing himself at the head of the Benedictine order. According to some writers, Gregory himself had been a monk of Monte Cassino.

He founded several monasteries, and originated the Gregorian order; but his monks were, in fact, Benedictines, though under another name.

The institution of St. Dominic gave new features to the Church of Rome. Its progress must have astonished, if it did not sometimes alarm, the papacy itself. For 666 years—that is, till the time of the Augustines and Mendicants—it went on increasing, till its wealth and power were incredible. The property belonging to the parent monastery of Monte Cassino at length included four bishoprics, two dukedoms, thirty-six cities, two hundred castles, three hundred territories, thirty-three islands, and one thousand six hundred and sixty-two churches. The abbot assumed the following titles:—Patriarch of the holy faith; abbot of the holy monastery of Cassino; head and prince of all abbots and religious houses; vice-chancellor of both the Sicilies, of Jerusalem, and Hungary; count and governor of Campania and Terra di Lavoro, and of the maritime provinces; vice-emperor; and prince of peace. A writer of the sixteenth century enumerates amongst the illustrious men of the Benedictine order twenty-eight popes, two hundred cardinals, sixteen hundred archbishops, and four thousand bishops. The order during the life of Gregory had forced its way into Gaul and Britain, and had established itself in the remotest dependencies of the Church. Of its gigantic progress some conception may be formed from its magnificence and power at the period of the Reformation. Upwards of sixteen hundred abbeys then acknowledged the rule of St. Benedict, besides innumerable nunneries, priories, hospitals, and smaller foundations. The abbots were often little inferior to sovereign princes. Their splendour was greatest in Germany, where the abbot of Angia, surnamed the Rich, had a yearly revenue of sixty thousand golden crowns, and into his monastery were received none but the sons of princes, earls, and barons. The abbots of Weissenburgh, of Fulda, and St. Gall, were princes of the empire. The abbot of St. Gall once entered Strasburg with a retinue of a thousand horse. In process of time the Benedictine order gave rise to a number of monastic sects, differing from each other in some slight points of discipline, or dress, but all acknowledging the rule of Benedict. Amongst the chief of these were the Cluniac monks of Bur-

gundy, the Camaldeuses and Valumbrosians of the Apennines, the Grandimontensians of France, the Cistercians of Germany. To these may be added a multitude of obscurer names; the Gregorians, Celestines, Gerundines, Bernardines, Camaldoni, and many others.

The rules which Benedict prescribed, and Gregory sanctioned, prescribe a life of rigid abstinence, devotion, and obedience, to each member of the religious community. Their food was of the plainest kind and the smallest quantity, to be eaten in silence while a spiritual discourse was read. Two dishes, a little fruit, and a pound of bread, was the daily fare. Wine was drunk only on Sunday; and meat, except in sickness, was never tasted. Fasts were to be rigidly observed. The head was shaven, and the dress was plain; a woollen garment reaching to the feet was worn day and night, for they were enjoined to sleep in their clothes. The various orders were known, in time, by the slight varieties of their costume; that of the Benedictines was a hood and scapular, an upper garment of black cloth, one of white beneath, and a shirt of sackcloth: they were allowed the luxury of boots. The public devotions within the abbey occupied a great portion of time, the rest was spent in manual labour, in the instruction of the young, in devotion, and private study. The most unhesitating obedience was exacted. If the abbot or superior imposed a task which it was impossible to perform, the monk might meekly offer his remonstrance. If the abbot refused to yield, the monk must submit, looking up to God for help. Humility, says the rule of St. Benedict, consists of twelve degrees, which compose that mysterious ladder which appeared unto Jacob. The first degree of humility which the monk attains is to fear God, and think him always present; the second, not to love to do his own will; the third, to submit himself to his superiors, in all obedience, for the love of God; the fourth, to suffer with patience all sorts of injuries; the fifth, to discover all his most secret sins and faults to his abbot; the sixth, to be content with the meanest things and the most abject employments; the seventh, to think the meanest of himself; the eighth, to do nothing but what the common rule of the monastery and the example of the ancient recluses allow; the ninth, to speak nothing unless being asked; the tenth, not to laugh easily;

the eleventh, being obliged to speak, to do it without laughter, with gravity, in few words, and in a low voice; the twelfth, that a monk ought not only to be humble in heart, but also in behaviour, and that in all places he ought to hang down his head and his eyes towards the ground. And St. Benedict promises to him who shall have surmounted all these degrees of humility, to arrive at that perfect charity which drives away fear. Thus submission is placed on the same footing with obedience to the will of God. If a monk were rebellious, or proud, or discontented, after public admonition, he might be chastised with rods. He had nothing of his own. Whatever wealth he might have once possessed became the property of the monastery. He served by turn in the kitchen or at the table; assisted in the performance of every servile office, and washed his own clothes, and the feet of strangers and of his fellow-monks.

The institution of St. Benedict included both sexes. Scholastica, the sister of the saint, is said to have been the foundress of the order of Benedictine nuns. They were required to devote themselves to a life of seclusion, and to submit to a severe discipline. A nun, when she entered the cloister, forsook her home, and was afterwards regarded as dead to all worldly concerns: her time was supposed to be spent in charitable works, in prayer and meditation, and in the strict observance of the canonical hours. She was not allowed to speak with the other sex, except in the presence of witnesses. If found unchaste, the punishment in early periods was corporal chastisement, repeated three times, and a whole year's imprisonment on bread and water. In later periods, death by starvation in a cell was often inflicted. The purity of the nuns, and the piety of the monks, are points on which Roman Catholics are sensitive; and Protestants are frequently charged with unkindness and injustice in their reflections on them; but the candid historian will be compelled to admit that, however strict they may have been at first, great irregularities prevailed in the course of time. The zeal of the religious cooled, while their vows admitted of no relaxation. The repeated interference of bishops, popes, and councils, proves, from time to time, the existence of monstrous disorders; and the lampoons of indignant Roman Catholics before the Reformation

broke out, are quite as cutting as the sarcasms of Luther, or the revelations of Henry VIII.'s commissioners\* when the abbeys were suppressed.

When Gregory called the Benedictines into existence, he introduced a new element into the constitution of the Church. If the experiment were successful, the power of the monks, it might be foreseen, would soon preponderate over that of the secular clergy. Bound by a rigid vow, animated by a deep enthusiasm, separated from all the world, or bound to it by the single chain of a spiritual ambition, and at the same time regarded with profound reverence for their superior sanctity, the monks would form a spiritual empire of their own, an imperium in imperio. This on the one hand might check, and at length control, the papacy; or, on the other, if thoroughly subdued, and at the same time animated with an intense devotion to the papal chair, it might become its most powerful instrument; and through the monkish institutions, everywhere spreading themselves, and everywhere received with enthusiastic respect and confidence, the successor of Saint Peter might extend his conquests, and sway a sceptre before which all Christendom should bend. Gregory saw the alternative, and his sagacity devised a plan by which every monastery in Europe became his docile and obsequious tool. Each monastery was governed by a superior; the greater houses by an abbot chosen from amongst themselves. The abbot was subject to the bishop of the diocese, by whom he might be suspended; but if he felt himself aggrieved, he appealed to the temporal power; for in general it happened, during the first ages of the system, that the sovereign prince was also the founder and patron of the abbey. Some abbeys, from the first, as that of Monte Cassino, for instance, were subject only to the pope; others, as that of Treves, were subject to the sovereign only in temporal, and to the pope in spiritual things. Gregory introduced two measures

\* Balaëus, a mediæval writer, has the following verses on the nuns of the fourteenth century:—

Harum sunt quædam steriles, quædam parientes,

Virgineo tamen nomine cuncta tegunt.

Quæ pastoralis baculi dotatur honore,

Illæ quidem melius, fertilius que parit.

Vix etiam quævis sterilis reperitur in illis,

Donec ejus ætas talia posse negat.

See Emilienne's History of Monastic Orders, p. 134.

which contributed largely to the reduction not only of the religious houses, but of Europe itself, into complete submission. He established the principle, that no metropolitan bishop should assume his functions without the sanction of the pontiff. This sanction it became the practice to intimate by the investiture of the pallium, a cloak, or hood, of consecrated wool sent from Rome. The zeal of Boniface completed what Pope Gregory had begun: this zealous missionary, a Briton by birth, travelled throughout Germany and Gaul, preaching profound submission to Peter and his representative the Roman bishop; and he succeeded in inducing the Frank and German bishops to take the vow, which he himself had taken, of implicit obedience to the Roman see. Henceforward, without the pallium, no metropolitan could enter upon the duties of his office. And thus the pope became the direct head of the Church, without whose permission the metropolitans of nations the most remote from Rome could neither remove their abbots, nor indeed control their dioceses. In addition, the popes from the time of Gregory, and in imitation of his conduct, extorted from the secular powers the right of interference with the election of the abbot; they drew all investitures, as they were termed, to themselves. In Germany the custom was, that the emperor confirmed the abbot's appointment, by delivering a staff or crozier into his hands: this ceremony was superseded, and the abbots upon their institution took an oath of implicit obedience to the pope.

The theory of the papal supremacy, and with it that of the universality of the Church of Rome, was therefore now established. But, however it may be explained, these dogmas were received by the Northern nations and Gothic tribes far more implicitly than by the more cultivated people of the South. The Eastern Church, during the seventh and eighth centuries, was loud and frequent in its protests; and even the Italian bishops hesitated to admit the superiority of the bishops of Rome. The bishop of Ravenna long asserted and maintained his independence. But amongst the Frankish and German nations, the pope, or father as he was now termed exclusively, was admitted to be God's vicerent upon earth. In the seventh century the sovereigns of Western Europe submitted implicitly to the Roman see in all matters pertaining to religion. In most of these nations, the change was not yet complete which transferred them from a



heathen to a Christian state. As pagans, they had been accustomed to pay to their priests and Druids an implicit obedience, which Cæsar and Tacitus record with admiration ; and now they transferred to the ministers of the new religion the submissiveness they had paid to a heathen priesthood. And the clergy, in their turn, were but too willing to accept, for themselves and their successors, the same authority which the pagan ministers had usurped over an ignorant and brutish people.

In the eighth century a combination of dangers seemed for a while to threaten the existence of the papacy. But the result of the struggle was to invest it with still greater power. The Church of Rome adopted the use, and even the worship, of images before the end of the sixth century. John, the patriarch of Constantinople, had removed pictures from the churches, and obtained an imperial edict, forbidding their use. The pope, Constantine, rejected the imperial edict with scorn, and in a council held at Rome, condemned the emperor himself as an apostate. A tumult followed at Constantinople, and the emperor was dethroned by his own subjects. He was succeeded by Leo the Isaurian, a prince of courage and resolution, who saw with disgust the superstitious veneration which even the Greeks paid to their images, and resolved at whatever cost to check the evil, and purify the Church. In the year 726, he issued an edict which again forbade image-worship ; and, according to some writers, commanded the destruction of those pictures which had been placed in<sup>d</sup> the churches. The Greeks, led on by the monks, gave way to a frantic enthusiasm, and broke out into insurrections which extended over the whole empire, and the war of the Iconoclasts raged far and wide. Leo, it is said, was even excommunicated by the Roman pontiffs Gregory II. and III., who promoted the insurrection in Italy, and declared the emperor to be unworthy of the allegiance of his subjects. Lombardy was still subject to the Greek empire ; and its kings, taking part with the emperor, enforced the decision of the council of Constantinople, of 754, which had forbidden the worship and even the use of images. The sword was drawn, and the Lombards met with so much success, that their king, Aistulphus, formed the ambitious project of making all Italy a Lombard province, and he was already on his way with an army to the gates of Rome. The Saracens had conquered Spain, and now threatened both the in-

dependence of Italy and its religion. Pressed on all sides, Stephen, the reigning pope, turned an imploring eye to France, where Pepin was no less in want of assistance, such as only the pope could offer. Pepin was mayor of the palace to Childeric the third, but exercising in fact the royal power in the name of a weak and helpless sovereign. He aimed at the throne itself, and for this purpose he assembled the states of the realm in 751. They were disposed to favour his ambitious project; but, so deeply were they impressed with the reverence due to the Roman see, that they insisted on referring to the pope a query to this effect:—Did the Divine law permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a weak and indolent king? was it lawful, in his place, to elect one more worthy of empire; one who had already done good service to the state? The answer of the pope instantly raised Pepin to undisputed empire, and Childeric was dethroned without the slightest opposition. The grateful monarch flew to the assistance of his spiritual sire, crossed the Alps with a numerous army, defeated Aistulphus, and compelled him by treaty to deliver up to the see of Rome the exarchate of Ravenna, and all the cities, castles, and territories which he had seized in the Roman dukedom. Pepin retired, and the Lombard prince immediately took up arms a second time. The next year the French king returned to Italy, compelled the Lombard to execute the treaty he had violated so rashly, and made a new grant of the exarchate, with other territories, to the pontiff and his successors; and thus, in 755, the foundation was laid of the temporal sovereignty ever since exercised by the popes of Rome. The theory of the popedom henceforth maintained was this—that since to the pope all spiritual power had been delegated by Christ, so too all temporal power was vested ultimately in him for the good of the Church. The papacy therefore sustains a mixed character, partly spiritual and partly temporal; and its jurisdiction is necessarily of a mixed kind. The idea that the popedom wields a power merely spiritual is contradicted by its fundamental principles, as well as by its repeated acts and most grave and deliberate statements. In its constitution, and in the prerogatives it claims, it differs from all other institutions. It claims supremacy in all things, secular and religious. The pope is at once the head of all temporal sovereigns, and of the universal Church of Christ.

The donations of Pepin were confirmed by his yet more distin-

guished son Charlemagne. The Lombards had again become troublesome to the pope; they were besieging him in his city of Rome. The pontiff again supplicated the aid of France; and Charlemagne, in answer to his prayer, entered Italy, in 774, at the head of an army. After defeating the Lombards, he visited the pope in his capital; and so profound was his deference for the see of Rome, that he kissed the steps of St. Peter's chair as he ascended, and at the interview that followed, ratified and enlarged the donations of his father Pepin to the Church. But civil wars broke out, and a second time Charlemagne appeared in Rome. The factions that now reigned in turn, threatened to put an end, by their violence, to the authority of the pontiff; and again did France interpose to save the papacy from apparent destruction. Charlemagne having pacified Italy, opened to himself a passage to the empire of Western Christendom. He also claimed to distribute the territories he had subdued; and the Church of Rome acknowledges him as the pious donor of Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the duchy of Spoleto, and several other districts to St. Peter and his successors. The motives of the French monarch, as well as the extent of his grants, have been much disputed. Adrian the reigning pontiff ascribes them, in an extant letter to Charlemagne, to his piety, and to his desire to make atonement for his sins. Superstition no doubt played her part, but ambition led the way. Resolved to add the Western Empire to his dominions, he knew that his success depended on the pope's consent. The power which had firmly seated his father on the throne could sanctify the most ambitious projects, and secure the consent of Western Europe. He therefore lavished gifts upon the pope, that with his assistance he might at once gain the empire, and at the same time secure his new dominions in Italy. In the year 800, Leo III. induced the people of Rome, still elated with the notion of their independence to unite their suffrages in favour of Charlemagne, and he himself proclaimed him Emperor of the West.

The terms of the compact between the pope and Charlemagne have long been the subject of historical dispute; and different writers, as swayed by their affection for civil rights or for those of the Church of Rome, assert, on the one hand, that Charles the Great was the patron and benefactor of the pope, or on the other that he was little more than his serf or vassal. The secular

historians maintain that Charlemagne reserved to himself the supreme authority, not only in his western empire but even in Rome and its adjacent territory. Law was administered to the citizens, and malefactors were punished, by judges of his own appointment; he enjoyed the prerogatives of royalty and exercised all its functions. The Roman pontiff, according to these writers, held the city of Rome and its territory by the same tenure by which he held the exarchate of Ravenna and the other lands already granted by Pepin; that is as a feudal tenure, though charged perhaps with fewer demands than other fiefs, in consideration of the lustre of a city so long renowned as the mistress of the world, and the peculiar services which the pope had rendered. Leo, in order to induce Charlemagne to concede the sovereignty of Rome, reminded him that Constantine the Great, when he removed the seat of empire to the shores of the Bosphorus, had given Rome and its dependencies to the Church, and that he could not recal the donation and not incur the indignation of St. Peter. Whether such a grant were ever made by Constantine is by no means certain.

On the other hand, the writers favourable to the papacy maintain that Charlemagne was more indebted to the Church than the pope to Charlemagne. "Charlemagne," says Machiavelli, "decreed that his holiness, being God's vicar, could not be subject to the judgment of man." The pontiff, in placing the crown upon his head, is regarded by papal writers as having displayed his power no less than his gratitude; and in this act he was recognized by the most powerful sovereign of Europe as having the sole earthly right to dispose of crowns and kingdoms. "Whereas formerly," says Machiavelli, in his history of Florence, "the popes were confirmed by the emperors, the emperor now in his election was to be indebted to the pope. Thus the power and dignity of the empire declined and the Church began to advance, and by these steps to supersede the authority of temporal princes."

But up to this period the absolute supremacy of the see of Rome, as it was afterwards asserted, had never yet been formally admitted. The supremacy of the Greek emperors had not been contested, and the fiery spirit of Charlemagne would scarcely submit to restraints which rival sovereigns disdained. The Roman pontiffs for some time obeyed the laws of the emperors of the west, received their commands, and executed their judicial de-

isions. In a council held at Rome, Adrian the First conferred upon Charlemagne and his successors the right of electing the popes. The power was exercised with forbearance, and Charlemagne and his son Louis were satisfied simply to approve and confirm the nominee of the clergy and people ; but the consecration of the new pontiff was not valid unless performed in the presence of the emperor's ambassador. The Latin emperors did not, it is true, assume to govern the Church in spiritual things, which belonged, they freely admitted, to the tribunal of the Roman pontiff and to the councils of the Church. But they appointed envoys, whose business it was to inspect the lives and manners of the clergy, to settle their internal discords, and to punish their delinquencies. All churches and monasteries were also taxed by the state.

The authority of general councils was still supposed to be superior to that of the Roman pontiff. Upon religious questions he could decide nothing by his own authority ; he was obliged to convene a council, whose decisions were final upon the points at issue. Nor did the provincial synods always wait for the permission of the bishop of Rome. They met by their own authority, debated the questions before them with the utmost freedom, and often voted in direct opposition to the Roman see. Thus the Franks and Germans determined, in their own provincial council, to reject the use of images, while Rome, on the other hand, enjoined their use and worship. It is further to be observed that the power of convening councils, and the right of presiding in them, were the prerogatives of the sovereign in whose dominions they were held ; and that none of their decrees obtained the force of laws until confirmed by the civil power. Thus even the spiritual authority of Rome was still under some restraints ; but the popedom was already too powerful to submit with patience to the control whether of councils or emperors ; and from the time of Charlemagne to the Reformation it aimed incessantly, and in general with success, to reduce the civilized world to a state of implicit submission to its will.

The ninth and tenth centuries were the midnight of the dark ages. Ignorance and superstition held their dreary reign. Speaking of the tenth century, Cardinal Bellarmine (*De Rom. Pontif. lib. iv., c. 12*) says, “ there never was a period more unlearned or more unhappy. Every kind of virtue perished, and

wickedness supplied its place. The second coming of the Son of man seemed to draw near, for love was grown cold, and faith was not found on the earth." Cardinal Baronius still more emphatically says, "What was then the face of the Roman Church? How deformed! When harlots, no less powerful than vile, bore the chief sway at home, and at their pleasure changed sees, appointed bishops, and (which is horrible to mention) did thrust into St. Peter's see their own gallants, false popes!" Religion consisted entirely in external ceremonies. At a council held at Paris, in 824, the idolatrous worshipping of images was forbidden, and a treatise against image-worship was published in the emperor's name. But in Italy the introduction of images had long had the papal sanction. The churches, already filled with relics of the saints, were now adorned with images before which the worshippers bowed in adoration. Charlemagne had not been without some taste for letters, but with him all literature at last expired. He endeavoured to collect around him a body of learned men; he erected schools, and was long regarded, though the tradition is doubtful, as the founder of the university of Paris. He was assisted by Alcuin, Bede, and Egbert, wise men, whose attainments, however, were confined within a narrow compass. A little grammar, rhetoric, and logic, the elements of geometry and arithmetic, astronomy in its first elements, imperfectly understood, and music, were the seven sciences within which all knowledge was supposed to be contained. In the monastic houses these sciences were taught, and there they lingered during the long mediæval winter of six centuries. The Church was enriched by vast revenues derived from the impression, which now universally prevailed, that liberality to the Church made some amends for sin. The notion grew and prevailed, though no council or ancient father of the Church could be challenged as its author. It was congenial to the darkness of the times, and, we must add, to the rapacity of the clergy. The just judgments of God were to be averted by liberal donations to his Church. This superstition was the parent of a thousand crimes. The wealthy compounded for their sinful indulgences, tyrants for their oppressions, and merchants for their extortionate gains, by sharing their wealth or booty with the Church. A reluctant sinner was, no doubt, punished in this life with pains and penalties, with fasts and vigils, with pilgrimages to the tombs of saints,

or solitude, or the scourge ; but money could purchase an exemption even for the greatest crimes. By a common form of speech, donations to the Church were said to be paid for the redemption of the soul, and the gifts themselves were called the price of transgression.

The wealth of the Church and its easy discipline drew into it the sons of men of rank, and not unfrequently those of sovereign princes. When emperors signalized their devotion by endowing bishoprics and monasteries with princely revenues, it naturally occurred to them to make a provision in the Church for their less affluent relations or for their younger sons. It was the interest of the popes to sanction an arrangement by which the Church was enriched, while, at the same time, the interests of the great families of Europe were embarked in it. Several remarkable consequences arose, and imparted to the clergy of the mediæval times certain peculiarities both for good and evil. The most favourable result was this: the clergy, connected by the ties of blood with princely families, had some tincture in the darkest times of elevation of mind and courtesy of manners. That Europe did not relapse into barbarism and savage life was owing solely to religion. This religion, imperfectly taught, and greatly obscured by superstitions, might have been trampled under foot and quite forgotten, had it not been intrusted to the keeping of an order amongst whom were found men of high rank and birth. It became the interest of sovereigns and feudal lords to sustain the institutions which gave importance to their own families. Their motives were selfish, but the result was beneficial. Policy induced the sovereign to attach the clergy to his interests ; he gave them fortresses and towns, reserving only the military rights due to the liege lord, and he expected in return to find them docile subjects, or rather friends and clients. It was not superstition only that enriched the Church ; Charlemagne set the example of creating spiritual dukedoms in Italy to check the influence of the secular princes. The presence of the clergy was intended to restrain the license of rebellious subjects. Succeeding monarchs acted in the same way, from similar motives ; they expected more fidelity from men who were bound by the obligations of religion, and consecrated to the service of God, than from a haughty nobility, impetuous and fierce. And they hoped to control the turbulent spirit of their vassals by the influence of the

bishops, whose commands no man dared to dispute, and whose excommunications terrified the stoutest hearts. On the other hand, the wealth of the Church debased the clergy. Whole provinces were sometimes bestowed upon it in one magnificent donation. Private persons had already, in order to make expiation for their sins, enriched the churches and convents; public grants were now made by emperors and kings. Regalia, or royal domains, passed over by donation to the Church, and within the domains thus obtained the clergy were supreme. Bishops, abbots, and priors were created dukes, counts, marquises, and even sovereign legislators. Prelates buckled on the harness and led their own armies in person to the field. They often rivalled the sovereign himself in wealth and splendour, and in the number of their armed retainers. The men, whose holy profession it was to teach the vanity of human grandeur, and the crimes to which ambition leads, were a scandal to the world for pomp and luxury, and the avarice of power.

The family of Charles the Great contested with each other the succession to the throne: the quarrel was advantageous to the papacy. His grandson, Charles the Bald, secured at length the favour of the reigning pontiff, John VIII., by whom he was proclaimed emperor in the year 876. He returned this eminent service by surrendering, for himself and his successors, the right of interfering in the election of the Roman pontiff. From the time of Eugenius III., who was raised to the pontificate in 884, the election of the pope was conducted for a century with little regard to law or decency, and often with tumult and bloodshed. The popes were men, for the most part, of infamous lives. The best Roman Catholic writers speak of their conduct with abhorrence and disgust. The intrigues and violence which now prevailed may be gathered from the fact, that from the death of Benedict IV. in the year 903, to the elevation of John XII. in 956, an interval of fifty-three years, thirteen popes in succession held the pontificate. The poisoned cup and the assassin's dagger opened a ready path to St. Peter's chair. Even the forms of religion were scorned; and Rome was again familiar with all the crimes which it had known in pagan times under the worst of the twelve Cæsars. To this period belongs the story of Pope Joan, once universally believed by well-informed men throughout Western Christendom. That a prostitute in man's disguise



should have sat in the papal chair was not it seems incredible ! No comment is required to show the degradation into which the papacy and religion itself had fallen.

Otho the Great was elected to the throne of Germany on the death of his father, the Emperor Henry I., A. D. 937. The licentiousness and tyranny of the popes had become intolerable even at Rome, and he resolved to interfere. The pope, John XII., had crowned him at Rome emperor and king of Italy ; but in Otho the spirit of Charlemagne had revived, and this consideration was not suffered to prevent an act of just severity. He visited Rome, called a council together, deposed John, and elected the eighth Leo in his place. He again asserted his sovereign right in temporal matters, and resumed the concessions which Charles the Bald had made. Once more the emperor nominated the pope ; and this state of things continued till the pontificate of Gregory VII.

To the pontificate of this wonderful man, who laid a second time on still wider foundations than before the empire of the popes, we now advance, leaving untold the gloomy and monotonous history of two centuries, dark with ignorance and crime. Hildebrand, a Tuscan of humble birth, was a monk of Cluny. As the Benedictine order became rich and indolent various religious houses had assumed a sort of independence, and issued new rules for their own guidance, with the pope's permission. Oden, abbot of Cluny in Burgundy, was one of these reformers. He inveighed bitterly against the sins and the self-indulgence of the monks of Benedict. " Our brethren," said he, " despise God ; and having passed all shame eat flesh all the days of the week except Friday, not only in secret but in public ; also boasting of their sin like those of Sodom. They run here and there, and fly with the swiftness of kites and vultures to the kitchen smoke, and to the scent of the best of the roast and boiled. Those who will not do as the rest, they mock and jeer at as profane and hypocrites." The Cluniac monks were soon in a condition to contest the palm of popular favour with the ancient Benedictines. Upwards of two thousand monasteries received their rule and bore their title. In this school Hildebrand acquired those austere lessons, and that veneration for the papal chair, mingled with a proud disdain of secular authorities, which marked his character through life. To emancipate the pontificate from the

authority of the empire, and to establish a visible theocracy with the vicar of Christ at its head, became his ruling passion. But another great object of his ambition was, undoubtedly, as he himself expressed it, to effect a total reform of the Church, which had now reached the lowest state of degradation. His talents and ambition forced him into notice; he became first an archdeacon, and then the companion and adviser of Leo IX., and, on his death, of four succeeding pontiffs. In the year 1073 he was unanimously raised to the pontificate by the suffrages of cardinals, bishops, monks, and people; but he did not assume the title until the election was confirmed by the Emperor Henry IV., to whom he sent ambassadors for the purpose. The emperor, pleased with this mark of respect, confirmed the election, and Hildebrand was known henceforward as Pope Gregory VII. "No sooner was this man made pope," says Du Pin, "but he formed a design of becoming lord, spiritual and temporal, over the whole earth; the supreme judge and determiner of all affairs, both ecclesiastical and civil; the distributor of all manner of graces, of what kind soever; the disposer not only of archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical benefices, but also of kingdoms, states, and the revenues of particular persons. To bring about this revolution, he made use of the ecclesiastical authority and the spiritual sword."

He was scarcely seated on the papal throne before he began the reformation of the Church. Two evils, which had grown to a fearful magnitude, demanded his attention; these were simony and the concubinage of the clergy. In the second year of his pontificate, 1074, he assembled a council at Rome which confirmed the laws of former pontiffs against simony, and forbade the sale or purchase of spiritual benefices under the severest penalties. Concubinage was denounced if possible with still greater severity. It was decreed that marriage was unlawful to a priest; those who lived with wives or concubines were pronounced incapable of the sacred office. Letters were addressed by Hildebrand to all the provincial bishops of Europe, commanding that the decrees of the council should be carried forthwith into effect; and ambassadors were sent to the emperor to induce him to summon a council for the trial and punishment of such of the clergy as had incurred the guilt of simony.

But each of these decisions involved questions of the greatest

difficulty. The celibacy of the clergy was rather a popular demand than an accepted dogma of the Church. Many of the clergy, wanting courage to offer in their own example a protest against the popular superstition, concealed their marriages; and though guilty of a base servility were not justly to be taxed with any grosser crime. Others of the clergy, and even of the bishops, were openly married; refusing to submit to a restraint unknown to the eastern Church or to the first ages. Others again lived in secret, if not in open and shameless, habits of licentiousness. It was the policy of Hildebrand to punish all alike. He had learned at Cluny to regard a married priesthood with scorn; he denied the validity of such marriages, and so made no distinction between the virtuous and the profligate. Indeed, he took delight in exposing the married clergy to contempt; and jealous as he was of the secular courts, he handed over the married priests to the civil magistrate to be disgraced and punished as bad citizens rather than ecclesiastical delinquents. The clergy resisted a decree at once tyrannical and novel. Every kingdom in Western Europe was agitated. In some places the clergy took up arms in behalf of their wives and families. The monks, an austere and solitary race, denounced the married clergy, who in return defied the monks, exposing to the world in coarse lampoons their hypocrisy and their secret vices. In some provinces the married clergy even chose to quit their benefices rather than their wives. At Milan they dared the fury of the pontiff, forsook the communion of the Church, and pronounced the abettors of an opinion so monstrous as that of the unlawfulness of marriage to be the true descendants of the ancient Manichees. Hildebrand was still haughty and unyielding. He would listen to no remonstrances, and when opposed became only more resolute. Besides the monks, he had with him the voice of the laity, who had been taught to regard celibacy as the highest attainment in religion and the most exalted virtue. The clergy were compelled to acquiesce; and from this time forward celibacy became the inflexible rule of the Church of Rome with respect to all of her ecclesiastics. Gregory exulted that the last cord was snapped by which the clergy had been held in bondage to the world. They had now no object in life but to promote the interests of the Church.

Simony, for so traffic in spiritual preferments was termed,

prevailed throughout the Church. Bishoprics were openly sold or presented by sovereigns to their favourites. The bishops raised by such means were indifferent to their spiritual duties and intent on gain or pleasure; they sold their benefices, or alienated the bishoprics themselves. A bishop sometimes bequeathed the profits of his bishopric to his wife, sometimes to his children. The traffic was carried on without the least disguise, and was defended with impudent effrontery. We do not, said they, buy and sell the spiritual office; this truly is a sacred affair; the possessions of the Church are another matter; these are mundane things, and the traffic is lawful. Gregory determined to remove the evil by inducing the secular princes to abandon the right of disposing of the sees within their dominions. He sent legates into Germany, but Henry was intractable, for he was poor and licentious, and at war with his vassals; and he was neither disposed to forego his right nor to give up a fruitful source of revenue; neither would the German bishops permit the legates to assemble a council and proceed judicially against those of their own body who were guilty of simony. Gregory, impetuous and arrogant, could ill brook opposition even from the emperor himself. He summoned another council at Rome, in which, besides the excommunication of the German bishops, it was decreed that neither kings nor princes should, under pain of the most awful censure of the Church, give investiture of sees and abbeys by conferring the ring and crozier. And it pronounced an anathema against any person who should dare to receive the investiture from the hands of a layman, as well as on those by whom the investiture should be performed. All the sovereigns in Europe were aghast. The proud spirit of the pontiff had thrown off disguise; his determination was evidently not so much to make the Church independent of the emperor as to lay all Europe prostrate at the feet of Rome. Henry paid no regard to the decrees of the papal council, and continued to nominate to his vacant bishoprics. The breach widened. Gregory sent an imperious message to the emperor commanding him to appear at Rome, and to answer before a council to be there convened, to various crimes which were now alleged against him. The emperor, rash and young, and miscalculating his strength, assembled a diet at Worms, and deposed Gregory from the papedom. The message was received at Rome

with scorn. Gregory called a council together at the Lateran palace A. D. 1076, excommunicated Henry; and in the name of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, declared the thrones of Germany and Italy vacant, and the subjects of those kingdoms released from their allegiance. This was the first time that a pope had assumed a right of deposing kings. Hitherto the popes had been the vassals of the emperor. He had even exercised his power in the previous century by deposing several of them whose election was illegal, or whose conduct was unworthy of their office.

But his quarrel with the emperor by no means engrossed the attention of the pope. From every sovereign in Europe he endeavoured to exact some new concessions. He reminded Philip I. of France, that both his kingdom and his soul were under the power of St. Peter, who could bind him both in earth and heaven. He wrote to the king of Arragon that the kingdom of Spain belonged of right and from ancient times to the apostolic chair, and was St. Peter's property. He framed an oath for the king of the Romans in which he was made to vow implicit obedience to St. Peter and his vicar. To the remote sovereigns of Poland and Denmark, and to the most powerful of the German princes, he wrote circular letters commanding them to make a grant of their kingdoms to St. Peter, in order that they might receive them back as gifts of the apostolic see. He raised the duke of Dalmatia to regal dignity, and, by his legate, in his own capital, proclaimed him king, on condition that he paid an annual tribute to St. Peter. William the Conqueror, of England, alone had the courage to resist the demands of the spiritual despot before whom all Europe quailed. "Your legate Hubert," says the Conqueror, in a letter to Gregory, "admonishes me to remit to you the usual tribute" (alluding to Peter's pence) "paid by my predecessors to the Church. To this I consent. He requires me, too, to do homage for my kingdom. This I have declined. I neither have done it, nor shall do it. I owe my kingdom to God and to my own sword."

Gregory had calculated well. The audacity of his conduct struck terror into the hearts of all the sovereigns of Europe. The emperor was unpopular at home; his subjects were already in rebellion. The Saxons and Swabians, who had recently laid down their arms, assumed a hostile attitude as soon as Henry was

excommunicated. A diet assembled to elect a new emperor, in obedience to the papal mandate ; and it agreed that Henry should be suspended for a year from his sovereignty ; that at the close of this period, if not reconciled to the pope, his kingdom should be forfeited ; and that the pope should be invited to a congress, at which his successor should then be chosen. Deserted by his subjects, the emperor had no alternative but unconditional submission. Amidst the rigours of winter, he crossed the Alps, and arrived, in February 1077, at the castle of Reggio, in Lombardy, which belonged to Matilda, countess of Tuscany, a devoted friend to Gregory and the papal see. The snow was on the ground ; but the proud sovereign of the Western Empire was allowed to remain three days, from break of day to sunset, his feet bare, his head uncovered, with no other clothing on his back than the coarse woollen cloak generally worn by penitents, waiting at the castle gate. On the fourth day he was admitted into the presence of the haughty pontiff. He confessed his errors, and received a reluctant pardon, and with it absolution from the censures of the Church. But his crown was not yet restored ; he was referred back again to the approaching diet, and forbidden meanwhile to resume his titles, or to exercise any of his royal functions. Happily for the world, the arrogance of Gregory produced a natural recoil. When the diet was opened, the Saxon malcontents, it is true, dethroned Henry, and elected Rodolph in his place. But he was supported by his Lombard vassals, and by the Italian bishops, who were all of them indignant at the outrage committed by the sovereign pontiff. Henry led his army into Italy, and fought several battles with various success. In one of these he was defeated ; the pope excommunicated him a second time, sent a crown to Rodolph, and declared him emperor. The bold spirit of Henry had however now revived within him ; he assembled the German and Italian bishops of his party, and again pronounced the sentence of deposition upon Gregory, and nominated Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, to the papal chair, which he actually assumed on the death of Hildebrand, under the title of Clement III.

The war continued for three years : many bloody battles were fought, in one of which Rodolph fell. Rome was twice besieged ; and at length, in 1084, Henry marched into it as a conqueror. The pope took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo ; he was rescued

by Robert Guiscard, the Norman conqueror of Sicily, and again excommunicated Henry and the rival pope. He now retired for safety to Salerno, protected by the army of duke Robert; and here he died in the year 1085, exclaiming with his last breath, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." The struggle seemed to terminate in Henry's favour. His nominee was consecrated to the popedom, and by him he was then once more crowned. But the party of Gregory, supported by the Normans, elected a counter-pope under the title of Victor III. He soon abdicated, and the monks of Cluny elected Urban II. in his stead. Thus there were still two popes; Urban and Clement, the representatives of the Church party and of the emperor. They both died about the same time, in the year 1099, and the close of the century found Pascal II. sole possessor of the papal chair.

Thus from the violent conduct and imperious demands of Hildebrand, the war of the investitures arose, which distracted Europe for several years. It was in fact the expiring struggle of the secular against the papal power. The emperors, and other sovereign princes, having founded and endowed the various bishoprics and abbeys, regarded the incumbents in the light of feudal tenants, and from the time of Charlemagne, had claimed the right of presenting the ring and crozier, by which investiture was signified, and then demanding the oath of fealty in return. The ancient practice of the Church had been for the clergy, together with the municipal authorities of the city, or even the people at large, to elect their own bishop. But when the bishop was no longer a spiritual person only, but the proprietor of a large domain, the sovereign could no longer permit him to exercise what was in fact a feudal lordship, without securing his allegiance. As soon as a bishop died, the sovereign ordered the ring and crozier to be seized, so that no appointment could be made to the vacant see without his consent. Thus the ancient right of election was lost to the clergy and laity alike; for the power of choosing the dignitaries of the Church was usurped by the sovereign. It was against this usurpation that Gregory protested. His successor, Urban II., carried the demands of the Church still further; forbidding the clergy not only to receive the investiture, but even to swear allegiance to the sovereign, which Gregory himself had permitted. And thus, in fact, he claimed the right of establishing,

under the name of bishoprics and abbeys, independent sovereignties over the whole of Europe, accountable only to the Roman see. It will be observed that this struggle lay entirely between the sovereigns and the popes. The rights of the people in the election of their bishops were overlooked on both sides. The bishop was henceforth to be the creature of the pope; and in order still further to enhance their own power and to reduce that of the episcopate, the popes of the eleventh century encouraged the monastic at the expense of the episcopal order, reducing as much as possible the power and wealth of the latter, and augmenting that of the former. Thus the monks were devoted to the papacy, and in general the pope himself was chosen from their own order.

Hitherto the popes had been elected by the voice of the bishops and clergy, and by popular suffrages. To Hildebrand the Church of Rome is indebted, it is generally supposed, for the institution of the college of Cardinals in the form in which it now appears, as the conclave by whom alone the pope is chosen. Some obscurity overhangs the origin of the institution; nor is the exact period at which it was first organized beyond all dispute. Of an order which was destined in after times to mould the character of the Church, and not unfrequently to govern the pope himself, some account may be expected.

“The name of Cardinal,” says Father Paul Sarpi, “originally derived from a very low condition, has by a change of meaning become a title of high distinction, so that cardinals are now said to be, *Quasi Cardines omnium terrarum*—the hinges as it were on which the world revolves.” They were at first nothing more than the deacons, to whom was intrusted the care of distributing alms to the poor of Rome; and as they held assemblies of the poor in certain churches of their several districts, they took the names and titles of those churches. They were called cardinals about A. D. 300, during the pontificate of Sylvester. The cardinal priests, in the primitive Church, being the chief priests of a parish, and next in dignity to the bishop. Afterwards the office grew more considerable as Rome increased in wealth, and the civic clergy became of more importance. Nicholas II., at the suggestion of Hildebrand, is said to have decreed in 1058, that the pope should be chosen only by their college, a decree which was certainly repeated by pope Pius IV. The tenth century, a period of inces-



sant tumult, saw several popes elected and deposed at the caprice of the Roman nobility or Italian princes. It is only since the election of Celestine in 1443, that the cardinals have retained the power of election independent of the Roman people, or of any sovereign prince whatever. The cardinals are nominated, when a vacancy occurs, by the pope: at the expiration of ten days, the sacred college is assembled; it consists of six bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons, making seventy in all. Each cardinal then votes, having full liberty, should he think proper, to reject the pope's candidate. If elected, the new cardinal receives a red hat. The cardinals are princes of the holy Roman empire; they fill most of the great offices at the court of Rome; when sent to other courts it is in the quality of legate à latere. Their title, till Urban VIII., was that of most illustrious; by a decree of his they have since had the title of eminence. We may here describe the manner of a pope's election as it has been managed since it fell into the hands of the sacred college. Nine or ten days after the funeral of the deceased pope, the cardinals enter the conclave, which is a range of small temporary cells, ten feet square, framed of wood and covered with purple cloth; they are numbered and appropriated by lot, each cardinal taking his own cell. The door of the Vatican is then closed and guarded day and night; no persons are permitted to enter the conclave; and even the provisions introduced are carefully examined by officers stationed for the purpose, so that no letters or messages may be conveyed in them from the ministers of foreign princes or other parties, who may have an interest in the election of the pontiff. Still intrigues are carried on. A few lines are sometimes written on the skin of a bird or concealed in a pie, and the eatables placed upon the table are so many signs and hieroglyphics. The election is made by *scrutiny*, *access*, or *adoration*. The first is conducted thus. Each cardinal (or rather one of his servants, that the handwriting may be concealed) writes the name of his candidate, who must be a member of the sacred college, on a scroll of paper, which is carefully enclosed in several covers and sealed. The voting papers are then laid upon the altar, in the chapel of the Vatican, by each cardinal in succession, who returns to his seat after a short prayer upon his knees before the altar. Two cardinals sit by the altar; one of them reads the votes aloud, the other immediately burns the paper. If two-thirds of

the number present are found to agree, the election is made, and the candidate on whom the choice has fallen is immediately declared pope. When the election is made by access, the cardinals rising from their places and approaching the person they wish to elect, say, "Ego accedo ad reverendissimum Dominum ———." The choice by *adoration* much resembles it, only that the cardinal approaches the candidate with a profound reverence. Both of these methods must be confirmed by the scrutiny. Another method, by *compromise*, has been sometimes employed; that is, when the differences run high and cannot be adjusted in the conclave, the choice is referred to three or five of the college to be made by them within a given time which is limited to the consumption of a lighted taper. Sometimes the election is by *inspiration*; the first cardinal then rises in the chapel, and as if inspired, suddenly names a candidate, to which if two-thirds of the cardinals agree the election is made. In fact, however, the election is now made by the scrutiny.

When the pope is elected, the master of the ceremonies informs him of his promotion, in his cell. He is then clothed in the pontifical habit, and conducted to the chapel, where he receives the adoration or homage paid by the cardinals to the pope. The gates of the conclave are now thrown open, the new pope presents himself to the people in the court of the Vatican, and gives them his benediction. The first cardinal deacon proclaiming, in a loud voice, these words in Latin, I give you tidings of great joy; the most reverend lord cardinal ——— has been chosen sovereign pontiff, and he selects the name of ———. He is then carried to St. Peter's and placed upon the altar, where the cardinals a second time perform the adoration. A few days after a throne is erected before the church of St. Peter, where the triple crown, or tiara, is placed upon his head. It is a conical cap, with three coronets rising one above the other, and said to be of immense value. The jewels have been estimated at 500,000 pieces of gold. A procession is then formed to the church of St. John Lateran, where the archbishop presents him with two keys, the one of gold, the emblem of his spiritual sovereignty, and the other of silver, in token that the kingdoms of the earth are governed by the successors of St. Peter.

The war of the investitures closed in 1122 with a compromise between the emperor and Calixtus II. by which the election of

bishops was to be free, and their investiture was conceded to the Church. The secular power henceforth inducted them into their temporalities only, and this, not by the ring and crozier, but by the sceptre. The bishops were now chosen, not as in earlier times by the suffrages of the laity and clergy, but by the chapters of the cathedral churches. And, as the clergy were devoted to the papal see, the changes thus introduced tended still further to enlarge the power of the supreme pontiff. "After long centuries of subjection," says Ranke, "after other centuries of an often doubtful struggle, the independence of the Roman see was at length attained. The position of the popes at this moment was most lofty. The clergy were completely in their hands. By the introduction of celibacy they transferred the whole body of secular clergy into a sort of monastic order. They interfered without hesitation in the administration of every diocese. They even compared their legates to the pro-consuls of ancient Rome." The sense in which they held the temporal sword admitted of no dispute; nor from this time to the dawn of the Reformation was it, in fact, disputed. "Both swords," said Boniface VIII. in a bull which was inserted in the canon law, "belong to the jurisdiction of the Church, the spiritual and the secular. The one is to be wielded for the benefit of the Church, the other by the Church herself. The one is the sword of the priest, the other is in the hand of the sovereign, but at the command and by permission of the priest. The one sword must be held in submission to the other; the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power." Thus it appears that the papacy is not simply a religion, it claims a jurisdiction of a mixed character. The Church of Rome is a temporal monarchy as well as an ecclesiastical body. As the vicar of Christ, who is the head of the world as well as the head of the Church, the pope claims to rule, not only over the Church, but over the world, and to dispose of crowns as well as bishoprics. History places this fact before us in the most unquestionable light: not to speak of kingdoms interdicted and tributes imposed, no less than sixty-four emperors and sovereign princes have been at one time or other deposed by the sentence of the pope.

The crusades, the frenzy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while they show the power to which the papacy had arisen, contributed greatly, no doubt, to enhance its influence. The

countless legions who set out for the holy land were under the special protection of the pope: they received his benediction. He instituted religious and military orders, to protect the pilgrims or to join in the conquest of Jerusalem; and he received in return those vast estates, the owners of which perished in the enterprise, or were lost sight of in the confusion which overspread Europe. In the person of their legates, the popes commanded the armies, and in the exhaustion which followed they reaped the spoil, of Christendom.

The claims of the papal chair to temporal power have since the Reformation divided the Church of Rome into two parties, the *ultra*-and *trans*-montanists. The former defend the pope's temporal supremacy in the literal sense in which it is maintained in various bulls and decretals, and in the canon law. The latter, of whom Bellarmine is the great authority, believe that in secular matters the pope's authority is not immediate and direct: "Yet," they add, "he has a sort of supreme authority even in temporal things, by virtue of his spiritual supremacy." Dr. Wiseman, in his lectures "on the Doctrines of the Catholic Church," affirms that the pope's supremacy, "is of a character purely spiritual, and has no connection with any temporal jurisdiction." The question then to be resolved is this—How far does the spiritual jurisdiction extend? We give the answer in the words of Bellarmine:—"As regards persons, the pope, as pope, cannot ordinarily depose princes, even for a just cause, in the same manner in which he deposes bishops; that is, as their ordinary judge. Yet he can change kingdoms. He may take them from one and confer them on another, in his capacity of supreme spiritual ruler, whenever such a step is necessary for their souls' health." (De Romano Pontifice, lib. v., cap. vi.) Thus, then, according to Bellarmine, the pope may add the sentence of deposition to that of excommunication, acting in his spiritual character as head of the Church, and he may release subjects from their allegiance; and if so the dispute is rather verbal than real.

A century passed on; the kingdoms of Northern Europe gradually emerged from barbarism; the people sighed for liberty, and their sovereigns for independence of the papacy. The ancient traditions began to lose their hold. From time to time the Church had asserted new dogmas: first, the celibate of the clergy, and then the doctrine of transubstantiation, which,

after a slight resistance, were implicitly received. Innocent III. (known in England as the pontiff who bowed the craven spirit of King John, and laid his kingdom under an interdict until it was formally surrendered to the Roman see) held the fourth Lateran Council in the year 1215. In courage and in ambition he was only inferior to Hildebrand himself. He consulted no advisers, and he hesitated at no remonstrances. He issued a code of laws, which not only confirmed the power of the popes and of the clergy, but imposed new articles of faith. One of these was the dogma of transubstantiation. Hitherto the church had been satisfied to declare that Christ was really present in the sacrament. The manner of the presence was now defined and made an article of faith. Auricular confession, or the confession of particular acts of sin to the priest in private, was introduced into the Church of Rome at the same time, and, it is said, solely on the authority of Innocent III. A multitude of new ceremonies and rules were rendered necessary by these two doctrines; and the pompous ceremonial of the mass grew into yet deeper veneration. But the Church was stationary while all Europe was advancing. Everywhere there were mutterings of discontent; in every kingdom symptoms of an approaching storm. In many languages the Scriptures were dispersed. First the recent doctrines, and then the ancient traditions, of Rome were questioned. The crusades were scarcely at an end when the Paulicians and Waldenses appeared, not merely to dispute some of the aggrandizements of the see of Rome, but to denounce the pope himself as antichrist. The heresy was quenched in seas of blood; but other enemies appeared, and it was necessary to forge new weapons with which to contend against them.

The new sects won their way, in no small degree, by the purity of their lives and the simplicity of their manners. Their conduct was the severest censure upon the clergy, with whose sloth and pride it stood in pointed contrast; for even the monastic orders, gorged with wealth, were now corrupted with the worst vices of prosperity. The restraints of religion were set at naught; its service was an irksome drudgery: the monks were ignorant and incapable of teaching others; they disclaimed the authority of the Church, and the rules of their own order. Too frequently their depraved conduct was the scandal of the neighbourhood. It was necessary to oppose the heretics not only with the arm of justice

but by the institution of some new machinery. Innocent III. determined upon two measures by which the rising spirit of dissatisfaction was, for a while, effectually suppressed. These were, first, the reformation of the monks, and, secondly, the erection of the Inquisition.

During the thirteenth century, as the Benedictine orders fell into decay, new sects of religious devotees appeared. Amongst these, the most considerable were the mendicants, or begging friars. Like other candidates for popularity, they at first affected to surpass their rivals in the severity of their penances, in indifference to the world, and in religious zeal. The monks had grown rich; they therefore professed a vow of perpetual poverty. The monasteries were amongst the most splendid edifices in Europe; the mendicants had neither house nor home. They wandered from place to place, subsisting on the alms of the charitable. Voluntary poverty, they maintained, was the chief sign of faithfulness to Christ. They imitated the garb of the apostles, and went about without scrip or shoes, preaching up an ascetic piety, and not failing to reproach the secular clergy with their supineness and rapacity. Innocent perceived their value, and resolved to form them into a more regular body, and to reduce their zeal within those limits in which it could be made entirely subservient to the interests of the holy see. In the Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, he passed a decree forbidding the introduction of new religious orders, and at the same time encouraged the mendicants, and all those who made the vow of poverty, with every mark of favour. In consequence, Europe was soon overrun with mendicant friars. In 1272, Gregory X., by a decree, forbade their multiplication; while, at the same time, he suppressed a number of new orders which had recently sprung up, and carried out the reformation begun by Innocent III. The mendicants were finally reduced to four orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines. Of these, the two first demand some further notice.

Dominic, the founder of this order, by birth a Spaniard, was born in Arragon in 1170, of an illustrious family. He became canon of Osimo, and being a man of ardent mind and relentless bigotry, he resolved to devote his life to the service of the Church and the extirpation of heresy. He visited Rome, and was received by Innocent III. with great attention. Innocent possessed,

in a high degree, the instinct which discerns the instruments most suited to its purpose, and the higher power of moulding them at will. Dominic was intent upon his scheme for a new monastic order; Innocent encouraged the undertaking, and placed him at its head. The Dominican friars, honoured by the Roman pontiffs, rose at once into the possession of public favour. They were soon the most popular, the most powerful, and, but for their vov of poverty, they might have been the wealthiest, of all the monastic orders. The privileges that Innocent conferred were confirmed to them by Honorius III. in the year 1216, and extended by Innocent VI. in 1360. Before the Reformation they reckoned upwards of four hundred convents. Their spirit was austere, yet they ingratiated themselves with the governments, and even with the populace, of every kingdom in Europe. In England they had fifty-eight houses; and the often-recurring name of the Blackfriars, which to this day indicates their former residence in all our ancient towns, reminds us of the influence they once enjoyed. They were divided into three ranks: the first were preaching friars, the second nuns, the third were termed by Dominic himself the Militia of Jesus Christ, or, more usually, the penitential brothers of St. Dominic. In England, the success of the order was owing to the preaching friars, in France to the militia. The former were, in the strict sense, field preachers. They appeared attired in the simplest garb, with naked feet and a black hood thrown over the shoulders, in every town and village. They won confidence by declaiming against the vices of the parochial clergy and the Benedictine monks, not less than by the austerities they practised. For there existed for ages, in the bosom of the Church of Rome herself, what seemed to the uninitiated spectator to be an internecine war. Each order of monks would lampoon the rest, even on the gravest occasions; and between the secular and the regular clergy, that is the clergy of the parish and those of the monastery, the contest was systematically waged—all the monks forgetting their private differences, and making common cause against all the seculars. The grotesque, and not seldom indecent figures, carved in stone and wood in our ancient parish churches, show the spirit in which the conflict was carried out. Yet, as neither party was seriously injured, the conclusion is natural that no great harm was meant. The people were amused, and the

Church was enriched by their credulity. The superiors probably regarded these contests as a pious fraud, by which religion was benefited. But, however this may be, the preaching friars contributed in no small degree to fasten each new assumption of the Church upon the consciences of a submissive people.

Next in influence were the Franciscan friars, of whom Francis of Assisi was the founder. This order, too, was established by Innocent III. It was distinguished, not more by its rigid discipline, than by its intense devotion to the papal see. The Franciscan was forbidden to ride on horseback, to possess property, or to indulge in luxuries; he was to labour with his hands, and to beg when labour failed; above all, to be submissive to ecclesiastical authority and zealous for the honour of the pope; and wherever he might find any friar who had broken his vows, or become a heretic, his duty was to apprehend him, and drag him bound in chains, before the cardinal-governor, or corrector of the order. The two other orders of mendicant friars it is unnecessary to describe at length. The Carmelites, driven by the Saracens from their monastery on Mount Carmel during the crusades, were formed into a mendicant order. The Augustines professed to follow the rule of that great father; but there is no reason to believe that the bishop of Hippo either framed their rule, or was in any sense their founder. In their monasteries, learning found its last refuge in the dark ages. But neither the Carmelites nor the Augustines attained the same reputation as the Dominicans and Franciscans. During three centuries, these two fraternities governed, with an almost absolute and universal sway, the states of Western Europe, and even the Vatican herself. It has been said that these two orders were, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits became afterwards,—the soul of the Vatican, the great engine of the secular power, and the secret spring that directed all the motions of both. The people looked upon them with the deepest reverence. In many cities even the sacraments were unacceptable but from the hands of a mendicant priest. The living crowded their churches, and the dead were honoured with interment in their vaults. These two orders restored the papacy from that decrepitude into which its ambition, its rival popes, and its unseemly quarrels had reduced it. They undertook negotiations, and were employed as ministers of state. They composed the quarrels of courts, fomented war, concluded



treaties, and formed alliances for sovereigns. For two hundred years, the monks were the prime ministers of Europe. The pontiffs, sensible of their obligations to the new fraternities, placed them in the highest stations in the Church, and they sunk at last in public estimation, crushed beneath their own dignities, the victims of jealousy and fear. Amongst other concessions, they were allowed by succeeding popes to preach, hear confessions, and absolve, without permission from the bishop of the diocese. To the Franciscans was granted the sale of indulgences, which afforded a vast revenue, and supplied the want of other property. The privileges granted to the monks were by them again sold to the people. Some of these were of the most extraordinary kind. John XXIII., for instance, by the same decree exempted the mendicants from episcopal jurisdiction and from purgatory, and from the latter they professed to release the laity who visited their churches, and complied with their instructions. Eugenius III. permitted them to eat flesh; this was a reward for having burnt alive one Thomas, a brother of their own order, for heresy. But the grand instrument by which Dominic retrieved the fortunes of the pope was the Inquisition. Of this terrible tribunal we lay before the reader, at one view, a brief sketch of the origin and history; although, in doing so, we anticipate the regular course of events as connected with the history of the Church of Rome.

The Albigenses had already made a great impression in northern Italy and the south of France, as we have, on a former page, related. Under Raymond, earl of Toulouse, they were protected in Languedoc, and formed large congregations. Innocent III. heard of their proceedings with indignation, for they denied the authority of the Roman pontiff and denounced him as the enemy of Christ. He sent legates into the territories of Raymond to remonstrate and chastise. Amongst these were Castlneau and Dominic. They plunged with zeal into the work of reformation; and set about the extermination of heresy by instituting local courts before which they summoned, by the pope's authority, those who were accused or suspected. They inflicted imprisonment on heretics and even death by fire. The Albigenses were exasperated, and Castlneau met with a violent death in 1208. Dominic returned to Rome; obtained greater powers from the papal see; returned to the south of France, and formed the tribunal of the Inquisition.

It had long been the practice of the Church of Rome to punish heretics with death. Theodosius I., A.D. 382, is said to have been the first who adjudged the penalty. Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, had forbidden heathen sacrifices under pain of death. But the fathers of the Church down to the times of Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Augustine disclaim the use of the sword, as a means of punishing heresy. The first who was put to death for heresy is said to have been Priscillianus, a Spaniard, who was accused before a council held at Bourdeaux in the fourth century, and beheaded. But this proceeding gave great offence; Martin, bishop of Tours, and St. Ambrose, interceding on his behalf; and the bishop, Idacius, his prosecutor, being excommunicated and banished in consequence of his share in the transaction. From the time of Justinian, by whom the orthodox creed, as expounded by the first four general councils, was incorporated with the law of the empire, the practice had arisen of treating heresy as an offence against the state; and capital punishment had sometimes been inflicted by the civil courts in cases of heresy. Supported by these precedents, Innocent III., in the council of the Lateran, A.D. 1215, enacted new laws against heresy; committing the execution of them not as before to the civil courts, but to the bishops. The exact time when the Court of the Inquisition, or Holy Office, was formed, as it afterwards existed, is a little uncertain. Honorius III. and Gregory IX. defined its powers and extended its jurisdiction. By the latter it was introduced into Rome and other parts of Italy; the Emperor Frederic II. and Louis IX. of France having been already persuaded to allow of its introduction into their kingdoms, where heresy chiefly showed itself. In time the Inquisition appeared in most of the other countries of Europe. Into the British islands it was never allowed to force its way. The management of the Inquisition was committed to the Dominicans; Gregory IX. discharging the bishops from the duty of discovering and punishing heretics, and intrusting the painful duty to the new tribunal. Its proceedings were first opened at Toulouse; it was empowered to try heretics, blasphemers, apostates, relapsed Jews and Mahometans, and other persons charged with crimes against the Church.

The profound secrecy with which the Inquisition moved, added to the terror which its presence diffused wherever it existed. It encouraged secret denunciations, invaded domestic privacy, and

accepted confidential information from those who were known to be goaded by malice or revenge. Confessors were bound to exact from the penitents the betrayal of the secrets of friends or parents, if injurious to the faith. Witnesses when summoned were not informed of the matter on which their evidence was required; they were examined in private, and not confronted with the accused, and their evidence was noted down to be used perhaps against themselves. If there appeared to be sufficient ground, the inquisitor arrested the suspected person, who was carried, often in the night, to the next Dominican convent or to the prison of the diocese. At the first examination he was not informed of the nature of the charge against him. He was told in general that he was suspected of heavy crimes; that if he confessed he might hope for mercy; and his answers were taken down to be used as evidence against him. The act of accusation, when afterwards drawn up, was merely read to him, and he was interrogated as to the truth of each particular. If he denied the charges, he was obliged to choose for his counsel a lawyer upon the list of those whom the Inquisition approved, who was not permitted to communicate with him in private, nor to know the names of the witnesses. The inquisitor and his assistant might put him to the torture three times to extort a confession. An acquittal was seldom known; and it has been shown by several Roman Catholic writers, quoted by Llorente, our authority for these statements, that a great number of orthodox Catholics suffered torture, and even death, in consequence of malicious informations. If there were no sufficient proof of the prisoner's guilt, he was declared to be suspected of heresy, and obliged to purge himself by a public abjuration and other penances which were terribly severe. If convicted of heresy, but professing contrition for his fault, the sentence was imprisonment for life, which, however, the inquisitor had it in his power to mitigate. If he were a relapsed heretic, that is, one who had been previously tried and condemned, or even strongly suspected, he was handed over to the civil magistrate, who, by the canon law, was bound, upon the sentence of the inquisitor declaring him a heretic, to have him publicly burnt. The only favour which could now be shown him was that, if he recanted, he was first strangled and then burnt.

The war against the Albigenses closed only with their destruc-

tion. The fires of the Inquisition, however, no longer blazed in Languedoc. And as the fourteenth century dawned, the revival of letters seemed to promise a milder influence upon the affairs of nations. But it was long before that influence was felt. Colleges were built, academies formed, and libraries collected. The classic writers of antiquity were dug out of their long repose. Clement V., a Frenchman and archbishop of Bordeaux, succeeded to the papal throne in 1305. He was anxious for the conversion of the Eastern nations, and he longed for the salvation of the Jews. But in him the old system of force and the new methods of persuasion strangely met. The order of Knights Templars, created to lead the Crusaders, had become too powerful. Philip of France determined to suppress them; and Clement assisted him, by condemning the Grand Master and sixty knights to be burnt alive. He gave the sanction of his sacred office to the Spanish Inquisition. In Spain the existence of the Inquisition can be traced up to the year 1232. Spain was then divided into four Christian kingdoms, besides the Mahometan states; and in each of these there were vast numbers of Jews. The Albigenses had some followers, against whom the Inquisition was directed, but its terrors fell chiefly on the sons of Abraham. In the year 1301 the Dominicans had multiplied in Spain to such an extent that it was decreed, in a general chapter of the order, that it should be divided into two provinces; that the first should comprise Castille and Arragon, and the second the rest of Spain and the Balearic Islands. The provincial of the former, designated the provincial of Spain, possessed the right of naming the inquisitor-general in the other provinces. In 1302 Father Bernard was the inquisitor of Arragon, and he celebrated several *autos-da-fé* in the same year. The *auto-da-fé* was a national spectacle in Spain for upwards of four centuries, which its kings witnessed in the pomp of royalty. Then the relapsed heretics with caps on their heads painted with yellow flames, and clothed to the feet in hideous garments, emblazoned with devils, were brought from the dungeons of the Inquisition and burnt to ashes. Then penances were performed and recantations made by the suspected. The humanity of Clement V. and his successors did not interfere with these proceedings. The Spanish Inquisition grew upon the contrary during this century to an enormous height of power. The inquisitor-general had more authority than any of the Spanish

kings. The nuncios and all other officers of the pope, as well as the bishops, were exempt from his power, but not the proud kings of Castile and Arragon. The Jews and Moors were considered as the subjects of the holy office. Every means (excepting that which reason would alone suggest) was made use of for their conversion, and with transient success. But soon great numbers of the new Christians, as they were termed, apostatized, and the ingenuity of the inquisitors was racked to discover and to punish them. Sometimes an edict of grace was published offering forgiveness and absolution to the repentant; but these had no sooner betrayed themselves than they were compelled on oath to reveal the names of all the apostates they knew or had ever heard of. Sometimes an edict was published commanding all persons to denounce those who had embraced the Jewish heresy, on pain of mortal sin and excommunication. The converted Jews were watched in every movement. The inquisitors published an edict commanding those to be accused before them, who wore better clothes on Saturday, or made no fire, or ate no fat, or pronounced a blessing on their table, or ate of an animal killed by Jews, or recited the Psalms of David without the Gloria Patri, or gave their sons Hebrew names in baptism, or performed any one of fifty insignificant observances which are minutely described. The prisons of the Inquisition were filled with victims, the persecutions lasted with still increasing fury for more than a century and a half, and we turn from a subject at which humanity shudders.

The Inquisition was introduced into Italy about the year 1234. It was firmly established there by Gregory IX. the zealous protector of St. Dominic, and the intimate acquaintance of Francis of Assisi. The heresy of the Albigenses had probably reached even the capital of Christendom. For at a council held at Toulouse, in 1229, laymen were first prohibited from reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue.

The great schism of the West occurs in the thirteenth century. Clement V. to oblige the French King, Philip le Bel, removed the seat of the Roman see to Avignon. At the Council of Vienna, A.D. 1308, he published some important additions to the canon law; which were followed by those of his successor John XXII in 1317. The former volume is called, the Clementines, or Constitutions of Clement; the latter, the Extravagantes of John. The

pope retired within the dominions of the French sovereign; and seemed to court his favour. But in fact no pontiff more seriously invaded his rights; for the great object of the canon law was certainly to establish the complete independence of the clergy upon the civil powers. A brief digression upon the history of the canon law may not be out of place.

The code, as it now exists, consists of a series of canons and other ecclesiastical constitutions, some comparatively recent, others of very ancient date. In the twelfth century, Gratian, a Benedictine monk, arranged and methodized all which then existed, beginning from the time of Constantine the Great. To these, five books were added by Gregory IX. in 1234, which still form the most important part of the canon law. To these Boniface VIII. added a sixth, A.D. 1298, which he named the Sext. These again were followed by the Clementines and Extravagantes. Succeeding pontiffs down to Sixtus IV. have added other decretals, and decrees of councils, all which form together the canon law of Rome. In England this code was never cordially received; and in those points in which it asserted the absolute independence of the Church, was indeed stiffly resisted by the king and barons long before the Reformation, in the statute of provisors, and many similar Acts. "All the strength," says Blackstone, "that either the papal or imperial laws, have obtained in this realm, is only because they have been admitted and received by immemorial usage and custom, in some particular cases, and some particular courts." In England, the canon law in use before the Reformation was that which was enacted from time to time in national synods; of which we have records from the earliest period of the English or Anglo-Saxon Church. The residence of the popes at Avignon seemed for a time to have impaired the authority of the Roman see. Residing at a distance from the ancient capital of the Church they were neither so well informed of the state of public affairs, nor so independent of the great western sovereigns. During their absence factions appeared and insurrections broke out, first at Rome, and then in other parts of Italy. The Roman people, no longer enriched by the distribution of their wealth, loudly complained of their rapacity; the Italian dominions, torn by faction, were less productive; and the pontiffs, by the sale of indulgences and by connivances at simoniacal abuses, filled Europe with complaints. Clement V. is described as a mere

creature of Philip. He was more probably crafty and deceptive. Upon his death a contest naturally arose between the French cardinals and those of Italy. For two years the papal throne was vacant; at length a French cardinal was chosen, John XXII. He quarrelled with the emperor, who had assumed the imperial crown without his permission, and twice excommunicated him. The emperor, in return, deposed him from the popedom, and placed Nicholas V. in the papal chair, accepting the imperial crown in return at his hands. Nicholas, however, in 1330, was compelled to abdicate, and died soon after a prisoner at Avignon. John himself was accused of heresy for teaching doctrines inconsistent with purgatory; he died while the dispute still continued; and again the contest for the popedom was renewed between the French and Italian cardinals. While the court remained at Avignon, six Frenchmen in succession were elected to the papacy. Italy meantime was neglected and overrun with war. At length in 1378, on the death of Gregory XI., the great schism broke out. The Romans elected Urban VI., a Neapolitan, the French elected Clement. The one resided at Rome, the other at Avignon. France, a part of Spain, Scotland, and their dependencies acknowledged Urban; the rest of Europe followed the party of Clement. The people of Castile were Clementines, while the Portuguese were Urbanites. The order of Dominicans was equally divided in those kingdoms, and it elected two rival vicars. The confusion of the Church could scarcely have been greater when, in the year 1409, the two great factions were again divided, and a third was formed. The quarrels of the rival popes, Benedict XIII., at Avignon, and Gregory XII., at Rome, engaged the attention of a council held at Pisa, which excommunicated both the pontiffs, and in their place elected Alexander V. Benedict and Gregory agreed, however, on one point—to treat the council with contempt. The one sought the protection of France; the other, of the king of Naples. Alexander V. died soon after his election, but a successor was immediately chosen by the cardinals who had met at Pisa, and John XXIII., a Neapolitan, claimed the papal throne in 1401. Thus three popes, each of whom anathematized the other two, demanded the allegiance of the Church. A state of things so full of peril and of scandal could not last. In self-defence, the civil power was compelled to interfere; and, with the

exception of the factious leaders, the clergy of all parties were anxious for repose. In 1414 the Council of Constance was summoned; the Emperor Sigismund was present with many of the German princes, and all the states of Europe were represented by their ambassadors. John himself, although he had convoked the council, was, on the 29th May, 1415, formally deposed on account of various crimes of which he was alleged to have been guilty. Gregory sent in his voluntary resignation; Benedict alone remained to be dealt with; and he too, at a later session of the council, on the 26th July, 1417, was also deposed, and Martin V. elected sole pope. Benedict refused to submit; and on his death, which occurred in 1423, the dregs of his party attempted to perpetuate the schism, by electing Munoz, a Spaniard, under the title of Clement VIII.; but he soon resigned his pretensions, and in 1429 the breach finally closed up, and Martin V. was left in undisputed possession of the papacy.

One subject absorbed the attention of the Church of Rome during the whole of the fifteenth century—the progress of heresy and the means of its suppression. There was a large party, in the bosom of the Church itself, who were conscious of its faults and longed for reformation. Their influence may be traced at the Council of Constance in two decrees; the one of which vindicates the authority of general councils, while the other asserts that even the Roman pontiff is subject to the decisions of the universal Church. The council admitted the necessity of a general reform. It is not probable that it would have revised the creed, or to any great extent remodelled the constitution of the Church. It would have confined its labours to the retrenchment of some luxuries, and the suppression of the old abuses of simony and clerical incapacity and sloth; but the pope, now secure in his seat, abruptly dissolved the council in 1418, promising that within five years another should be called for the express purpose of the reformation of the Church. In consequence the Council of Basle met, but not till 1434; it was adjourned to Ferrara in 1438, and afterwards to Florence. But nothing was done of the least importance; the cardinals and pope would make no concessions to the rising spirit of inquiry and discontent. They determined that severity was the method by which the peace of the Church and its unity must be preserved.

The opinions of Wickliffe were widely spread, not in England



only but upon the continent of Europe. They had already been condemned in two provincial councils at London and Oxford; yet Wickliffe, protected by the Duke of Lancaster, had died in peace. The Council of Constance felt it necessary to anathematize his memory, and, in consequence of their decree, his bones were dug from their resting-place, after half a century, and publicly burnt. John Huss had imbibed his principles: he was professor of divinity in the university of Prague, and a preacher in that city. He was a man of gentle and persuasive eloquence, of an affable deportment, of great learning for the times, and of a stout heart. In vain did the archbishop of Prague denounce his doctrines as heretical: he was confessor to Sophia, queen of Bohemia, and Wenceslaus, her husband, protected him from harm. In the year 1408, the heads of the university resolved, since they could do no more, to expel the Wickliffites. Huss maintained his ground, at the head of a great number of the students, and the papal party withdrew to Leipzig. He was now installed rector of the university of Prague; his influence extended over all Bohemia, and the principles of Wickliffe were everywhere avowed. Simple women as well as men discussed the doctrines of the Gospel, and, still worse, declaimed against the usurpations of the pope. Huss, who had been already summoned by the pope to appear before him and answer for his conduct, was now again cited before the Council of Constance. Had he listened to the entreaties of the people of Bohemia, he would have disobeyed the mandate; but, trusting to the safe-conduct of Sigismund, both for his journey to Constance, his residence there, and his secure return, he appeared before the council. He was immediately seized—pronounced guilty of heresy, and, on his refusal to recant, given over to the secular arm, and burnt alive on the 16th of July, 1415. Bracciolini, who saw him suffer, admits that he endured the agony with the utmost fortitude, expressed in his last moments sentiments worthy of the Gospel. He died exulting. His friend and associate in the work of reformation, Jerome of Prague, was seized and put to death soon after by a similar process. The council justified its conduct towards Huss in a decree which asserts, “that by no laws, either human or divine, is it right to observe either oath or promise to the prejudice of the Catholic faith.”

The history of Spain in the fifteenth century is little more

than the history of the Spanish Inquisition. When, towards the close of the century, the petty kingdoms of the peninsula were united under Ferdinand and Isabella, a grand inquisitor was appointed for the whole of Spain, and the holy office became a great national institution; but it was admitted with extreme reluctance into Castile and Arragon. In the latter kingdom many of the nobles were of Jewish descent, and their ancestors had suffered from the Inquisition. An appeal was made in vain to the pope, and the assassination of Arbués, the grand inquisitor, followed. A magnificent monument was erected to his memory by the two sovereigns, and he was beatified by the pope. The authors and accomplices of the crime were betrayed, and two hundred victims were sacrificed in vengeance to his memory. There was scarcely a single family in the three first orders of nobility which did not furnish at least one of its members to the auto-da-fé, wearing the habit of a penitent.

Torquemada, bishop of Barcelona, now received his commission as special inquisitor from Rome. His dreadful fanaticism was appalled by no considerations whether of policy or of pity. To eradicate heresy at whatever cost of individual suffering, or national disgrace, was his commission. The unbaptized Jews were expelled from Spain; they were accused of persuading the new Christians to apostatize, of crucifying children on Good Friday, and of poisoning the Christians by means of their own physicians. They offered thirty thousand pieces of silver to Ferdinand, promising to live peaceably and to comply with any regulations he might think proper to impose, on the sole condition of being permitted to remain his subjects without abandoning their faith. Ferdinand and Isabella seemed willing to consent, when Torquemada appeared before them with a crucifix in his hand. "Behold your Saviour!" he exclaimed; "take him and sell him! Judas sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver, your highnesses are about to do the same for thirty thousand." The Dominican triumphed; a decree was issued, on the 31st of March, 1492, by which all the Jews were compelled to leave Spain within four months on pain of death. They were forbidden to carry their gold and silver with them; but they might exchange it for merchandise, which of course from its bulk could not so readily be removed. According to Mariana, the great Spanish historian, a Jesuit of the sixteenth century, eight hun-

dred thousand Jews quitted Spain ; and if the Moors who emigrated to Africa, and the Christians who settled in the New World, are added to the number, we shall find that Ferdinand and Isabella lost, through these measures, two millions of their subjects. Bernaldez, a contemporary historian, affirms that the Jews carried a quantity of gold with them, concealed in their garments and saddles, and even in their stomachs, for they broke up the ducats and swallowed them. A great number afterwards returned to Spain, and received baptism. Some too returned from the kingdom of Fez, where the Moors had seized their money and effects, and killed even the women, to take the gold which they expected to find within them. Innocent VIII. pursued the wretched fugitives with a bull, issued at the desire of Torquemada, commanding all governments to arrest them on pain of excommunication ; but happily little attention was paid to it. Not satisfied with these severities, Torquemada obtained a brief from Rome prohibiting bishops of Jewish origin from interfering in the proceedings of the Inquisition. Although bishops were especially excepted from the jurisdiction of the holy office, he accused two of the Spanish prelates, of Jewish descent, of heresy. One of these, Davila, bishop of Segovia, had held that office for thirty years, when he was summoned to Rome ; but he was kindly received by the pope, and no charge appears to have been sustained against him. Aranda, bishop of Calahora, and president of the council of Castile, was also summoned on the charge of heresy ; his father had been a wealthy Jew, and the real intention was to confiscate his property. He was condemned in a secret consistory, and died in prison. Such was the terror of the Inquisition, that gentlemen of high birth volunteered to become *familiars* of the holy office to secure themselves from danger. Torquemada travelled with fifty of these *familiars*, his body-guard, on horseback, and two hundred more on foot. His barbarity placed his life in continual danger. The pope himself was alarmed at the complaints which reached him, and three times was the colleague of the grand inquisitor sent to Rome to defend his conduct. At length Alexander VI., weary of continual clamours, partially superseded him, on the plea of his great age and infirmities, by naming four other inquisitors possessing equal powers with himself. In 1498, Thomas de Torquemada, the first grand inquisitor of Spain, died. Ferdinand and Isabella became

possessed of the kingdom of Granada about this period, and Diego Deza, the new inquisitor, was instructed to wield the terrors of the Inquisition in the kingdom recently acquired. He presided eight years over the tribunal, and his victims are numbered thus: 2,500 heretics burnt alive, and 896 in effigy, besides 34,952 condemned to different penances. Nor did this include the whole of Spain. Cisneros presided at the same time over the Inquisition of Castile and Arragon. In eleven years he condemned 52,855 individuals, of whom 3,564 were burnt alive.

When the sixteenth century dawned, the Roman see indulged in pleasing visions of perfect triumph and of a long repose. "There appeared," says father Paul, the historian of the Council of Trent, "no urgent cause to convoke a council, nor was any likely to happen for a long space." The complaints of many churches, he proceeds to tell us, against the grandeur of the papal see seemed absolutely to be appeased, and all the kingdoms of Western Europe were not only in communion with Rome, but in strict subjection to her. "A few Waldenses lingered on the sides of the Alps and Pyrenees, impious and obscene men from whom nothing was to be feared. The hatred of their pious neighbours kept them in complete subjection." He speaks of the Picards and Hussites of Bohemia with similar contempt, and the Lollardism of England was unworthy of his notice. Some danger of a schism there had been; for Julius II., who was more a soldier than a priest, had quarrelled with Louis XII. of France, and thundered an excommunication against him. The French king, supported by several cardinals, withdrew his allegiance; but Julius opportunely dying and Leo being created in his stead, he reconciled at once with admirable ease both the kingdom of France and the insurgent cardinals; and thus a fire was quenched which threatened, in the judgment of father Paul, to have burned up the Church herself. (Hist. Council of Trent, lib. 1.)

The surface was unruffled, it is true, but dangers were already lowering which only the infatuated could refuse to see. There is a pitch of corruption in public affairs which, in the decrees of Providence, is always suicidal. There is an audacity in vice, once reached, from which men in public stations are never permitted to escape. This pre-eminence in guilt the papacy had at length attained. Alexander VI. occupied the papal throne. The history

of his popedom as written by Muratori, Fleury, and other Roman Catholics, has been described as certainly the blackest page in the history of modern Rome. When elected in 1492, a Spaniard by birth, daring, adventurous, of most licentious habits, he was already the father of four sons. Lucretia, an only daughter, rivalled her father's profligacy. Of his sons the second, Cesar Borgia, is illustrious in the annals of guilt; and his crimes are to some extent those of the papacy itself, inasmuch as he was made archbishop of Valenza and cardinal, when his vicious disposition was notorious. He was suspected of the murder of his brother; and, soon growing weary of the slight restraint which it imposed upon him, he resigned the office of cardinal and joined the king of France, by whom he was created duke of Valentinois. His career was rather that of a ferocious ruffian than a brave soldier; his prisoners were murdered; the female captives taken at Capua were sold as slaves, or reserved for his own palace at Rome. His life, in short, was a career of the most atrocious crimes, which he completed, according to general tradition, by poisoning the pope his father. Of this last act of wickedness various accounts are given. It has been said they both drank, by mistake, of poisoned wine which they themselves intended for one of the cardinals. A court thus ruled, a Church administered by such hands, however smoothly the stream might glide, must have been from the nature of things in peril of some high disaster.

But the magnificent pontificate of Leo X. retrieved the fortunes of the papacy for a time, and moulded its character anew. Yet it did nothing to avert the impending crisis of the Reformation; it rather showed its absolute necessity. Giovanni, the second son of Lorenzo de Medici, surnamed the Magnificent, was elected pope in 1513 at the early age of thirty-seven. On a subject so well known as that of his life and character it is unnecessary to enlarge. His tastes were refined, his disposition generous, his attainments considerable, his abilities unquestioned. To religion he made no pretensions; his whole life was one of refined intellectual sensualism. All that he conceded to the clerical office was a decent submission to its forms. Yet he was ambitious to extend the power, as well as to enhance the splendour, of the church. Since the year 1438 the French Church had been governed under a law of its own, called the Pragmatic Sanction, which, besides rejecting other encroachments of the popes, wrested

from them the patronage of the bishopricks, which, with the greater monasteries, had been vested in the kings of France. Leo induced Francis I. to abandon the Pragmatic Sanction and substitute a concordat in its place. It was with difficulty the parliament of Paris was induced to register the edict. At length it did so under a solemn protest, in which the University of Paris and the clergy joined; and thus the rights of the Gallican Church were lost. In every direction the claims of the papacy were rigidly maintained.

It was the childish ambition of Leo to construct a Christian temple which should throw into the shade the grandest monuments of pagan Rome. The idea was curious, and of a piece with all his character. He had a boyish admiration of classical antiquity. He would have reformed the city, the Italian states, the church itself, after the classical model. To this caprice we owe Luther's theses and the reformation. To raise the necessary funds for the erection of St. Peter's, his vast cathedral, he was compelled to resort to the expedient of selling indulgences. Germany, now populous and rich, was expected to yield a liberal harvest. Tetzels, the Dominican monk, was intrusted with a mission the result of which has been told in the article on the Lutheran Church.

On the subject of indulgences a short digression may be allowed.

They were first issued by Pope Urban II., A.D. 1100: he granted plenary indulgence, and remission of all their sins, to every person who should fight in Palestine to regain the sepulchre. His example was followed by his successors for several centuries; and, as the zeal of the crusaders flagged, they granted indulgences to those who, unwilling to fight themselves, would maintain a soldier; a condition which was easily commuted into the payment of a stated tax, and thus indulgences became a vendible commodity. In process of time similar indulgences and pardons were granted to those who took arms against heretics, or against those states which were in hostility to the see of Rome. From these indulgences an immense revenue was extracted. Clement VI. proclaimed a jubilee, in the year 1350, when indulgences were issued to a vast extent to all those who should either visit Rome, or perform certain vows or penances, or, failing in these duties, contribute liberally to the Church. This was the origin of the papal jubilee, which is now celebrated every twenty-fifth

year. Leo, whose treasury was exhausted, consulted his able financier Lorenzo Pucci, cardinal of Sante Quatro, who suggested a general issue of indulgences throughout Christendom, to be granted to all who would pay for them, and to be valid both for the living and the dead; freeing the former from penances, and the latter from the pains of purgatory. In the execution of this enterprise, if Leo erred, his apology, as given by Father Paul, is this:—"That many of the indulgences formerly made by preceding popes had causes more unjust and were exercised with more avarice and extortion." The thoughtless generosity of Leo exposed the traffic to additional reproach. The indulgence was published in 1517, and before any part of it had reached his own exchequer, the revenues expected from various kingdoms had already been given away,—those of Saxony to his sister Magdalen, the wife of Cibo, a son of Innocent VIII. The business of preaching the indulgences was intrusted to the bishop Arembold, and by him again to those agents, however worthless, who were likely to raise the largest sums of money. The Dominicans undertook the work which the more respectable of the clergy had refused. Of these men Tetzel was the most notorious. They were in general worthless persons, who spent their time in taverns, or in places of resort still more disreputable.

The real value of these indulgences was a question much agitated at the time even amongst the Canonists themselves. Leo attempted to settle this amongst other difficulties, in the bull of 1520, in which Luther was summarily condemned. But the bull had very little weight with theologians, for Leo was well known to be unacquainted with divinity. His death, which occurred in 1521, made way for Adrian, a pontiff of a different character, profoundly versed in the learning of the church and of the Canonists. Four opinions were held amongst good Catholics as to the value of indulgences: some believed, with Luther, that they were merely a release from ecclesiastical censures; a second party held that they availed, if the purchaser was truly penitent, for the pardon of sin; a third that their efficacy was absolute, and limited by no such condition; while a fourth maintained, with Tetzel and the Dominican monks of Saxony, that there was a fund of merit treasured up in the church, and distributed by means of these indulgences, by virtue of which all

sins of the living and dead, past, present, and to come, were instantly remitted. Sante Quatro recommended Adrian to give his apostolic sanction to each of the four opinions; thus leaving the question open, but in effect at the same time absolving Luther. The pontiff was deeply perplexed. The question, while it agitated Germany, filled Rome itself with uneasiness. If indulgences had no spiritual efficacy the Church of Rome must be remodelled; the popes must abandon the claims of at least five hundred years; they must allow themselves liable to error in spiritual things, and those, too, of the highest moment. They might even be compelled to submit to the decrees of a general council. Yet there was no alternative. Germany had now, to a great extent, renounced its allegiance. The new opinions were spreading rapidly in France. The Lollards in England gave uneasiness. Adrian resolved upon a general council; and the Council of Trent was the consequence of these distractions.

Adrian himself was disposed to acknowledge many faults in the Church, and to reform glaring abuses. He openly admitted, by his nuncio at the diet of Nuremburgh, the sins of priests and prelates and some abominations even in the holy see. Such candour was unwelcome at the court of Rome. Cardinal Volterra resisted all change: governments fell by making concessions: severity had crushed the Waldenses; crusades, not reformations were the proper cure of heresy. Distracted by opposite opinions, and overwhelmed with anxieties, Adrian died in September, 1523. It was not till the 13th of December, 1545, that the Council of Trent actually assembled.

It was convoked at Mantua by Paul III. in 1537, but protracted in consequence of the war which ravaged Italy. It met at length in 1545 at Trent, as a neutral ground on the borders of Germany, and easy of access from France and Spain. The reformers of Germany, France, and England were summoned to appear by their bishops, but all of them refused, remembering, as they said, the fate of Huss at the Council of Constance, and denying the right of the bishop of Rome to call together general councils. The apprehensions of the Protestants were not unfounded. The year 1545 was signalized both by the meeting of the Council of Trent and the massacre of four thousand unresisting Waldenses at Cabriers and Merindolo, the latter in the



pope's own territories. Neither the emperor Charles V. nor Francis I. of France entered cordially into the project; the former still hoping by negotiation to recover the Protestants of Germany, while the latter was secretly assisting them; the two monarchs being at war with each other. The council was formed when only ten bishops had arrived; and on the 13th of December, when the pope's bull was read convoking the council and proclaiming a jubilee, only twenty-five prelates were in attendance. In the session of January, 1546, besides the papal legates and the cardinal of Trent, there were present four archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, three Benedictine abbots, and four generals, or heads of religious orders. These forty-three persons constituted the general council. The two archbishops were merely titulars who had never seen their churches—Olaus archbishop of Upsal; and Venante a Scotchman, archbishop of Armagh: about twenty divines were present as spectators. The king of the Romans sent an ambassador, the cardinal of Augsborg a proctor; and ten gentlemen watched over the secular interests of the cardinal of Trent. Thus opened a council whose decrees were to give law to Christendom, restore the Church to the affections of the Protestants, and purify all its disorders. The council sat, though with several intervals while its sessions were prorogued, for eighteen years; it was not finally dissolved till 1564. Its canons and decrees were then, by a bull of pope Pius IV., declared to be the statutes of the Catholic Church. All graces, privileges, and indulgences whatever, at variance with the decrees and statutes of the council, are revoked, made null and void, and reduced to the terms and limits of the council itself. By a second bull, dated November, 1564, the Tridentine decisions on matters of faith were reduced into the form of a creed, since known as that of pope Pius IV. To this creed all ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome subscribe, adding the sanction of an oath. It contains a summary of the doctrines of the Church of Rome as they are now professed. After reciting the Nicene creed it proceeds thus:—

“ 1. I most firmly admit and receive the apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the Church.

“ 2. I admit also the sacred Scriptures according to that sense which holy mother Church, to whom it appertains to judge of

the true meaning and interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, hath holden and still holds: nor will I ever receive and interpret them, otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

“ 3. I profess, likewise, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all of them to every one; namely, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Uction, Orders, and Matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these sacraments Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders cannot be repeated without sacrilege. I receive also and admit the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid sacraments.

“ 4. I embrace and receive all things, and every thing, which have been defined and declared by the holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

“ 5. Further, I profess that in the mass is offered unto God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice, for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is really, truly, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood; which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation.

“ 6. I confess, also, that under one kind only is received the whole and entire Christ, and the true sacrament.

“ 7. I strenuously maintain, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there are assisted by the prayers of the faithful.

“ 8. Likewise, that the saints, who reign together with Christ, are to be venerated and invoked, and that they offer prayers for us to God; and that their relics are to be venerated.

“ 9. I most firmly declare, that the images of Christ, and of the ever-Virgin, mother of God, as also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration are to be shown to them.

“ 10. I affirm also, that the power of indulgences was left by

Christ in his Church ; and that the use of them is very salutary to Christian people.

“ 11. I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome to be the mother and mistress of all churches : and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, successor to the prince of the apostles St. Peter, and the vicegerent of Jesus Christ.

“ 12. Further I do, without doubt, receive and profess all things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and œcumenical councils, especially by the holy Council of Trent ; and all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies of whatsoever kind, which have been condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I in like manner condemn, reject, and anathematize.

“ This true Catholic faith, out of which no one can be saved, which by these presents I profess and verily hold, I, *N. N.*, do promise, vow, and swear, most firmly to keep, and confess (by God's help) entire and inviolate, to the last breath of my life ; and that I will take care, as far as in me lies, that the same be holden, kept, and preached by all who are subject to my control, or who are connected with my charge.

“ So help me God, and these the holy gospels of God.”

No point was more laboriously discussed, or, according to father Paul, presented more difficulties to the Tridentine theologians, than the doctrine of justification by faith. Luther's opinions were collected in twenty-five articles, which, after mature deliberation, were all of them condemned. Nothing appears more simple to an English reader than Luther's method of stating his views on this subject : the Tridentine fathers found them difficult to understand. With the sacred Scriptures they had little acquaintance, and their reading amongst the schoolmen helped them not at all. “ The opinion of Luther,” says father Paul, “ concerning justifying faith, concerning the distinction between the law and the gospel, and of the quality of the works depending the one on the other, was never thought of by any school writer, and therefore never confuted or discussed ; so that the divines had work enough, first to understand the meaning of the Lutheran propositions themselves, and then the reasons by which to refute them. That faith justified must be true, no doubt, for it is said and repeated by St. Paul ; but to resolve

what that faith was, and how it made men just, here lay the difficulty. Faith had various meanings; some gave nine, others to the number of fifteen. How faith justifies, perplexed them further, and with this the whole doctrine of good works. One point was never touched, that is, whether a man is justified and then obeys the law, or whether he first obeys and then is justified. In one opinion all the Tridentine fathers at last agreed; that to say, as Luther did, that only faith justifies is a proposition which may be taken in various senses, and all of them are absurd." Their decrees appear in thirty-three canons (chapter xvi., session vi.); and so long as these are received as the standards of the Church of Rome, it is impossible, were this the sole ground of difference, for any Protestant Church to return to her communion. When the council broke up, and its decrees were published, the Reformation had extended to Great Britain; the labours of Calvin had established it in France; the Swiss reformers had achieved their work; the Lutheran Church had attained what proved to be the summit of its power. The papacy had lost its hold upon some of the most powerful nations of Western Europe; and, in short, the Reformation occupied, with regard to its territorial triumphs, the ground on which it stands in the nineteenth century.

Five years before the council assembled, Paul III. decided on a measure even more fruitful of results than the decrees of the Tridentine fathers. By a bull which bears date in 1540, he constituted the order of Jesuits. Ignatius Loyola was their founder. Like Dominic, and Francis of Assisi, a Spaniard; in his youth a soldier, who had won distinction at the siege of Pampeluna. Here he was wounded, and his conduct on his recovery was such as would, in later times, have placed his insanity beyond dispute. His story, as told by Ribadaneira, his first biographer, is that of a fiery enthusiast with a disordered mind. He read during his hours of suffering and convalescence the 'Life of Christ,' the 'Lives and Martyrdoms of the Saints,' a translation into Spanish of the 'Flos Sanctorum;' and, aspiring to rival their devotion, resolved to expose himself to penances and sufferings such as they had undergone. He distributed his property to the poor, bound up his wounded limb with a piece of cord, threw his armour and military decorations upon a mule, and set forth on foot in a pilgrim's garb under a vow to walk barefooted to the holy sepul-

chre. At Montserrat he overtook a Moresco, or Spanish Moor, fell upon him unprovoked, and nearly killed him, only because he was an infidel. In the chapel of the convent at Montserrat, he knelt three days and nights cased in armour, and had a vision commanding him to devote his life to the service of the Church. He then took up his abode in the neighbouring hospital of Manresa with a company of beggars, whose society he courted. Seven hours a day he prayed upon his knees. Thrice a day he scourged himself. His food was a crust from the filthy wallet of one of the mendicants. For four months he performed no ablutions, and was at length shunned by the poorest of the fraternity as a fœtid and loathsome mass of impurity. Having begged his way to Jerusalem, there he was foiled in his great object; for the prior, fearing that his indiscretion might provoke the Mahometans to some act of violence, forbade him to appear in the holy city, and commanded him instantly to return. He reached Barcelona in 1524, and placed himself as a pupil in the public grammar-school, sitting on the same form with the boys, to learn the first rudiments of Latin, and receiving at his own desire the same corporal chastisement. For ten years he begged his way through the universities of France and Spain, submitting to the most unnatural hardships, and keeping in sight, his one object, the honour of the Catholic Church. At Paris, in 1534, he formed his first society, which consisted of six members, of whom one was Francis Xavier. Six years were spent in perfecting its rules, obtaining fresh adherents, and preaching from place to place through southern Europe. His fame had preceded him to Rome. The austerity of his life, his public sermons, his romantic history, his squalid dress and haggard looks, soon made a deep impression; and when with his few companions he offered his services to Paul III., the pontiff was already prepared to embrace them with alacrity. The papal chair was beset with dangers; the great sovereigns of Europe viewed its enormous power with jealousy; it was by no means certain that the approaching council would not attempt to limit its prerogatives. The new society of Jesus, as they now styled themselves, offered their services to the pope in the same spirit in which a former generation had devoted their lives and fortunes to the recovery of the sepulchre. There was all the romance of chivalry; and this was mingled with intense devotion to the Church, which seemed to them incarnate in the

popedom. They had already taken the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; they added a fourth, implicit obedience to the pope; they would obey all his commands; they would bind themselves to be absolutely at his disposal; they would go at his bidding into every country under heaven, to certain imprisonment, or to certain death, without inquiry, without cost, and, when required, with the profoundest secrecy.

The popes felt the value of their new allies, and loaded them with honours. Paul III. limited their number at first to sixty, but the prohibition was soon removed and they increased rapidly. He gave them leave to make their own rules and constitutions, to elect their own general, to hear confessions, to absolve and to excommunicate, in all places whatever, without consulting the local bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities, and to receive laymen as well as priests into their order. He enlarged even these privileges in subsequent bulls, empowering them to depose or change their general without consulting the papal see; to absolve heretics; to excommunicate delinquents and punish them; to exercise all episcopal functions, to ordain, confirm, dispense and consecrate; to disguise themselves in any such dress or habit, as they pleased; to be exempt from secular jurisdiction, and from all tithes and taxes due to the Church. Julius III., who succeeded Paul, authorized them to erect universities wherever they pleased, and to confer whatever decrees they chose; and Pius IV. confirmed all their previous grants and privileges. Six Jesuits represented the order at the Council of Trent, and did not fail to give the assembled fathers an early intimation of their power. By a rule which was rigidly observed no speaker occupied more than half an hour. A Jesuit, on a matter of no importance, spoke for a whole day; another followed the day after, and repeated almost verbatim the same wearisome harangue. They were deputed, they said, by the pope, and it was not for the council to prescribe rules to them. Pius V. gave the Jesuits the right of entering into any university in Christendom and giving public lectures, to which all the members were bound to listen. Gregory XIII. still further enlarged their powers; he gave them their own judges and advocates, made them the papal librarians, committed the Index Expurgatorius to their keeping, and authorized them to correct, change, expunge, and burn such books and manuscripts as they deemed proper.

The constitutions of the Jesuits were published by authority at Rome in 1558. The society consisted of priests and lay members; but the great principle pervading the laws of the society was the same for both, namely, the separation of all its members from the duties and relationships of common life; even the love of kindred was denounced as sinful. The novice, who renounced his property in order to join the society, was not allowed to give it to his relations, it belonged to the order. Not a letter could be received or written without being shown to the superior. Every secret of his heart must be revealed to the confessor of the society before the candidate was admitted; and the superior himself reserved the right of hearing confession when necessary. Obedience usurped the place of all other motives and affections, and it was blind and absolute. No Jesuit was permitted to aspire after any higher rank or station: the ecclesiastics of the order renounced the dignities of the Church; the secular, if he entered the society unlettered, might neither learn to read nor write without permission of the superior. All right of private judgment was renounced; "and let each member persuade himself," says one of the constitutions, "that he ought to be governed and moved by his superior, even as though he were a lifeless body." The power of the general was in some respects greater than the pope's, since he alone could wield this obedience, and that without responsibility, and for life. He had, however, assistants in every province; but they had no power to interfere beyond the terms of their commission. He appointed the presidents of provinces, colleges, and religious houses at pleasure; he admitted members and dismissed them; he absolved and punished. Still he was subject to some restraints. All the members of the society formed one great council; the general might always ask their advice if he thought proper; but if a change in the constitution of the order, or the dissolution of existing houses were desired, this could only be done with their consent. There was also a body of assistants not nominated by the general, who exercised a constant supervision over his conduct; and an admonitor, whose special office it was to reprove or caution him; and, in case of any gross delinquency, the assistants were empowered to summon the general congregation, which might then proceed even to pronounce a sentence of deposition, and to elect another general.

The profound secrecy which the Jesuits observe, and which is imposed upon them in their constitutions, while it has no doubt contributed to their astonishing successes, has at the same time created the darkest suspicions. A Jesuit has been thought capable of every crime ; there is no conceivable form of guilt of which societies or men are capable, which has not been alleged against them by Protestant, and even by Roman Catholic writers. A volume entitled '*Secreta Monita Societatis Jesu,*' professing to contain the secret instructions of the order, was reprinted by a Protestant bookseller at Antwerp, in the seventeenth century ; it was again reprinted in England, in Latin and English, in 1723. This work consists of seventeen chapters. It is a masterpiece of policy devoid of principle ; it explains and teaches the whole mechanism of fraud and cunning ; and is, without exception, as base a compendium of deceit and heartlessness as the world has ever seen. The novice is instructed how to feign the air of devotion ; how to excite compassion on account of his poverty ; how to worm himself into the confidence of the unsuspecting ; how to sow dissension in families ; how to obtain the property of rich widows ; and how, in short, to establish the interests of his order upon the ruins of human happiness and social life. But the Jesuits deny that the '*Secreta Monita*' is authentic ; and they have always been consistent in their protestation that it libels their order. The question is revived as often as the morality of the Jesuits is called in question, and there is but one way in which it can really be set at rest : a society which is found in every civilized state, interfering in national, religious, and even domestic matters, among friends and foes, must either lay bare its bosom to the world, as did the first preachers of Christianity, or it must be content to lie for ever beneath the worst suspicions. If the charges brought against the Jesuits are false, it is not the malice of others, but their own mysterious silence which is alone in fault.

From this order the reforming party expected the regeneration of the Church, the popes the restoration of their power, and all true Catholics a triumph over heresy. Nor were they entirely disappointed. When Ignatius died, his company numbered thirteen provinces, exclusive of that of Rome, and seven of these belonged to Spain and its dependencies. The Inquisition, under Charles V., had relaxed nothing of its vigour : during the reign



of Ferdinand and Isabella it had burnt twenty thousand heretics, and banished nine hundred thousand ; during that of Charles V. it was introduced into the Low Countries ; it was supported with all his authority in Spain and Sicily ; and he was only prevented by an insurrection from establishing it at Naples. After all, he regretted nothing on his death-bed, but his sinful lenity to Luther and the heretics. Yet, even in Spain, the Jesuits were already supplanting the Inquisitors of St. Dominic : they wielded a more formidable weapon ; they planted schools in every city, and in a few years monopolized in Spain, as well as the rest of papal Europe, the education of the young. America was just discovered, and the Jesuits had entered on their mission in Brazil and Paraguay. Francis Xavier, with a hundred missionaries, had penetrated the East Indies from Goa to Japan. Abyssinia was the seat of a provincial who aspired to rule its ancient church, and who succeeded in overthrowing its ancient dynasty. France was reluctant to receive the Jesuits, and contained only one college regularly formed. Germany was divided into two provinces. Into England the Jesuits, except by stealth, were not allowed to force their way. So early and so rapid was the progress of the society. Viewed with fear and wonder, and received in the most papal countries with distrust, it proceeded unchecked on its march of triumph. Henry III. of France was stabbed by a priest ; Henry IV. was assassinated ; the life of Elizabeth of England was threatened ; and in each case suspicion, if not proof, rested on the Jesuits. Still their influence grew amidst universal dread or hate. The gunpowder plot, in 1605, they avowed as their own device ; and Mariana, in his book dedicated to the king of Spain, defended the doctrine that it was meritorious to remove heretical princes by assassination. Yet, according to father Ribadaneira, in the year 1608 the society numbered 10,581 members, with an annual revenue of two millions of crowns. At the close of the sixteenth century it had thrown into the shade Franciscans, Dominicans, the parochial clergy, and all the other agencies on which the court of Rome had so long depended.

The history of the Roman Catholic Church during the last two centuries and a half is so complicated with that of European politics, and with the growth of those colonial empires which have started into life beyond the seas, that it becomes impossible

to trace, within a limited space, any but the most important events. Our narrative henceforth becomes a summary, and we must be satisfied to notice only those occurrences which have left some abiding impressions on the character or the constitution of the Church of Rome.

In 1622 the famous congregation *de Propaganda fide* was founded by Gregory XV. It consisted of a number of cardinals assisted by a secretary, a notary, an officer of the Inquisition, and a few priests, and was designed to propagate religion in foreign parts, to conduct the missions which had already been established, and to form new ones in every part of the world. The example of Gregory was followed by Urban VIII., who in 1687 added a college for the education of young men destined for foreign missions. They were instructed, not, like the old monks, in barbarous literature and school divinity, but in science, in the philosophy of grammar, and in languages. The same zeal for the conversion of the heathen extended into France, where in 1663 a congregation of bishops and other ecclesiastics was founded at Paris for the education of Christian missionaries. Another society appeared in France in 1644 under the title of the Congregation of the Holy Sacrament. These were followed by other associations of less note in different countries for promoting the cause of the Church amongst the infidels. They were all in subjection to the parent congregation of Gregory XV. at Rome. Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Capuchins, were employed abroad. But the Jesuits were the most successful. A bitter warfare was waged between the Jesuits and the other missionaries, not unlike that which two hundred years before had raged between the monks and the parochial clergy. The Jesuits accused the Dominicans of want of zeal, and the Dominicans replied, accusing the Jesuits, with bitter invectives, of corrupting the doctrines of the church to promote their own ambitious purposes. South America and the East Indies were the two theatres on which the amazing influence of the Jesuits over savage natures was conspicuously displayed. Early in the seventeenth century the Catholic Church was reared with Italian splendour in South America. There were five archbishopricks, twenty-seven bishopricks, four hundred monasteries, and parish churches in proportional numbers, besides two magnificent cathedrals. The Jesuits taught grammar and the liberal arts to the

children of the Portuguese; a theological seminary was added for students for the country; meanwhile the mendicant orders undertook the humbler task of instructing the aborigines. These monks taught them to read and to sing, to build houses, and to cultivate the soil. The disposition of the native Mexicans, as represented by all travellers of that age, was guileless and affectionate. They held the priest in profound respect; when he visited his parish he was received with the ringing of bells and strains of music; flowers were strewed in his path, and the mothers held out their infants to receive his benediction. The simple converts were never weary of attending mass and singing vespers; they had a talent for music, and took delight in decorating their churches. They were extremely susceptible of fanciful impressions; in their dreams, the Jesuits tell us, they beheld the joys of paradise. The queen of heaven appeared to the sick in glory and majesty, surrounded by youthful attendants, who brought refreshment to the feverish sufferer. The only hindrance to complete success was that of which later missionaries have had but too much reason to complain, the bad example of the European settlers. The East Indian mission had been founded by Francisco Xavier in person. He laid the foundations of a church in India and Japan, but his zeal sought new fields of enterprise, and he died in sight of China. But other leaders scarcely inferior to him in devotion or in enterprise occupied his place, and the work of conversion had never been allowed to flag. It received fresh life when Gregory XV. canonized at the same time the founder of the order and his great disciple. The pope's motives are explained in the preamble to his bull:—"At the time when new worlds were just discovered, when in the old Luther had risen up in arms against the Catholic Church, the soul of Ignatius Loyola was inspired to found a company which should devote itself specially to bring about the conversion of the heathen and the return of heretics. But of all its members Francisco Xavier proved himself most worthy to be called the apostle of the new-discovered nations. For this cause both are now to be received into the catalogue of saints."

The successes of the Roman Catholic missions in Japan, so far as the number of converts is concerned, throw into the shade all other triumphs of Christianity. The mission was undertaken in 1529; fifty years afterwards the Japanese converts were esti-

mated at three hundred thousand ; and between the years 1603 and 1622 not fewer than two hundred and thirty-nine thousand were baptized. In Siam, and even in China, the Jesuits met with equal success. These nations seemed on the point of embracing the faith, and the papal court looked forward to the time when the millions of the East should prostrate themselves before the feet of St. Peter's successor, and the Church, amidst new triumphs, should forget her vexations in Western Europe. But the brilliant prospect faded even more suddenly than it had appeared. A relentless persecution extinguished the Japanese Church in blood. From China the missionaries were expelled, and almost every trace of their labours vanished. Of all their successes scarcely anything now remains but the nominal Christianity of the Cingalese, who, retaining some Christian notions, worship Buddha and Vishnu, and a few thousand native Roman Catholics, converts from the native Syrian Church in the neighbourhood of Goa.

The cause of the rapid triumph of their missions, their sudden collapse and premature decay, has been investigated by writers of every class with a diligence proportioned to the importance of the subject. The Jesuits explain their successes by a reference to the saintly zeal and consummate wisdom of the great apostles of their order. They ascribe their defeats to the intrigues of Protestants, and the jealousy of rival missionaries of their own Church. It is probable there is some truth in these apologies. Protestants, no doubt, would caution the barbarian courts against their insidious visitors ; and rival Dominicans would naturally thwart an order whose assumption and arrogance were intolerable. In this way difficulties were, no doubt, created : but it may be questioned whether they were of so grave a character as to end in the destruction not only of the Jesuit missionaries, but of the missionary work itself in every region of the East.

It is alleged against them, that instead of instructing their converts in the pure doctrines of Christianity, they taught a corrupt system both of religion and morality, and made the duties of the Gospel perfectly consistent with the indulgence of every vicious passion. They not only tolerated but encouraged in new converts the observance of heathenish customs, however lewd. And their ingenuity was employed in showing how, with a little contrivance, heathen superstitions might be made to

wear a Christian dress. With regard to their own conduct, they were accused of avarice and ambition. They engaged in the pursuits of commerce with avidity, and accumulated large sums by methods inconsistent with fair dealing. They were constantly involved in civil affairs, and were charged, wherever they appeared, with sedition and intrigue. Their restless love of power grovelled in the lowest arts of bribery and servile adulation, and soared in the loftier regions of civil war and sanguinary revolutions. Even Rome itself felt some alarm as it regarded their formidable power. The sovereign pontiff was often driven to govern them by submitting to their dictates, and making their acts his own. It was only when his decisions coincided with theirs that they were treated with respect. The decline of their influence in the East was heard with secret pleasure at the Vatican; and if the triumphs of the Church were lost in China and Japan, there remained the consolation that, at least, the janissaries of the Church were crippled.

The relations of the Gallican Church with Rome always stood upon a very different footing from those of the countries south of the Alps and Pyrenees. Ever since the wars of the investitures, the French kings were tenacious of their rights. These were comprehended in a code termed the "Regale;" which included, with other matters, the collation by the crown to all benefices which became vacant in the diocese of a deceased bishop before the nomination of his successor. Louis XIV. now sat upon the throne. He had already, in 1662, on a slight quarrel with the pope, marched his troops to Italy, and exacted a humiliating peace. As a true son of the Church he could not chastise its head, but he had no scruple in fighting against the pope in his temporal capacity as an Italian sovereign. It speaks loudly for the assumption of the papacy that Innocent XI. should have courted a contest with such a monarch as Louis XIV. on the question of the Regale. The pontiff fought with the ancient weapons,—edicts, bulls, and threats of excommunication. Louis, following the example of our Plantagenets, forbade the introduction of the bulls, and threatened death to those who should either publish or obey them. It was a mere war of words, for the age had passed in which papal anathemas were terrible. At length, in 1682, the king assembled a convocation at Paris. It consisted of thirty-five bishops and as many deputies. The ancient doc-

trine of the Gallican Church was asserted in four propositions, which were submitted to the clergy and the universities of France on the authority of the convocation as an inviolable rule of faith. The propositions were these:—

1. That neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any power to interfere, directly or indirectly, in what concerns the temporal interests of princes and sovereign states; that kings and princes cannot be deposed by ecclesiastical authority, nor their subjects forced from the sacred obligation of fidelity and allegiance, by the power of the Church or the bulls of the Roman pontiff.

2. That the decrees of the Council of Constance, which represent the authority of general councils as superior to that of the pope, in spiritual matters, are approved and adopted by the Gallican Church.

3. That the rules, customs, institutions, and observances which have been received in the Gallican Church, are to be preserved inviolable.

4. That the decisions of the pope, in points of faith, are not infallible unless they be attended with the consent of the Church.

The pope in vain protested against the decisions of the council, and forbade the execution of its decrees. The Gallican Church maintained its independence as thus asserted till it was swept away in the revolution of 1789.

The story of the Jansenists of Port Royal would deserve attention as a romantic episode, had it no further bearing upon the history of the Church of Rome.

Early in the seventeenth century Madame de St. Arnaud was abbess of Port Royal, in the neighbourhood of Paris. Her family were remarkable for intellectual endowments: her brother, Antoine Arnaud, was the greatest controversial writer of the age; her father, a distinguished advocate, had contested the rights of the French Church against the Jesuits in the forum and with the pen. The abbess sustained the reputation of her name. To a masculine decision of purpose and force of mind, she added feminine gentleness, a cultivated mind, and great devotion. Port Royal was no exception to the careless state into which all monastic establishments had fallen, and she determined to reform it. The rules which she adopted were severe. Her nuns practised austerities such as Benedict and Dominic enforced.

But the intelligence of the abbess imparted a peculiar character to the foundation over which she presided. It was no less a school of letters than a school of piety. She drew around her a body of men, who sought retirement at once for the purposes of religious devotion and of the highest intellectual pursuits. At the head of these was her brother; his associates were Nicole, Pascal, Le Maistre de Saey, and Tillemont. Parisian society in a dissolute age bore witness to the purity of their lives, and the press soon proclaimed their learning and industry. The writings of the Port Royalists created the Augustine age of French literature; and, stooping to the lowest capacities, they sent forth elementary books, and works on education, which for more than a century were in general use in the best schools in Europe. The Jesuits viewed their rising influence with deep jealousy. Between them and the Arnauds there was the ancient feud. The education of the young was the most powerful instrument the Jesuits possessed for the aggrandizement of their order: they had engrossed it; and the Port Royalists, in one bold attempt, had now wrested it from them. The Calvinistic theology of Port Royal was a further offence; and at the middle of the century the Jesuits, it became evident, had resolved that nothing less should satisfy them than the destruction of Port Royal. The conflict lasted for more than fifty years, during which it assumed the forms we shall now briefly describe.

First of all, the morality inculcated by the Jesuits, their demand of absolute submission, their defence of the most criminal actions when done with a view to the interests of the Church, their claim not merely to guide but to subjugate the conscience, were exposed with the keenest wit and argument by Arnaud, and his greater ally Pascal, in the voluminous *Morale Pratique des Jésuites* of the one, and the incomparable *Provincial Letters* of the other. Underneath this controversy lay another of wider extent and of far more importance, inasmuch as it concerned the true nature of religion itself. The Port Royalists were Jansenists, and Jansen taught the doctrines of Augustine, known in modern times as Calvinism. On the doctrines of grace and predestination the Jesuits were committed to the contrary opinions, and on this ground a war of doctrine raged between the parties. Jansen died in 1638, but five propositions extracted by the Jesuits from his book, were sent to Rome and condemned by Innocent X, in the

year 1653, as impious and blasphemous. The Jansenists denied that these propositions existed in the sense in which they were condemned, and resisted the bull, although it had the king's sanction. The Jesuits made a second appeal to Rome, and the propositions were a second time condemned by Alexander VII. in 1656; the Port Royalists still protesting against the justice of the censure, and falling of course under the displeasure both of the pope and king. And lastly, the theory of true devotion, if we may so call it, maintained by the Jansenists, completed their demerits in the estimation of a court which was entirely led by the Jesuits. Molinos, a Spanish priest who lived at Rome and had a high reputation for sanctity, published a Guide to Devotion, in which he avowed sentiments with regard to the inward light, and the nature of spiritual worship, precisely similar to those which John Fox the Quaker had proclaimed in England just twenty years before. His little book was instantly translated into various languages; and his followers, a numerous party who still believed themselves true members of the Church of Rome, obtained the name of Mystics or Quietists. Except in their compliance with the rites of the Church they were the Quakers of the papacy. Madame Guyon became the leader of the Mystics in France; a woman of rank, earnest and devout, but, as her writings show, of confused judgment and wild imagination. Still truth lay essentially in the doctrine of Molinos, and it was cordially embraced by the Port Royalists. True religion they made to consist, not in external forms, but in the dispositions of the soul, and supremely in the love of God. The Jesuits soon perceived that the system was a tacit censure on themselves, if not upon the Church, which seemed to place the essence of piety in a certain round of ceremonies. Molinos was violently assailed, and, though a personal friend of the pope, was thrown into prison. He recanted, but was sentenced to imprisonment for life. Nine years afterwards, in 1696, he died an old man. But his doctrines had taken root, and even Fenelon defended them at the court of Louis XIV. Bossuet, who is said to have beheld with anxiety the rising fame and eminent talents of Fenelon, obtained, through Louis, the papal condemnation of the Mystics and of Fenelon himself. This was in 1699; and Fenelon, it must be told, whether from conviction or fear, admitted the justice of the decree, and read his own recantation at his church of Cambrai.



The Jesuits pursued their triumph; the Jansenists were crushed, and in 1709 the convent of Port Royal was levelled with the ground. Thus perished the most persevering and systematic effort to bring about internal reformation which the Church of Rome has ever seen. The hideous profligacy of France during the Orleans' regency followed the triumph of the Jesuits and the destruction of Port Royal; and to this again the Revolution of 1789, in which the Church and monarchy were lost!

A few Jansenists remained. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they were ably represented by Quesnel, a Dutch pastor, who published his well-known work, 'Moral Reflections on the New Testament,' in 1708. It was thought worthy of especial reprobation, and Clement XI. condemned one hundred and one propositions extracted from it as blasphemous and heretical, in the famous bull *Unigenitus*. The Jansenists asked for a general council to decide the question; and the parliament of Paris, and some of the French bishops, were dissatisfied; for the bull was inconsistent, in several particulars, with the rights of the Gallican Church. But the regent Orleans, in 1720, gave the sanction of the court to the papal edict, which had now been for seven years a subject of constant dispute. It was ordained, and the parliament of Paris was prevailed on to register the decree, that the constitution *Unigenitus*, received by the bishops, should be observed by all orders of people in the French dominions; that no university or incorporated society, and no individual of any description whatever, should speak, write, maintain or teach, directly or indirectly, anything repugnant to the ordinance, or to the explanations given of it, by the dignitaries of the Gallican Church; that all appeals and proceedings against it should be deemed void; and that the courts of parliament and all the judges should assist the prelates in the execution of spiritual censures. Under this last blow the Jansenists expired.

In the month of February, 1769, Lorenzo Ganganelli was elected to the papal throne. If the volume of letters which bear his name be genuine (a point which after much controversy professor Ranke appears to have decided),\* he was a man of many

\* In his "History of the Popes," vol. iii. p. 212 *note*. Amongst other reasons, "because they bear the stamp of an originality, a peculiar turn of thought, unchanged under all the circumstances of life, such as no one could have invented or forged." This alone would be sufficient.

virtues, disinterested, catholic, gentle in his conduct yet firm in his determination, and always in pursuit of what he believed to be the interests of truth. With him the Church, that is the papacy, was not the grand idea. One of still larger dimensions occupied his mind, the honour of God and the welfare of mankind. He took the name of Clement XIV.

The Jesuits in every country in Europe had accomplished their own disgrace. Protestant literature had left them far behind, and Protestant universities had taken the higher branches of education out of their hands. Their politics were odious; Choiseul, the prime minister of France, detested them. The bankruptcy of a mercantile house connected with the Jesuits, involved a multitude of other failures, and the sufferers appealed to the courts of justice. Louis XV. was unable to save the order from the indignation of his people; and on the 6th of August, 1762, the parliament decreed the suppression of the Jesuits in France. Carvalho, the minister of Portugal, was bent on their expulsion. They were charged with an attempt to assassinate the king in 1758; the rack and other torments were turned against them; and they were expelled the country under a tempest of popular rage. Even Spain and Italy refused to allow them to remain. All the great Catholic countries in Europe remonstrated with the pontiff, and demanded their suppression. On the 21st of July, 1773, the order was abolished. "Inspired, as we humbly trust," said the pope, "by the Divine Spirit, urged by the duty of restoring the unanimity of the Church, convinced that the company of Jesus can no longer render those services to the end for which it was instituted, and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy which we hold locked in our own breasts, we abolish and annul the society of Jesus, their functions, houses, and institutions." What further reforms Ganganelli meditated were cut short by his death, in September, 1774,—it was said, by poison administered to him in a cup of chocolate during his celebration of the mass: a report from his physicians denied the fact without satisfying the public mind. The annual cursing and excommunication of heretical princes and others, by the public reading of the bull, *In œna Domini*, was discontinued throughout his pontificate; it has been since revived by his successors, and is now practised at Rome on Maundy Thursday, in the presence of the pope and cardinals, and a vast assemblage.

The storm was now preparing which was soon to burst over Europe. The progress of infidel opinions was feebly met in France and Italy, by damnatory bulls and lists of books proscribed. The Church was no longer feared; succeeding events showed how little she was loved. Joseph, the German emperor, before the French revolution broke out, suppressed upwards of a thousand monasteries, forbade the purchase of papal dispensations, and declared himself supreme in all the secular affairs of the Church. From Austria, the spirit of independence was communicated to Tuscany and Naples; and in a short time, most of the German principalities asserted their independence by various acts vexatious to the papacy. But the French Revolution appeared, and in its surging tide these minor conflicts were forgotten, while the papacy itself seemed on the point of ruin. At the earlier periods of the Revolution, the National Assembly aimed only at the assertion of its own independence. But its claims became, day by day, more urgent. It declared its right, in 1790, to dispose of the estates of the Church as national property; substituted popular election for the installation of bishops under the concordat, and salaried the priesthood by the state, seizing upon the Church properties in return. The monastic orders were suppressed, vows dissolved, and dioceses altered, at the will of the government. But all this was transient. The Revolution advanced; Louis was dethroned and executed, a republic proclaimed, and religion under every form denounced. The Gallican Church was turned up by its roots, and not a trace remained. The campaign of 1796 placed Italy in the hands of France: Rome was invaded, and the Vatican invested. It was in vain that Pius VI., an old man of eighty, implored that he might die where he had lived; he was told that he could die anywhere. The room in which he sat was stripped and plundered; the ring was torn from his finger; and at length he was carried off to France, where he died in August 1799. A new century dawned, and the papal throne was vacant: it was fondly believed among Protestants, that the chair of St. Peter would never be occupied again.

In the history of the world there has been nothing more surprising than the sudden renovation of the Church of Rome. During the last half-century, she seemed to be at the point of death; she has reinstated herself in her long-lost dignities, and

asserts and wields a power, far less, it is true, than that which she once had, but immeasurably greater than that which she possessed during the two previous centuries. Her renovated life, the agents by whom it was produced, the means by which it was sustained, and the results to which it was made subservient, will form perhaps, in some future age, a marvellous and instructive history.

On the 13th of March, 1800, a few timid cardinals assembled in the church of St. George at Venice and elected Pius VII. pope. The battle of Marengo followed, and Napoleon was virtually master both of France and Austria. He determined that in France the Church should be restored. But his terms were hard. He insisted on the alienation of the Church lands, valued at no less than four hundred millions of francs; and the clergy henceforth were to be paid and appointed by the State. The pope on the other hand was allowed to retain the right of canonical institution, to its full extent. Pius VII. yielded a reluctant consent, and the concordat of 1801 was the consequence. Still no monks were permitted, nor any religious vows. The regulations concerning marriage, introduced into the civil code, were also at variance with the principles of the Church. The concordat was published in Paris in 1802, not without much opposition from the theologians and canonists at Rome. Yet, in 1804, Pius VII. complied with Napoleon's request, and came to Paris to assist at his coronation. He was suffered to return to Rome. But Italy had now become a dependent kingdom, and it suited the views of Napoleon to keep the pope in his own power. He demanded to be allowed to nominate a third of the cardinals, and made other claims which Pius at length determined to resist; he was in consequence torn from his capital, and lived for some years a prisoner at Fontainebleau, possessing the title of pope, but with scarcely a shadow of real power. By degrees his consent was gained on all important points to the emperor's demands, and a second concordat was framed at Fontainebleau in 1813 on the preliminary condition that the pope should not return to Rome. Napoleon fell in 1814; the Bourbon dynasties of France and Spain were restored; and the continent resumed the territorial aspect of the previous century. Pius VII. revoked the last concordat, received back the States of the Church which had been wrested from him, and on the 21st

of May, 1814, re-entered Rome in triumph. "This," says Ranke, "was the commencement not only of a new age for the world, but of a new era for the holy see."

It was now evident that Pius VII. had resolved to govern in the spirit which had animated the Vatican in the fifteenth century. One of his first acts was the re-establishment of the Jesuits; it was followed by another not less significant, the restoration of the Inquisition, which at once began its work in Spain. In Sardinia new bishoprics were founded, in Tuscany monasteries were restored, in the kingdom of Naples the clergy were again placed under the control of the Vatican. The Gallican Church was placed in 1815 in a state of dependence on Rome unparalleled in any former age. The power of the Church and of the restored dynasties was harshly used; there seemed to be a compact between the two; the Church was engaged to crush the civil liberties of nations, the restored dynasties were, in return, to uphold the Church however extravagant her pretensions. Resistance followed in Spain and Italy, and in 1820 the peace of Europe was again in danger. But the power of France and Austria was sufficient to repress the insurrections of Italian carbonari and Spanish patriots, and for some years longer the cause of legitimacy and of the Church of Rome prevailed.

In 1829 the Roman Catholics obtained in England a repeal of the statutes by which they had been, since the revolution of 1688, excluded from both houses of parliament. The nation was averse to the measure, which was carried by the influence of the duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, assisted by Mr. Peel in the House of Commons. It was viewed with great apprehension by many of the statesmen who had presided, during a long and stormy period, at the councils of George III. In the House of Lords, the duke of York, the heir apparent to the throne, had two years before protested against the introduction of such a bill, with deep emotion. It was his last address, and left a great impression on the nation. "Should this bill pass," exclaimed Lord Eldon, who had been high chancellor for a quarter of a century, "the sun of England will set for ever." The statesmen by whom it was introduced had in former years been loud and frequent in their opposition to it. The two arguments which induced the parliament to acquiesce were these: first the apprehension of danger from Ireland; and secondly, the hope that the Church of Rome

had abandoned her exclusive claims and persecuting principles. The revolution of July, 1830, in France once more crippled the papal party. During the seventeen years of Louis Philippe the Church of Rome rather retained its position than gained fresh victories. It was part of the cautious policy of that sovereign to uphold the clergy in public estimation, and yet to counteract their power. Another revolution followed, in 1848, and the dynasty of the house of Orleans was at an end. The convulsions in Paris were repeated in almost all the capitals of Europe. At Rome the populace rose upon the pope and assassinated his prime minister on the steps of the Vatican. Pius IX. escaped upon the coach-box of the Austrian ambassador, disguised as a servant in livery. The Inquisition was torn open, the Vatican was ransacked. A republic was proclaimed, and for a whole year the pontiff lived in exile. In France, too, a republic was proclaimed, and Louis Napoleon was chosen president. He furnished an army to the pope, who possessed themselves of Rome after a short siege, and Pius ventured to return. The republic was dissolved within three years, and Napoleon III. elected emperor by the suffrages of the people. The army of occupation still remained at Rome, nor to this day has it been withdrawn. At present the pope is indebted for his throne, perhaps for his life, to the presence of his French allies. The influence of the Church has greatly increased in France since the revolution of 1848. At present her position in France and through the whole of Christendom, is that of an institution which seems to be conscious of no decay, struggling intensely for the recovery of all that it possessed in the days of Hildebrand or Innocent III. and often with success.

In England, the Roman Catholic Relief Bill of 1829 removed the last of the disabilities imposed upon the worship, or the civil rights, of Roman Catholics. Except in the matter of their exclusion from parliament, these disabilities had long had no real being. The passing of this momentous law was immediately followed by visible signs of renewed activity and zeal. Churches, colleges, monasteries, and schools, sprung up with amazing rapidity. In the first year of the present century there were about sixty Roman Catholic chapels and two colleges in England and Wales, and no religious houses. In the year 1830, these institutions amounted to upwards of six hundred; they have

since increased to more than eight hundred. Magnificent colleges exist at Stonyhurst and Oscott; and the cathedrals of Westminster and Birmingham, though poor in comparison with our mediæval structures, far surpass in size and internal splendour any Protestant churches of recent date. For the last quarter of a century the condition of the Church of Rome in England has been that of perfect security, and unquestionably of great success.

That success, however, has dazzled the leaders of the Church, and brought on a conflict with the government and the Protestant feeling of England which is not likely to subside. In 1851, the pope consecrated Dr. Wiseman cardinal archbishop of Westminster. The prelate signalized his introduction to his new honours by a pompous address, in which he declared that "he governed, and should continue to govern," the several counties which comprised his bishoprick under the authority committed to him by the holy see. At the same time the Roman Catholic bishops ostentatiously appeared in public in their episcopal costume, and assumed titles such as those which belong to our Protestant bishops as barons of the realm. The Protestantism, and with it the indignation, of the people, was roused; scenes with which London had been once familiar were again enacted; the pope was dragged in mock triumph through the streets, and hung in effigy amidst jeers and laughter. Scarcely a parish in England which did not express its indignation in burning the pope or his popular representative Guy Fawkes. The government, indignant if not alarmed, allayed the public irritation by the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, rendering it penal to usurp ecclesiastical authority, or to assume or use the offensive titles. But a heavier blow followed; the attention of wise and thoughtful men of all parties was concentrated upon this aggressive movement. What principles did it enunciate, and what did it portend? Were the claims of the pope to govern England to be admitted? Was the progress of the Church of Rome consistent with national liberty? Our ablest divines took up the question in its theological bearings, and in Westminster Abbey and many other churches, sermons worthy of the best days of the English pulpit were again heard by thronging crowds on the long-forgotten topics of the pope's supremacy, the canon law, and the Romish doctrine of the sacraments. The Church of Rome had raised up against herself a new race of combatants. The English clergy of

the last generation were scarcely acquainted with the outlines of the controversy; it is now their familiar study, and one in which not a few of them are profoundly versed. The result of the momentous struggle is yet to be seen. The two parties once more stand to their arms, and Protestants and Roman Catholics have determined to renew the solemn conflict which the Reformation opened, but did not set at rest.

According to a tabular statement extracted from "Battersby's Registry for the whole World," the statistics of the Church of Rome in 1851 were as follows:—Pius IX. pope; conclave of cardinals, 72; patriarchs in the Roman Church, 12; archbishops and bishops, 690; coadjutors, auxiliaries, suffragans, &c., 90; vicars apostolic, 76, prefects, 9; total, 879.

BISHOPRICKS, with their POPULATION:—

	Bishops.	Population.
Europe . . . . .	606 . . . . .	124,993,961
Asia . . . . .	60 . . . . .	1,155,618
Africa . . . . .	11 . . . . .	751,751
America . . . . .	94 . . . . .	25,819,210
Oceanica . . . . .	10 . . . . .	3,057,007
Grand total. . . . .	781 . . . . .	155,777,547
Add, in various missions . . . . .		8,731,052
Total population of the Catholic world . . . . .		164,508,599

*Du Pin, New Ecclesiastical History. Bellarmini Disputationes in Hereticos. Fleury, Ecclesiast. Hist. Broughton, Bibliotheca Historica et Sacra. Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle. Alex. Ross, Pansbein, or View of all Religions, 1655. D'Emillienne, History of Monastic Orders. Pietro Soave Polano (Father Paul) Hist. of the Council of Trent. Ditto, Hist. of the Inquisition. Guicciardini, Francis, Hist. Italy. Llorente, Hist. Inquisition in Spain. Roscoe, Life Leo X. Ranke, Hist. of the Popes of Rome. Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. Lives of Loyola, Xavier, &c. &c. Hist. of Port Royal in France. Roman Catholicism, from the Standards of the Church, C. Elliott, D.D., 1850. Wylie on the Papacy, 1852.*



**R**USSIA, CHURCH OF.—The Slavonic nations were the last of the European family to receive the gospel. Its light reached them through the Eastern Church. The Germans attempted their conversion at various times on the shores of the Baltic, but, unfortunately, their weapon was the sword; and, as the heathen tribes resisted, they were either exterminated or reduced to bondage, by whole provinces, and their lands divided amongst the bishops and nobles who were forced upon them. Christianity became hateful as a badge of slavery, and consequently made no progress. But the tribes bordering on the Black Sea came into frequent contact with the Greeks, sometimes it is true, in hostile collision, but more frequently in commercial intercourse. Many Slavonians entered the service of the Greek emperors, and several of them occupied places of high trust at Constantinople in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Croats and Servians, from the north of the Carpathian mountains, were the first Slavonic nations amongst whom Christianity was established. The sovereign of Bulgaria was converted in the year 861, and the real foundation of the Slavonic Christian Church was laid by the translation of the Scriptures. The Moravian prince, Rostislav, in 863, requested the Greek emperor to send him learned men, well acquainted with the Slavonic language, in order to translate the Scripture and organise public worship in decent forms. The emperor sent Methodius and Constantine, or Cyrillus, who composed a Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Psalter, the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles; they also rendered the Liturgy of the Eastern Church into Slavonic; and these ancient translations are those still in use in the Russian Church.

The name of Russia, which since the time of Peter the Great has been substituted for that of Muscovy, was first heard in the ninth century. Ruric, the captain of a band of Scandinavians called Russes, founded a state on the Baltic Sea by the conquest of several Slavonic and Finnish tribes, the capital of which was Novgorod. During his reign two Scandinavian chieftains are said to have been the means of introducing from Constantinople the religion of the Eastern Church. Be this as it may, there are many traces of Christianity since about this period amongst the Slavonians and their Scandinavian conquerors. Under teachers sent to Kioff by the patriarchs Photius and Ignatius, the Greek

Church found many converts in Russia. Monkish fables assert that the rapid spread of the new religion was chiefly owing to the miraculous preservation of a copy of the gospels, which when thrown into the fire lay uninjured, till it was removed by a faithful confessor over whose body the flames had no power.

For above a century paganism continued to prevail in Russia. The conversion of Olga, the widow of Ruric's son, prepared the way for its final overthrow; and from her reign may be properly dated the introduction of the Greek Church into the northern parts of Europe; though a long period elapsed before the prejudices of her pagan subjects finally gave way and Christianity was firmly established. The accounts of this interesting change are presented to us by monkish writers, and we must be content to receive the simple statements which gratified their own credulity. Awed by the solemn rites of Christian worship, which while yet a pagan Olga had witnessed at Kioff, she was curious to be made acquainted with its doctrines. The Greek clergy seized the opportunity to describe in lively colours the wonders of the church of Saint Sophia, and the splendours of the religion taught and practised at Constantinople. Olga resolved to visit the great seat of religion in the West, and receive instruction at what she conceived to be the fountain-head of truth. Delighted with her discoveries she became a Christian. She was instructed and baptized by the patriarch himself, who also became her sponsor at the font. Returning home she hastened to attempt the conversion of her son; but her efforts seemed to fail. The ridicule of his courtiers, and the scorn of a rude soldiery, had more weight than the prayers and tears of his mother, and Vladimir the Great took his seat upon the throne a pagan, addicted to the gross vices of heathenism. But his enterprising spirit began to show itself. Curiosity, or perhaps some higher motive, led him to investigate the different religions of his subjects. In an empire stretching from the shores of the Baltic to the Black Sea in one direction, and from the peaks of the Caucasus to the Carpathian ridge in the other,—a territory including Mahometans, Jews, Greeks and Latins,—this was no easy task: he commissioned ten men for the purpose. The worship of the Eastern Church has always been addressed more to the ear than the understanding, and is more fitted to please than to instruct. In Russia it is to this day conducted in the original Slavonic

tongue, of which, it may be easily imagined, the hearers can understand but little. The messengers from Kioff chanced to enter the stately church of Saint Sophia while the patriarch was performing the service. The stillness of the worshippers as the swelling notes rolled along the nave, the gorgeous robes of the priests, the rich curtain that divided them from the people, half disclosing the blaze of numberless lamps, the chanting from a thousand voices, and above all, the solemn sense that seemed to pervade the assembled multitude, all combined to render the scene impressive to the rude strangers. Full of wonder and admiration they returned to Vladimir, and related all that they had witnessed. Their descriptions, aided by the address of the Greek envoy, Constantine, fixed his choice. In Vladimir we must remember, the ignorance of a savage, the ferocity of a pagan soldier, and the awakening conscience of a half-taught, yet probably sincere, convert were all combined. He was shown an icon, or picture of the day of judgment; his mind was filled with horror at the representation of unbelievers struggling in the flames of perdition, while the Christians in glory stood gazing at their misery. He resolved at once to be a Christian; and, to prove his sincerity, devoted his sword, in the true spirit of a crusader, to the honour of Christ, and vowed to make war upon the infidels. After besieging Kherson, he married a Greek princess, and was baptized by the name of Basil. Soon after he returned to Kioff, and the baptism of his twelve children followed. An edict was issued for the destruction of idols and idol temples throughout his dominions; and his subjects were commanded to receive baptism, for which the example of Olga had in some measure prepared them. Churches rose up in all directions, the first of which, built of stone, was dedicated by Vladimir himself with great solemnity.

The stroke by which the pagan usages, rooted in long habit, were thus swept away almost by a breath, is rendered more remarkable from the peculiar condition of the people. They were composed of different tribes, kept together neither by common institutions, nor by any regular system of government, but only by the bond of allegiance to a sovereign, whose authority seems to have consisted in levying tributes, the payment of which depended as much on the caprice of the subject as the power of the ruler.

The arts and refinement of Greece began to be valued in Kioff. Even before the establishment of religion a constant intercourse with Constantinople had imbued the Slavonic tribes with some degree of aversion for idolatry. A German annalist in 1018 speaks of its churches and market-places as rivalling those of Constantinople in elegance and wealth. At the death of Vladimir in 1015, a considerable number of Greek traders had already made it their abode.

Yaroslav, the next Russian monarch, built convents, which he filled with Greek scholars and artists: under his direction many works now in use were translated from Greek into the Slavonic dialects. In following up the attempts of his pagan ancestors against Constantinople his fleet was burnt by the Greeks, and his land forces after a desperate resistance met with a severe defeat at Varna. Warned by this resistance the Russians did not again embark on expeditions against the Greek empire. Torn by intestine struggles, and weakened by the rivalry of popular chiefs, the successors of Yaroslav were without the means of uniting their forces for foreign enterprise.

The government of the Christian Church in Russia remained for centuries in the hands of the mother church. The patriarch of Constantinople consecrated the first archbishop of Kioff about the year 900. Greeks and Russians indiscriminately filled the office, the Russian candidate being selected by a synod of Russian bishops; but the sanction of the patriarch of Constantinople was necessary to confirm the election. The Russian patriarchs resided at Kioff till the destruction of the city by the Mongols, when they transferred their residence to Moscow. At the invasion of the Mongols, A. D. 1250, Christianity was in danger of being rooted out; many of the churches and convents were destroyed, and the clergy were plundered or put to death: but as the power of the conquerors became more firmly established, they endeavoured to regain the favour of the Church by exempting the clergy and all persons connected with the churches, as well as their families, from those taxes and services to which the rest of the conquered nation was liable.

Many of the highest offices in the Church were filled by Russian nobles; its wealth and influence seemed to offer a security not elsewhere to be met with. Multitudes, goaded by the oppression of their barbarous masters, sought for that refuge in the pale of

the Church, which the retirement of their own estates ceased to afford them. Others to preserve a remnant of their property made it over to the ecclesiastics, and became their tenants; vast estates were thus added to the Church domains. The clergy alone seemed destined to survive the general wreck; and in the midst of national distress the Church increased in wealth and power.

On the fall of Constantinople, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the Russian Church began to assert its independence. The patriarchate was established at Moscow, and a question of precedence between the metropolitan of Moscow and the patriarch of Antioch soon afforded a plausible pretext for the independence of the former. The crisis was at length brought about in the following manner. Jeremiah II., patriarch of Constantinople, sought refuge in Russia from the sultan Amurath, whose vengeance he had roused by protesting against his oppression of the Church. Means were taken by the Czar, when his visit was announced, to provide for him the appearance at least of a cordial welcome. The clergy were enjoined to receive him on the road with every mark of respect, and the laity crowded around him to facilitate his journey and to receive his blessing. But under these outward signs of friendship deep caution and contrivance were concealed: a memorandum to the Czar's commissioners instructed them to treat the illustrious stranger with every possible courtesy, but at the same time to learn privately on the road, from his monks and attendants, the purpose of his visit and the real state of his affairs, with a multitude of other questions; and he was to be detained near Moscow till these inquiries were fully satisfied. The circumstances of his departure allowed of no concealment; he was a fugitive, and he had left his church in the hands of an infidel oppressor. The Czar at once perceived that his opportunity had arrived, and that he might now hope to establish in his dominions a separate priesthood and an independent Church. The patriarch was not in a position to refuse the request of a despotic sovereign, in whose hands his safety lay, and to whom he had fled for protection. Without much opposition he was induced, in the year 1589, to consecrate Job, archbishop of Rostow, the first patriarch of Moscow and metropolitan of all Russia. The new patriarch was placed upon the spiritual throne of Moscow with every circumstance of pomp and splen-

dour. His appointment was recognized by the other patriarchs ; as their junior he ranked after the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople ; this, however, displeased the haughty Czar his master, who insisted that his own chief bishop should concede the right of precedence only to the highest prelate of the Eastern Church himself, and this demand was also yielded after much vain opposition. This step, however, was taken upon condition that each new patriarch of the Russians should ask the consent and suffrage of the patriarch of Constantinople ; and pay at stated periods a tribute of five hundred golden ducats. The compact was ratified in a council held at Constantinople in 1593, to which the Turkish emperor gave his solemn consent. But the privileges and immunities of the patriarch of Moscow were extended about the middle of the following century, when Dionysius II, the Constantinopolitan primate, and his three patriarchal colleagues, exempted him, at the renewed solicitation of the grand duke of Muscovy, from the double obligation of paying tribute and of depending for the confirmation of his election and installation on a foreign jurisdiction.

The independence thus obtained was a questionable advantage. Russia was a barbarous nation, or rather an assemblage of barbarous tribes. Her Church, released from its connection with Constantinople in its infancy, was unable to stand alone, much less to stem the brutality and lurking heathenism against which it feebly struggled. In doctrine and discipline it adhered to the Greek Church in all essential points ; but, in fact, neither doctrine nor discipline was either known or practised. Religion, where it existed, was a ferocious superstition, the ancient paganism accommodated to a few Christian forms. From a very early period reformers appeared and new sects were formed. The first of these arose at Novgorod so early as the year 1375. They were called Rascolnics, or Schismatics, and had probably caught something of the spirit of the Paulicians, or Waldenses. They reprobated confession to a priest, and the payment of fees for ordination, which they inveighed against as simony. Here was clearly seen the rippling of the distant storm which dashed itself in southern Europe about the same time against the pretensions of the papacy and the ecclesiastics. But there was no Luther to guide it in its course. These opinions spread with rapidity over

Siberia, amongst the Cossacks, and into the most distant provinces, till the Schismatics goaded to madness by persecution, broke out into the wildest fanaticism. Doubts had been raised as to the completeness of baptism without the purification of fire. The superstition spread, and soon assumed such an exaggerated form, that fires were kindled in every direction; deluded wretches cast themselves into the flames by hundreds; and in the villages, the towns, and the forests, multitudes thus devoted themselves to horrible destruction in the hope of gaining heaven. In the neighbourhood of Novgorod alone it is estimated that the bodies of a thousand victims of both sexes, were reduced to ashes in consequence of this Satanic frenzy. Remonstrances were unheeded; the bishops in vain attempted to stem the torrent of popular delusion. Aggravated by the mistaken enthusiasm of the lower clergy the evil continued to spread. A fanatical monk of Siberia constructed a huge funeral pile of pitch, resin, and similar materials; he mounted the scorching mass, repeating the Slavonic proverb, "When you cook groats spare not the butter," and, as the fire approached him on all sides, frantically addressed the multitude on the purifying efficacy of the devouring flames, urging them to share his martyrdom. Scores of them leaped upon the burning pile, and in a few minutes nothing remained but a revolting heap of blackened corpses. This fire-baptism consumed, it was supposed, seventeen hundred self-immolated victims. Some buried themselves alive; some shut themselves up in barns or houses, and setting them on fire perished in the flames with hymns or prayers upon their lips. This frenzy for self-destruction still lingers in Russia and breaks out at times. Within the last ten years a number of fanatics resolved on mutual slaughter. To carry out their horrible design, they assembled at the estate of one M. Gourieff on the left bank of the Volga. At the sight of thirty-six mangled corpses the courage of one of the devotees failed her, and she fled for life to the next village. When the people reached the hideous scene, out of forty-nine victims only two survived, too much exhausted with the carnage to complete the work of death upon each other.

It would be useless, if indeed it were possible, to repeat the extravagances and follies which disgraced the Russian Church till the strong hand of Peter the Great reduced it to order and

reformed some of its worst abuses. The very forms of Church government had melted away before the barbarism of Tartar hordes on one side of the empire, and the intrigues of Polish Jesuits on the other. The interior of Russia was a vast field on which contending chieftains defied the laws with impunity, and corrupted their tenantry by their profligate and vicious lives. The clergy were ignorant men; their disputes had reference to the correct form of the cross, the right position of the fingers, and the best means of preserving the sacramental bread from mould. In the code of ecclesiastical laws, called the *Stroglavnic*, or book of one hundred chapters, which was drawn up by an assembly of bishops at Moscow in the sixteenth century, the idleness and ignorance of the clergy are severely censured. They condemn various heresies, the worst of which they declare to be that of shaving the beard. They say, "Of all the heresies that have come under the ban of the Church there is none so abominable and worthy of punishment as that of beard-shaving; verily the blood of martyrs itself cannot wash away the guilt of so grievous a sin; whoso shaveth off his beard to please men thereby, he is a transgressor of the law and an enemy of God, who made man after his own image." From such reformers the Church had little to expect.

But in spite of these follies it cannot be denied that the influence of the clergy was often the only link by which a rude and barbarous society was held together. The little virtue or literature which existed was to be found in the convents. The clergy often formed a centre of union for the quarrelsome princes of the ducal family, whose restless ambition and mutual intrigues involved Russia in constant bloodshed. Their persons were sacred: they passed safely through the hostile camps, and by common consent were often the mediators between the contending parties. Savage as Russia was, and imperfect as her form of religion, the healing influences of Christianity were visible in her institutions.

Peter the Great came into possession of the whole of Russia in 1689. He perceived at once that although he held the reins of empire, his government was in fact divided with the clergy and the patriarch. He complained that the clergy possessed an independent authority of their own, and that "the people believed that small spiritual head, the patriarch, to be another



monarch of equal dignity with the true monarch or even greater ;” and he determined to remodel, rather than reform, the Church. The patriarch had been treated by former sovereigns with obsequious respect. On Palm Sunday the ass on which he rode through the streets of Moscow in commemoration of our Lord, was led by the Czar, walking by his side on foot, with his hand upon the bridle. This continued till the death of Adrian, whom Peter found on the patriarchal throne. On Adrian’s death, the bishops assembled in their synod to choose a successor ; Peter, to their surprise, entered the room, and broke up the meeting, declaring that he himself was the patriarch of the Russian Church. To wean the clergy by degrees from their established rights, he kept the office open for upwards of twenty years, appointing Stephen Gavonisky his deputy, and to him he intrusted the provisional guardianship of the Church until his plans of reformation should be matured.

Peter the Great resolved, in short, to frame the constitution of the Church anew. With the assistance of an obsequious prelate he drew up a spiritual code to which, with little difficulty, he obtained the sanction of the chief clergy and the nobles ; he then organised a supreme Court for the regulation of spiritual matters. This holy legislative synod was at first composed of twelve members, amongst whom were a president, a procurator, and a commissioner called the Czar’s eye ; who was always present to watch his master’s interests. This was the highest court of appeal for the clergy ; the bishops were accountable to it ; and the secular priests listened to its deliberations with alarm. To give a face of justice to these arbitrary measures, the approval of the mother Church of Constantinople was requested ; and the Greek patriarch, oppressed by Turkish despotism, was compelled to sanction the encroachment rather than offend the Czar, his only remaining friend. We give at length the document by which the patriarch renounced, in fact, the right of interference with the Russian Church, and consented to place it at the feet of the Czar.

“ Jeremiah, by the mercy of God, patriarch of the city of Constantinople. Our humility, by the grace and power of the all holy life-giving Spirit, the sole Author of all governance, legitimates, confirms, and proclaims the synod which has been instituted in the great and holy kingdom of Russia, by the most

pious and pacific autocrat, the holy Czar, sovereign of all Muscovy, of Little and White Russia, and all the Northern, Eastern, Western, and many other countries, the Lord Peter Alexævich, Emperor, whom we love, and of whom we desire to have refreshment in the Holy Ghost. It is, and is to be named, our brother in Christ, the holy and sacred synod, by all pious and orthodox Christians, both clergy and laity, rulers and subjects, and by all official persons and dignitaries; and it has authority to do and perform all that is done or performed by the four apostolical and most holy patriarchal thrones. Moreover, we put it in remembrance. We exhort and enjoin on it to hold and preserve inviolably the customs and canons of the seven holy œcumenical councils, and all besides, that the holy Eastern Church acknowledges and observes. The grace of God, and the prayer and blessing of our humility be with you. In the year 1723, this 23rd day of September. (Signed) Jeremiah, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of Constantinople, your brother in Christ."

Peter the Great, it has been said, offered the Church his protection and then crushed her beneath his shield. The holy legislative synod was transferred to the new capital of St. Petersburg to be more immediately under the monarch's eye. Its numbers, too, were now unlimited; the president being allowed to introduce new members whenever it was necessary, that is, whenever the Czar's proposals wanted support. The Church property was taken under the management of the state. Schools were built, and the convents declared incapable of holding lands either by gift or purchase. A heavy tax was laid upon the Church, and to render the clergy more subservient, their emoluments were proportioned to the liberality of the reigning Czar; and allowances were granted them just sufficient to preserve their families from absolute want. This pillage drove the monks to agricultural labour, while the nuns devoted themselves to household duties. In 1764 the remnant of the spoil was torn from the Church by the Empress Catherine; all its remaining estates were confiscated, and nominal pensions were assigned instead to the clergy and the convents. More than nine hundred thousand male serfs are said to have changed masters under this decree.

The Russian Church is still nominally governed by the holy synod though really by the Czar. It is usually composed of two

metropolitans, two bishops, the chief secular priest of the imperial staff, and the following lay members: the procurator, two chief and five under secretaries, and a certain number of clerks. The procurator has the right of suspending its decisions for the Emperor's approval. All questions relating to the faith and order of the Church are decided by the synod, and reports on the state of the schools and churches through the empire are laid before it twice a year. The Church being impoverished, learned leisure and repose are unknown, though sloth and indolence are common, and clerical literature can scarcely be said to exist at all where the inducements to study are withdrawn. To supply the deficiency a compulsory system of education has been adopted. The clergy are compelled to send their sons to schools, in which many of them are educated without expense. The clergy form a separate class or caste. Their sons are expected to take orders, and a license is necessary to enable them to follow any secular occupation. By youths of talent this is easily obtained; the refuse become priests, or enter the monastic order, from which the higher officers of the Church are always chosen. Thus the clergy are divided into two ranks, the white and black, or the seculars or parish priests and the regulars or monks; the five chief ecclesiastical academies are at Kioff, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kasaw, and Trowitza. In 1814 no less than twenty six thousand youths were educated in the Russian schools; the sons of two hundred and fifteen thousand clergy.

The Russian Church, from the days of Peter the Great, would not be inaccurately described as the reflection of the mind and will of the Russian emperor. The intercourse of the Muscovite court and nobility with the rest of Europe imbued the higher classes with scepticism, and this has tended to diminish the little respect they might otherwise feel towards an inferior and illiterate clergy. The Czar is represented in the catechisms taught to all the children of his empire as God's vicegerent. Under this title he claims absolute submission; his designs assume a sacred character; and the subject who shall dare to thwart him is regarded as accursed both in this world and the next. The late Emperor Nicholas, following the precedent of Peter I., was patriarch as well as emperor; and, when occasion offered, he never hesitated to employ force in defence of his spiritual assump-

tions. He made thousands of proselytes by the aid of the bayonet and the dungeon. His predecessor Alexander encouraged the circulation of the Holy Scriptures; Nicholas forbade their perusal and excluded them from his dominions. The metropolitan archbishops are treated with pompous courtesy by the Czar, but they possess no real power; they are always liable, on the slightest opposition, to be imprisoned in their palaces or exiled into some unknown solitude. All the ecclesiastics swear fidelity to the emperor,—fidelity in the military sense. The holy Synod remains, to amuse the people, but it is a mere machine of the government; it possesses no independent rights whatever. The priests of inferior order, the village curates, are universally despised, even by the poor. Their ignorance is extreme, and their servility and avarice are proverbial. They are the tools and victims of the boyarîs; and it is not uncommon to see a priest who has been publicly whipped, like a miserable vagabond, perform his religious services a few hours after, before the parish which witnessed his disgrace. The interests of the Czars has been to keep the people in unreflecting ignorance. Their religion consists in childish superstitions, which the court promotes by its presence and example. The benediction of the waters, as practised at St. Petersburg, is thus described by Dr. King. “On the river, upon the ice, a kind of wooden church is raised, painted and richly gilt, and hung round with pictures, especially that of St. John the Baptist. This is called the Jordan. This Jordan is surrounded by a temporary hedge of the boughs of fir trees: and in the middle of it a hole is cut through the ice into the water: a platform of boards, covered with red cloth, is laid down for the procession to pass over, also guarded with a fence of fir boughs. After the liturgy is finished in the chapel of the imperial palace, the clerks, the deacons, the priests, the archimandrites, and the bishops, vested in their richest robes, and carrying in their hands lighted tapers, the censer, the gospel, and the sacred pictures and banners, proceed from the chapel to the Jordan, singing the hymns appointed for the office, followed by the emperor and the whole court. All the troops of the city are drawn up round the place, the standards of the regiments are also planted upon it, and all the artillery. The artillery and soldiers fire as soon as the service is finished, and then are sprinkled with the sanctified water. The water is held in such estimation by the common people, that they look on

it as a preservation from, as well as a cure of, not only spiritual but natural infirmities. The aged, the sick, and especially children, are brought in numbers to receive the benefit of these waters by drinking them, or by aspersion or immersion. Vast quantities are carried home by them in bottles, to be kept in the house for the use of their families during the ensuing year. It is considered as having great efficacy to drive away evil spirits. They have a singular custom in the evening, when this service is performed in the church, of marking a cross upon their window shutters and doors, in order to hinder those spirits, when chased from the water, as they are believed to be by the consecration, from entering into their houses."

Religious sects abound. Under the most absolute monarchy in Europe we have the singular phenomena of large bodies of dissenters, defying the sovereign's power and living in open secession from the national Church. The fact is thus explained by the Marquis De Custine. The Russians are fond of religious speculation, and their ignorance lays them open to every kind of extravagance. A peasant, for example, imagines some new doctrine, and makes a few proselytes. When the Greek bishop of the diocese is informed of this heresy, he would denounce it to the government; but the feudal lord prevents him, because he fears that the inhabitants of his domains will be transported to Siberia, and this would ruin him. Nothing is therefore done at the beginning, and when, at last, the supreme authority becomes cognisant of the heresy, the number of the heretics is so great that it is impossible to extirpate them. Violence would expose the evil without destroying it. The government has no resource but silence and forgetfulness, and feigns ignorance of what it cannot suppress.

Hence, the mania amongst the common people to dogmatise, the interested calculations of the nobles, the bishops' submission to the nobles, and the government policy to avoid everything that would produce excitement, cause a great multiplication of religious sects in Russia. We will now proceed to details.

The Rascolniki, or Schismatics, are divided into two great branches, those who have, and those who reject, a priesthood or clerical order. To the former belong the Starovertzi, or "those of the old faith." They have existed since 1659, when Nicon, a Russian patriarch, having corrected the liturgies, and introduced

a few alterations in the ceremonies, many of the rustics protested against the change, and refused to submit to Nikon's innovations. Their points of difference are few, and for the most part frivolous. They use the old Slavonic alphabet in their liturgical books; they make the sign of the cross differently from the parent Church; the processions in their churches walk from right to left, instead of from left to right, as Nikon ordered. They think it unlawful to eat certain kinds of food, including hares and potatoes; and they prove from the Old Testament the unlawfulness of cutting their beards. They never celebrate the Eucharist, and only administer baptism at the approach of death. Under Peter the Great they suffered dreadful cruelties. They regard him as the antichrist, and refer to his reign as the period when Satan was let loose amongst men.

Attempts have been lately made to reconcile them to the Church, which has met their prejudices so far as to declare that their prejudices do not amount to heresy. Their priests are even invited to receive ordination from the bishops of the Established Church; and they are termed co-religionists; but these concessions are looked upon with suspicion. They have a great number of convents governed by the same monastic rules as those in force in the Greek monasteries.

The sects which have no priests are numerous. Some of their opinions may be traced to the discussions which agitated the Eastern Church in the earliest ages; others bear no doubtful resemblance to the pagan worship of the ancient Slavonic races.

The Skoptzi, or Eunuchs, bury their tenets in profound secrecy. They have many followers amongst the tradesmen and jewellers of St. Petersburg and other large towns. Their origin is unknown, but they entertain great reverence for the Emperor Peter III., the murdered husband of the Empress Catherine. They maintain that he was not murdered but escaped to Siberia, and that the body of a soldier was buried instead; they believe Peter to have been a true emanation from Christ, and that, on his return, the great bell of Moscow will be tolled, and its sound will gather the true disciples from the farthest corners of the earth. Largesses and rewards are freely offered to those who join them; whoever can succeed in making twelve converts is called an apostle. They are known by mysterious signs, and

spend the night between Saturday and Sunday in performing their secret rites. It is known that they inflict upon themselves the most cruel tortures for the mortification of the flesh: their converts are forced to suffer self-mutilation after the example of Origen. Their penances far exceed in severity even the Romish discipline. Their naked bodies are tortured with chains, iron crosses, and frequent scourgings. Haircloth garments are always worn next the skin. Many of these fanatics have died under the rigours of their self-inflicted torments.

A lower grade of these eunuchs are the Khliski, or Flagellants, who are victims to the same delusions. These are said to have a community of women. They also resemble certain small Protestant sects, who perform their worship by leaping and dancing. One of the great ceremonies of the khliski is to assemble in a room divested of every kind of furniture, and dance and leap about, while they whip themselves, occasionally bathing their heads and hands in a vase of water in the middle of the room, until they finally fall exhausted.

The "Voluntary Martyrs," called Moreltschiki seem, in embracing Christianity, to have retained many pagan opinions, and resemble more the savage idolaters of Scandinavia than the disciples of the gospel. Some of them, on an appointed day in each year, meet in a secret place. With barbarous songs and strange ceremonies, they dig a deep pit, filling it with wood, straw, and combustible matter. The most zealous then descend into the burning pit, where they stoically burn to death, while their brothers applaud the saints who thus receive the baptism of fire! Others, without sacrificing life, cruelly mutilate their bodies, like the fanatics of India, who throw themselves beneath the triumphal car of their idol.

It is difficult to know what are the dogmas of these voluntary martyrs, because they have no printed books, and they do not confide to foreigners the mysteries of their sect. Regarding the Old and New Testament as having been corrupted, it is said that they give themselves the right to change it. They recognise God the Father, manifested to men under the double form of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost. They reject the true death and resurrection of Jesus, maintaining that the body placed in the sepulchre by Joseph of Arimathea was not the Lord's body, but that of an obscure soldier. They think that Christ will soon

return and make his triumphant entrance into Moscow, and that thither his true disciples will rush from every part of the earth. They do not observe the Sabbath. Their only religious holiday is Easter. They then celebrate the Lord's Supper with bread which has been buried in the tomb of some saint, supposing that it thus receives a kind of mysterious consecration. Their meetings are held on Saturday night. The following are a few lines of one of their hymns:—"Be firm, mariners! triumph over the tempest! fear neither fire or the whirlwind,—Christ is with us,—He will collect the faithful in his vessel, his masts will not break, his sails will never be rent, and he will hold the helm firmly, and land us in a safe haven. The Holy Spirit is with us; the Holy Spirit is in us."

The sectarians are to be found in the north of Russia, in Siberia, and even upon the banks of the Volga. There are a few also at Moscow, St. Petersburg, Riga, Odessa, &c. They try also to make proselytes in the army; but the imperial police pursue their missionaries, and when they are discovered, punish them most cruelly.

There are other sects in Russia, which seem to be remnants of the ancient Manicheans. The Philippons, whose priests are old men, or *stariki*, are recruited from among young boys, whom their parents dedicate to this ministry in youth. As soon as the child's vocation is decided he no more touches any animal food, renounces all strong drink, and remains unmarried all his life. The Philippons fast on Wednesday, because it was the day on which Jesus was betrayed, and on Friday, in remembrance of his passion. They celebrate three extraordinary fasts,—the first, before Easter, continues seven weeks; the second, up to the commencement of August, fifteen days; and the third, before Christmas, is prolonged six weeks. They cannot drink wine, except on special occasions. They cannot take an oath, but must substitute these words: "Yes, yes, in truth," which they pronounce with a peculiar gesture of the hand. Many take no food but milk and vegetables. They are extremely abstinent. These sectarians resemble the disciples of Manicheism, who, supposing that matter is the source of all evil, strive to diminish it by ascetic rigour.

The Belyportchine priests recognise no priestly hierarchy. They dislike the national bishops and priests so much that, when



any one of them enters their houses, they hasten, so soon as they leave, to wash the seats and the walls. They believe that the Church is in a period of decline and apostacy; that the true apostolic succession has been interrupted, and that legitimate priests are impossible at the present day. They await the coming of the Lord to reorganise the Church upon regular and holy foundations. "The world," they say, in their strange theology, "has had four eras—a spring or morning, from Adam till the building of Solomon's temple; a summer, or noon, which lasted till the birth of Christ; an autumn, or evening, until the appearance of the Antichrist, who came two hundred years ago; and now we are in the cold winter, the dark night which shall continue till the Lord will descend upon the earth to save men, and open their eyes to the true light."

In the beginning of the present century, the purest of the Russian sects arose under the Chevalier St. Martin. The efforts of the Martinists were directed chiefly to practical religion. By avoiding as far as possible religious disputes and devoting themselves to works of benevolence and Christian morality, they soon gained extensive influence. At Moscow they founded a society for the promotion of literature; it was furnished with a splendid library, accessible to all; deserving young men were provided with the means of studying in foreign universities, and their ranks were swelled by many of the greatest and best men in the empire. But the sudden growth of liberal opinions roused the suspicions of the Empress Catherine. One of their most active leaders, Novikoff, was imprisoned, and others banished, and the library was destroyed. The Martinists were set free by the Emperor Paul: it is mentioned as an instance of his generosity that he wished to compensate Novikoff for his sufferings. Novikoff requested, as the only favour, the liberation of his fellow-prisoners in the same cause. The Martinists afterwards rose high in the esteem of the Emperor Alexander, and were frequently members of his council. For a short time they took a leading part in the affairs of Russia, and by their influence other religious societies were encouraged by the government. But the policy of the late Emperor Nicholas was on this, as on many other points, at variance with that of his elder brother: and the Martinists have met, of late years, with no encouragement. They seem to have been improperly termed a sect; they had no singularities

of creed or practice ; they were rather a society for the promotion of Christian knowledge and virtue than a sect.

The Malakanes, or True Believers, are so called from the Russian word *Malako*, milk, which is their food on fast days. The zeal of a Prussian prisoner of war first brought them into notice in the middle of the last century. He settled in a village under the government of Kharkow, and spent his life in explaining the Scriptures to the villagers, and visiting from house to house. After his death they began to look upon him as the founder of their sect, though it seems more probable that he only revived the knowledge of scriptural doctrines he found still lingering in the Russian Church. They acknowledge the Bible as the word of God, and the Trinity of the Godhead. They admit the fall of Adam, and the resurrection of our Lord. They maintain that Adam's soul only, and not his body, was made after God's image. The Ten Commandments are received among them. Idolatry and the worship of images are forbidden. It is considered sinful to take an oath, and the observance of the sabbath is strictly enjoined ; so much so, that, like many of the oriental sects, they devote Saturday evening to preparation for the sabbath. They are firm believers in the Millennium, and are improperly described as the followers of the fanatic Terenti Beloreff, who was, in fact, a member of their body. He announced in 1833 the coming of the Lord within two years and a half. Many Malakanes in consequence abandoned their callings, and waited the event in prayer and fasting. Beloreff persuaded himself that, like Elijah, he should ascend to heaven on a certain day in a chariot of fire. Thousands of his followers came from all parts of Russia to witness this miracle. Terenti appeared, majestically seated in a chariot, ordered the multitude to prostrate themselves, and then, opening his arms like an eagle spreading his wings, he leapt into the air, but dropping down on the heads of the gaping multitude, was instantly seized and dragged off to prison as an impostor. He died soon after, no doubt in a state of insanity, declaring himself to be the prophet of God. But many of the Russians still believe in his divine mission. A considerable number of his followers afterwards emigrated to Georgia, and settled in sight of Mount Ararat, expecting the Millennium. They spend whole days and nights in prayer, and have all their goods in common. Such delusions have frequently appeared in other countries, and may

be expected sometimes to return. The sublime truths of revelation operating on a disordered mind, and there mingled up with incoherent fancies, naturally break out in some wild extravagance. It would be unjust to charge upon the Malakanes the follies of a demented fanatic.

*MouraviEFF, History of the Church in Russia; Krazinski, Religious Hist. of the Slavonic Nations; Ricaut, Hist. of Greek and Armenian Churches, 1694; Dr. King, Travels in Russia; Picart, Religious Ceremonies, &c.; Sketch of Russian Sects, New York, 1854.*

SCOTLAND, CHURCH OF.—If credit may be given to the early Scotch historians, sanctioned by such later writers as Knox and Buchanan, the Culdees introduced the gospel into Scotland in the second or third century. The name seems to have been descriptive of these primitive Christians—*Gille De*, in Gaelic, meaning the servants of God, from which probably the title Culdee was derived. Others suppose that it was formed from *Cuil* or *Cael*, a place of shelter, from the retreats and hiding-places of the first converts under persecution.

Of the Culdees little is known. It is even uncertain whether the name belongs to the ministers of religion or to the whole body. It is no less uncertain what was the constitution of their Church. In the absence of facts of deeper interest it has been warmly contended, on the grounds of probability, that the infant Church was purely presbyterian; and again, on the other hand, that it contained the germs of prelacy. The reader will, perhaps, acquiesce in the sensible remark of Dr. Cooke, himself an eminent Presbyterian. It is, in fact, he says, a matter of little moment; for however eagerly it may have been canvassed by the advocates of episcopacy or presbytery, it is obvious that, if any one form of ecclesiastical government has been exclusively sanctioned by divine authority, we must derive our opinions of its nature, and of the arrangements which are connected with it, not from the practice of an age enjoying few advantages for the investigation of truth, but from the positive declarations of the sacred Scriptures.

All that is known of the Culdees seems to amount to this: they existed before the year 431, for at that date Palladius was

despatched from Rome by Celestine, to take charge of "the Scots believing on Christ." The nation was inhabited by barbarous tribes of pagans, and the Christians living in comparative affluence on their own cultivated lands, with a few domestic cattle, would of course become, if on that account alone, the mark for these wild marauders. The persecution of Christian settlers in a savage country is easily explained, even without reference to the enmity which their faith provokes. They fled to the island of Iona, which afforded a safe retreat: it was insignificant in extent, and at the same time convenient as a centre of missionary labours amongst the Picts, Scots, and Irish. Columba, a native of Ireland and of royal blood, founded the monastery of Iona in the year 563, and was its first bishop, chief presbyter, or abbot. He was assisted in the government of the monastery by a council of twelve monks or presbyters; and when the Culdees formed new settlements they still adhered to the same apostolic number. Though termed monks by the ecclesiastical writers of the middle ages, it is to be observed that they were married; for they were often succeeded in their office by their own sons. Little is known of the progress made by the Culdees in the conversion of Scotland, further than that colleges, similar to that of Iona, were opened at Dunkeld, Arbroath, Brechin, and a few other places. The Picts and Scots were still known in southern Britain only as pagan warriors, and no general impression seems to have been made upon the national character. When the Romans withdrew from England, the northern tribes rushed down from their mountains, and the last traces of religion and of civilization disappeared before them. The remainder of the British family retired, with their persecuted faith, into the fastnesses of Wales, and here the relics of the Culdee system at length expired.

As the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were formed Christianity returned. We have the authority of Bede that Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, had been brought up at Iona; and that he sent messengers to the sacred island to obtain a missionary to instruct his people in the Christian faith. Cormac and Aidan were the first evangelists; they erected a college at Llandisfarn upon the model of that at Iona; and, such was the esteem in which the parent institution was held, that the successors of Aidan in the abbacy of Llandisfarn were sent from Iona.

At a council held at Whitby in 662, Colman, bishop of Llandisfarn, was opposed to the Romish party on the dispute which then agitated Christendom as to the right period for the observance of Easter. Colman was borne down by Wilfred, the representative of Rome, and rather than abandon his tenets he returned to Iona. The struggle which in appearance was trifling was, in fact, of the utmost importance, the real issue being the supremacy of the Roman see, and the right of the bishop of Rome to dictate on questions whether of great or little moment to other Churches. Soon after furious wars broke out between the Scots and Picts, in which the latter disappeared. The Christians of Iona seem to have been great sufferers, and the adherents of Rome seized the opportunity and pushed their triumphs. In 716, Nectan, who is termed king of the Picts, is said to have attempted to introduce the forms of the Anglo-Saxon Church; but on his death, Iona again asserted her independence. The Danes now began their piratical incursions, and in 801 Iona was burned and a great number of the Christians put to the sword. In 877 the remainder fled from a second invasion to Ireland, taking with them the bones of St. Columba. Their affections still clinging to the ancient soil, they returned once more, and Iona rose from its ruins, but only to be again laid waste. In 985 the Danes pillaged and destroyed the monastery, and murdered the abbot with fifteen of his clergy. It was again restored, though with diminished splendour, to be destroyed by fire in 1059. There are traces of the Christians of Iona till the beginning of the twelfth century, when the papal party finally seized the stronghold of primitive religion in the north. The Scriptural principles of Columba and Aidan lingered in the western counties of Scotland till the days of the English Lollards, of Wickliffe, and the Reformation.

Soon after the Norman conquest, the English Church, now vastly augmented in power and splendour, began to exercise authority over her northern sister. In the year 1176 the archbishop of York claimed the supremacy of the Scottish Church, and a synod of the English and Scotch clergy was held at Northampton, by a rescript from the pope, to decide the question. The martyrdom of Becket, just five years before, and their victory over the king in consequence, had given fresh life to the English clergy and added wings to their ambition. John king

of Scotland had been taken prisoner at the battle of Alnwick in 1174, and he regained his liberty only on the humiliating condition of doing homage to Henry II. as his liege lord, for Scotland and all his other dominions. He brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots to do homage likewise in the cathedral of York, and to acknowledge Henry and his successors as their superior lords. The spirit of Scotland was entirely broken; and it is probable that political intrigue had not been spared, for not one of the Scotch prelates resisted the demand of the archbishop. A solitary canon, Gilbert Murray, had the courage to assert, in that assembly, the independence of the Scottish Church. The consequence was probably foreseen, if not brought about, by the papal legate; it was, that an appeal was made by both parties to the pope himself. A bull was issued which declared in favour of the independence of Scotland in all ecclesiastical affairs. She was to acknowledge no other power than that of the pope or his legate. The triumph, which seemed to be great, was in fact a disaster. A union with the English Church and submission to its northern prelate would have been a slight misfortune compared with that subserviency to Rome which from this period to the Reformation disgraced the Scotch ecclesiastics, and plunged the kingdom in ignorance and superstition. Long before the Reformation, the wealth, and we must add the corruptions, of the Church had become enormous; they had grown, says Dr. M'Crie, in his life of Knox, to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the Western Church. The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy, and the greater part of it was in the hands of a few individuals, bishops and abbots, who rivalled the nobility in magnificence and preceded them in rank. They were privy councillors and lords of session, and they had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric produced as many competitors as a disputed succession; and was disposed of in the same manner, namely, by gross intrigue, or by an appeal to the sword. Monasteries abounded, and these on a scale of luxurious grandeur which contrasted strangely with the surrounding poverty; the lives of the clergy were scandalous; preaching was utterly neglected by the bishops, and was practised chiefly by the mendicant friars for mercenary purposes. In Scotland, as elsewhere, their sermons were an appeal to the

credulity, the fears, or the folly of a gaping crowd, or merely to its love of coarse buffoonery. The popes did not demand in Scotland the right of nomination to the bishoprics; but they did not want frequent pretexts for interfering in the affairs of every diocese. The most important causes of a civil nature, which the ecclesiastical courts had contrived to bring within their jurisdiction, were carried to Rome, and large sums were spent every year in the confirmation of benefices, and the management of appeals. The one great advantage which Scotland reaped from her Church was, that its hierarchy checked the ambition, and in some degree softened the manners, if it did not elevate the morality, of a barbarous and tyrannical nobility. It answered some of the purposes which the House of Commons began, about the same time, to discharge in England; protecting the people by turns from the aggressions of the sovereign, and the power of baronial lords.

At length the Reformation came; introduced in Scotland, as in other countries, with cruel martyrdoms and civil war. The Lollards of Kyle led the van in 1494. Robert Blackater, archbishop of Glasgow, prevailed on James IV. to summon before the privy council about thirty persons from the western coasts on the charge of heresy. They had ceased to attend mass or to worship the virgin; they despised the reliques of saints, and declaimed against the pride of the clergy. They were defended with courage by one of their party, which included several persons of rank, and were dismissed with a reprimand. Patrick Hamilton was less fortunate. He was a youth of rank and talent when Beaton was archbishop of Glasgow and James V. a minor. The writings of the continental divines had probably fallen in his way; for in 1525, an Act of the Scotch parliament forbids "all disputations about the heresies of Luther;" and in the next year we find Hamilton at Wittenberg taking counsel with Luther and Melancthon. He returned to Scotland to proclaim his principles, and to fall at once into the hands of Beaton and the popish clergy. He was nearly related to the young king, but such was the power of the archbishop, who, in conjunction with the house of Douglas, ruled the kingdom, that he was condemned for heresy and burnt in front of the college of St. Salvador. He perished the 28th of February, 1528, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, the proto-martyr of the Scottish

reformation. Other victims followed; for the smoke, as a bystander said, of Patrick Hamilton's fire, infected as many as it blew upon. Seaton a Dominican friar, the king's confessor, Logie principal of St. Leonard's, and Warcham the subprior, openly taught the doctrines of the Reformation. Bitter persecution followed, and the fires were lighted at Glasgow, St. Andrew's, and Edinburgh. In February, 1538, Robert Forrester, Simpson, Kyllor and Beveridge, priests, with Thomas Forrest, a dean, were burnt on one huge pile on the castle hill. Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, died in 1539, and the management of Church affairs in Scotland passed into the hands of his nephew, David Beaton, upon whom the pope conferred the rank of cardinal. He was a man of great ambition, tyrannical and stern; and to him the Church of Scotland owes the same obligations which Protestants in England render to the memory of the bloody Mary. During the life of James V. he ruled that monarch absolutely. His reign was spent in fruitless efforts to reduce the power of his nobility, and to carry on the war with England. He died in 1542, leaving an infant daughter, the unhappy Mary, his successor. The nobility assembled at Edinburgh and in defiance of the cardinal, elected Hamilton, earl of Arran, who was the next heir to the crown, regent during the queen's minority. At first he was well disposed to the reformers, now a considerable party in the state. In a parliament held in the first year of his regency, an Act was passed allowing the Scriptures to be read in English. The cardinal and the clergy were violent in their opposition, but resistance was in vain. The effect of the new law was to betray the strength of the Reformation, and the extent to which it had already spread. Copies of the scriptures, which had been carefully hidden and read in secret, were now to be seen on every gentleman's table, and almost every man carried the New Testament in his hand. And, as if to settle the Reformation upon a firm basis, a treaty was concluded with Henry VIII. for a contract of marriage between his son Edward and the infant queen. But all at once the prospect changed. Whether from weakness of character or from other causes with which we are imperfectly acquainted, the regent quarrelled with the reformers, abjured the reformed religion, broke off the English treaty, and became the subservient instrument of the cardinal and the ecclesiastics. He now entered



into the project, of which Beaton was the author, of giving the young queen in marriage to the dauphin of France, a step which it was hoped would at once extinguish the reformation.

The cardinal having thus recovered his influence, employed it with the fury of our own Bonner for the extirpation of heresy. He began his barbarous career at Perth, where five men and one woman were brought before him on the charge of heresy; they were tried, condemned, and sentenced, the men to be hanged, the woman to be drowned. The offence of the latter was that she had refused to pray to the virgin Mary; she would pray to God only, in the name of Jesus Christ. On the day of execution she earnestly requested that she might die with her husband, who was one of the condemned; her appeal was refused, but she walked with him to the fatal spot, bearing her infant in her arms, and still exhorting him to patience in the cause of Christ. She saw him die, and was instantly dragged to a pool of water, her babe still clinging to her bosom. She consigned it to the charge of a pitying neighbour. She was flung into the water and died in peace and without a struggle; for to her the bitterness of death was passed. The cardinal pursued his journey through the infected counties; and his assize, like that of Jeffreys after Monmouth's insurrection in the west of England, was to be tracked in blood. The indignation of the people was smothered for a time: they waited for leaders and for an opportunity; but the day of reckoning was at hand.

The cardinal's last victim was George Wishart, a gentleman of family, brother of the laird of Pittarow. He had been early imbued with the doctrines of the reformation, and had been banished at the instigation of the bishop of Brechin for teaching Greek at Montrose; for the love of Greek was a sure sign of heresy in every university in Europe in the sixteenth century. He retired to Cambridge, where his principles were of course confirmed, since Cambridge was the cradle of the English reformation. In 1544 he returned home, and immediately began to preach the new doctrines at Montrose and Dundee. Expelled from thence, he opened his mission in the town of Ayr. The archbishop of Glasgow excluded him from one church, and the sheriff of the county hindered his preaching in another. This opposition increased his influence; he preached in the fields and at the market-cross. He was warm and eloquent, but his manner

was refined, and his preaching was gentle and persuasive. Plots were laid for his destruction ; but he had many friends, and amongst the number was John Knox, at that time residing as tutor in the family of a neighbouring laird, who did not scruple to carry a sword for the protection of his friend, the gentle, non-resisting Wishart. In 1546, during the night, the house in which he slept was beset with a troop of horse, headed by the earl of Bothwell, while the regent and the cardinal himself were at a short distance with a larger force. The laird of Ormiston, whose guest he was, refused to give up Wishart till Bothwell pledged his honour to protect him from the cardinal. He was immediately placed upon his trial, which took place in the abbey church, before the archbishop of Glasgow and other dignitaries, attended by a large body of soldiers. He defended himself from the charge of heresy with his usual mildness, but with great force of reasoning and a ready command of Scripture. He was condemned by the unanimous voice of the assembled prelates and clergy, and burnt as a heretic the next morning, the 2nd of March, 1546.

Some of the circumstances of his death made a deep impression at the time, and have been ever since a fruitful source of acrimonious controversy both to historians and divines. Wishart refused the assistance of two friars, who were sent to hear his confession on the morning of his death ; but would have received the Lord's Supper from the subprior had he been permitted. Being humanely invited to breakfast with the captain in command of the castle, he prayed, exhorted, and then distributed the bread and wine devoutly, as a sacrament, to the company. Wishart was a layman ; and this act has been denounced with the utmost severity, even by some Protestant writers. We know no scene in history in which party spirit has revelled with less decorum. Wishart, a man of the purest life and gentlest spirit, has been charged, not merely with acting under a mistaken impulse, but as impious and profane ; and the martyr has received as little justice from Protestant writers as from the cardinal himself. But a much heavier charge has been insinuated. In many of the accounts of his sufferings it is related that, looking towards the cardinal (who feasted his eyes from a window of the castle, where he sat in state, upon the last agonies of his victim), he exclaimed, as the flames gathered round him, "he who from yonder place

beholdeth us with such pride, shall within a few days, lie in the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest there." The violent death of the cardinal, which followed, gave rise to a conjecture that Wishart was privy to the conspiracy, and affected to foretell that which he knew would be attempted. On the other hand, the spirit of prophecy is supposed to have descended on the expiring saint, and the solemn utterance is regarded as a token of the Divine presence, in a moment when, if ever, the presence of the Head of the Church may be expected by those who are called to suffer in his cause. The subject has been discussed in Scotland, with great warmth on both sides.

There is reason, however to believe, notwithstanding the bold assertions of even contemporary writers, including Foxe the Martyrologist, to the contrary, that Wishart uttered no such prediction. Knox, his most intimate friend, was not many miles distant from St. Andrews when he suffered. From personal affliction, as well as from zeal in the cause of the Reformation, he would naturally make the most minute inquiry into all the circumstances of his death, and more particularly as to his last words. Knox, in other parts of his history, has actually represented Wishart as endowed with the gift of prophecy, and, had he believed the story, would undoubtedly have recorded it. He relates the last words of Wishart thus:—"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they will eschew." From these concluding words no doubt the fiction had its rise. It was easily believed by those who, from a false respect for this good man, were willing to invest him with prophetic gifts, as well as by his enemies, who found in the story the materials with which to gratify their hatred and malignity. The innocence of Wishart might be safely assumed, were the evidence even less conclusive, from the habits of his life, his singularly gentle and forgiving spirit, and the general complexion of his character.

The death of Wishart gave but a short triumph to the cardinal and his friends. It was followed by a proclamation forbidding prayers for the soul of the heretic under the heaviest censures of the Church. But the murmurs of the Reformers were deep;

the nobles, indifferent perhaps to the religious aspect of the quarrel, were disgusted with Beaton's insolence; even the Papists abhorred his cruelty. The time was come when his career was to be stopped short and his victims signally avenged.

The laws of Scotland, and of the Church of Rome, required that capital punishment for heresy should be inflicted only by a warrant from the civil powers. In the present case not only had this law been disregarded, but Wishart had been condemned by the cardinal and his faction in express opposition to the governor's command. His trial and execution, thus divested of legal sanction, were justly regarded as an atrocious outrage, a murder perpetrated with the most refined cruelty. Many were persuaded that the death of the cardinal might justly be sought without the forms of law, which indeed could not be set in motion against the man who governed the sovereign himself and poisoned the stream of justice at the fountain-head. John Leslie, brother of the Earl of Rothes, vowed in secret that the blood of Wishart should be avenged. A band of conspirators was formed: his nephew Norman Leslie, Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael, James Leslie, James Melville of Carnbee, and others, to the number of thirty-five, placed themselves under Leslie's guidance, and resolved to inflict upon the cardinal the punishment which his crimes deserved. They assembled at St. Andrews privately, entering the city by night and at different times; but on the 29th of May they were prepared for their enterprise of blood. Beaton was just then strengthening the fortifications of the castle, for he knew that he had incurred the hatred of a resolute people, and that his ultimate success still depended on the sword. A great number of workmen thronged the castle, and it seemed almost impossible to gain admission unperceived; however, Kircaldy and six companions concerted their plans, passed through the castle gate at day-break, and entered into conversation with the warder. Norman Leslie and his party passed unmolested, but his uncle betraying some emotion, the warder was alarmed, and suddenly attempted to draw up the bridge. He was at once secured. The workmen, terrified by the presence of thirty-five armed men, offered no resistance; the keys were seized and the governor arrested. The conspirators, guided by Norman Leslie, then hurried to the chamber where the cardinal was yet asleep in his bed. They demanded admis-

sion, and being refused prepared to burn the door. After a short parley, during which, according to some accounts, the conspirators promised the cardinal his life, though others assert the contrary, the door was opened, the wretched man exclaiming, "I am a priest; ye will not slay me?" John Leslie and Carmichael fell upon him with their dirks, but Melville interposed. "This," said he, "is the judgment of God, and though it be done in secret, yet ought it to be done with gravity." He then called upon the cardinal to repent of all his sins, and especially of the death of Wishart; and, protesting that he was moved thereto by no private enmity, but only because he was an obstinate enemy of Christ and his holy Gospel, thrust him twice or thrice through the body. He fell back into his chair, and died imploring mercy. The murderers then exposed the dead body from the window and quietly retired without interruption. Thus perished David Beaton, cardinal and archbishop of St. Andrews, on the 29th of May, 1546.

The death of the cardinal gave at once a new aspect to the affairs of Scotland. The clergy were filled with horror; they had the sympathy of the queen-dowager and the Court, but the great barons looked on with unconcern. Outrages of this kind were not so rare, in a barbarous and lawless age, as to excite that abhorrence which the bare recital of them now creates in those who have been trained to a purer sense of justice. The nobles considered the cardinal as their sworn foe; they looked upon the possessions of the Church with envious eyes, and upon its enormous pretensions with a hatred which they did not affect to hide. Many of them had heard Wishart preach, and some had been deeply affected by his ministry; all of them perceived that the new opinions struck at the very foundation upon which the power of the clergy rested, and that their reception would not only wrest from the Church her immense possessions, but might possibly transfer them back again to their ancient proprietors, from whom, by a long course of fraud and superstition, they had been alienated. Thus the great majority of the nobility were favourable to the Reformers, and encouraged the diffusion of their principles, though a few of the most ancient families still adhered to the religion of Rome.

The conspirators had retained possession of the castle of St. Andrews. They were cited, when the news spread, to appear on

a summons of treason before the Parliament at Edinburgh, on the 30th of July. Instead of submission they returned a lofty defiance, shut themselves up in the castle, and prepared for a siege. The Pope appointed in the place of Beaton a new archbishop, John Hamilton, the regent's brother, who immediately excommunicated the garrison, and induced the earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and others, to press the siege. Thus harassed the conspirators took the desperate resolution of soliciting aid from Henry VIII. He was then at peace with Scotland, and bound by treaty to abstain from every act of hostility and aggression; but the obligations of honour and good faith were little thought of in the sixteenth century, and several vessels were despatched from England with arms and other succours. The garrison were now in a condition to insist upon easy terms. It was agreed that the government should procure for them from the Pope absolution for the slaughter of the cardinal, and that, until this were obtained, they should retain possession of the castle; and, further, that they should enjoy all their privileges and rights, spiritual and temporal, as freely as though it had never been committed. The first article shows how much the power of the Church was still dreaded. The garrison listened with delight to teachers who stigmatized the Pope as antichrist. In stipulating, therefore, for his absolution, they must have been guided, not by any conviction of its inherent value or sanctity, but by the belief that, unless it were obtained, the pardon of the regent would be despised by the clergy, and thus they would still be exposed to the fury of a resentful faction.

The castle of St. Andrews was visited during the siege by two memorable men, John Rough and John Knox. Rough had once been chaplain to the regent, and now preached in the castle, and, during the armistice, in the town of St. Andrews. In the beginning of 1547, he was joined by Knox, who sought an asylum from the fury of the popish clergy, and was anxious, too, to assist his friend in a controversy with Annan, the dean, who had challenged him to a public disputation. Knox was still a layman; but his piety, his intrepidity, and his superior learning, placed him at once at the head of the Reformers. Rough joined his influence to the solicitations of the people of St. Andrews, and implored Knox to become their pastor. When the proposal was first made to Knox, he pointed out the objections which

presented themselves with the greatest force to his own mind. He declared that he would not run where God had not called him ; that he would not, without a lawful vocation, intrude as a teacher in the Church. Rough, in a sermon upon the election of ministers, laid down the following positions :—That every Church has the power to nominate, as teachers or pastors, those whose faith and zeal fit them for the office ; and he represented the will of the Church, thus expressed, as imposing an obligation which no man could lightly disregard. He then addressed himself to Knox, enjoining him, as he tendered the glory of God, the edification of mankind, and the purity of the gospel, not to refuse the holy vocation which he now gave him. Then turning to the audience, he said, “ Was not this your charge to me ? and do ye not approve this vocation ? ” they answered, “ Yes ; ” and Knox, though, as he declared, with an awful sense of the ministerial office, accepted the call at once, and became their pastor : thus were laid the foundations of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland. The one simple principle upon which it stands is this,—that the call or invitation of a Christian congregation constitutes a Christian minister.

Knox entered upon the ministry with all the fire which burned in him till life itself, exhausted by its own heat, was spent. Other reformers had skirmished against the outposts of papacy ; he attacked the citadel. His earliest discourses, delivered with fervent eloquence, were meant to prove that the Church of Rome was thoroughly corrupt ; that its religious doctrines and its canon law were alike repugnant to the Gospel ; that the titles which the pope assumed were blasphemous ; and that the papal Church was antichrist. His hearers declared that, while others had hewn down the branches of popery, Knox had struck at the root. The power of the Church was already weakened ; for now tenets, infinitely more offensive than those for which Wishart had so lately been condemned, were hazarded by the youthful preacher in the presence of the Romish clergy in a manner which seemed to challenge and defy them, and yet he escaped their violence.

In the same year in which Knox commenced his ministry the kings of France and England, Francis I. and Henry VIII., expired. War almost immediately broke out between France and Scotland on the one hand and England on the other. The

Reformation was in peril. Knox shared the fate of the conspirators who had murdered Beaton although he was no party to their crime. The garrison surrendered to a French armament; he was carried abroad, and, in violation of the promise under which they had surrendered to the French allies, condemned during the ensuing winter to the galleys. On his release which took place in consequence of the interference of the English ambassador, he returned to England where it is said a bishopric was offered him, which he declined. On the accession of Mary he withdrew to Frankfort, where he became the pastor of a church formed of English refugees; soon afterwards he removed to Geneva, where, in the society of Calvin, his principles, as a reformer and a presbyterian, were of course confirmed. Rough was destined to receive the crown of martyrdom. He went to England where he lay some time concealed, working as an artizan for the support of his family. He was seized and burnt as a heretic during the Marian persecution.

In the absence of its leaders the Reformation languished. The queen-mother governed Scotland, with the blind fury of a zealot. The infant queen of the Scots was sent over to France to receive her education. It was such as might be expected from the bigotry of her uncles, the Guises, to whom she was intrusted. Meantime the clergy recovered their influence, and, had it not been for the resistance of the nobles, the Reformation must have perished. The lords and gentry at the head of the new opinions met at Edinburgh to consult upon the gloomy state of affairs, and determine, if possible, upon some active measures. Knox was still absent, though letters had passed betwixt him and the leaders at home, and in consequence his return was daily looked for. The assembled lords and gentry, unprepared for active measures, drew up a bond or covenant, pledging themselves to stand by each other in defence of the principles of the Reformation. This document was the first of the several covenants which occupy so conspicuous a place in the religious history of Scotland. It was subscribed at Edinburgh on the 3rd of December, 1557; and from the frequent recurrence of the word congregation in it, those who framed and signed it were afterwards termed the Lords of the Congregation. "Perceiving," they say, "how Satan rages to destroy the gospel of Christ and his people, and that we ought to strive in



our Master's cause, oven unto death, being certain of the victory in him,—the which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the majesty of God and his congregation, that we, by his grace, shall with all diligence apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish, the most blessed word of God and his congregation; and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, at our whole powers, and spending of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that does intend tyranny and trouble against the aforesaid congregation. Unto which holy word and congregation we do join us, and also renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan with all the superstitious, abominations, and idolatries thereof, and moreover shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto by this our faithful promise before God testified to his congregation by our subscription to these presents." The covenant bore the signatures of the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, the lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and other men of note amongst the reformers. It was also immediately signed by numbers of inferior rank. From this moment the sword was drawn, and for several years the Reformation forced its way in Scotland through civil war and fields of blood. The congregation immediately proceeded to set up the reformed worship in the parish churches. This they did by publishing two resolutions. The first declares that it is expedient that, in all parishes of the realm, common prayer be read on Sunday and other festivals in the churches, with the lessons from the Old and New Testament. The second declares that, till God moved the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers, preaching should be had quietly in private houses without great assemblies of the people. Nothing could exceed the irritation of the clergy when they saw a rival Church thus rooting itself, as if at the bidding of a few private laymen, in the heart of Scotland. They seized Walter Mill and burnt him on the charge of heresy. He was an aged man and had been in his youth a priest, but ever since the introduction of the Reformation he had been one of the suspected. He now avowed his principles and sealed them with his blood. The lords of the

congregation acted on the occasion with firmness and discretion. They first addressed their petition to the queen-regent, imploring protection from the tyranny of ecclesiastics, liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, and a speedy reformation of the Church. They made similar requests to an ecclesiastical council which sat in Edinburgh; and when the Parliament met in 1558 they laid before it a petition consisting of various articles to the same purport. They received at first assurances from the regent which satisfied them. But they discovered that she was not sincere, and that the Parliament was about to be dissolved before its attention had been directed to the state of religion in the kingdom. They now drew up a manly protest, in which they claim the rights of freemen and Christians, and protest that, if any tumult or uproar should arise, and if it should chance that abuses be violently reformed, the crime should not be imputed to them but to those who refused to listen to their petitions for reformation.

In 1559 Knox returned to Scotland. The enthusiasm of the people could no longer be restrained, and it broke out, in opposition, as Knox affirms, to the admonitions of himself and the other preachers, as well as the remonstrances of the magistrates, in acts of violence. At Perth and Cupar images were broken, altars torn down, and a splendid monastery levelled with the ground. The outrage was deplorable, but it was at least free from selfishness; no plunder was attempted, the monks were permitted to carry away their private property, and the rest of the spoil was distributed amongst the poor. The queen-regent swore, it is said, that the atrocities committed at Perth should be expiated in the destruction of the town and the blood of its citizens. She hastened thither at the head of a small army, supported by the clergy, the duke of Hamilton, and Dosell, the French general, whose influence with her was great. The Congregation retired from Perth as she approached, hoping to allay her passions, and a convention was agreed upon to the effect that both armies should be disbanded and the town left open to the queen-regent, and that none of the inhabitants should be molested on account of religion, and that no Frenchman should enter the town. Every condition was violated. On the 30th of May, 1559, she entered Perth in military triumph; a tumult occurred, and the son of an eminent citizen, a Reformer, was

shot; her own friends were shocked, and the prior and the earl of Argyle at once retired in disgust, and joined the Congregation at St. Andrews. Here, on the 11th of June, Knox preached to the excited multitude. He chose as the subject of his discourse, the casting out of them that bought and sold in the temple; "and so," said he, "should our churches now be purified by the casting out of idolatrous pageantry." His sermon not only inflamed the common people, but aroused the zeal of the magistrates and of all classes of the citizens. They rushed to the cathedral, tore it down, and left it, when night set in, the naked ruin which it now stands.

The queen-regent died on the 9th of June, 1560. Elizabeth was now upon the throne of England; and the French court, convinced that nothing would shake her resolution of defending the Protestant cause in Scotland, proposed as the basis of a treaty that the troops of both countries should be withdrawn. To this she readily agreed, and a few days after the death of the queen-mother, the congregation assembled in St. Giles's church, to return thanks for the restoration of peace and the success which had crowned their exertions.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh on the 1st of August, and the question of the national religion was immediately brought forward. A confession of faith, drawn up by Knox, assisted by five ministers, Winram, Spotswood, Willock, Douglas, and Row, was laid before it, and publicly read. The clergy were silent; indeed, most of the lords spiritual and temporal, who were still attached to the old religion, absented themselves. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane were present, but either from policy or fear they said nothing in defence of the ancient faith. An act was at once passed, by which the confession was pronounced to be the standard of the Protestant faith in Scotland. On the 22nd and 23rd of August three other acts were passed. By the first the parliament abolished the power and jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland; by the second they repealed all the acts formerly made in favour of the Church and against the Reformation; and by the third they ordained that all who said mass, or were present at the celebration of it, should be punished, for the first offence, by imprisonment or confiscation, for the second by banishment, and for the third by death. Over the last of these statutes every friend to true religion would wish

to cast a veil. "It too plainly shows," to use the words of a great Scotch divine, "that the worst parts of popery had not been taken from the hearts of those who so vehemently opposed it."

The great preachers of the Reformation were invited to the chief towns. Knox was settled at Edinburgh, Row at Perth, Methven at Jedburgh. The remote parts of the kingdom, where ministers were much needed, were divided into districts, or departments, and committed to the care of superintendents, who ministered from place to place. On the 20th of December, 1560, the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland met for the first time. It consisted of forty members, and of this small number only six were ministers of religion.

It was necessary to frame a scheme of Church government, and the General Assembly deputed the task to the committee of five who had drawn up the confession of faith. They prepared in consequence the First Book of Discipline, which was approved by the General Assembly, as well as by the privy council in the following year. This Book of Discipline contains the great principles of the Church of Scotland. It met with considerable opposition, not only from the court but from many of the Protestant nobility. Some of them regarded its restraints as unreasonably severe; a greater number, who, to use the language of Knox, "had greedily nipped the possessions of the Church," were unwilling to be deprived of their ill-gotten wealth. The majority of the privy council, however, subscribed to the Book of Discipline, though it was not formally ratified by the council itself. It was the honest boast of those who drew up this first Book of Discipline, that they took their example neither from Geneva nor from any other Church, but from the word of God. It was modified in some respects by the Second Book of Discipline of 1578, which was ratified by parliament in 1592, and still continues to be received as an authority in the Church of Scotland; but as the first book contains the deliberate opinions of the Scottish reformers on the great principles of Church government, and is, in fact, with a few unimportant changes, the statute-book of the Scotch Church, it seems necessary briefly to examine its contents.

Knox, and the other ministers who were associated with him, assumed, as the foundation of their proceedings, the right of a Christian Church to institute that form of government which

policy might dictate. "We do not think," they say, in the Confession of Faith, "that one policy can be appointed for all ages, times, and places." The excellence of any particular form of government is to be estimated, in part at least, according to the situation of those amongst whom it is established. That Knox had not that abhorrence of episcopacy which is frequently ascribed to him by those who profess to be his followers, is very apparent, yet he agreed with Calvin in rejecting it. The Book of Discipline enumerates four classes of teachers—superintendents, parochial ministers, ruling elders to assist the minister in enforcing discipline, and deacons, who had the special charge of the alms of the congregation and the oversight of the poor.

The superintendents have long fallen into disuse. They were invested with powers in many respects similar to those which, in churches governed according to the episcopal model, were committed to bishops. Particular provinces, sometimes agreeably to the ancient custom denominated dioceses, were allotted to them; they had jurisdiction over the great body of ministers in their respective districts; they were enjoined and authorized in their visitations to try the life, diligence, and behaviour of the clergy; to inquire into the order observed in their churches and into the manners of their people; to investigate how the poor were supported, how the youth were instructed; to admonish where admonition appeared to them to be requisite, and to redress whatever by counsel and prudence could be remedied. From all these marks of distinction many advocates of episcopacy have contended that, although in Scotland the title of bishop was overlooked, the office was virtually retained; yet when we examine the limitations to which the superintendents were subject, as well as the duties imposed upon them, there seems to be no ground on which to rest the argument. They were rather itinerating missionaries of a superior class. They were required to remain in a particular place for several months, exercising the pastoral office; during their visitations they were to preach at least three times a-week, providing also ministers, if possible, or, at least, readers in every parish. Far from being exempt from the control of the clergy, they were liable to their censure and correction, and even the elders of the large towns might complain of them when they became remiss in their duties; if convicted of any scandal they might be deprived like other ministers. Instead

of governing the Church, they lived, in short, beneath its strict control, and the office was probably designed only for the present necessity. A similar scheme was attempted in England about the same time. Select preachers were appointed to visit from town to town, assisting less gifted ministers, and preaching faithfully in those parishes where a zealous preacher was unknown; and it would have been well for our Church had the plan been vigorously pursued in later days.

To the superintendent succeeded the minister or pastor, who dispensed the sacraments, preached, and resided in the parish. It was found impossible at first to obtain a sufficient number of these properly qualified; they were therefore assisted by readers, whose duty it was distinctly to read a form of prayer and the Holy Scriptures to the people. Sometimes the reader, or doctor as he was termed, seems to have been set over the pastor; it was then his province to interpret Scripture and confute errors, and from this rank were taken the tutors in the schools and universities, who taught theology. The elders assisted the minister in all the public affairs of the Church, and watched with a cautious eye over the moral conduct of the people. They were also empowered to take heed to the life and doctrine of the pastor himself. The deacons distributed the alms. They were permitted on particular occasions to act as elders, and to become readers, if qualified and duly called; "for in a reformed Church," says the Book of Discipline, "or even in one tending to reformation, none ought to presume to take the clerical office till regularly called." This call consisted in three particulars, election, examination and admission. The election lay absolutely with the people: "it appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister." If within forty days they failed to elect, the superintendent with his council chose a pastor for them. Examination took place in an open assembly and before the whole congregation: a candidate was required to interpret and expound some passage of Scripture selected by the examiners; he was questioned as to his motives, principles and piety; he was appointed to preach upon a given subject, in the church for which he was destined,—upon justification, upon the offices of Christ, upon the number, use, and effect of the sacraments, and, generally, upon all those tenets by which Protestants are distinguished from the Church of Rome.

The act of admission followed. It consisted merely in the consent of the people to receive a particular person as their teacher, and in the formal approbation of the ministers who had judged him qualified to become a religious instructor. This was done however with much solemnity. The candidate was publicly warned to attend carefully to the flock over which he was to be placed, to walk in the presence of God sincerely, that the graces of the Holy Spirit might be multiplied upon him, and in the presence of men soberly and uprightly, that, by his exemplary life, the word which he taught might be confirmed. The people, likewise, were exhorted to reverence and honour their minister as the servant and ambassador of the Lord Jesus, obeying the doctrine delivered to them out of the word, as they would obey God himself. This was all that was requisite for admission. Imposition of hands was not thought to be a necessary form in the ordination of ministers, though it has since been introduced, and is now practised in the Church of Scotland.

The elements of the Presbyterian government as it still exists in Scotland are developed in the Book of Discipline, together with its present modes of worship. There is the Kirk Session, consisting of the pastor and his elders, meeting every week; the Presbytery or classis, a weekly meeting for devotion of all the ministers and principal laymen of a great town or district; the Provincial Synod, which took cognizance of ecclesiastical matters within a wider range; and last of all the General Assembly, the superior ecclesiastical court and parliament of the Church of Scotland, a body so peculiar in its structure, so important throughout its varied history, and now at length so venerable from its antiquity, that its constitution demands the attention of every student of Scottish history.

The General Assembly is a representative body, in which all the parochial clergy, with the ruling elders of the Church, are supposed to have a voice. In the inferior courts, the Provincial Synod, Presbytery, and Kirk Sessions, each minister and elder is present; but in the Assembly they are *represented* by a system which affords to every parochial minister an opportunity in rotation of becoming a member of the court. The several bodies which possess the elective franchise and the number of representatives returned are thus arranged. Presbyteries which include not more than twelve parishes, return two ministers and one lay elder;

those which contain from twelve to eighteen parishes three ministers and one elder. Presbyteries containing between eighteen and twenty-four parishes are represented by four ministers and two elders, and so on of still larger presbyteries. Each of the royal burghs, each of the universities, and, in recent times, the Presbyterian Church in India, is represented by at least one member; Edinburgh sends two. The total number of lay and clerical members is 363; of these a majority, that is, at least 200, are necessarily clergymen; laymen are eligible only if elders of the Church. The Assembly meets once a-year in Edinburgh; the sovereign is represented in it by a nobleman of rank, who is styled the Lord High Commissioner. He opens the sessions and is present at all the proceedings, rather to sanction the acts of the Assembly by the civil authority than in any way to interfere. He is allowed a salary of two thousand pounds a-year to uphold his dignity; as the representative of royalty he holds a court, and is expected to give a courteous reception to each of the members of the Assembly. The business of the Assembly commences with prayer, after which a moderator is elected, when the royal commission is read, committees are formed, and the business of the house begins. Being a court of justice, counsel are admitted to plead at the bar on behalf of the accused. In cases purely spiritual the sentence of this court is final. It may deprive a delinquent clergyman of his office, and by consequence of its emoluments. Since the events of 1842, of which we have given an account in the history of the Free Church, it has been generally supposed, or at least frequently asserted, that the Assembly no longer possesses, even in spiritual things, this ultimate jurisdiction; but causes have since been tried before it (in the instance of deposed ministers) from which the Court of Session has refused to entertain an appeal; the judges declaring that while the Assembly kept within its own province the secular courts had no right to interfere, even though the sentence it pronounced might be wrong; the judicial authority of the spiritual courts being entirely independent of the civil.

The Assembly is also a deliberative body, with whom it rests to rescind, alter, or create laws ecclesiastical for the government of the national Church. To prevent impatient legislation, the Assembly, in 1697, imposed a curious restriction upon itself, enacting that no law should have force until it received the sanc-



tion of at least forty presbyteries ; it was found difficult, however, to obtain the attention of so large a number of these inferior courts to acts which were sometimes of little general interest or importance, and from the obstacles it created in the way of all immediate legislation it was termed the Barrier Act. The difficulty was at length met by converting every new law into an interim act, which gives it immediate force until it shall be rejected by the presbyteries. Since all the inferior ecclesiastical courts are amenable to the Assembly, it may readily be supposed that difficult cases will occur, and anxious discussions arise, in the review of their proceedings. These, with other matters of immediate interest, furnish an arena on which ambitious eloquence, party spirit, and the love of victory will sometimes show themselves ; but, upon the whole, the debates in the General Assembly are said to be conducted in a spirit not unworthy of its venerable character. The Assembly meets once a-year in the month of May, and sits in general about ten days. As a civil court, it is formally dissolved by the commissioner in the name of the sovereign ; and afterwards by the moderator in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the head of the Church, as a spiritual synod.

Returning to our history, it is necessary to bear in mind that when the Book of Discipline was published, the revenues of the Church had yet to be dealt with. The reformers proposed that the tithes should go to support the ministry and the poor, and that the revenues of the bishops, abbeys, and cathedrals should be appropriated to the endowment of universities and public schools. These proposals, and especially the latter, gave great offence to the nobility, and produced a scene of confusion through which the Reformation waded with uncertain steps for several years. The outline of the story may be given in few words—a volume would scarcely unravel the minute perplexities of this intricate period of Scottish history.

The young king of France, Mary's husband, died in December, 1560, and feeling that her influence was at an end abroad she returned to Scotland. There were two parties at home : the clergy and the old nobility devoted to the ancient faith, and the burghers, led on by no inconsiderable number of the gentry and the reformed preachers, in behalf of the Reformation. Mary placed herself at the head of the former, went publicly to

mass, and though she promised freedom of worship to the reformers, soon showed that she had resolved on the suppression of the new opinions. Tumults broke out in consequence, and the kingdom was distracted. The Protestants were divided amongst themselves, for in the spoil of the Church their leaders expected to have shared, and the abbeys and bishoprics being suppressed, to have been allowed, after the example of the English court favourites of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., to appropriate a considerable portion to themselves. Knox had evidently placed the Reformation in peril, partly by the severity of his Book of Discipline, and perhaps still more by the rigid appropriation of the whole of the Church property. Whether he ought to be more lauded for his high integrity or censured for his want of prudence is a question upon which even Presbyterian historians have not agreed, and one upon which we shall therefore offer no opinion. In 1561 the reformed clergy were still without a stipend, for though Popery was legally suppressed, no steps had yet been taken to apply the tithes or ancient foundations to the Reformation. The privy council determined that the revenues should be divided into three parts, that two of these should be given to the ejected Romish clergy, and that the third part should be divided between the court and the ministers of the Reformation. "Two parts," exclaimed Knox, "freely given to the devil, and the third part divided between God and the devil!" On the other hand, this distribution of Church property has been much commended. The ejected clergy had but a life-interest in this allowance, which, as they disappeared, was secured by an act of the privy council to the nobility. The revenue attached to the crown had never been very great, and on Mary's accession the royal income, dissipated by the wars in which the kingdom had been involved, was totally inadequate to the necessary expenses of the court. The poverty of the nation rendered any scheme of taxation fruitless. To the clergy or to the crown the whole patrimony of the Church, in law or in equity, belonged. The full possession of it by the preachers might have again introduced the luxury which had disgraced the ancient priesthood, and it has been argued, with some appearance of truth, that it was obviously more for the advantage of the kingdom that what remained after giving comfort to the teachers of religion should be divided amongst a class of men whose industry it stimulated, and whose

civilization and refinement it advanced, than that it should have been vested in the sovereign, whom it might have enabled to sap the foundations of liberty, and even to establish an arbitrary government.

These points were still unsettled when the queen, in 1565, was married to Lord Darnley, a zealous Papist. She gave him the title of king, and they jointly strove to repair the injuries which the Reformation had inflicted on the Romish faith. The ecclesiastics were restored to their seats in parliament, and St. Giles's church, in Edinburgh, was prepared for the celebration of the mass. Mary became a party to the *league* by which the extirpation of the Huguenots in France was undertaken by her family, the house of Guise, and the Protestant lords of Scotland were still in exile. Rizzio, her secretary, was supposed to be her adviser in these measures, which were avenged by his assassination, in Holyrood Palace, in 1566. Darnley's mysterious death, or murder, followed in 1567, and in a few weeks the queen's marriage with Bothwell, who was more than suspected of the crime. The nation at once abandoned her. She found herself universally abhorred, a prisoner at Lochleven, in the hands of the Protestant nobles, and without a friend. Her resignation of the crown in favour of her son, who was yet an infant, her escape from her confinement into England, her long imprisonment, and cruel death in 1588 upon the scaffold, are subjects too familiar to be repeated here.

The deposition of Mary was favourable to the Reformation. The young king was crowned, and the earl of Murray, a Protestant, was appointed regent. On accepting the office he took a solemn oath in public to maintain the Reformation and abolish popery. The General Assembly also met and expressed their determination to support the lords hostile to the queen; and they seized the occasion to confirm the Protestant Church in Scotland. The associated lords subscribed without hesitation the scheme prepared by the Assembly. It consisted of six articles, which provided effectually for the security of the Protestant cause. The reformed faith is not only declared to be the religion of Scotland, but is taken under the especial protection of the state, and bound upon the monarch by his coronation oath. The restitution of the patrimony of the Church for the support of the ministry is expressly demanded in these terms: that in the first lawful parliament that

should be held, or sooner if an opportunity should occur, the Church in this kingdom shall be put in possession of the patrimony of the Church. The seminaries of education were also to be filled with Protestants, and there was to be in future only one established religion. The inconsistency of a Popish and a Protestant establishment, the one deprived of all power to teach, the other destitute of the means of support, was now done away. The nobility, barons, and others subscribing to these articles, faithfully promise "to root out idolatry, especially the blasphemous mass, without exception of place or person, and also to remove all idolaters and others not admitted to the preaching of the word from being any function in the Church." From this period the Protestant religion, though it passed through many conflicts, was firmly established, and the reformation in Scotland was complete. A parliament met in 1567, in which the proceedings of the Assembly were confirmed, the acts of Mary in favour of popery were repealed, and the Protestant Church declared to be "the only true and holy Church of Jesus Christ within the realm." No judge, procurator, notary, or member of any court, no teacher of youth or public examiner, was allowed to be a Papist.

In 1570, Murray, the good regent, was assassinated by a nephew of the archbishop of St. Andrews, to avenge his uncle's death. His loss was soon followed by one of yet greater importance to the Reformation. John Knox expired, worn out with toil rather than age, on the 20th of November, 1572. He was followed to the grave by the earl of Morton, the new regent, and all the nobility in Edinburgh; and as the grave closed, the regent thus pronounced his eulogy: "There lies he, who never feared the face of man." The memory of Knox, in England at least, is ungenerously treated, for his character is little understood. Living in an age and country where the refinements and courtesies of life were still unknown, his manners were rude and his conduct sometimes barbarous. In this, however, he was not singular; he would rather have been singular had he acted otherwise. If his behaviour be placed beside that of the barons, or the Romish clergy, it will be found to suffer nothing from the comparison. It was an age of rude and savage men; firmness of character had not yet learned to divorce itself from roughness and brutality in manners. The feudal system was unknown in the greater

part of Scotland ; and so too were those laws of courtesy by which the feudal system made some amends for the systematic appetite for war, and those other social injuries, which it inflicted upon the southern nations of Europe. As a divine, Knox cannot be compared with Calvin, or even with the leaders of the English reformation. As a reformer he was perhaps too impetuous. The moderate divines of the Presbyterian Church seem to be of opinion that by gentler methods, and a process more circuitous, though not less upright, he might have obtained for the Scotch Church some advantages which it does not possess, and have established it on a more comprehensive basis. These views, however, are decried by more rigid Presbyterians as those of a timid and unfaithful policy. After fair criticism, nay after prejudice and party spirit, have made every abatement, Knox stands before us still, one of the nobles of our race. Few ever possessed in a higher degree the rare faculty of governing men ; perhaps no man ever exercised that faculty under greater difficulties or with more success. His piety was fervent, his integrity was never impeached. The nobility who espoused the Reformation were often guided by self-interest ; though not indifferent about religion, their zeal for its purity was mixed up too often with covetous or ambitious motives. Knox never, for an instant, either deserted what he believed to be his duty, or, affecting to pursue it, was in fact in the pursuit of sinister or selfish ends. He forfeited the warmest friendships, as he flung aside, with far less concern, the patronage of the great and powerful, whenever the choice lay between these on the one hand, and the liberty, the honour, and above all, the religion, of Scotland on the other. The worst faults of an unpolished age and a rugged temper detract but little from merits such as these.

After the death of Knox, a long struggle of five-and-twenty years ensued ; the court and the old nobility attempting the restoration of episcopacy, against the remonstrances of the clergy and the indignant protests of the citizens and middle classes. It is too true, that the greatest outrages which the institutions of Scotland have received, have been inflicted by her own children, who have unnaturally turned their weapons on themselves. Even before the death of Knox, the regent Morton had begun to intrigue for the destruction of the Presbyterian Church. He had summoned a convention at Leith in 1572, consisting of several of

the privy council, assisted by a few obsequious ministers, who agreed that until the king's majority, the titles of archbishops and bishops should be retained, and that the dignitaries of the Church should be again admitted to sit in parliament as before the Reformation. In order to conciliate the Presbyterian leaders, it was decreed, that the bishops should be chosen by an assembly of learned ministers; and that they should be subject to the General Assembly in spiritual matters. These decrees were confirmed by the regent and council on behalf of the young king. The archbishopric of St. Andrews was immediately filled by Douglas, a creature of the earl of Morton. The object appears to have been twofold. It was, first, by means of the bishops to exercise a power over the Church, similar to that which Elizabeth possessed in England; a power which they could not fail to see contributed greatly to the stability of her government. Had the regent been able to pursue his scheme openly, and by fair means, Presbyterians would have had little ground for complaint. It was no less competent to the regent and the nobles to encourage episcopacy, than for Knox and his friends to promote Presbyterianism, had the settlement of the Church been an open question. But this was not now the case. The nobility and the parliament had decided in favour of the existing form of Church discipline, and the regent was bound by his oath of office to protect it. But another motive, and probably a still more powerful one, was the sordid wish, by means of the bishops, to retain the plunder of the Church. This was done in the most unblushing manner by the nobility, both by obtaining the appointment of bishops, who paid large sums for the honour, and by the union of parishes, three or four of which were placed under the charge of a single incumbent, who received the tithes of but one parish, while the patrons received the rest. It was obvious that such arrangements could not bear the scrutiny of a General Assembly where every grievance of the Church was publicly discussed; and therefore the interest of the patrons was, if possible, to suppress the Assembly as well as the other Presbyterian courts. Thus, however, for several years, the Church of Scotland presented a strange anomaly prelaty coexisting with Presbyterianism, and each to the utmost of its power thwarting the other.

King James, a boy of twelve years old, was allowed to assume the government in the year 1578, and Morton resigned the re-

gency. The Assembly, which had all along protested against the regent's acts, and obeyed them with reluctance, at once regained courage. The Second Book of Discipline, which is still the law of the Church of Scotland, was at once drawn up and sanctioned. It was agreed that the bishops should, for the future, be addressed in the usual style of other ministers; and this was soon followed by a second act, which ordained that no new bishops should be made, and the existing ones were commanded to submit themselves to the Assembly under pain of excommunication. These proceedings were sanctioned by the parliament and the young king; still the king was prevailed upon to protect the bishops from the interference of the Assembly, even when their misconduct was palpable. This induced the Assembly, in 1580, to pass an act for the abolition of episcopacy, an office, they declared, without warrant or authority from the word of God, a mere human invention, tending to the great injury of the Church. With five exceptions the bishops immediately submitted and laid down their charge. Besides the Book of Discipline, the Assembly passed another act, known as the first national Covenant of Scotland. It was intended as a test by which to discover suspected adherents of prelacy and popery, and as a bond by which to confirm the attachment of the nation to the Presbyterian Church. It was subscribed with great solemnity by the king himself, the nobility, gentry, and a vast number of the common people, as well as the ministers of religion.

Young as he was, the king felt and resented the restraints which the house of Assembly had imposed upon him. With little respect to the obligations of his oath, he made over the revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow to the duke of Lennox; but as these revenues still belonged to the Church, a nominal archbishop was created, in whose name the revenues were drawn and paid over to the duke. The transaction was disgraceful, and in every view of the case illegal, and the Assembly at once excommunicated the nominal prelate. The king interfered on his behalf, and commanded them to stay their procedure; they refused to comply, and the sentence was pronounced. Had the leaders of the kirk been satisfied thus constitutionally to maintain their ground in the face of an arbitrary court, their firmness would have deserved respect, and their example would have been highly beneficial; but in a violent and lawless age, they, too, were

factions. Andrew Melville was their leader: he had the courage of Knox without his sagacious wisdom: he was one of those men who are rather boisterous than bold, and who mistake an overbearing manner for true courage. On behalf of the Assembly he presented a remonstrance to the king, which, admitting its truth, was rude, and, beyond necessity, discourteous. It began thus: "Your majesty, by devise of some councillors, is caused to take upon you a spiritual power and authority which properly belongeth unto Christ, the ministry and execution whereof is only given unto such as bear office in the ecclesiastical government in the same; so that, in your highness's person, some men press to erect a new popedom, as though your majesty could not be full king and head of this commonwealth unless as well the spiritual as temporal sword be put into your highness's hand; unless Christ be bereft of his authority, and the two jurisdictions confounded which God hath divided, which directly tendeth to the wreck of all true religion."

The question which Melville decided in this peremptory way was not to be so easily dismissed. After agitating Scotland for nearly three centuries, it has at last produced the lamentable secession of nearly one-half of Scotland from the national Church. It is, in fact, a question that can never be adjusted. Christian churches, if national establishments, possess a power over their members which the state must always regard with jealousy. The state, on the other hand, in asserting its right to control its subjects, may, in the hands of unscrupulous men, bear hard upon the rights of conscience; and, since there is no third party to whom such differences can be remitted for adjustment, the abstract question must, to a great extent, give way to considerations of practical utility; while, with a spirit of mutual confidence, with forbearance on both sides, a compromise may be effected by which neither party shall be disgraced. The earl of Arran, the king's chief adviser, exclaimed, when the remonstrance was read, "Who dares to sign these treasonable articles?" "We dare," said Melville, taking up the pen and signing his name, while the other ministers followed his example. A warrant was issued shortly after to inquire into what was termed the late sedition, and to punish its authors. It was stopped by a daring outrage characteristic of the times. A plot was laid by the nobility of the Protestant party—the king was



seized in Edinburgh, and carried off by force to Ruthven Castle. Lennox and Ruthven, the king's advisers fled, and a proclamation was issued in the king's name, extorted by his new councillors, annulling his recent measures against the Church. The Assembly met in October the same year, 1582. The lords connected with the Raid of Ruthven, as it was termed, explained the motives of their conduct, and requested the Assembly to give their sanction to the affair. The Assembly, whether from respect to their sovereign, or to display their power as a judicial court, determined to hear both sides before they gave judgment, and sent a deputation to the imprisoned king to receive his own statement of the facts. They then expressed their approbation of the deed, and they proceeded to the trial and deposition of the other prelates. James felt that he was a prisoner and affected to approve their conduct, but he soon contrived his escape, and hastened to St. Andrews, where he found the Earl of Arran and a powerful body of the nobility prepared to support him against the Assembly.

Acts of violence against the sovereign, if not fatal to the throne, proverbially recoil. Public opinion in Scotland, callous as it was, felt the outrage and resented it. In 1584 the parliament was induced to pass, with little opposition, three acts which lay the kirk prostrate at the monarch's feet. By the first of these the proceedings taken for the abolition of prelacy were overthrown; by the second the Church courts, unless they sat by special commandment and licence, were closed; by the third the king was empowered to commission the bishops or others to regulate all ecclesiastical matters, each in his diocese. and above all, perhaps, in importance, it was ordered "that none should presume in sermons or in private conference to censure the king or his council under the penalties of treason." Numbers of the clergy fled; others who remained at home submitted; not a few were preparing for stern resistance, when the king, always fickle, grew weary of the struggle and of his favourite, Arran, and the storm exploded in threats and harmless bravado. In 1587 the parliament gave to the crown those Church lands which had not been already alienated to the nobles and gentry. If James still wished to restore episcopacy, this measure was short-sighted, for it was now impossible to endow the bishops with revenues such as became lords of parliament. The next

year witnessed the execution of his mother in England; and James, probably under feelings of just exasperation, soon afterwards denounced the Church of England, and "praised God," in the presence of the Assembly, "that he was born at such a time as to see the full light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be the king in the sincerest kirk in the world." But the prospect of succeeding to the English throne again abated his attachment, and the remainder of his life was spent in thwarting the exertions and undermining the power of the Church of Scotland. Yet in 1592 the Presbyterian party were able to carry a measure through parliament of so much importance as to have been termed the great charter of the Church of Scotland. It gave to the General Assembly the right of meeting once every year. It construed the Act of 1584, respecting the royal supremacy, so as to exclude Church censures from its operation, and it declared the commissions granted to the bishops null. It also determined the respective rights of patrons and Church courts in the matter of appointments to vacant livings.

James succeeded to the throne of Elizabeth in the year 1603. He left Edinburgh with professions of reverence for the kirk on his lips, but being now at liberty, and having the power to carry his wishes into effect, his dislike for Presbyterianism broke out, even in his conversations, with indecent violence. He virtually suppressed the Assembly, proroguing it from time to time before it could proceed to business, and restoring the bishops as opportunity occurred. At length in 1606, a parliament was held at Perth which erected seventeen sees, and reinstated the bishops in their ancient dignities. It is evident that the nobility and a large proportion of the people of Scotland must have been, if not in favour of the measure, at least indifferent spectators of it. It met with opposition only from the ministers. The violence of the Assembly had produced its natural reaction, and they fell beneath the recoil of their own blow.

James now felt that he could venture still further. In the month of February, 1610, a commission was issued under the great seal, to the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews, empowering them to hold two courts of high commission. These were united in 1615, and held thenceforth at St. Andrews. They were formed upon the model of that which had been called into being at the opening of the reign of Elizabeth, and by means of

which she vainly attempted to crush the Puritans. The power of this court was absolute ; it was subject to no rules of evidence or precedents of law. It was, in the fullest sense, an arbitrary tribunal. In England it was universally detested, and was now seldom put in motion. Its introduction into Scotland was an audacious act of tyranny ; and the placing it in the hands of the prelates, a proceeding of at least equal folly. If the attempt succeeded, there was an end of the liberties of Scotland, both civil and ecclesiastical. An Assembly was held in Glasgow, and a majority was found base enough to lend the sanction of its approbation to the measures of the court. In 1618, in a General Assembly held at Perth, the struggle between the court and the ministers was renewed, and, as it seemed to the men of that generation, finally decided. Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, took the chair, supported by the nobility, gentry and prelates ; the cause of the Church of Scotland being now abandoned to a few of her faithful and courageous ministers. Five articles were proposed and carried ; one peer, one doctor, and forty-five ministers daring to vote against them. The articles enforced all those forms which were most abhorrent to the Presbyterian Church, namely, kneeling at the communion, the observance of saints' days, private baptism, and the administration of the eucharist in private houses. Three years afterwards the parliament ratified the articles, and thus, in fact, completed the overthrow of the Presbyterian Church. Four years of bitter persecution followed ; and the Presbyterian Church in Scotland suffered those insults, fines, imprisonments, and depredations, with which the prelatie party in England had vainly attempted during forty years to bend the stubborn spirit of the English Puritans.

James I. expired in 1625, leaving his native land in a state of deplorable disquietude. Gradually the spirit of the burghers and men of the middle class had revived ; the prelates were odious, and the nobility unpopular ; while the courageous meekness of the persecuted ministers placed them high once more in the affections of an ardent people. It was remarked with sorrow, not unmingled with a deep sense of shame, that every one of those destructive measures by which the Presbyterian Church was overthrown, had originated in some court or commission of the Church itself ; her own children had shorn her of her glory, and trampled her in the dust.

Charles I. resolved to carry on two great designs which his father had set on foot. The first of these was the recovery of the Church lands and tithes, the second was the restoration of Episcopacy. In the year of his accession to the throne, he entered on the former of these perilous schemes by a proclamation, revoking all his father's acts in prejudice of the Crown, as well as those which had been made during his father's minority. That the two great families of Hamilton and Lennox might appear to set an example to the nation, they were induced to make over the abbey of Aberbroath and the lordship of Glasgow, to endow the two archbishoprics of Glasgow and St. Andrews. Several smaller estates were purchased from men of less note. The jealousy of the nobility subsided, and it became a fashion with those who affected the favour of the court to offer their Church lands for sale at a low rate. In the year 1633, the king went down in person to be crowned at Edinburgh. The coronation was magnificent, and the country, being scarcely able to bear the expense, suffered much in consequence. But he took no pains to conceal his dislike of the Presbyterian Church, nor his contempt for the best feelings of his subjects. He introduced ten Englishmen into the Privy Council of Scotland, and one of these was archbishop Laud. The lords of the articles (a sort of high committee by whom business was prepared for the consideration of parliament) were chosen from subservient creatures of the court: they prepared an Act declaring the royal prerogative to be absolute; thus affirming the decision of the parliament held at Perth in 1606. They also confirmed another Act, passed in 1609, by which the bishops had been restored to the civil jurisdictions they possessed before the Reformation. Burnet asserts that the Act was rejected by a majority, and that the clerk of the register was instructed to declare falsely that it was carried in the affirmative. The king, while in Scotland, erected a new bishopric at Edinburgh, and made one Forbes the bishop. According to Burnet, he was a very learned and pious man, with the strange faculty of preaching for five or six hours at a time; his way of life was monastic, and his learning lay among the schoolmen; he was a very simple man, and knew little of the world; he died soon after, suspected of popery; and the suspicion was increased when his son declared himself a Papist. So unfortunate were the king's first measures.

The bishops of Scotland now resolved to frame a liturgy, and

a body of canons for the use of the Church. These were not submitted to any public assembly of the clergy, but everything was managed by four or five aspiring bishops ; namely, Ross, Galloway, Dunblane and Aberdeen, acting under Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews and lord chancellor, who again, in his turn, was obsequious to archbishop Laud. A proclamation, dated at Edinburgh the 20th of December, 1636, commands all his Majesty's subjects, "to conform themselves to the said public form of worship, which is the only form which we, having taken the counsel of our clergy, think fit to be used in God's public worship in this our kingdom ; commanding also all archbishops and bishops, and other presbyters and churchmen to take a special care that the same be duly obeyed and observed, and the contraveners condignly censured and punished." To enforce the proclamation, the bishops obtained commissions from the high commission court, and set up in their several dioceses institutions which were thought, except in name, to differ little from the inquisition. With regard to the book itself, though in substance that of the Church of England, it differs from it in some points of importance ; and those are the very points on which Laud had already joined issue, not merely with the Puritans, but with the sound and Protestant portion of the Church of England. In the service for the administration of the Lord's Supper, God is entreated to bless and sanctify with his word, and Holy Spirit, "these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son." A prayer of oblation follows, in which the communicants "celebrate and make before the divine Majesty with these his holy gifts, the memorial which his Son hath willed us to make." The changes may seem unimportant ; they were sufficient to inflame a nation who already saw, as they supposed, the restoration of popery in the use of liturgical forms, however scriptural ; nor were their suspicions lessened when, turning to the rubric, they found that "it was lawful to use wafer bread," "that the elements should not be carried out of the church," or that, "to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and if more be wanting to repeat the words of consecration." All this excited deep misgivings. The book of canons had appeared in print a few months before the prayer-book, yet one of its articles denounced excommunication against all who should malign it, as

contrary to Scripture ; another excommunicated all who should deny the king's supremacy ; a third decreed that no General Assembly should be called except by the king, and that no ecclesiastical business should be discussed except before the episcopal courts. In short, the book of canons subverted the Presbyterian Church, and episcopacy, after the Laudian model, was substituted in its stead.

The great civil war was approaching. The rashness of Charles in provoking the resistance of his subjects was equalled only by his feebleness in action. He was now attempting to change by force the whole constitution both in Church and State of the kingdom of Scotland ; he was endeavouring to wrest the Church lands and tithes from powerful chieftains, who would scarcely part with them without a struggle, and yet his government was weak, and he had provided himself with no force at hand to compel submission. All men saw the imbecility, while they complained of the rigour, of the government. Every one who returned from England swelled the clamour of the king's inexorable stiffness, the queen's influence, the favour shown to the pope's nuncio, and the report of proselytes daily falling away to Rome. The 23rd of July, 1637, was the day appointed for the introduction of the new services in public worship. The dean of Edinburgh, officiating at St. Giles's, was interrupted by a mob of women. No force was at hand to restore order : in a few hours the tumult swelled into a formidable insurrection, and the cause of prelacy was already lost. In the church of the Grey Friars the bishop of Argyle was interrupted with groans and exclamations. In a few days all Scotland was aroused ; most of the clergy refused to make use of the service-book ; some assembled in deep distress, and took counsel with each other and with their flocks ; some petitioned the king to withdraw the book, and others, in a sterner mood, prepared for the final decision by force of arms. During the winter angry recriminations passed on all sides. The prelates blamed the magistracy for their supineness, the magistrates retorted and upbraided the bishops with arrogance and haste. The king protested and equivocated, at one time giving way to the Presbyterians, at another urging the bishops to proceed with all severity. Laud in this affair was Charles's adviser ; his counsels were disastrous to the Church at home, they were necessarily still more mischievous in Scotland, from his

profound ignorance of the character of the nation, and its deep attachment to the institutions he was endeavouring to subvert. The passionate feelings of a people impatient of insult and indignant under a deep sense of wrong were at first peaceably expressed. A national Covenant had been resorted to in former days. It was proposed once more, and all Scotland, with deep enthusiasm, pledged herself anew to the cause of Wishart and of Knox.

A kind of provisional government was formed at Edinburgh until the king's decision should be known. It was called the four houses, or tables—one of the nobility, another of the gentry, a third of the burgesses, and a fourth of the ministry. The four united formed one General Table. The Tables requested Henderson, at that time one of the best divines of Scotland, with Warriston, uncle to bishop Burnet, and a few assistants, to prepare the Covenant. They took as their basis that which had been subscribed by king James in 1580, and again by the nation in 1598, and to this they added several protests suited to the crisis. After declaring their abhorrence of popery, which they promise to oppose to the utmost of their power, they undertake “to defend the ancient doctrine and discipline of the kirk under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment, protesting and calling the Searcher of all Hearts to witness that their minds and hearts do fully agree with this their profession, oath, promise, and subscription.” “Under the same oath and pains, they engage to preserve the king's royal person and authority with their goods, bodies, and lives.” They further “pledge themselves to support the authority of parliaments upon which the security of their rights and properties depend, and without which neither any law or lawful judicatory can be established;” and “they declare the late innovations brought into the kirk to be contrary to the doctrine and discipline of it, and contrary to the Covenant above mentioned, and therefore they will forbear the practice of them till they are tried and allowed in a free assembly and in parliament, and not only so, but they promise and swear, by the great name of God, to resist all these errors and corruptions to the utmost of their power all the days of their lives.” This was the substance of the Covenant. It was subscribed with a degree of enthusiasm which scarcely bears description, first in the great

church of Edinburgh, and then in every shire and parish. It became the test of each man's principles. If it united the friends of the kirk it marked their opponents, tore the kingdom into hostile parties, widened the breach already so deep and broad, and made any future compromise impossible. The privy council, the law officers of the crown, and the episcopal clergy refused to subscribe. Two of the universities opposed it, and that of Glasgow received it with some hesitation.

The defence of this bold measure rests entirely upon its necessity. "Never," exclaims an ardent votary of the Presbyterian cause, "except amongst God's peculiar people, the Jews, did any national transaction equal in moral and religious sublimity that which was displayed in Scotland on the great day of her sacred national Covenant." It is represented as a sublime appeal from the tyranny of man to the righteous Judge of all. Other writers, not unfriendly to the kirk, have viewed it in a different light. Neal is of opinion that such a combination of subjects, without the consent of their sovereign, in a well-settled government, is unwarrantable, especially when confirmed with an oath, for no oath ought to be administered but by commission from the chief magistrate. The only ground, therefore, he concludes, upon which the Covenant can be vindicated, is the apprehension of the Scotch that their legal Church establishment was violated, and their fundamental laws subverted, by the king's assumption of the spiritual supremacy in the court of high commission, and by the imposition of a book of canons and a liturgy by the royal prerogative without the consent of Parliament or of the General Assembly. It is clear that Charles had violated the fundamental laws of Scotland in each of these particulars. The question then immediately resolves itself into the more general one, whether passive obedience is, under all circumstances, the duty of a Christian state? The prudence of the measure is, of course, a distinct consideration.

At first the king was violent. He sent the marquis of Hamilton, his high commissioner, to Scotland, with instructions to suspend the service-book for the present, but at the same time to dissolve the Tables and to demand the Covenant itself, now revered as a sacred document, to be delivered up within six weeks. He was empowered to use force, and to treat the Covenanters who might not return to their duty as in open rebellion. But again,



he had no forces at hand, and Hamilton was obliged to temporise. By a proclamation he called together the General Assembly at Glasgow on the 21st of November, 1638. The ministers chosen were, with scarcely an exception, the men who had signed the covenant, and Henderson was elected moderator. The bishops presented a useless protest, declaring the Assembly unlawful; for the king, as the lesser evil, was obliged to sanction it, and he presided in the person of his commissioner. The bishops' protest was at once rejected. The covenanters, it was now perceived, would carry all before them; they would dissolve the bishoprics, and repeal, by an Act which the Parliament would unquestionably confirm, all the offensive laws by which Charles had provoked the contest. The commissioner was now prepared to make great concessions; his Majesty was willing to recall the Service Book and the Book of Canons; to dissolve the high commission; to grant that the articles of Perth should not be urged; that no oath should be required of any minister at his entrance into the ministry, but what was required by Act of Parliament; that for the future there should be general assemblies as often as the affairs of the Kirk require, and that the bishops be censurable by the Assembly according to their merits: and that the Confession of Faith of 1580 should be subscribed by all his Majesty's subjects in Scotland. But even these concessions fell short of the Assembly's demands, and Hamilton dissolved them, forbidding them to continue their sessions on pain of treason. The Assembly now at last, resolved to place themselves in hostility to the Crown. They published a manifesto, declaring, amongst other matters, that his Majesty's presence in their assemblies, either in his own person or by his commissioners, implied no right of interference, "but merely as princes and emperors of old, in a princely manner, to countenance their meetings and preside in them for external order;" and they proceed to assert the position, always maintained with such tenacity by the Church of Scotland, of its independence of the Crown. "It is clear," they say, "by the doctrine and discipline of the Kirk, contained in the Book of Policy registered in the Book of Assembly, and subscribed by the Presbyters of this Kirk, that it is unlawful in itself, and prejudicial to the privileges that Christ hath left to his Church, for the king to dissolve or break up the assembly of this Kirk, or to stay their proceedings; for then it would follow that religion and Church government

should depend absolutely upon the pleasure of the prince." They proceed to affirm that the conduct of the king in abruptly closing the sessions was without precedent; that it would lead every man "to despair hereafter to see innovations removed, subjects complaints regarded, or offenders punished." And they conclude with declaring that "the present Assembly is, and shall be esteemed and obeyed as, a most lawful and free General Assembly of this kingdom, and that the acts, sentences, censures and proceedings of it shall be obeyed and observed by all the subjects of this kingdom." Henderson, the moderator, closed with prayer, but, as if the exasperation on both sides were not yet bitter enough, he added this defiance: "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho. Let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." The dreadful curse which he imprecated on his king was this: "Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn, and in his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it," Joshua vi. 26.

The irritation of the Court when these tidings were conveyed to London may be conceived. Archbishop Laud writing to the Marquis of Hamilton, exclaims, "I will be bold to say, never were there more gross absurdities, nor half so many, in so short a time, committed in any public meeting; and, for a national assembly, never did the Church of Christ see the like." But threats and proclamations had now lost their terrors. The Assembly, in defiance of the king, continued sitting. The acts of the six late Assemblies, since the year 1606, were one and all of them repealed. Sentence of deposition was then pronounced against the bishops; eight of whom were excommunicated, four excluded from the ministerial office, and two only allowed to officiate as pastors or presbyters. Spotswood, bishop of St. Andrews, felt the bitterness of the stroke. "All that we have done," he exclaimed, "these thirty years, is thrown down at once." He retired to London in deep dejection, and died the next year. Most of the bishops fled; four remained in Scotland, of whom three renounced their episcopal orders, the fourth, George Guthrey, bishop of Murray, kept his ground and weathered the storm. At the close of the session, the Assembly addressed a courteous letter to the king, complaining of his high commissioner who had proclaimed them traitors and forbidden the people to obey them, and imploring

him to regard them still as good and loyal subjects. They also published a vindication of their proceedings, addressed to the good people of England, which the king immediately suppressed; and in return, he issued a proclamation, denouncing the seditious conduct of the covenanters, which he commanded to be read in all the churches of his southern kingdom. Both sides had now gone too far for any peaceful adjustment of the quarrel. The Scotch fortified their castles; the king raised troops in England. On the 27th of March, he placed himself at the head of his army, and marched to subdue his rebellious subjects. The Scotch, under the command of General Leslie, met him on the borders, and men saw once more, with deep forebodings, a king and his subjects drawn up in array against each other.

Yet the cloud did not burst at once. While the two armies faced each other at Kelso, it became apparent that the royal troops had little disposition for the contest. In fact, there was nothing which seemed to justify the quarrel. Englishmen might love episcopacy, but neither then nor at any other period were they disposed to enforce it by violent measures upon foreign lands. All the enthusiasm was upon the side of Scotland. The Scotch standard displayed the motto, "For Christ's crown and covenant." It is certain that the English army was not hearty in what they considered to be the king's personal quarrel. On the 18th of June a treaty was signed in the camp; the terms were, the ratification of the promises made to the Glasgow Assembly in 1638, and an assurance from the king that a free assembly should be held forthwith, and a parliament convened, by whom all the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of Scotland should be finally determined. The Assembly met in August, and renewed the national covenant; the Earl of Traquair, the royal commissioner, himself subscribing it on the king's behalf. Traquair made other concessions, one of which was, that episcopal government was unlawful in the Kirk. This the king absolutely refused to sanction, though he was ready to allow that it was contrary to the constitution of the Kirk and State of Scotland. Charles, by some Scotch writers, is blamed as for a base equivocation in this affair. We cannot agree with them. At the treaty of Newport, when a captive and overwhelmed with disasters, he still maintained the position that episcopacy was a divine appointment, against Hen-

derson and others, in whose hands he knew that his liberty and his crown were placed, and at the peril of both.

In 1640 the war began in earnest; the king being now resolved to reduce the Scotch to subjection by force of arms. He took the field with an army of twenty thousand men. The Scotch were beforehand with him. They crossed the Tweed and entered England, to carry on offensive war, before Charles was prepared to meet them. To relate the events that followed would be to write the history of the most stirring period in the annals of Great Britain: we must presume upon the reader's acquaintance with the story, and confine ourselves closely to the affairs of the Church of Scotland.

The reverses of Charles in England were fatal to episcopacy. It had been the ambition both of James and his unhappy son to unite the Churches of the two kingdoms, and to provide each with the same canons, forms of government, and modes of worship. And this was now the ambition of the Scotch themselves, as well as that of many of the Puritans in England. Only with this difference: that, whereas the Stuarts would have established episcopacy, the Scotch leaders and their English allies would have brought about the union by conforming the Churches of both kingdoms to the Genevan or Presbyterian model. Commissioners were sent to London, at first with the design of consulting with the parliament upon various measures in their common warfare with the king. Gradually, however, the scheme occurred of bringing the English nation to an agreement with the Church of Scotland. They presented to the English parliament, in the year 1641, a memorial suggesting "conformity of Church government as one principal means of a continued peace between the two nations." Disclaiming "the right of interfering with another free and independent church and kingdom," they were satisfied with pointing out the weakness occasioned by division in matters of religion, and expressing the wish that there were one confession of faith, one form of catechism, one directory for the common worship of God, and one form of Church government in all the churches of his Majesty's dominions.

The Westminster Assembly was the fruit of these suggestions. Commissioners or delegates were chosen to attend it by the Church of Scotland, who were instructed to endeavour to bring

about a union between the two kingdoms in all spiritual matters. The solemn league and covenant, afterwards adopted by the Westminster divines, was drawn up by Henderson, and in the first instance submitted to the General Assembly and the Convention of Estates, who now governed Scotland. It was then transmitted to London, and accepted by the Westminster Assembly and the parliament. In England it was never rigidly enforced, and in fact was soon forgotten, but in Scotland it was received with enthusiasm. The Convention of Estates, who governed in the king's name, issued their commands that every man should subscribe to it under the penalty of the confiscation of his goods, and such other punishment as they might see fit to inflict. The Lords of the Council were summoned to sign and swear to it on the 2nd of November, 1643, and again on the 14th of the same month, under the severest penalties. A few of the king's party refusing to attend were declared enemies to religion, to their king and country; and on the 17th an order was issued for the confiscation of their property and the apprehension of their persons. These measures were the more severe because superfluous. The whole kingdom of Scotland, with the exception of a mere handful of men, was prepared to embrace the covenant; and this was done in a tumult of religious fervour and political enthusiasm.

The Westminster Confession was no sooner laid before the English parliament than a rupture took place between the divines and the civil power. The point of difference, again, was that which has never ceased to agitate the Church of Scotland,—the independence, or rather the supremacy, of the spiritual courts. The English parliament determined that from the highest of the Presbyterian courts an appeal should always lie to their own tribunal; but, when the scheme of government thus amended was laid before the Scotch parliament, they demurred to the power claimed by the State, and their commissioners in London were instructed to protest against it. The dispute ran high; the parliament was angry; “they think it strange,” they say, in their answer to the commissioners' papers, printed April 17, 1645, “that any sober and modest men should charge them with unwillingness to settle the government of the Church, after they had declared so fully for the Presbyterian form, only because they cannot consent to the granting an arbitrary and unlimited

power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories, to be erected within this kingdom ; and this demanded in such a way as is not consistent with the fundamental laws and government of the same ; and by necessary consequence excluding the parliament of England from the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction." And they add another consideration, which in England has always had great weight ; " we have the more reason not to part with this power out of the hands of the civil magistrate, since the experience of all ages will manifest that the reformation and purity of religion, and the preservation and protection of the people of God in this kingdom, has under God been owing to the parliament's exercise of this power. . . . If then," they conclude, " the minds of any are disturbed for want of the present settling of Church government, let them apply to those ministers who, having sufficient power and direction from the houses on that behalf, have not, as yet, put the same in execution."

But the Scotch determined to adopt the whole Confession as it came from the Assembly ; it was ratified accordingly by the General Assembly at Edinburgh on the 4th of August, 1647. The Westminster Confession became thenceforward the authorized standard of the Church of Scotland. Her forms of worship and discipline, as they still exist, were framed by the Westminster divines. A coolness, however, had arisen which led to painful consequences, and the Scotch commissioners returned home, deploring the hardships under which the Presbyterians in England still laboured. A solemn fast was appointed to lament their own defection from the covenant, in several points, and " the distressed condition of their brethren in England, zealous for the work of God, but now suffering oppression under pretence of liberty, from those who aimed at nothing less than tyranny and arbitrary power." The growth of the Independents and of republicanism gave them unfeigned concern. They entered into a secret treaty with Charles, by which they undertook to restore him to his throne ; the king engaging on his part to confirm the Presbyterian government for three years, till an assembly of divines, aided by twenty commissioners whom he might nominate, should frame " such a system of discipline as they should conclude to be most agreeable to scripture." When the treaty became known it was highly unpopular with the covenanters. It was in truth a direct violation of the covenant. Scotland was

therefore divided against herself. To complete her sorrows Cromwell defeated the army which the Duke of Hamilton led into England to the king's rescue, and the general himself died upon the scaffold. The death of Charles I. in 1649 did not remove the difficulty. No sooner did the Scotch receive tidings of his death than Charles II. was proclaimed king; at the same time the confession of faith was ratified by the parliament, and the young sovereign was informed that he must embrace the Covenant as the condition of ascending his father's throne. He did so, and repeated the ceremony at his coronation on the first of January, 1651. The crown was placed on his head by the Marquis of Argyle. The National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were then read, and the king solemnly swore to observe both of them. The oath to defend and support the Church of Scotland was then administered to him. Kneeling and holding up his right hand he exclaimed, "By the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this oath." But the battle of Worcester, in September, 1651, put an end to the shadow of royalty, and left Cromwell master of both kingdoms. While he lived the Church of Scotland was in peace; for his policy was to give the largest toleration to all parties, so far as toleration was consistent with the public safety. The discussions of the General Assembly might, however, have caused him some uneasiness, had he not suppressed their sittings just as he suppressed the long parliament at Westminster. In July, 1653, his troops entered the house, and Colonel Cottrel, their leader, demanded by whose authority they met. A few brief sentences were exchanged; the ministers were ordered to withdraw, and the colonel and his soldiers escorted them out of the city, and courteously intimated that they would do well to retire to their own parishes, and not to return to Edinburgh. The Assembly sat no more for five and thirty years.

From the restoration of Charles the Second to the revolution of 1688, the Church of Scotland existed only in the persons of the covenanters. We have already told their melancholy story—an episode of horrors and of blood. The Scotch parliament signalized its obsequious loyalty by the rescissory act of 1661. This, says Burnet, with great truth, "was a most extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout;" it

annulled all the acts of previous parliaments since the year 1633, thus leaving the Church where Charles the First had placed it when prelacy was introduced. It was followed immediately by other acts by which the Kirk was overthrown. Several of the provincial synods maintained their ancient character of honest independence, and protested against the tyrannical conduct of the king and parliament. But the times were changed; both nations were obsequious and servile, and in both the life and spirit of religion was extinct except amongst a few persecuted men. In 1662 bishops were sent down to Scotland, and a proclamation followed prohibiting synods, presbyteries, and sessions, till the bishops should convene them. Of course presbyterianism was at an end. Diocesan assemblies were established, termed bishops' courts, and by an act of parliament ministers were required to repair to these, and to abstain from other ecclesiastical assemblies. In 1662 an act was passed, which had precisely the same effect as the English Act of Uniformity of the same date: four hundred ministers resigned their livings, and according to Burnet two hundred parish churches were at once closed. The Scotch ejection was accomplished thus: all the ministers who had entered on their duties since the death of King Charles, in 1649, were required to obtain presentations from the several patrons, and to present themselves to the bishops to receive collation and admission after the episcopal forms and usage. In England the ejection of two thousand ministers produced no impression: in Scotland the ejection of four hundred aroused the deepest sympathy. It cemented the covenanters by the closest bonds: instead of tolling the knell of their cause, it summoned them to a combined and heroic resistance, patient and resolute, under protracted horrors to which even the annals of the Church of Christ, in her deepest sufferings, scarcely afford another example.

William III. was invited to the English throne by a vote of the convention parliament, which declared that King James had broken the original contract between the king and people, violated the fundamental laws, withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, and thus abdicated the government. Scotland followed the example; but the resolutions of her convention were expressed in stronger and perhaps more consistent language.—“Whereas,” they say, “King James being a professed papist, did assume the regal power and acted as king without ever taking



the oath required by law, whereby the king at his accession is obliged to swear to maintain the Protestant religion, and did invade the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and alter it from a legal limited monarchy to an arbitrary despotic power \* \* \* therefore the estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that King James VII. hath forfeited the right to the crown, and the throne has become vacant." Leaving the question of the original contract between the king and people to those political casuists by whom it has been so long discussed, it cannot be denied that, in simplicity and force, the Scotch manifesto has the advantage: but James had yet a strong party in the heart of Scotland, and it has always appeared to English writers that their power was increased by the tenacity of the Presbyterians in the needless assertion of abstract principles. In the Scotch claim of right, for example, which forms the basis of the revolution settlement, they felt it necessary to advance the following proposition: "That prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation, they having been reformed from popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished." This was followed by an act "abolishing prelacy, and all superiority of any office in the Church in this kingdom above presbyters:" and by another, excluding Episcopalians from places of trust. King William, though a Presbyterian, was displeased. He was anxious to effect a comprehension in both his kingdoms; in England by extending the terms of subscription so as to embrace orthodox dissent; in Scotland by admitting the Episcopal clergy on the condition that they recognised the authority of the General Assembly. He was met in both countries, and foiled, by the same objection; in England the divine right of Episcopacy, in Scotland the divine right of Presbyterianism. In each case the stumbling stone lay at the threshold, and the question was never advanced so far as to permit of a discussion on the details. William, indeed, gave great offence by the terms in which he gave the royal consent to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church, "as agreeable to the word of God;" whereas the high Presbyterians maintained, in the words of Knox, "that it was grounded upon the infallible truth of God's word." The General Assembly met on the 15th

of January, 1692, when the king, by letter, expressed his regret that those of the clergy who were willing to conform should be excluded by the Presbyterians from the privileges which they themselves enjoyed. His desire was, that those of the episcopalian persuasion who were willing to sign the Confession of Faith should not only retain their churches and benefices, but also be admitted to sit and act in Church judicatories; and that the Commission of Assembly should consist of Presbyterians and of those admitted prelatists, in equal numbers. To this the Assembly were unwilling to consent, and they were abruptly dissolved in consequence. The next year the king declined calling them together, and it was with difficulty the moderate Presbyterians prevailed upon them not to meet as a spiritual synod, as if in defiance, at the summons of their own moderator. The Scotch parliament stepped in, and passed "an act for the quiet and peace of the Church," which empowered the king to secure to the Episcopalians the possession of their churches and stipends without reference to the Assembly. In this decision the Assembly with reluctance acquiesced. Their conduct is viewed in different lights by historians of different principles; but with the exception of Bishop Burnet, there is no English writer of that age who has spoken with any tolerable degree of candour and information upon Scotch ecclesiastical affairs, and even he is charged with prejudice. He sums up between both parties thus: the Presbyterians by their violence and their foolish conduct were rendering themselves both odious and contemptible. In the General Assembly they exposed themselves by their weakness and peevishness; little learning or prudence appeared amongst them; their preaching and harangues were pitiful; they were partial and unjust to those who differed from them; and thus they weaned the nation most effectually from the Presbyterian cause. To these infirmities he ascribes whatever partial success attended the king's project. The episcopal clergy were only required to make an address to the General Assembly, offering to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, and to acknowledge presbytery "to be the only government of that Church," with a promise to submit to it. Upon these conditions the Assembly was to receive them, and to allow them a share in the government of the Church; or, if they could not be induced to make this concession, the king would take them under his own protection, and

maintain them in their churches without any dependence on the presbytery. This, he proceeds, was a strain of moderation that the Presbyterians were not easily brought to listen to. A subscription which owned presbytery to be the only legal government of the Church, without owning any divine right in it, was very far below their usual pretensions, and this act vested the king with an authority very like that which they were wont to condemn as Erastianism. There are still two parties in the Church of Scotland; the one of whom applaud King William's scheme for a comprehension as wise and good, while the other speak of it with indignation as an insolent invasion of the Church's dearest rights. By the former it is argued, that by the revolution settlement the Church of Scotland abandoned some of its ancient principles, widened its basis, and became, to use the expression most frequently employed in the controversy, somewhat Erastian. The Assembly seems to have been apprehensive of such a charge; for in 1698 they sent forth "a seasonable admonition," in which the following passage occurs: "We do believe and own, that Jesus Christ is the only head and king of his Church, and that he hath instituted in his Church officers and ordinances, order and government, and not left it to the will of man, magistrate, or Church, to alter at their pleasure; and we believe that this government is neither prelatical nor congregational, but Presbyterian, which now through the mercy of God is established among us: and we believe we have a better foundation for this our Church government than the inclination of the people, or the laws of men."

The points of historical interest in the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the eighteenth century, are three:—The question of patronage, the growth and character of the moderate party, and the repeated secessions which occurred, creating in Scotland a new species of dissent. The question of patronage, which ended in the disruption of the Church in 1842, has been sufficiently explained in our article on the Free Church. The other points deserve a careful examination.

The doctrinal basis of the Church of Scotland, as settled at the Reformation, was that of rigid Calvinism. The episcopal clergy had gradually introduced the Arminian principles of Laud, which, ever since the synod of Dort, in 1618, had been gaining ground in the Church of England. Before the Revolution it had

been for some years the custom of the more aspiring and intelligent youth of Scotland to complete their education in the German universities. In these Arminianism, properly so called, was now superseded by the still lower views of Episcopius and his party, verging towards Socinianism. With these extreme opinions the English Presbyterians were deeply affected, and they now began to make their appearance even within the well-guarded pale of the Church of Scotland. In the year 1710 the Assembly passed an act "for the preservation of the purity of doctrine," which indicates the existence of those divisions which had long troubled the National Church in England. Professedly the act was intended to exclude opinions "not agreeable to the form of sound words expressed in the word of God and in the confession of faith," but, in fact, according to the statements of Dr. M<sup>c</sup>Crie, Mr. Hetherington, and other evangelical Presbyterians, it was intended by the *moderate* party to exclude those very doctrines which the Reformation taught; and it was carried in the Assembly by the votes of the episcopal clergy, assisted by a considerable number of young men who had imbibed those lax notions of a modified Arminianism which were prevalent both in the English and continental churches. The act was especially directed against a catechism, written by a minister, on the covenants of works and grace. It contained some inaccurate statements, of which the Assembly appears to have taken an unfair advantage. The contest was renewed in 1714, when Simpson, professor of divinity at Glasgow, was accused before the Assembly of teaching Arminian or Pelagian tenets. The Assembly is said to have thrown every difficulty in the way of the prosecutors, and, after three years' delay, finally dismissed the case with a gentle censure. The very same year, however, the Assembly visited with severity some unguarded statements of the presbytery of Auchterarder, who closely adhered to the Calvinistic scheme. The proposition which they condemned was this:—"It is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ, and instating us in covenant with God," with several others of a similar kind. The Assembly declared its abhorrence of the aforesaid proposition as unsound and most detestable, and summoned the presbytery to answer for its misconduct. This affair of the Auchterarder creed, as it was termed, formed the starting point from which two systems of divinity began to be

openly avowed in the Church of Scotland; the ancient Calvinistic scheme being retained by the Covenanters and rigid Presbyterians, and an extreme Arminianism by the moderate party with whom the episcopalians were united. The latter regarded the Auchterarder proposition as embodying the darkest Antinomian tenets, whereas, to quote a sentence from one of their opponents, "a little more discrimination and candour, and a little less party spirit, might have enabled them to perceive that, although loosely expressed, it was intended merely to guard against the unsound doctrine that a man must, of himself, first abandon sin and cease to be a sinner before he can be at liberty, or entitled, to come to Christ and to enter into covenant with God." The dispute was still hot on both sides, when, in the course of the year 1718, two ministers republished, with a commendatory preface, an old English book of Calvinistic theology, called 'The Marrow of Modern Divinity.' The work was attacked by the Principal of St. Andrew's, in a sermon preached before the synod of Fife, in 1719. His sermon was published at the request of the synod, and the discussion immediately assumed the form of a controversy between two parties in the Church, the evangelical or Calvinistic party, who adhered to the original principles of Presbyterianism, and the Neonomian or moderate party, who now displayed their readiness to alter its constitution both in government and doctrine. We should have spoken with more respect of the moderates if they had acted with more integrity; but instead of avowing their intentions, and proceeding in a manly course to the point they had in view, they disguised their intentions under an affected and dishonest profession of respect for the ancient principles of the Church of Scotland. In 1719 they issued a commission "to inquire into the publishing books and pamphlets tending to the diffusion of the condemned proposition of Auchterarder." The commission entered with alacrity upon its task, and chose a committee "for preserving the purity of doctrine" to assist them. They reported to the General Assembly, who, by an act, condemned certain false doctrines, arranged under five heads. The propositions condemned are these, and they savour strongly, it must be confessed, of Antinomianism; first, concerning the nature of faith, the charge being that assurance is of the essence of faith; secondly, universal atonement and pardon; thirdly, holiness not necessary to salvation; fourthly,

fear of punishment and hope of reward are not motives of a believer's obedience; fifthly, that the believer is not under the law as a rule of life. The Assembly not only condemned these theses, but they prohibited 'The Marrow of Divinity' in a manner worthy of the Vatican and the 'Index Expurgatorius.' They "strictly prohibit and discharge all the ministers of this church, either by preaching, writing, or printing, to recommend the said book, or in discourse to say anything in favour of it; but, on the contrary, they are enjoined and required to warn and exhort their people in whose hands the said book is, or may come, not to read or use the same." Their opponents asserted, and still maintain, that the five propositions are not fairly contained in the volume in question, though incidental expressions, taken apart from the context, may seem to countenance the charge; and that, under the pretext of excluding antinomianism, the General Assembly formally condemned the principles of Knox and Calvin and of the Church of Scotland.

From this period to the close of the century the power of the moderate party was supreme, and, whatever were their merits in other respects, in their hands religion fell into a state of deplorable decay. The leaders of the party lived on terms of intimate friendship with the men who not only avowed infidel principles, but devoted their lives to the promulgation of them. In 1755 a discussion arose on the infidel writings of David Hume, whose essays, in one of which the ministers of religion are attacked with vulgar and insolent asperity, had just then been published. The Assembly condemned the work, without venturing to name the author, and Hume was defended by Dr. Blair in a pamphlet anonymously published, to avoid the unseemliness of a minister of the gospel appearing before the world as the apologist of an infidel. Dr. Robertson, the historian, led the General Assembly for nearly thirty years. His influence was such that this period is always spoken of by Scotch writers as that of his *administration*. He ruled the Assembly as Mr. Pitt ruled the House of Commons. His influence was entirely given against the popular right of election, and in favour of the absolute claims of patrons. His argument upon the subject (which may be seen in his biography by Dugald Stewart), is a fine specimen of clear reasoning, but it leaves almost untouched the legal merits of the question, and still less does it remove those scruples of conscience

which, taken together, made up, in later days, the case of the Free Church against the moderate party. Religion continued to decline till Dr. Robertson himself seems to have been shocked by the rapidity with which his own disciples were hastening to a state of scepticism. He retired from the General Assembly in 1780. vexed, as his friend, Sir Henry Moncrieff, declares, with the importunities of his friends, who had now embarked with zeal into a scheme for abolishing subscription to the Confession of Faith and other formularies of the Church of Scotland. To such proposals Robertson was too wise to listen, and he retired in disgust from public life. Socinianism was openly maintained, particularly in the west of Scotland, by a party termed the New-light men. In 1790 Dr. M'Gill, the minister of Ayr, even ventured to publish an essay on the death of Christ, in which Socinian principles were boldly maintained. Proceedings were threatened and the work was withdrawn, but he still continued to officiate as a minister of the kirk. The shock of the French revolution aroused both of the British nations from their deep spiritual slumber, and we mark in each the dawning of a brighter day. In 1796 a proposal was made to the Assembly that an act be passed in aid of the several societies for propagating the gospel among the heathen nations; it met with little encouragement, and was, in fact, rejected. The proposal was even treated by several leading members of the house with the utmost scorn; but the Assembly have since rescinded the disgraceful resolution of 1796, and the moderate party, as it existed in the last century, ceased to control the affairs of the Church of Scotland soon after this display of folly and irreligion. Under Dr. Hill, Principal of St. Andrew's, at the beginning of the present century, it assumed a more scriptural and evangelical character, and since the great secession of 1842 it remains in almost undisputed possession of the Assembly and the Church.

But to the old moderate party the Church of Scotland is at least indebted for its literary fame. At the beginning of the present century they were the only men whose writings had obtained a general circulation; for they alone had risen above the barbarisms to which educated Scotchmen still cling with strange pertinacity, and dared to imitate the great classic models. As authors, it is true, one fault pervades them, which has made their triumphs short, and is now consigning them to a neglect

from which they will never emerge. Their style is deficient in the idiomatic graces. It moves on with a pompous and a leaden march, wanting variety and relief. The histories of Henry and Robertson scarcely fall within our province. With the faults we have mentioned they are undoubtedly great works, and formed an epoch in the literature of Great Britain. Of Blair's Sermons the popularity was once amazing, and they still deserve to be read by those who would cultivate a style of theological composition, cold, indeed, but chaste and vigorous. They appear to have been written upon the scheme which Tillotson introduced in England with unhappy consequences, that of divorcing Christian ethics from Christian doctrine, enforcing the one and studiously avoiding the other. The consequences are too well known to be repeated; like plucked flowers, Christian morals wither from the moment they are dissevered from Christian principles. It may be doubted whether Blair's Sermons ever converted an infidel, reclaimed a sinner, or impressed with sentiments of true devotion one human heart. Other writings of the moderate school on metaphysics and biblical criticism have gained distinguished honour. Under the former class must be placed those metaphysical writers who shed so great a lustre on Scottish literature during the latter half of the last century. They have one great fault, and it is owing no doubt to their defective views of religion, and the slender influence it exerted upon their literary pursuits. They throw no light whatever upon the grand question of spiritual religion in its influences upon a compound being such as man. They neither help us to detect the mental delusions of the enthusiast, nor to defend the doctrines of a Divine influence upon the soul. They have furnished us with a rigid analysis of our mental powers, and this is all. Their speculations, when they have ventured into the region of theory, have had no reference to religion. A race of clerical metaphysicians flourished and disappeared, and made no contributions whatever through the medium of mental philosophy to the nobler science of theology, which it should have been the business of their lives to teach. The critical and exegetical writers of the Church of Scotland are less known in England than their merit deserves. The Dissertations of Dr. George Campbell on the terms and phrases of the New Testament, are not only of great value in themselves, but as the first examples of a kind of writing which



has since become extremely popular. No English author has written so well as Dr. Blair on the rhetoric and the secular studies of the pulpit; and this acknowledgment must still be made, notwithstanding the appearance of Dr. Whately's more learned and more deeply-thoughtful treatise upon rhetoric. In practical divinity the Church of Scotland abounds; but the aim of her ministers seems to have been chiefly directed to the instruction of their own parishioners, and a stranger feels that he is reading that which was not intended for his use. We hesitate to speak of the divines and authors of the present century. Dr. Chalmers for zeal, philanthropy, and purity of mind and purpose, will ever be revered. Whether his projects were wise, when he had in view the improvement of civil economy or the reformation of the Church, another generation will be more competent to decide. To the same tribunal we refer the question of his claims as a Christian philosopher, an orator, and a writer; for these are points on which no inconsiderable difference of opinion as yet exists.

The Church of Scotland during the present century has displayed all the tokens of a renewed and vigorous life. Long before the rupture of the Free Church, the dominant party had renounced the unsound principles of the moderates of a former generation, and with these their secular habits and spiritual indifference. The doctrines generally preached in her pulpits now are those of the Confession of Faith and of the Bible; and the clergy are, for pastoral diligence, an example to most other Churches. The public services of the Church, depending for their efficiency upon the zeal and gifts of the officiating minister, the faculty of extemporary address is generally cultivated. Till recent times written sermons were never carried into the pulpit, though the practice of mandating or committing to memory and repeating them by rote was almost universal. The prejudice against written sermons has disappeared since the pulpit triumphs of Dr. Chalmers, who carefully adhered to his written notes. At the same time, habits of deeper thought, and a wider range of study, mark the character of the Scottish clergy.

The Church of Scotland is the only national Protestant church which, in its corporate capacity, has undertaken the work of missions to the heathen. The honour of proposing this undertaking and carrying it into effect is due to Dr. Inglis, a member of the

moderate party. His attention was directed to the subject in the year 1818, and in 1824 he brought before the Assembly the unchristian character of the resolutions of 1796 on the question of missions. The weight of his character, and his high position, secured the attention of all parties: the disgraceful resolutions were removed; and in 1825, a committee was appointed to consider and report upon the whole subject of missionary enterprise. In 1826, a pastoral address to the people of Scotland appeared from his pen, which tended powerfully to direct the attention of Scotland to the duty of evangelizing the heathen; and collections were made, and a fund set apart, in consequence: and in 1829, Dr. Duff, the first missionary, set sail for India. The mission which he set on foot is unquestionably amongst the most efficient of these sacred exploits, as Dr. Duff is, in his own person, an illustrious example amongst Christian missionaries.

We must close our brief history of the National Church of a sister kingdom without any attempt to recite its long roll of famous men. And we must be content to mention, as those of recent times whose biography will well repay a nearer investigation, the names of such men as Dr. M'Crie, Dr. Cook, Principal Hill, Dr. Andrew Thomson, and Dr. Chalmers. Of such men Scotland has reason to be proud.

The statistics of the Church of Scotland lie within a narrow compass. At the Reformation there were nine hundred and fifty parishes. Some of these have been united; in parts of the Highlands the population has diminished, and several ancient parishes no longer exist. No accurate return has been taken of the value of Church property in recent times. The average of ministerial incomes is probably not more than one hundred pounds a-year; none are destitute; and there are on the other hand no wealthy sinecures or extravagant endowments. Almost every parish has its manse or parsonage, with a small glebe; and every parish has its school.

Seceders from the National Church are numerous. They have, however, as compared with English dissenters, this peculiarity—that while the latter have forsaken the Established Church on account of its alleged impurities in constitution or in doctrine, the former have withdrawn because, as they maintain, the kirk is unfaithfully administered. English dissenters in general object

to the principles of their National Church ; Scotch dissenters only to its practice.

An Act of the General Assembly in 1708 “ For the suppression of schism and disorders in the Church,” is the first record of dissent in Scotland. The Rev. John Macmillan, minister of Balmaghie, had petitioned the Assembly against the Revolution Settlement. He held the rigid principles of the Cameronians, and found at that period no sympathy from the dominant party in the Church. Refusing to submit to their decision, he was suspended from the ministry. From this sentence he “ appealed to the first free Assembly,” accepted a call from the Cameronians, and became their minister. He was joined by John Macneile, a licentiate, who died soon after ; and Macmillan continued his ministrations alone till he was joined in 1743 by the Rev. — Nairn, when the two ministers with their elders constituted a presbytery, under the title of the Reformed Presbytery. They differ in no respect from the ancient Presbyterians, the fathers of the Church of Scotland, except it be in the rejection of national endowments ; a conclusion which appears to have grown out of their peculiar circumstances rather than to have been a cause of their secession. From their own authorised statements embodied in “ the testimony of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland,” we make the following extracts : they view Presbyterianism as the law of Christ, providing for the unity, extension and perpetuity of the Church, in a happy medium between the extremes of episcopacy and independency. The Reformed Presbyterian Church is not political in the popular sense of this term ; but they hold that the word of God is the supreme standard of the political conduct of men in everything respecting morality and religion. Christianity does not interfere with previous moral relations, obligations and institutions, excepting as it sheds upon them a clearer light and confirms them with its peculiar sanctions. They hold the doctrinal standards of the Kirk, and conduct their worship in the same form. In Scotland this ancient secession is still weak in numbers. They have about forty ordained ministers, and six presbyteries, forming one synod. In Ireland they have several congregations, as well as a few in England ; and in America their numbers exceed those of the parent Church at home. The Reformed Presbyterian Church have missions in various parts of the world.

Another secession arose in the year 1731 which led, about thirty years since, to the formation of the United Presbyterian Church. Of this second secession Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling, was the father. It arose out of the quarrel concerning the Marrow of Divinity, of which some account has been given. Erskine and eleven other ministers issued a protest against the judgment of the Assembly by which that work had been condemned. They extracted from the Marrow a number of propositions, censured by the Assembly, but in perfect agreement with the standards of the Church; thus exhibiting the supreme tribunal of the Church as the corrupter of its doctrine and the persecutor of its faithful children. Erskine and three others were severely censured. They refused to admit the justice of the sentence; protested a second time against the proceedings of the Assembly; seceded from the Church, and formed an "Associated Presbytery." They also drew up a "Testimony," in vindication of their conduct, which they published to the world.

The Assembly was alarmed; and in 1734, the year after the Associated Presbytery was formed, an attempt was made to conciliate the seceders. A recent act, forbidding protests to be received, was repealed; a declaration was made in favour of the freedom of ministers (as not being in any way affected by the late censures), and the synod of Perth was instructed again to take into consideration the case of the seceders with a view to their restoration to their parishes. With these concessions they were by no means satisfied; demanding from the Church, not only that its acts should be reversed, but that it should make an acknowledgment of its own sinful misconduct. The charges against them had not been cancelled, and they were not content to assume the attitude of culprits respited or even pardoned. But the prevailing party could scarcely be expected to stoop so low. It is enough if a government recalls its measures; a confession of error is a precedent full of danger to those who are still to be entrusted with the reins of power. And there was in the Assembly a large body of ministers who agreed substantially with Erskine and his friends, and yet felt that they were growing unreasonable. The Assembly, too, in order further to conciliate them, agreed upon an address for the repeal of the acts of patronage, and against the intrusion of ministers into vacant congregations, and last of all, in 1738, resolved that, "choosing

still to treat them in the spirit of meekness, brotherly love, and forbearance, they enjoin all the ministers of this Church, and especially the ministers of the synods and presbyteries within which these seceding brethren reside, to be at all pains by conferences, and other gentle means of persuasion, to reclaim them to their duty and the communion of this Church." But concession was of no avail. The seceders denounced the Church courts; "finding and declaring that the present judicators of this Church are not lawful nor rightly constituted courts of Christ." The General Assembly had now no alternative before them. They delayed the last step for a whole year, but at length in 1740 finally deposed the leaders of the secession.

The Relief Secession dates from 1761. It arose entirely from the question of patronage. The people of Kilconquhar, displeased with their minister, built a church for Mr. Gillespie, of Charnock, and elected him to the pastoral office. With the aid of the Rev. Thomas Boston and a few other friends, he formed the first presbytery of relief at Colingsburg in Fife; intimating, by the title assumed, that the step was taken to obtain relief from the oppressions of the law of patronage.

These various secessions met with great success. In 1766 an overture, or petition, to the Assembly states that there were already one hundred and twenty meeting-houses in Scotland in connexion with them. In 1773 the congregations of the different seceders amounted to one hundred and ninety. Before the rupture of 1842, the seceding congregations amounted to about five hundred.

The Erskine secession soon divided itself into two sections, the Burghers and the Antiburghers. The origin of the schism was this. An oath was imposed on the burgesses of the large towns of Scotland which ran in these words: "I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end; renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." The seceders could not agree in their interpretation of this oath; some of them construing it into a virtual approval of the National Church which they had forsaken; others maintaining that it was merely a declaration of Protestantism and a proper security against Popery. The contest was soon embittered by personal asperities, and in 1747 a schism

took place. Those who rejected the oath were called the General Associate Synod, or Antiburghers, the others were known as the Associate Synod, or Burghers. The former party were in matters of Church government rigid adherents of the old presbyterian system. They published a declaration in which the principles of the Covenanters are distinctly avowed; and they could advance their opinions with consistency, inasmuch as they no longer claimed the privileges resulting from a national endowment. The statement of their views is expressed with brevity and force, and we lay it before the reader as one of the best which the controversy has produced, They say :

“ 1. That the Church is a spiritual kingdom. Her members, as such, are spiritual persons. The same character belongs to her doctrines, ordinances, and office-bearers; but the kingdoms of the world are secular and earthly societies, the members of which, as such, are considered as capable of performing the duties and of enjoying the privileges belonging to a civil state. The power of the Church is wholly spiritual, and is exercised by her office-bearers, in its whole extent, solely with respect to the spiritual interests of men, and in no other name but that of Christ. But the power competent to worldly kingdoms is wholly temporal; their rulers have no spiritual power, because this cannot reside in a civil body, and therefore cannot be communicated to them by those who have entrusted them with power. The rulers of the Church are bound to publish and execute the laws given her by Christ, but have no right to make new laws, or in the least to deviate from his; but civil society may choose what form of government, and make what civil laws they please, if they do nothing contrary to the eternal law of righteousness, which is the rule of civil society as such.

“ 2. That neither of these kingdoms have power over the other. The Church hath a spiritual authority over such of the subjects and rulers of earthly kingdoms as are in her communion, and the civil powers have the same authority over the members and office-bearers of the Church as over the rest of their subjects, but she hath no power over earthly kingdoms in their collective and civil capacity, nor have they any power over her as a Church. Christ, her head while on earth, disclaimed all exercise of civil authority, and there is not the least evidence from the New Testament that he entrusted his servants with any. On

the other hand, neither these kingdoms, nor their sovereigns, have any power in or over the Church. Christ, her only sovereign, hath, neither directly nor indirectly, given them any spiritual authority. In matters purely religious civil rulers have no right to judge for any but themselves."

The two parties, Burghers and Antiburghers, divided the great body of Scottish dissent between them in nearly equal proportions; at length, after seventy years of discord, their quarrel was adjusted both in England and America. The synods of the two bodies met in Edinburgh, in November, 1820, and reunited themselves into one Church, under the title of the United Associate Synod of the Presbyterian Church. They had all along adhered to the same doctrines and Church government, and it was felt that the burgher's oath was no longer a sufficient ground of difference. When the union took place the United Presbyterian Church now consisted of two hundred and sixty-two congregations, of which one hundred and twenty-three had previously belonged to the Antiburghers and the remainder to the Burghers.

The Relief Church has since been received into this communion. This was effected in May, 1847. The synod of the United Presbyterian Church, and that of the Relief Church, assembled in Edinburgh, and agreed upon the articles of union. They are ten in number. They are moderate and conciliatory. The Westminster Confession and its Catechisms are received as "the authorized exhibition of the sense in which we understand the Holy Scriptures," but with the following proviso, "it being always understood that we do not approve of anything in these documents which teaches, or may be supposed to teach, compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles of religion." The Presbyterian government is recognized, not as exclusively a divine ordinance, but "as founded on and agreeable to the word of God." Those who think free communion lawful are to enjoy "the right of acting on their conscientious convictions." And, with regard to their past differences with each other and the National Church, they agree upon an act of oblivion, no concessions being asked by any of the contracting parties; and thus, at length, was formed the United Presbyterian Church. The Relief Secession brought into its pale one hundred and fourteen congregations.

Thus dissent in Scotland is now gathered, with a few exceptions,

numerically of no great amount, into a single head. The United Presbyterian Church is a powerful competitor with the National Establishment, and a rival on nearly equal terms with the Free Church of 1842. It has upwards of five hundred congregations, a theological hall or college, with five professors, one hundred and fifty thousand members in full communion, besides large churches in Canada and Australia, and missionary stations in various parts of the world. In the course of a discussion in the General Assembly in 1834, it was stated that within the space of a century nearly six hundred dissenting congregations had risen up in Scotland; while only sixty-three chapels of ease, or *quoad sacra* churches in connexion with the Established Church, had been erected during the same period. It was in consequence of this discussion, that an Act was passed which placed the ministers of the *quoad sacra* churches on the footing of parochial ministers. Thus a large body of men, hitherto regarded as curates, were made admissible to the Assembly, where their presence contributed in a great degree to the secession of the Free Church in 1842.

The national feeling of Scotland has always been strongly in favour of Presbyterianism; yet some seceders are found who adopt the Independent principle. These are chiefly Scotch Baptists or Sandemanians. The former body we have briefly mentioned (see BAPTISTS). The latter originated about the year 1730. Their first leader was John Glas, minister of Tealing, near Dundee, who was cited before the synod of Angus in 1728 for certain strange opinions. He was deposed, but still continued to preach in the fields, maintaining (if his opinions are fairly represented) these propositions: that the faith which justifies is no more than an assent to the truth of the gospel history, and that every church or congregation is independent, and in its discipline subject to no jurisdiction under heaven. He appealed from the decision of the Presbytery to the General Assembly, by whom however the sentence was confirmed. In his own parish he succeeded in establishing a church on independent principles, but beyond this he met with little success. His spirit was narrow and exclusive, and he is charged with having confined religion to his own little community. He condemned all national establishments as essentially hostile to the kingdom of Christ. His opinions, hitherto almost unknown, were avowed with more



success, in 1755, by Robert Sandeman, an elder in one of these Independent churches. In bitterness he surpassed Glas himself, assailing the most zealous and useful men of his age both in England and Scotland, and denouncing their most venial errors with merciless fury. He expounded in several controversial writings Glas's theory of faith. The sole requisite to justification, he says, or acceptance with God, is the work finished by Christ upon the cross. The whole benefit of this event is conveyed to men only by the apostolic report concerning it. Every one who understands this report to be true, or is persuaded that the event actually happened as testified by the apostles, is justified and finds relief to his guilty conscience. These views, coupled with an austere discipline, were sufficient to confine his cause within narrow boundaries in Scotland. Sandeman removed to London in 1760, and his followers became an English sect, or at least were no longer confined to Scotland. He gathered a congregation in London, but in 1764 he sailed for America, where at present his disciples are said to be more numerous than at home. The following inscription was placed upon his tomb, at Danbury, in the United States, where he died. "Here lies, until the resurrection, the body of Robert Sandeman, who in the face of continual opposition from all sorts of men, long and boldly contended for the antient faith, that the bare death of Jesus Christ, without a deed or thought on the part of man, is sufficient to present the chief of sinners spotless before God." This small community is marked by strong peculiarities. In all acts of discipline the whole Church must be unanimous. If the minority remain dissatisfied they are at once expelled, for the voice of the Church having been expressed they are now regarded as contumacious. No new member is admitted, except by the votes of every member of the Church. An excommunicated member may be restored once on repentance, but not a second time. The Scriptures they say, the only guide in ecclesiastical affairs, give no sanction to any second restoration, nor can they have better evidence of contrition than that which they had before, and which has once proved fallacious. With an excommunicated member they hold it unlawful to maintain social intercourse. They observe certain customs of the primitive Church. The Lord's Supper is received weekly, and the Love Feast is retained; they abstain from things strangled and from blood, and they wash

each other's feet. In the choice of their pastors, or elders, the want of learning is no disqualification; but, placing a peculiar interpretation upon St. Paul's injunction to Timothy, they exclude both the unmarried and those who have married a second time, from the ministry. In Scotland their numbers are small. In England, by the census of 1851, they had six congregations.

*Spottiswood (Archbishop of St. Andrews), History of the Church of Scotland. Life of John Knox, by Dr. M'Crie. Burnet's History of the Reformation. History of the Reformation in Scotland, by George Cooke, D.D. History of the Church of Scotland, by W. M. Hetherington, M.A.*

SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The episcopacy which now exists in Scotland dates from the year 1661. Of the old episcopate, Beatson, archbishop of Glasgow, who died in 1603, was the last survivor. James I. revived the order, by the consecration of three bishops in 1610. These were Spottiswood, Lamb, and Hamilton, who were consecrated in London by the English bishops, and appointed to the sees of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway. But the Solemn League and Covenant followed soon after, and episcopacy was again suppressed. The last of this line of bishops was Sydserv, bishop of Orkney, who died in 1663.

Charles II. was scarcely seated on the throne when he was advised to restore episcopacy, and to suppress, if not all at once, yet by gradual encroachments, the Presbyterian government in the Scotch Church. The earl of Lauderdale warned him of the danger; the earl of Middleton assured him, on the contrary, that the task was easy. Sharp, once a zealous Presbyterian, now an Episcopalian, urged him to take the step at once—while the people were in the first transports of joy after the restoration. Few, he said, but the most violent were against it; not twenty of the Resolutioners themselves (the warmest adherents of the Covenant) would oppose it. The king hated presbytery; it was not, he told the earl of Lauderdale, the religion for gentlemen; a council of the Scotch nobility was held at Whitehall, and they decided in favour of the measure. The privy council of Scotland offered the same advice. Thus, with a strange mixture of levity and violence, it was resolved to establish episcopacy once more in Scotland.

The choice of bishops was now to be made. Archbishop Sheldon and the English bishops were averse to the Presbyterian clergy, who had, all of them, sworn to the Covenant, and they would have chosen some of the old episcopalians. They were much opposed to a body of Presbyterian bishops, who, they believed, would have no influence and but little zeal. Sharp was in London and hastened to Lord Clarendon, who was high in favour with the king. He represented to him that the old episcopalians had been long absent from Scotland and knew nothing of the present generation; they were irritated by the ill usage they had suffered and would run into extremes. It was only by cautious measures, and the greatest moderation, that Scotland would be induced to accept the change. Then, there would be a division amongst them; some priding themselves on their consistent loyalty during the commonwealth, some atoning for past delinquencies by harshness and intolerance. Thus Clarendon was persuaded; and the management of the whole affair was remitted to Sharp himself, who was placed at the head of the new establishment as archbishop of St. Andrews. On the 16th December, 1661, the new bishops Sharp, Fairfoul, Hamilton, and Leighton were consecrated to the sees of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, and Dunblane; the officiating bishops being those of London, Carlisle, Worcester, and Llandaff.

The selection was unfortunate. Some of them might perhaps have been useful bishops in quiet times; not one of them was equal to the difficult task before them, which was to conciliate the affections of Scotland to a religion it had been tutored to abhor. Sharp abandoned his pacific views from the day of his consecration, and was chiefly known, through the whole period of his episcopate, as the unrelenting foe of the Presbyterians. Fairfoul, as described by Burnet, whose pen, however, was credulous, and too prone to detraction, was a pleasant and facetious man, with a life not free from scandal; a better physician than divine, and eminent in no one branch of his profession; and his faculties began to fail almost as soon as he was raised to the episcopate. Hamilton was good-natured and weak; and both he and Fairfoul had been zealous in past times to enforce the Covenant. When he administered the sacrament, his custom then was to excommunicate all who were false to the Covenant, shaking out the lap of his gown, after a custom of the Jews, and thus

casting them out from the Church and her communion. Leighton was a man of primitive holiness; but in other respects not well qualified for an office which he accepted with extreme reluctance. He was an accomplished scholar, and a profound and eloquent divine; but he had little regard to his person, except to mortify it, nor to his rank, except to hide it from observation. He had the meanest thoughts of himself, and his wish seemed to be that others should think as meanly of him. He was retired in his manners, and, except in temper, an ascetic. He had been brought up with the greatest aversion to the Church of England, for he was the son of that Dr. Leighton who suffered in the pillory with Prynne and Bastwick for libels on the Church and government in the days of Charles I.; yet, strange to say, he was now an episcopalian, and stranger still, without a spark of resentment against his old associates. His humility bordered upon weakness. Though the ablest preacher the Church could boast, with perhaps the exception of Dr. Jeremy Taylor, he seemed ignorant of his powers, and was always ready to give up his pulpit and sit as a listener before inferior men. In short, Leighton was one of those whose example affords a brilliant light to such as are already disposed to submit to its direction. That commanding energy which arrests attention and moulds unruly dispositions to its own purposes, he does not appear in any measure to have possessed. His virtues were of the highest class, and therefore unperceived except by those who were men of lofty principles themselves.

The new institution was in danger from another source. Sharp and Leighton had not received episcopal ordination; the others had been ordained by the Scottish bishops, and they now insisted that the orders of Sharp and Leighton were invalid; and that they must be ordained deacons and presbyters before they could be raised to the episcopate. Sharp resisted the proposal with great firmness. Leighton was more disposed to yield. He did not doubt the validity of Presbyterian orders. He thought that forms of Church government were not laid down as positive laws in the New Testament; but he was of opinion that episcopacy, as the best form, had the sanction of apostolic practice and usage. Still it did not seem to him essential to the being of a Church; but he thought that every Church was at liberty to make such rules on the subject of ordination as it pleased, and that it might

reordain if it saw fit. "The reordaining of a priest," he contended, "implied no more than that they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received."—(Burnet's Own Times, i. 195). These arguments prevailed; Sharp and Leighton were privately ordained priests and deacons, and all the bishops were then publicly consecrated in Westminster Abbey.

Leighton entered upon his episcopate with two schemes in view; the one was a comprehension with the Presbyterians, the other an endeavour to elevate the morals and raise the tone of piety in Scotland. He suggested to Sharp the outlines of a plan by which he thought these great objects might be gained. With respect to the first of them, he proposed the adoption of archbishop Usher's reduced episcopacy. This would allow great scope for the peculiarities of Presbyterianism, its synods, presbyteries and representative courts of General Assembly, while at the same time it retained the episcopal office in all that was essential to its integrity. With respect to the second, he suggested the adoption of some simple liturgy. This he thought of more importance for Scotland than any forms of Church government. Public worship, being entirely extemporaneous, had suffered in common with the ministers themselves; it was the dull echo of their ignorance, their animosities, and their spiritual indifference. To raise the ministers it seemed reasonable to raise the tone of their public worship. The forms of a devout and sober piety might suggest the necessity for a higher spirit of devotion, and even lead the way to it; but Sharp was not disposed to enter upon either of the projects. He was anxious, in the first place, to obtain the sanction of Parliament for their legal possession of the bishoprics, and then other matters would follow in their place, each bishop doing the best he could to induce both ministers and people to acknowledge his authority. Leighton soon lost all heart and hope, and saw, as he mournfully said to Burnet, that the hand of the Almighty was against them. They were not the men to build up his Church; "the struggling about it appeared like a fighting against God."

The new bishops went down to Scotland and were received in great state at Edinburgh. Leighton disliked the pomp, and remained at Morpeth till it was over. Six other bishops were then consecrated, but though their orders were those of the Presby-

rian Church, they were not reordained priests and deacons Wishart, who had been chaplain to the Marquis of Montrose, and had suffered for his loyalty, was appointed to the see of Edinburgh. The Scotch Parliament opened in 1662, and the bishops were waited upon, and formally invited to take their seats according to the ancient constitution.

The meeting of the clergy in their presbyteries was immediately forbidden by proclamation "till such time as the bishops should appoint." This step was fatal. The presbyteries were courts recognized by the laws of Scotland, both civil and ecclesiastical; and they were now suppressed by the sole authority of the Archbishop of St. Andrews; for Sharp it was known had obtained the proclamation, and he had acted without the advice even of his brethren. The irritation was only bursting out, and had scarcely reached its height, when the first Act of the new Parliament was passed. It vested the whole government and jurisdiction of the Church in the several dioceses in the bishops, who were to call to their assistance such of their clergy as were of known loyalty and discretion; and all those who held any benefice were required to submit to the government ecclesiastical as now by law established. By this Act episcopalian government was placed upon a basis hitherto, since the Reformation, unknown. Under the modified episcopacy which James I. had set up, the presbyteries had possessed a voice in the administration of the diocese; the bishops had never pretended to an absolute authority; they were the presidents of these courts, with a negative voice upon their decision. Now the whole power was lodged in the bishop; the presbyters who might form his council were to be chosen by himself; they would be selected, no doubt, from amongst his personal friends, and thus all real power was wrested from the presbyters. Indeed, the bishop's council had no real power; it might recommend or advise, but as to authority and the right to govern, that was vested solely in the bishop. These murmurs were heard not merely from Presbyterians, but from well-affected members of the Episcopal Church. Many of them carried the argument in favour of episcopacy no farther than to concede to the bishop the office of a president, some authority in the ordination of ministers, and a veto in matters of jurisdiction. They even held that the body of the clergy ought to be a check upon the bishops, and that, without their

consent, given by a majority of votes, no bishops ought to possess the powers with which the Act invested them. Many of the clergy never would subscribe according to the terms prescribed, and the more prudent of the bishops did not enforce it. The whole frame and temper of the Act was wrong. Except Archbishop Sharp, all the bishops disclaimed having had any share in it, nor did he himself ever venture to enforce it in all its points. Even the forbearance of the bishops was used as an argument against their office. The law, it was said, asserted on behalf of episcopacy a power so tyrannical that the bishops themselves did not venture to assume their rights. "The Act was then thought," says Burnet, "an inexcusable piece of madness," and by those who revere episcopacy, and are distressed that a sacred institution should be made to suffer from the folly of its advocates, it is thought an inexcusable piece of madness still.

The ejection of the Presbyterian ministers followed. The bishops held their synods throughout their dioceses in October. In the northern parts most of the clergy attended, and were instituted anew into their parishes, but in the west few condescended to appear. A proclamation was issued, requiring all who had not obeyed the late Act (that is, who held their livings only by virtue of a call from the people, and an appointment by the presbytery), to desist from preaching and other ministerial functions. Above two hundred churches were closed in one day, and many more within a few weeks. The archbishop knew nothing of this rash proceeding till he saw the proclamation in print. It was the work of the Privy Council.

Several counties were deprived of the public means of grace as effectually as if a papal interdict had been laid upon them, for the Privy Council had acted on the persuasion that few or none of the Presbyterians would allow themselves to be ejected when the day of trial came. There was now a sort of general invitation, a hue and cry, sent over the kingdom, to students and candidates for orders to accept of the vacant livings in the west. The ejected ministers were, in general, men of weight and of good abilities; the intruders were raw lads, unfit for the ministry under any circumstances, and their position was the more disgraceful from the force of contrast. "They were," Burnet says, "the worst preachers I ever heard; they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a

disgrace to their orders and the sacred functions, and were indeed the dreg and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised."

Such were the fatal omens amidst which the Episcopal Church was re-established amongst a reluctant people.

The Conventicle Act, which passed the English Parliament in 1663, was immediately adopted by the Scotch legislature, and almost in the same terms. A meeting for religious worship in a private house, at which five persons besides the family were present, was a conventicle. Every person above sixteen years of age who was present was liable to a fine of five pounds, or three months' imprisonment, for the first offence; six months or twenty pounds for the second; and for the third transportation for life to any plantation except New England or Virginia, or to pay a hundred pounds. It was carried in the Scotch Parliament by large majorities. Another Act followed, which substituted a national synod in the place of the General Assembly. It was to be composed of the two archbishops, all the bishops and deans, and two ministers deputed from each presbytery, of whom, however, one must be the moderator of the presbytery, and he was nominated by the bishop of the diocese. The business of the national synod was to be laid before it by the crown, and whatever should be agreed to by a majority, and confirmed by the president, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was to become, when sanctioned by the king, one of the ecclesiastical laws of the land. Such a constitution was of course unwelcome to the Presbyterians, and of the episcopal party none but a few intemperate men approved of it. It seemed little better than a mockery to assemble a deliberative body, and then tie up their hands; precluding them from the consideration of any other business than what the crown might lay before them, and crushing their voices, it might be, by the single veto, not of the episcopal order, but of one man. In short, the national synod never met for the discharge of business, and it is mentioned here only to show the disposition of the ruling party.

Archbishop Sharp had now the management of the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland virtually in himself. He was met on all sides by difficulties which soured his temper, and for which seve-



rity was his only remedy. Never, perhaps, has a Protestant Church been more unfortunate in its leader. The Covenanters were rude and lawless, and those scenes began which reflect an infamy on his character which not even his atrocious murder can obliterate.\* But it is unjust to lay these offences to the charge of episcopacy or of the Scottish clergy. The whole affair was political, and religion the disguise. A large proportion of the Scotch gentry, and a still greater number of the nobility, had felt themselves oppressed and insulted by the Presbyterians. The triumphs of the Covenant had been won at their expense, and these were their reprisals. They were still the days of faction in Scotland and of lawless violence. The nation had never yet, during any period of fifty years, been free from intestine wars, conducted with a fierceness to which England had for ages been unaccustomed. The Court in London, indolent and wicked, was always ready to give the largest powers to the man who promised to be the most unscrupulous. Unhappily, the political chieftains found in Sharp both a colleague and a dupe. But there were many of the Episcopal clergy who deplored his conduct, and some, even amongst the bishops, who protested against his violence. Leighton, after a short struggle, implored permission to retire from the bootless effort, and surrender a bishopric in which he could do so little good. As the bishoprics fell vacant, they were declined by several eminent men, on the ground of the archbishop's severe measures. They would not lend their names to sanction the wickedness, which, under pretence of religion, covered the land with violence. They detested the measures of the government, not only as impolitic, but as opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and some of them had the courage to protest against them.

The Covenanters, maddened by oppression, rose in arms, but in an abortive attempt at Pentland, in 1666, they were entirely subdued. As a rebellion the affair was insignificant; it was of no more consequence than the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men in the streets of London; but it afforded a pretext for revenge; and the two archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow stimulated the government to those severities, which, by every consideration, they ought rather to have checked. Burnet, now archbishop of Glasgow (not the historian of that name), advised

\* See Vol. I., page 159, ART. COVENANTERS.

the hanging of all those who would not renounce the Covenant, but this was thought severe even in the days of Charles II. ; yet he was sent up to London on purpose to obtain an instruction from the king that the declaration renouncing the Covenant should be tendered to all suspected persons, and that those who refused it should be proceeded against as seditious. The Episcopal clergy, as a whole, were incompetent and worthless men, but amongst them there were some who clearly saw the folly and wickedness of their leaders, and the calamitous result of triumphs gained by the help of the public executioner. They represented to the bishops that if, instead of persecutors, they were to become intercessors for the prisoners, they might hope at once to regain the affections of the people. The advice was equally politic and just ; but Sharp was inexorable, though many of the bishops showed a better spirit. Wishart, of Edinburgh, who had himself been a sufferer from Presbyterian violence, set a noble example of Christian charity. He sent daily supplies of food to the prisoners in the Tolbooth ; the whole town imitated his good deeds, and the hungry Covenanters were in greater danger from their plenty than from the hazards of their late campaign. But a few instances of Christian principle made only a faint impression in the midst of systematic cruelties. It was an affecting spectacle to see ten of the prisoners hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh. Thirty-five more were sent to their own counties, and hanged before their own doors, their ministers all the while treating them harshly, and declaring them damned for their rebellion. The sufferers might have saved their lives if they would have renounced the Covenant, and every man of them could have saved himself by accusing another. They were really martyrs for the Covenant, and they died expressing their adherence to it. The people's hatred of the Episcopal ministers was deep and dreadful ; they were looked upon as wolves, and not as shepherds ; the flocks they should have tended fled at their approach.

At last the heart of Charles relented, though Sharp and the civil powers were still inexorable. In 1667 he resolved on more gentle methods in the government of Scotland. The state of affairs nearer home probably suggested to the court the folly of nursing a sedition in the northern kingdom. The Dutch had sailed into the Medway, and burnt the fleet at Chatham. There was a change of administration in Scotland ; the instruments of

the persecution were recalled, and even Sharp grew meek and humble. Still there was no great improvement in the working of the Church, for the bishops seemed concerned only for their authority and revenues, and took little care to regulate either the worship or the discipline. The army which had dragooned the Covenanters being now disbanded, the people forsook the parish churches, the Presbyterian ministers appeared again amongst them, and crowded conventicles were held. Leighton was induced to go up to London, where he had two audiences with the king. He laid before him the madness of the former administration of Church affairs, and the necessity of moderate counsels. Again, too, he proposed a comprehension, and to this the king was favourable, though Leighton stood alone among the Scottish bishops. As a proof of Charles's sincerity, Leighton was promoted to the archbishopric of Glasgow, which Burnet, whose severity had brought him into disgrace, was compelled to resign.

Schemes for the comprehension of different churches, which agree in the great truths of Christian doctrine, have frequently been proposed. Hitherto they have been, in general, unsuccessful. They have always to encounter two enormous difficulties; first, to gain admission for the principle of a compromise, and then to conciliate tenacious rivals on questions of detail. The compromise which Leighton offered was to this effect:—

He proposed that the Church should be governed jointly by the bishops and their clergy, who should assemble in ecclesiastical courts or judicatories. In each of these the bishop should act only as the president, every question, both in matters of jurisdiction and of orders being determined by a majority of the presbyters who were present. To the Presbyterian clergy a further concession was offered; on taking their seats, they should be allowed to declare that their recognition of a bishop was made only for the sake of peace, and did not involve an admission of prelatie government. The bishop had no veto after the decision of the presbyters. He was to ordain candidates for the ministry only with their approbation and concurrence, and the licentiate might, if he thought proper, declare at his ordination that he regarded the bishop only as the chief presbyter. Every third year, if not more frequently, the king was to summon a provincial synod, in which complaints against the bishops might be heard,

and they censured accordingly; and he proposed that a national synod should be called forthwith, with power to remodel the ecclesiastical laws of Scotland, so as to accord with this amended constitution.

Thus the scheme was one of pure concession. Its only merit consisted in this, that it reduced episcopacy to the lowest point of authority compatible with its bare existence. But why retain an office when it is despoiled not only of its honours but of its utility? A bishop without a veto was nothing more than a chairman for life of the ecclesiastical assemblies. In many respects he would have been rather the inferior of his clergy than their head. A majority of them would have had it in their power to compel him to ordain to the sacred ministry those candidates whom he might disapprove. Archbishop Leighton's love of peace is worthy of high respect; but an upright man would have found himself sorely trammelled as the nominal bishop of a diocese thus administered. Leighton, however, defended his concessions, which left little more than the name of a bishop, thus:—As to the protest of the Presbyterian clergy against the Episcopal order it would be little heeded and soon forgotten: there would be a practical union, and the protest would be a mere dead letter. As to the veto, it would seldom be required: if an imperious necessity at any time demanded it, the king might interpose at the bishop's request, the veto being lodged in the king's name with some secular person. If the bishop could but tide it over the present generation all would be still, and these disputes forgotten. With regard to ordination, he thought it much more proper that the bishop should go from place to place, and, after prayer and fasting, ordain the candidate at his own parish church, at the request of the neighbouring ministers, "than to huddle the work over in a cathedral at a distance and among strangers." It was perfectly reasonable, he thought, that bishops should be liable to censure, and a court, which was to consist of bishops and deans, and representatives from each presbytery, was competent to inflict a censure. He defended the permission granted to licentiates, of pronouncing their opinion against episcopacy, as a liberty of which very few would take advantage. The patronage being, to a great extent, in the hands of the king and the bishops, would, of course, be given to sound Episcopalians, and if by these concessions the schism could be once healed and the Church and

State of Scotland brought to work together harmoniously, the price to be paid was not too great.

The Presbyterians were consulted, but they showed no disposition to accept the terms. The Government, they said, might lay what restraints it pleased upon them, and it might punish their disobedience; but they laid down this maxim for themselves, that they had received a complete ministry from Christ, and that only the judicatories of the Church had the right to govern them in the exercise of their spiritual functions. The Earl of Lauderdale, to whom the government of Scotland was intrusted, refused his consent to Leighton's project until he should be assured that the Presbyterians would accept it: unless he could declare that the scheme had their approbation, and would put an end to their grievances, it would only be regarded in England as a flimsy pretext for the destruction of episcopacy.

Several conferences followed between Leighton and the Presbyterians. He stood alone amidst angry rivals, exhorting both parties to forbearance and peace; but his efforts were in vain. The Covenanters were stubborn, insolent and captious; but they have this excuse—they were suffering from oppression. The Episcopalians were equally intractable; while they scorned the pacific counsels of the Archbishop of Glasgow, they widened the breach with the people by their arrogance, and their too general contempt even for the decencies of their holy calling. They regarded Leighton as a traitor, and treated him with rudeness. Thus his efforts failed: the great bulk of the Scotch people, wearied with the follies of both parties, would have gladly accepted the compromise; but Sharp and the bishops on the one side, and the high Presbyterian leaders on the other, could not conceal their exultation when the last hope vanished. A final meeting was held at the house of the Earl of Rothes, in 1670. After the Presbyterians had spoken, Leighton closed the controversy in a speech worthy of his apostolic character. His design, he said, had been to procure peace and to promote religion: he had offered several concessions which he was persuaded were a great abatement of the just rights of episcopacy; yet, since all Church power was intended for edification and not for destruction, he had thought that, in our present circumstances, it might conduce to the interests of religion if episcopacy should even divest itself of some of its lawful authority. His offers did not proceed from

any distrust of the goodness of his cause ; he was satisfied that episcopacy had been handed down through all ages of the Church, from the days of the apostles : perhaps he had wronged the order by the concessions he had made ; if so, God, he trusted, would forgive his error, as he hoped his brethren would : now that they had thought proper to reject his proposals, without either assigning their reasons, or offering any counter-project, he himself was free from blame ; he had done his part, and they must answer for it if their unseemly divisions continued, both before God and man.

An attempt was made, just at the same time, on the life of Archbishop Sharp as he drove through the streets of Edinburgh ; the bullet wounded the Bishop of Orkney, who sat by him, but the assassin walked away unmolested. Conventicles increased, the preachers were violent, the Government tyrannical ; an army of Highlanders was let loose on the Covenanters, and ten years of misery and persecution followed. In 1679 the Archbishop of St. Andrews perished under the hands of a band of assassins ; his death was the signal for a rebellion, and the rebellion for fresh severities on the part of the Government. The Duke of York was sent down to govern Scotland. Cruelty was congenial to his nature. When political culprits were tortured, the council usually retired from the chamber, but the duke, it was observed, remained to witness the hideous experiment upon human endurance, and to gloat over the agonies of his victim. The people were driven to church by their fears ; and some of the clergy believed, or pretended, that even this was a triumph to their cause, and the duke was eulogised as the friend of religion. The natural consequences ensued ; atheism spread under the show of conformity, and the Covenanters who held out were still more bitterly exasperated.

On the arrival of the Prince of Orange in 1688, Scotland welcomed him with enthusiasm : but in the western counties the Presbyterians rose upon the Episcopal clergy, and retaliated with equal injustice, if not with equal cruelty. They carried them about their parishes in mock triumph ; they drove them from their houses, tore up their vestments, and forced them out of their churches. They had suffered much, and they now took their revenge. Some of the Episcopal clergy had been as zealous against popery as themselves, but these met with no better usage. The Scotch bishops had disgraced themselves, and, as far as they

could, the cause of episcopacy, by an obsequious letter to King James on the news of the great storm which had dispersed the fleet of the Prince of Orange, when he first sailed from Holland. Not satisfied with expressing their detestation of the Prince of Orange, and their abhorrence of his design, they concluded with the wish that "the king might have the necks of his enemies." It was published in the London Gazette as an example to the English bishops; but it was one which they had no disposition to imitate. The Scotch Convention, in their claim of rights, stated the conditions upon which they admitted William to the vacant throne. They affirmed in this state paper that "all prelacy was a great and insupportable grievance." The rashness of the bishops had now deprived them of confidence and respect. They retired from the Convention, and the Presbyterians were left to carry matters as they pleased: episcopacy in Scotland was once more abolished.

William's conduct to the Episcopalians was noble and generous. The Dean of Glasgow waited upon him at St. James's to sound his intentions; Burnet the historian introduced him to the prince. He tells us that William said he would do all in his power to preserve them, granting a full toleration to the Presbyterians, provided they concurred in the revolution; but if not, he would still do all that was in his power to maintain such of them as should live peaceably in their functions, and he commanded Burnet to write to some of the bishops to the same effect. Nor were these empty words: he recommended the General Assembly, which sat in 1692, to receive the Episcopal clergy, and to co-operate with them in the government of the Church; his advice was unwelcome, and his project failed. The leaders on both sides studied rather how to exasperate than how to mollify each other. William is the only party whose conduct entitles him to much respect.

At the revolution, the Episcopal Church of Scotland stood thus: there were two archiepiscopal provinces, St. Andrews and Glasgow; the former contained the bishoprics of Aberdeen, Brechin, Caithness, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Edinburgh, Moray, Orkney, and Ross; the latter, those of Argyle, Galloway, and the Islands. The clergymen were about nine hundred. The livings were very poor; neither of the three bishoprics of Edinburgh, Brechin, or Dunblane, about this period, were worth a hundred pounds a year. Some of the Episcopalian clergy followed the course of the revo-

lution, and transferred their allegiance to William and Mary; but the greater part declined the oath of allegiance, refused to pray in public for the new sovereigns, and were dispossessed of their livings. These formed an union with the English nonjurors, and the history of the two bodies is closely entwined for ninety years, until the nonjurors disappeared. The Scotch bishops placed themselves at the head of this party, and the Episcopalians were regarded in consequence as disaffected to the state. The bishops were ejected from their sees; but they suffered no further interruption, and some of them continued to officiate privately in their episcopal capacity: and the clergy who consented to accept the new state of things, were allowed to retain their benefices; but as they had no share in the government of the Church of Scotland, it was understood that they should not be subject to its judicatories. The Presbyterians were unreasonable, and still claimed the right of citing and punishing Episcopal delinquents. Two cases are mentioned in 1699, in which clergymen were charged with crimes, and cited before the presbytery; they were actually censured, but the government interposed to prevent the execution of the sentence.

On the accession of Queen Anne, the clergy naturally expected some relief. In 1702 she wrote to the Privy Council, expressing her desire that the Episcopal clergy should be permitted the free exercise of public worship. As they still declined the oath of allegiance to the reigning family, this was an act of great generosity. She perceived, no doubt, that whatever the pretext might be, they were in truth suffering for their attachment to episcopacy. The clergy regained courage, and presented an address to Her Majesty, in which, after expressing their satisfaction at having a queen of their ancient race of kings, they beseech her to give liberty to those parishes whose inhabitants were chiefly Episcopalians, to select ministers of their own principles. The next year another address was presented, in which they mention the sufferings of the clergy in 1688 and 1689, and subsequent years. The queen returned a kind and gracious answer.

Such toleration gave great offence. The General Assembly addressed their remonstrances to the lord high commissioner. "We are bold in the Lord," they say, "and in the name of the Church of God, to attest his grace, and the most honourable estates of parliament, that no such motion of any legal toleration



to those of the prelatical principles might be entertained; to tolerate that way would be to establish iniquity by a law."

The Act of Union, by which England and Scotland were united, took place on the 1st of May, 1707. The first imperial parliament sat on the 23rd of October in the same year.

The union did not immediately benefit the Episcopalians. The Presbyterians of Scotland were suspicious of a measure which obliged them to receive laws from a parliament defiled with the presence of a bench of bishops; it was an invasion of the ancient Covenant. Many of them preached against it; and one of the Cameronians maintained publicly that the queen, by imposing the union, had forfeited her right to the crown. Abundant evidence, it is said, exists, that the Presbyterians, in their hatred of the measure, agreed to recal the Pretender on the sole condition that he would support the Protestant faith, and that he would repeal the union.

The prejudices of the Kirk were great; but an impartial reader will not forget how great had been her provocations. In the year 1709, Greenshields, the son of an Episcopalian minister, who had been driven from his parish at the revolution, opened a meeting-house in Edinburgh. He had been ordained by one of the Scottish bishops, and he introduced the English liturgy,—for hitherto the Episcopalians had used extemporary prayers, the ancient liturgy not having been restored, nor any new one authorised. He took the oaths, and was by law exempt from the Presbyterian courts. The Assembly took alarm. They passed an act, in which it was alleged, that the union was infringed "by the use of set forms, rites, and ceremonies; that such innovations were dangerous to the Church, and contrary to the Confession." Greenshields was in consequence cited before the presbytery, deposed from the ministry, and, on his refusal to recognize their authority, imprisoned by the magistrates at their request in the Tolbooth. Even the English regiments stationed at Scotland were not indulged in the use of the English prayer-book. A riot took place in Glasgow in consequence of the English service. Mr. Burgess, who had taken the oaths, introduced the liturgy into his chapel, upon which the mob broke into the meeting, and, but for the interference of the magistrates, would have proceeded to acts of violence upon the congregation. The matter was taken up by the House of Lords; and the persecutions of Greenshields led

immediately to the Act of Toleration, and to that for the restoration of patronage. Thus the violence of the extreme Presbyterians produced a reaction, from the effects of which their cause never recovered. Their extravagance, indeed, was almost ludicrous. Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle, writing to Archbishop Wake, exclaims, "If the extemporary prayers of the Presbyterians are current on this side the Tweed, why should not the episcopalian forms be received on the other?" Alluding to the objection that it would inflame the Scotch, he says, "And what if it should? It would look somewhat oddly that a moderator of a northern presbytery should have the liberty of worshipping God in his own way at Lincoln or Carlisle, and that you and I should be debarred the like indulgence at Edinburgh or Glasgow." The subject excited some degree of interest in England, and was noticed by Swift in the 'Examiner.' According to a statement which he quotes, a very large proportion of Scotland, nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, were Episcopal. This may be extravagant; but many facts conspire to show that the number of Episcopalians was considerable, and that it had been for some time increasing. The violence of the Assembly sufficiently accounts for this. In no state into which the elements of free government have fought their way will the people, especially the educated classes, submit for any length of time to a spiritual despotism. "If these," exclaims the Dean of St. Patricks, "be the principles of the high Kirk, God preserve the southern parts, at least, from their tyranny." Greenshields remained in prison till liberated by a decision of the House of Lords.

Queen Anne died in 1714. The next year the rebellion broke out on behalf of the Pretender. The Episcopalians were supposed to be favourable to his cause, and were regarded with distrust. Wherever the English troops appeared their congregations were broken up, their chapels and private houses, where the liturgy was read, were closed, the clergy were roughly treated or imprisoned, and the people were prevented from assembling with them for public worship. It is still contended by their advocates that this usage was unjust, and the nonjurors of Scotland are represented as a peaceable, if not a loyal, people; but it is useless to deny that, although the Episcopal Church was no doubt divided into two parties, its influence, in the main, was given to the Pre-

tender. The bishop of Edinburgh was devoted to his cause ; he was even bitterly opposed to Greenshields, because he had taken the oaths and made use of the English liturgy. The Episcopal clergy of Aberdeen presented an address to the Pretender beginning thus :—“ We, your majesty’s most faithful and dutiful subjects.” And amongst the rebels taken in arms were the sons of two Scotch prelates. But, upon the whole, they experienced much forbearance. On taking the oaths of allegiance, the Episcopal clergy were again permitted, by an Act passed in 1719, to officiate in public and to use the English liturgy ; and even this condition was overlooked, and many were permitted to officiate without swearing allegiance. Until the second rebellion, in 1745, they were almost undisturbed ; their numbers had now shrunk to about a hundred and twenty clergymen and three bishops. They had incurred just suspicion from their conduct with regard to the Pretender, and the ruin of their cause was now precipitated by theological animosities amongst themselves.

In 1720 the English nonjurors broke up into two sections. The ground of their quarrel was a new communion office, which involves several practices, or usages, which had been rejected by the Church of England. Each party withdrew from the other, and each consecrated bishops, in order to continue the succession in itself. In the year 1722 those who insisted on the usages ordained John Griffin to be a bishop. He was consecrated by Collier and Brett, English nonjuring bishops, assisted by the Scottish bishop, Campbell ; he, and some others, having already adopted the principles embodied in the *usages*.

The usages were these : mingling water with wine in the Lord’s Supper ; prayers for the dead ; a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the sacramental elements ; an oblatory prayer in the Eucharistic office, which was defended upon this ground, “ that the holy Eucharist is a proper sacrifice, and that our blessed Saviour, at his last supper, offered the bread and wine to God the Father, as the symbols of his body and blood, and commanded his apostles to do the same.” It is evident that here was a broad departure from the principles of the Church of England, and indeed of all the reformed Churches. A new communion office was published, in which the usages were introduced ; it differs little from the first prayer-book of King Edward VI. The old nonjurors condemned these innovations with

the greatest firmness. Leslie, a bishop of their party, controverted the opinions of Collier and the rest, in print. "The utmost they can amount to," he says, "is probable opinions;" and he adds these words: "Nothing is to be received as faith or Christian doctrine but what is written in the Holy Scriptures, which is so perfect a rule that nothing is to be added to them; which, if any do, let him fear that woe denounced against such. In short, we must first find our rule of faith before we apply anything to it, or it to anything; if it be Scripture we know where we are; but if it be tradition we launch into an ocean which has neither shore nor bottom, nor we any compass to steer by, where we must be driven about by every wind of doctrine." Between the two parties whose opinions were thus expressed, the breach was now incurable.

The division reached the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Two of the bishops, Gadderer and Campbell, espoused the usages, the others opposed them. The clergy, too, were divided. It is a curious fact, as we gather from the 'Loekhart Papers,' that the question was referred to the Pretender for his decision, as the supreme head of the Church, by both parties. At length a concordat was agreed upon in 1731, and by this those usages to which we have referred were accepted; but other usages, which it seems some of the Scotch Episcopalians had adopted, were abandoned; these were immersion in baptism, the chrism in confirmation, and the anointing of the sick. Still differences continued to exist, and the small body of Episcopalians was distracted for many years with its own internal and unseemly commotions.

The second rebellion of 1745 nearly completed its destruction. A church, whose bishops were appointed by the Pretender, was of course regarded by the house of Hanover as a hostile institution. The meeting-houses were burnt down or demolished by the soldiers, and the clergy fled at their approach. The constitution of Scotland was suspended for three months, and the country placed under martial law. An Act was passed by which every Episcopal clergyman officiating without having taken the oaths was liable to imprisonment for the first offence, and transportation for the second, and an assembly of five persons constituted an illegal meeting. Hitherto the laity had escaped; but in 1746 all persons frequenting such illegal meetings were com-

manded to give information, under a penalty of fine and imprisonment. In 1748 the Act was revived, when it was enacted that none but English or Irish letters of orders should be deemed sufficient to qualify any minister for the exercise of his office in Scotland, and the clergy were only permitted to officiate in their own houses. Such was the state of things till the accession of George III. in 1760.

In 1765 the communion office was revised by the bishops, and brought into its present state, and from this period the practice of the Scottish Episcopal Church has been to use the English liturgy, with the exception of the communion office. In the year 1817 the Scottish bishops and clergy assembled in synod, drew up a body of canons, of which the twenty-first enacts, that while the English communion office may be used (and it is, we believe, in fact, generally made use of at the present time), yet that, "from respect for the authority which originally sanctioned the Scotch liturgy, and for other sufficient reasons, it is hereby enacted that the Scotch communion office continue to be held of primary authority in this Church, and that it shall be used not only in all consecrations of bishops, but also at the opening of all general synods."

The death of Charles Edward, the grandson of James II., the last of the Stuarts, put an end, at length, to the difficulties of the nonjurors in 1788. The bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland met at Aberdeen, and, with the concurrence of the clergy, resolved to submit to the government, and to acknowledge the rightful sovereignty of George III. From this time they ceased to be a nonjuring Church, and soon afterwards, in 1792, an Act was passed, which relieved them from the penalties imposed by the various Acts of Queen Anne, George I., and George II. The bill provides that the clergy shall take the usual oaths, subscribe to the thirty-nine articles, and pray, by name, for the king and royal family. But it excludes the Scottish clergy from officiating in England, "except in the case of such as shall have been ordained by some bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland." This prohibition was, to some extent, removed in 1840, by an Act which permits the bishops and clergy of "the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland" to officiate in our churches, "only with the special permission of the bishop in writing, such permission extending only to two

Sundays at a time." By the canons which the Scotch Episcopalians framed for their own government in 1817, the thirty-nine articles were made the standard of faith. Still the communion office forms a painful subject of contention. There are now in Scotland several flourishing congregations of English Episcopalians, who decline to recognise the authority of the Scotch bishops, or to hold communion with their Church, regarding its usages and doctrines on the subject of the Eucharist as unsound and superstitious. The bishops, in return, charge them with contumacy. They affirm, that having made the thirty-nine articles the standard of faith, differences of interpretation do not justify a schism. The English Episcopalians reply, that the articles condemn the doctrine which the communion office embodies; and they decline to unite themselves with a Church whose offices are at variance with its standards.

The bishops and clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church would do well to consider whether the bond of union between their Church and ours would not become closer, and whether the obstacles in the way of their real usefulness would not be diminished, by their disuse of a separate communion office. And further, too, they must rescind their gratuitous repudiation of the Gorham decision, for by this act the Scottish bishops have placed themselves in open collision with the twenty-seventh, and other, English canons. With this resolution upon record, they can scarcely expect to obtain that legal recognition of being in full communion with the Church of England which at present they are so anxious to possess.

The Scottish bishops, early in the present century, resumed the titles which they had been compelled to lay aside. These titles are not recognised by law, and a case has occurred within the last month in which the claim has been disallowed by a civil judge. The interests of the Church have revived, and its numbers increased. The synodical constitution is again brought into action. Synods of the seven bishops are now held every year; the president or primus (for they have no longer an archbishop) being at present the bishop of Aberdeen. Provincial synods are held in the several dioceses, and a general synod is occasionally convoked by the bishops. This synod consists of the bishops, the deans, and one clerical delegate from each diocesan synod. It may amend and abrogate

the canons, or enact new ones. The number of clergymen and churches is said to have increased threefold within the last twenty years. The livings are in general very small; the minimum income is fixed at a hundred pounds a-year. In 1838 a "Church Society" was formed to supply the wants of the poorer clergy, as well as to assist in forming new congregations; its income does not exceed 3000*l.* Few of the middling class are connected with the Episcopal Church; its members are the wealthy nobles and the poor peasantry; the former, it would seem, indifferent to her welfare, and the latter unable to contribute to her support. The bishopric of Argyle and the Islands extends from the Isle of Lewis in the north to the southern point of Cantire, a distance of not less than two hundred and thirty miles, and from Lochaber in the east, to the Island of Tyree in the west, one hundred and twenty miles. In this vast diocese the members of the Church are about two thousand souls. In 1841 Trinity College was founded at Glenalmond, in Perthshire. It was intended to provide a liberal education for the sons of the gentry, as well as for students for holy orders. Nearly 50,000*l.* have been expended on the structure, which is still, however, incomplete. It is governed by a council of twenty, which includes the seven Scottish bishops, the dean of Edinburgh, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and other distinguished lay and clerical members of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Hon. Mr. Boyle has also erected a magnificent college at Cumbrac. It is intended that the church and college shall eventually become the cathedral seat of the Isles within the united dioceses of Argyle and the Islands, and the founder has bequeathed the sum of 8000*l.* for that purpose.

St. Ninian's Cathedral, at Perth, was consecrated by the bishop of Brechin in 1851. It is on a scale of considerable grandeur, but at present little more than the choir and transept is complete. In this cathedral Dr. Torry, bishop of St. Andrews, lay in state, the cathedral clergy relieving each other by turns in watching and singing psalms through the night. He died in 1852, in the seventieth year of his ministry and the forty-fourth of his episcopate. He had begun his ministry in a kitchen, and for several years had no better accommodation. "He lived," says his biographer, "to preside over the first diocese in which the cathedral system was revived, and his funeral obsequies were

celebrated with a pomp and honour never equalled since the Reformation ; and this, too, in the very city in which Knox first led on the people to despoil and desecrate the temples of God.”

In the year 1853 the Scottish Episcopal Church was administered by seven bishops, who had under their control one hundred and thirty-nine presbyters. The diocese of Glasgow contained twenty-six congregations. This was the greatest number of congregations in one diocese. The diocese of Argyle contained eleven, which was the least number. The congregations are small ; and great as was the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1842, episcopacy does not appear to have gained by it to any considerable extent.

*Burnet : History of his own Times. Spottiswood : History of the Church of Scotland. Collier : Ecclesiastical History. Round : Letters, &c., of Bishop Ken. Skinner (Bishop) : Ecclesiastical History. Russel : History of the Church in Scotland. Lathbury : History of the Nonjurors. Caswall : Scotland and the Scottish Church.*

**SHAKERS.** A sect of English origin chiefly found at present in America. In the time of Charles I. a body of enthusiasts appeared, who from the convulsions into which they threw themselves obtained the name of Shakers. We know very little of this sect, which was small and soon disappeared : all the writers of that age speak of them reproachfully, and when the Quakers under John Fox appeared, they protested against the injustice they suffered in being confounded with the Shakers. The sect of which we are now writing, traces itself through the French prophets of the last century to the Shakers of the Commonwealth. About 1747, James Wardley, originally a Quaker, imagining that he had supernatural dreams and revelations, headed a party which, from the bodily agitations practised in some parts of their religious services, were called Shakers, or shaking Quakers ; not, however, that they are now in any way connected with the people called Quakers, or Friends. Ann Lee, or rather Mrs. Standley, for she was a married woman, the daughter of a blacksmith in Manchester, adopted Wardley's views and the bodily exercises of his followers. From the accounts of her conduct she appears to have become an adept in imposture during nine years which she spent in convulsions,



fastings, and similar contrivances. She is said to have clenched her fists in the course of her fits so as to make the blood pass through the pores of her skin, and to have wasted away so that at last she was fed like an infant. Wardley and Ann Lee had originally been Quakers, but were dismissed from that community. The latter now became the head of a new society who adopted the name of Shakers. "The work," they said, "which God promised to accomplish in the latter day was eminently marked out by the prophets to be a work of shaking." About 1770 Ann Lee discovered the wickedness of marriage, and began to "testify against it." She called herself "Ann the Word," meaning that the word dwelt in her. And her followers say that "the man who was called Jesus, and the woman who was called Ann, are verily the two first pillars of the church, the two anointed ones."

In May, 1774, Ann Lee, otherwise Mrs. Standley, together with three elders, and others of the sect, emigrated to America, and two years after formed a settlement at Niskayuna, a few miles from Albany, in the state of New York. From that, as from a centre, they put forth shoots, until at length there are now about fifteen Shaker settlements, or villages, in different parts of the United States, comprising 6,000 or 8,000 souls. Their doctrines are a strange mixture of the crudest errors with some few gospel truths; but it would be a misnomer to call them Christians. They now term themselves the millennial Church: they hold that the millennium has begun, and that they are the only true Church, and have all the apostolic gifts. They insist that baptism and the Lord's supper ceased with the apostolic age; that the wicked will be punished for a definite period only, except such as apostatise from them, and these will be punished for ever; that Christ will not appear again in the world, except in the persons of his followers, that is, the Shakers; that marriage is sinful, and that "they that have wives should be as though they had none" even now, and that thus alone purity and holiness, and the consequent beatitude of the heavenly state, can be attained; that sin committed against God is committed against them, and can be pardoned only for Christ's sake through them. Such are some of their tenets. The discipline of their churches rests for the most part with "their elders," who follow the instructions left by "Mother Ann Lee."

In their religious worship they range themselves at intervals in rows, and then spring upwards a few inches; sometimes they become so excited in this exercise as to throw off their upper garments, and jump as if they would reach the ceiling, all, as they say, to express their joy in the Lord. After this they sit down and listen awhile to their preachers, and then, when tired of hearing, resume their dancing.

The tenets on which they insist most frequently, are those of human depravity and of the gift of the Spirit; on both points they speak in a mystical way and with much obscurity. They have unconsciously revived the worst errors of the early church, confounding the natural instincts of man with his sinful appetites. Thus, like the Egyptian hermits in the third century, they place holiness in a life of celibacy. Their way of stating the argument is peculiar. The essence of it is, that the resurrection spoken of in the New Testament means nothing more than conversion. Our Saviour declares that, "in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage;" therefore, on the conversion (or the resurrection) of the individual, marriage ceases. To speak more plainly, the single must continue single, and the married must separate. Every passage in the Gospels, and in the Epistles, is interpreted according to this hypothesis. Not permitting marriage, much less concubinage, their body cannot be expected to increase. It appears they have a great accession of members from the class of the "unfortunate," and from widows and orphans, to whom their institutions furnish an asylum. Their property is all in common; and individual wants are supplied from a general magazine or storehouse, and ultimately the elders invest the gains in land or other property for the good of the society.

They profess to have the power of working miracles, and to be guided not so much by the Scriptures as immediately by the Holy Spirit. They maintain that it is unlawful to take oaths, to use compliments, or to play at games of chance.

They hold general fasts, and have no order of persons regularly educated for the ministry. In their chapter upon public worship they vindicate their music and dancing as leading parts of worship, especially alluding to the return of the prodigal; while the elder son, disliking music and dancing, represents the natural man condemning their soul-reviving practices.

Their political principles are strictly republican, viewing all hereditary rank, in civil or religious government, as repugnant to the spirit of Christianity: nevertheless, with the Quakers, they wish their own religious government to be considered rather as a theocracy than a democracy. Such is the favourable opinion entertained of them, that the legislature of New York have by law exempted them from all military duty, and from any fine or tax in lieu thereof. They have likewise passed a law enabling individuals who desire to join them to become divorced; but permitting the party who does not join them to retain the children and the property. The Shakers never meddle in public affairs, not accepting any office under the government, or even voting at an election; considering it to be highly inconsistent in those who from principle are averse to war, to vote into office those who are not, and who may involve the state in bloodshed. Robert Owen, of New Lanark, gives, in his "New View of Society," the following account of their religious worship. Their meeting-house for religious worship at Hancock is of beautiful workmanship, painted inside a glossy Prussian blue; the steps at the door are hewn out of a solid block of white marble; and from the neatness of everything one would suppose the whole house was washed between every meeting-day. They walk in regular procession to the meeting, and having no appointed preacher, an exhortation is delivered by one of the elders, or of the brethren. There are no fixed seats or pews in the meeting-house, but only moveable benches. They enter, the men at one door the women at the other. The floor being quite clean, they all kneel to a silent prayer on the right knee. They then rise and form in regular columns, the men on one side the women on the other. Several men and women then commence a tune while every other person dances, keeping time admirably for at least half an hour. The men and women, facing each other, advance and recede a few steps alternately through the performance. When dancing is over, the seats are placed, and an exhortation begins. After sitting a short time they rise and join in singing a hymn; then they take their seats and another exhortation follows, that generally concludes the meeting. Sometimes they sing and dance a second time; perhaps it may depend on the temperature of the weather. In the hottest season the men usually take off their coats and hang them with their hats

on a row of wooden pins. After meeting they return in great order to their dwellings and partake of a cold dinner, as they do not cook on that day. This people have been charged with being narrow minded, in confining their benevolence to their own society; but a late writer denies this, he says they frequently give large sums to the public charities of New York.

The Shakers' account of their own principles may be seen in *The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearance, &c.*, published at Albany, America, 1810. See also *Adams' Dictionary*, and *Holmes' Account of the United States*.

### SWEDENBORGIANS; OR, NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH.

—Emanuel Swedberg, afterwards known as Baron von Swedenborg, was born of a respectable family at Stockholm, on the 29th of January, 1688. Descended from the miners of the Stora Kopparberg (the great copper mountain), his father is related to have been a person of considerable talents and influence, a voluminous author upon sacred subjects, and at length bishop and professor of theology in the Lutheran Church and chaplain to the court of Sweden. From his youth the mind of Emanuel Swedenborg was imbued with serious impressions. A letter written late in life refers with satisfaction to this part of his history, and describes the wonder with which both his parents listened to the revelations of their child, through whom angels spoke. A disposition for religious speculation was born with him, and his mind, he informs us, up to the twelfth year of his age, was engrossed with reflections on God and on the spiritual affections of man. He seems to have been left very much at liberty to form his own opinions, and these were often crude and visionary. "If at that time he had heard," he says, "of the systematic, or dogmatic, kind of faith, namely, that God the Father, imputes the righteousness or merits of his Son to whomsoever and at whatsoever time he will, even to the impenitent, it would have been then as ever perfectly unintelligible to him."

He was educated at the University of Upsala, where he was distinguished for his success in mathematical and physical science, and was soon afterwards appointed assessor to the Board of Mines, an important department in the Swedish government. For some time his mind was now directed with intense application

to secular studies. He published an introduction to algebra, and a new method of finding the longitude by lunar observation, which were followed by proposals for fixing the value of coins, and for determining the measures of Sweden. Other scientific tracts followed on the motion and position of the earth and planets, the depth and tides of the ocean, and various philosophical questions. To some hints furnished by Swedenborg, Dumas ascribes the origin of the modern science of crystallography.

In 1719 he was elevated to the rank of nobility, though without a title. This gave him a seat in the triennial assemblies of the states of Sweden; but in Sweden he was neither a count nor a baron, but was always known as the Assessor Swedenborg. Several years were spent in travel; England and Rome were visited; his philosophical studies were pursued with intense zeal, and, in connection with these, the peculiarities of his mind were developed. After various adventures, in the year 1733 we find him asking permission from the king to travel for the third time, to give him opportunity of storing his mind with every kind of knowledge necessary for the completion of his great work. It is entitled the "Principia, or the First Principles of Natural Things, being a new attempt towards a Philosophical Explanation of the Elementary World." It was printed in 1734 at Leipsic and Dresden, in Latin, at the expense of the Duke of Brunswick. In explaining the generation of the elements, and ultimately the formation of solid matter—the origin of the hidden forces of nature, and the process and circumstances under which they become material, two things are virtually assumed, the absolute reality of the Infinite and the existence of finite entities. Descending from the "first natural point," a term by which pure motion is designated, Swedenborg defines the phenomena of heat, light, magnetism, and the elementary substances, as so many degrees of infinite activity. The origin of many recent discoveries is attributed to his investigations; as the identity of lightning with electricity, and that the milky way is a composition of stars; also the theory of the magnetic properties of the earth. The last is shown by Swedenborg from the spherical condition of the particles that constitute this element, from which he argues that their form must give them either a spiral, or vertical, or circular motion; and that, as each of these motions requires a centre, whenever the particles meet with a body adapted to their motion,

they avail themselves of it, and form a magnetic vortex, from whence it is inferred that the magnetism of bodies depends not on their substance but their form.

The "Philosophy of the Infinite; or, Outlines of a Philosophical Argument on the Infinite and the final Cause of Creation, and on the Mechanism of the Intercourse of the Soul and Body," was published in 1734. It contains his metaphysical system, of which it would be unfair to express a judgment, unless we were in a condition to place at least the outline of his arguments before the reader, and to show the coherence of its parts. Other publications followed on philosophical subjects. The titles of some of them clearly indicate that Swedenborg's method of reasoning was radically vicious; but in this respect he was at least not worse than the metaphysical reasoners of Great Britain. Like them he was still unacquainted with the laws of inductive science, or careless of their application to the study of mental phenomena. Those who wish to pursue the subject we refer, to his "Economy of the Animal Kingdom," first published at Amsterdam in 1740 and 1741, which is partly medical and partly metaphysical, while each intrudes on the province of the other. Thus the first part consists of a dissertation on the blood-vessels and heart, with an introduction to rational psychology. The second contains a dissertation on the cortical substance of the brain, and the human soul. The third part treats of the nerves and brain.

In a series of philosophical Essays on the worship and love of God, published in 1745, the year to which he refers the opening of his spiritual sight, Swedenborg takes leave of nature, and approaches the theological doctrines upon which his fame chiefly rests. The first part treats of the origin of the earth, of the state of paradise, the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and of the birth, infancy, and love of Adam, the first-born man. The second part discourses on the marriage of the first-born, and on the soul, the intellectual mind, the state of integrity, and the image of God. The origin of the universe is represented to have begun from the sun; the origin of our own planet is dwelt upon, and the successive development of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. Nature is pictured as pregnant in the beginning with the principle of all things, which were gradually developed by the influence of the parent sun, while, as yet, there was no

atmosphere. Seven planets are supposed to have been created at the same time.

The human body, sprung from the tree of life, gradually became imbued with the infancy and growth of the mind in the first-born, until the birth of Eve and her marriage with Adam.

From this time, Swedenborg's diary contains almost daily notes of his interviews with the spiritual world. It was revealed to him that the breathing of the lungs depended upon the state of faith; that he was so formed of the Lord, that while in communication with spiritual beings, he could breathe inwardly for a length of time, without the aid of external air. He mentions many such visions. Whilst writing anything to which evil spirits were averse, he was frequently beset by troops of spiritual tormentors. He had accustomed himself from his childhood, during prayer, to make his breathing correspond with his thoughts, and by these means, with long respirations, he relates, that his sense of earthly things almost vanished.

The date of his spiritual call is alluded to in a letter, written in 1769, to his friend Dr. Hartley, where he says he had been called to a holy office by the Lord himself, who most graciously had manifested himself in person to his servant in the year 1745, when his sight was opened to the view of the spiritual world, and the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits, which he declares he continued to enjoy to that day; and that his only reason for foreign travel was now the desire of being useful to mankind, by making known the secrets intrusted to him.

In conversation as to his call, he declared himself to have been from his youth a spiritual fisherman, in the same way as our Lord's apostles; and that his system of divinity was based upon two principles—namely, that God is one, and that there is a conjunction of charity with faith.

About this period the circumstances of his personal history are little known, but he is supposed to have spent much of his time in England, with the Moravians, in Fetter-Lane, until his departure for Sweden, in the beginning of July, 1745, whither he repaired to resign his office of assessor to the Board of Mines, that he might devote himself, without interruption, to the discharge of his spiritual functions. He retired with king Frederick's permission, in the enjoyment of his full salary, as a pension for thirty-one years' faithful services.

From 1749 to 1756, appeared his "Arcana Cœlestia," in eight quarto volumes, containing an exposition of the spiritual sense of the Books of Genesis and Exodus. The work was printed at an expense of 400*l*. He had prepared himself for the enterprise by studying the Hebrew language, and comparing many editions of the Hebrew Bible.

The Arcana professes to be a direct revelation from the Almighty himself: besides the scriptural interpretation of the letter of the Word, it embraces a description of "the wonders of the other life."

The Bible is defined to be a message from the Infinite, from its wisdom and love adapted to man in all states of existence, connecting every possible state of the soul with the fountain of blessings. The method whereby it is unfolded, is called "the general science of correspondences;" which is defined by one of his biographers, to be the intellectual meaning of the relations between all different spheres; - as that the unity in creation implies a whole scheme, beginning and ending in God; that in the orders of nature, the highest produces the next degree, while that gives birth to the third; the second creature standing next to the first, and the third to the second; each being placed between those that are next of kin above and below it, each new mean carrying in itself the essence of the next progressive sphere.

In 1758, Swedenborg published in London the five following works:—1. "An Account of the Last Judgment, and the Destruction of Babylon; showing that all the Predictions in the Apocalypse are at this day fulfilled." 2. "Concerning Heaven and its Wonders, and Concerning Hell; being a relation of Things heard and seen." 3. "On the White Horse mentioned in the Apocalypse." 4. "On the Planets in our Solar System, and on those in the Starry Heavens; with an account of their Inhabitants, and of their Spirits and Angels." 5. "On the New Jerusalem, and its Heavenly Doctrine, as revealed from Heaven."

In the "Last Judgment," the earth is represented as the seminary of the human race, by which heaven is supplied with inhabitants; it is affirmed that a succession of fresh human races will never cease, because every divine work represents infinity and eternity. The earth, therefore, will not be destroyed at the day of judgment. Further, that all angels and spirits have once



been men upon some planet ; from whence it is argued, the generation of angelic purity depends upon the purity of mankind here below. When, therefore, man's natural proneness to vice by degrees degrades him, and tends to extinguish the divine part of humanity, utter ruin is only averted by the interposition of God. Three such calamities have threatened the creation ; once in the most ancient Church, whose last judgment was the flood ; once when the Lord was in the world, and said, " Now is the judgment of this world, now is the prince of this world cast out ;" and a third time in 1757, when the first Christian Church was consummated. This last judgment is described to have comprised the people of seventeen centuries, arranged in order, according to their spiritual progress ; the reformed Churches in the middle, the Romanists round them, the Mahometans in a still outer ring, and beyond these, the Gentile nations, enclosed by a boundless sea of space.

Swedenborg's visits to the planets enabled him to describe some of their inhabitants. The journey took two days in one instance, and ten hours in another. The spirits of Mercury, we learn, are the rovers of the inner universe. The people of the moon are dwarfs, who do not speak from the lungs, but from a quantity of air collected in the abdomen. Saturn is spoken of as the last planet in our system. To the end of the doctrine of the " New Jerusalem," is appended his idea of civil and ecclesiastical government. He teaches, that the Lord's ministers are to claim no power of souls, and those who differ from them are allowed peaceably to enjoy their opinions. Offices are given to certain persons but are not to be abused.

It is difficult to compress within the limits of this sketch, Swedenborg's views of the divinity of Christ. But in Him, the Godhead of the Trinity dwells, adapted to a personal form, that it may be approached by man ; and the Holy Spirit is the influence he communicates to Churches and individuals. Our Lord's incarnation through the Virgin Mary, is understood literally. The Father is inaccessible to us out of Christ ; therefore worship is to be directed to Jesus Christ alone.

The Divine love and wisdom are illustrated by the doctrine of universal correspondences, showing that, if God be infinite, the universe proceeding from him must represent man in an image. There must be a correspondence between the creature

and the Creator, and thus from the mineral, vegetable, and animal forms, and even the planets and atmospheres, is drawn an analogy to the formation of man.

With regard to the Sacred Scripture, an ancient Word is supposed to have existed before the present Bible, still extant in Great Tartary, of which the Book of Jashur, and the Wars of Jehovah formed part. The present Word consists of four styles; the first is by pure correspondences thrown into an historical series; of this character are the first eleven chapters of Genesis, down to the call of Abraham; the second is the historical style, with a spiritual sense; the third is the prophetic; the fourth is the Psalms, and includes the following books:—The five Books of Moses, the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges, the two Books of Samuel, the two Books of Kings, the Psalms of David, and all the Prophets; and, in the New Testament, the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Apocalypse.

The reason given for excluding the writings of St. Paul, and the other apostles, is, that they are merely dogmatic writings not written in the style of the Word, and not capable of the same correspondences. He says, in the "Apocalypse Revealed," that the words of Paul in Rom. iii. 28, are quite misunderstood; and that the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which at present constitutes the theology of the reformed Churches, is built on an entirely false foundation. Faith, we are told, is simply an inward acknowledgment of the truth, which comes to those who lead good lives from good motives.

"The Doctrine of Life" enjoins that we should shun, as sins against God, whatever is forbidden in the Ten Commandments. Charity consists in shunning evil and doing good; after this faith follows.

Various laws of Divine Providence are propounded, the grand object of which is the forming an angelic out of a human race. Upon the subject of predestination, he maintains that all are predestined to be saved, and that it is their own doing if they do not arrive in heaven.

Swedenborg's spiritual diary, carried on to the year 1764, relates many strange communications between himself and the spirits of ancient heroes. In one page we find him conversing with Cicero, Aristotle, and Augustus, and then with Moses and Abraham, who again give place to Charles XII. of Sweden,

while Frederick of Prussia is succeeded by the author of the "Whole Duty of Man." Pursuing the spiritual dialogue a little further, the assessor finds Paul and David sunk into a sadly low state of Christian life, and Mahomet a Christian convert.

The "Apocalypse Revealed" contains an exposition of the spiritual sense of the Book of Revelation. The interpretation is drawn out upon the same principle as that applied to the books of the Old Testament.

In 1769, Swedenborg's "Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church" (in which, he says, are fully shown the errors of the then existing doctrines of justification by faith alone, and of the imputation of the righteousness or merits of Jesus Christ), called down upon its author a storm of indignation from the dignitaries of the Swedish Church. Dr. Ekeboom, dean of the theological faculty at Gottenburg, braided his doctrines as in the highest degree heretical, and on the points most tender to every Christian—Socinian. These charges of Socinianism were repelled with equal warmth; Swedenborg declared them to be "horrid blasphemy and untruth;" and he considered the word Socinian to be "a scoffing and diabolical reviling."

In the "Brief Exposition," the intercourse between the soul and body is illustrated by the doctrine of spiritual influx. The soul is viewed as the complete man, and the body a garment with which it is clothed, suited to protect it from the climate in which Providence has placed it. Pursuing this notion a step further, our author arrives at the conclusion that as every spirit belongs to some province of the "grand man," his presence excites correspondently that part of the human body to which he answers. When one of the eye men or heart men, he tells us, come near him, his own eyes or heart become sympathetically affected; when evil spirits sought him, the pains to which they answered were for the time being excited in his system. Hypocrisy gave him pain in the teeth, because hypocrisy is spiritual toothache.

These speculations were highly offensive to the Lutheran clergy. Provoked by their opposition, and still more by the seizure of some copies of his book on "Conjugal Felicity," on their way to England, under a law prohibiting publications opposed to the Lutheran faith, Swedenborg appealed to the king. Disturbances had arisen at Gottenburg, from the

differences of the clergy upon the subject of his doctrines; and his opponents, too, made their appeal to the sovereign, in a letter addressed to the chancellor of the consistory. The dispute appears to have ended to Swedenborg's disadvantage, for in the following year he found that the importation of his books into Sweden was totally prohibited.

Of his works, which are so voluminous that we do not attempt to enumerate the titles, some were thought at the time to be of licentious tendency, while all of them were, more or less, opposed to the received faith of the reformed Churches. Of the former class were his treatises on the "Delights of Wisdom," "Concerning Conjugal Love," &c. He affirms, upon the grounds stated, that sex is an eternal distinction residing in the soul, which the body assumes in consequence of its spiritual endowment, and carries with it to immortality. Whence every thought, affection, and sense of a male is male, and of a female is feminine. We do not feel disposed to pursue the subject through the details to which Swedenborg conducts us, some of which are strange enough. Neither his own morals nor those of his followers have ever been impeached; but his disquisitions on the sex of angels, and those on spiritual marriage, will seem to most readers idly absurd or intolerably offensive. Of his doctrinal writings, not a few are almost unintelligible to those who are not initiated by a careful study of his writings into Swedenborg's peculiarities both of thought and expression. "The True Christian Religion" contains a digest of Swedenborg's system of divinity. The following summary of the chapters will show the scope of the work. I. God the Creator. II. The Lord the Redeemer. III. The Holy Spirit and the Divine Operation. IV. The Holy Scripture or the Word of the Lord. V. The Ten Commandments in their External and Internal Senses. VI. Faith. VII. Charity, or love towards our neighbour, and good works. VIII. Free Determination. IX. Repentance. X. Reformation and regeneration. XI. Imputation. XII. Baptism. XIII. The Holy Supper. XIV. The consummation of the Age, the coming of the Lord, and the new Heaven and the new Church. Besides these subjects the work contains no less than seventy-six memorable relations from the spiritual world. He now believed himself to be in frequent intercourse with the souls of the departed. He told his friend,

Dr. Oettinger, that a verse in the Epistle to the Romans (verse 8, chap. iii.) had been a frequent subject of discussion between St. Paul and himself for a whole year. He mentions that he had spoken three times with St. John, once with Moses, and with Luther a hundred times. Numberless instances are recorded of spiritual visions. He believed that our opinions attend us into the next world; and his theory was confirmed by the assurances he received from a departed friend that his leading passions still predominated in him.

In August, 1771, Swedenborg left Amsterdam for the last time; he reached London and took up his abode at 26, Great Bath-street, Coldbath Fields. Here, on the eve of Christmas-day, a stroke of apoplexy, from which he never recovered, left him speechless. For more than three weeks he lingered senseless, while scarcely a morsel of food passed his lips. He then revived sufficiently to converse with the few friends who visited him upon subjects relating to his intercourse with the world of spirits. The month before his death he had requested an interview with the Rev. John Wesley; but this gentleman, who had a strong wish to visit Swedenborg, was absent from London. He received the Sacrament, it is said with some reluctance, and breathed his last at his lodgings in Clerkenwell. According to an affidavit made by his landlord before the lord mayor a few years' afterwards, he died at the hour which he had previously foretold. His body was buried in the vault under the Swedish Church, in Princes Square, Radcliffe Highway, his coffin being placed by the side of that of Dr. Solander. His manners are described as calm and agreeable, and not wanting in dignity. In general his health was good; one of his friends remarks that he was never ill except when under temptation. He left behind him no instructions to form a new Church or rules for its guidance. The idea of founding a sect does not appear to have occurred to him. He regarded himself, rather, as the expositor of the true nature of that religion which in its main points had been already revealed.

The first congregation of his followers in England met in Great Eastcheap, London, on the 27th of January, 1788. At that time General Tuxen estimated the number of converts in Sweden at about sixty persons.

About six months before the place of worship in Eastcheap was

opened, a meeting of a society of the readers of his works was held at the house of Mr. Wright in the Poultry. Here, on the 31st July, 1787, five persons celebrated the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Supper.

In England there are now about eighty societies scattered over the different counties. One of the most flourishing provincial congregations has established itself at Birmingham. Throughout the manufacturing districts in the north of England the novelty of these speculative doctrines has attracted many followers. At Edinburgh, in Yorkshire, and in Lancashire, there are congregations presided over by their own ministers, as well also as in some other counties. In London, several societies have been founded for the spread of these doctrines and the publishing of Swedenborg's voluminous writings at a rate sufficiently low to bring them within the reach of all. Among others we may notice the Society for the publication of the New Church Doctrines, the New Jerusalem Missionary and Tract Society, the New Church Free School Society, the Swedenborg Association, established in 1810, and Emanuel College. The chief place of worship in London is in Argyle Square. There is another congregation in Cross-street, Hatton-garden. In France, M. Le Boys des Guays has contributed largely to the spread of Swedenborg's doctrines by translating them into the French language. Into Austria and Prussia they have found their way. At Wurtemburgh, Dr. Tafel, the librarian of the Royal University at Tubingen, has been active in promoting the New Jerusalem cause. In Sweden, the doctrines of the New Church are not openly preached, on account of the determined opposition of the Church; but it is believed that many of the Lutheran clergy favour them in secret. In America, as well in Canada as in the United States, the mysterious charms of spiritual speculation are confessed by numerous converts. There are about four hundred and fifty places in the States alone in which converts are known to reside. The number of ministers, or preachers, in England is about seventy-five, in America about sixty. But in America the discipline is much stricter than at home. In America public worship is conducted by ministers or licentiates who are admitted by the presiding minister of an association, if he be an ordaining minister, with the joint concurrence of the association and of a council consisting of two pastors and three

members of a committee of laymen on behalf of a convention of the whole body. There are three orders in the ministry; ordaining ministers, who receive societies into the New Church, and ordain and superintend its ministers; pastors, who also conduct public worship, marry, and administer the Sacraments; and licentiates, or young men on trial. In England, membership is easily obtained by those who profess a readiness to support and contribute to the cause; and the ordaining ministers have no authority over the pastors or their flocks. There are a few other unimportant points of difference.

The New Jerusalem Church uses a liturgy. It asserts the oneness of the divine personality, and denies that justification is by faith, in the sense understood by the reformed Churches. Faith is simple belief; and justification is to be sought in keeping the Ten Commandments, which are literally translated from the Hebrew. The Lord's Prayer is also rendered with the same exactness from the Greek. We speak of the liturgy of 1791, the preface of which, however, seems to contemplate the possibility of occasional alterations suited to the growth of the infant Church. A form of baptismal service is provided both for infants and adults. Sponsors are not required, but the friends of the infant are to make confession of the New Church doctrine of the Trinity and of justification. A form is also given for the administration of the Lord's Supper, in which the elements are taken simply as remembrances of the cross and passion.

Swedenborg recommended four rules of life which deserve to be repeated here: I. Often to read and meditate on the word of God. II. To submit everything to the divine providence. III. To observe in everything a propriety of behaviour, and always to keep the conscience clear. IV. To discharge with fidelity the functions of our employment, and the duties of our office, and to render ourselves in all things useful to society.

See the writings of Baron Swedenborg published by the Swedenborg Society, Bloomsbury-street, London, particularly the following:—*I. Arcana Cœlestia. II. A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church, which is meant by the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. III. Concerning Heaven and its Wonders, and of Hell; being a relation of things heard and seen. IV. The Delights of Wisdom, concerning Conjugial Love and the Pleasures of Insanity concerning Scortatory*

*Love.* V. *The Doctrine of Faith of the New Jerusalem.* VI. *On the Intercourse of the Soul and Body.* VII. *The Principia of Swedenborg.* See also *Hobart's Life of Swedenborg.* *Biography of ditto,* by J. I. G. Wilkinson. *An Anonymous Life of ditto,* published at Boston, U. S. 1854. *The New Church Liturgy,* published in 1791. *Swedenborg, a Biography and an Exposition,* by E. P. Hood, 1854.

UNITARIANS.—The spirit of free inquiry to which the Reformation owed its existence did not confine itself to the examination of the doctrines and practices by which the Church of Rome had so long obscured the primitive faith. Some inquisitive minds were led to believe that these formed a part only, though confessedly the worst part, of those corruptions by which Christianity had been defaced. Assemblies appear to have been held at Vicenza, in the government of Venice, about the year 1546, of persons who had formed themselves into associations to debate with freedom on various points of theology. The ancient Arian party is supposed never to have been quite extinct in Italy, and in these assemblies it revived. The subjects of discussion were, the necessity of a reformation not only in the forms and morals of the Church, but in her doctrines, and in the whole system of religion reputed orthodox. In particular, they discussed the truth of the doctrine commonly received concerning the Trinity. But these meetings were soon interrupted by the vigilance of the emissaries of the Church. Some of the members were seized and put to death; the remainder fled, and dispersed themselves through different countries.

One of the leaders was Lælius Socinus, of Sirna. After spending several years at Zurich as a voluntary exile, he visited Poland in 1551. Here he succeeded in converting to Arian, or probably Unitarian, principles, Francis Lismaninus, preacher and confessor to the queen of Sigismund I., king of Poland. From this period, the orthodox faith had to maintain a severe conflict with Unitarianism in Poland and the north of Europe. Lismaninus published several tracts, in which he denied the true divinity of the Son. He was followed by Gregory Paul, the minister of a Protestant church in Cracow, who wrote against the



doctrine of the Trinity still more openly. Other writers followed in his train, and the new principles spread with great rapidity; for, in the year 1556, Peter Gonesius, a Pole, who had recently returned from his travels, avowed in the Synod of Seceminum his approbation of the Apostles' Creed, but his rejection of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, his denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, and his belief of the inferiority of the Son. He made the same declaration afterwards at Brescia, in 1558.

In the same year, Blandrata, who had been acquainted with Servetus at Geneva, visited Poland, where several Italians of note joined him. They held public disputations, in which they denied the doctrine of a Trinity. Several synods were called in succession, with the view of bringing all the reformers to an agreement in one faith; but at each synod new advocates for the Unitarian sentiments appeared. Calvin, dreading the influence of this party, wrote to a synod which met at Cracow in 1561, urging them to be on their guard against Blandrata and his dangerous sentiments. But the new views continued to gain a still firmer footing. At length, in 1565, as the dissensions became more violent, Gregory Paul, with the approbation of some persons of rank in Poland, attempted to restore the peace of the Church by a petition to the National Assembly, or council of the kingdom, at that time convened, desiring a full discussion of the subject.

The conference was held, but neither side being convinced by the reasonings of the other, an open schism followed, and the reformed Church was divided into two parties; the greater body professing to hold a trinity of persons in the Divine Being, and the lesser holding the unity of his person. The former esteemed it unlawful to communicate with the latter, and instigated the popes and their bishops to treat the weaker party as Arian blasphemers; and some of the nobility, who patronized them, were calumniated as guilty of treason against their country.

The time occupied by these events in Poland was spent by Servetus in spreading the same doctrines in the south of France. This remarkable man was born in Spain in the year 1509; he had scarcely arrived at manhood when he travelled in Switzerland and Germany, and became acquainted with the leaders of the Reformation. In the year 1530, in his one-and-twentieth year, he resided at Basle, and began to state and defend the

Unitarian doctrines, which were regarded by all parties as heretical. The next year he published his first treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity, which was soon followed by a second on the same subject. His theological opinions not only rendered him unpopular, but exposed him to great danger. He visited Paris, where he studied medicine, and was admitted a professor of the University. He afterwards practised as a physician for several years at Lyons, but, during the whole of his life, theology was his favourite pursuit. For many years he carried on a correspondence with Calvin, to whom he submitted portions of his manuscripts, which the latter perused with angry, perhaps vindictive, sentiments. Calvin's temper was arrogant and harsh, and it is not likely that he read these papers, the production of a youth, inexperienced and, as his own friends admit, of a most ungovernable temper, without acrimonious feelings. Indeed (though to a reader acquainted with the sixteenth century the remark is needless), asperity appears to have been then regarded as one of the essentials of honest controversy; the combatants seem to have thought that it was necessary in order to prove their sincerity. It is not the vice of any one party, or of any particular set of principles: we are not acquainted with a single controversy of that period, whatever were the subject, in which the opponents, provided they were at liberty to select their own weapons, and under no fears from the apprehension of punishment, did not assail each other with personal invectives and coarse abuse. Servetus now published his "Christianismi Restitutio," in which he maintained the Unitarian doctrines. It was not without difficulty that a publisher was found for so dangerous a work; it was printed anonymously at Vienna in 1553, without the author's or printer's name, and without a date or the name of the city. It was a bold attack on the common faith both of Protestants and Roman Catholics, and Servetus had little mercy to expect from either. He was arrested, it is said at Calvin's instance, imprisoned by the governor of Dauphiné, and brought before the inquisition at Vienne. Amongst the evidences of his guilt were several letters, containing heretical sentiments, which had been addressed in the confidence of friendship to Calvin himself, and by him, it is alleged, betrayed to the inquisition. Servetus was condemned, and, contriving to escape from his prison, was burnt in effigy at Vienne. He took

refuge at Geneva, where he was again arrested, and again, it is said, through Calvin's influence. In August, 1553, he was brought to his trial; the articles of accusation against him being drawn up by Calvin's hand. He was sentenced, as a heretic and blasphemer, to be slowly burnt, and the frightful sentence was executed with horrible severity on the 27th October, 1553.

Calvin's share in these infamous transactions has long been a matter of warm dispute. The childish, yet almost universal weakness, which confounds the private character of the individual with the soundness of his creed, has led zealous Calvinists to defend Calvin's proceedings at no small detriment to their own reputation for the love of truth and justice. Socinians, on the other hand, and all the opponents of Calvinism, continue to dwell upon this dark shade on the character of an illustrious man with an evident satisfaction, by no means advantageous to their pretensions to a more generous creed or a more enlarged benevolence. Something may be alleged in mitigation of Calvin's conduct. He had been brought up in a hard and brutalizing school; he had been educated a Romish priest in the sixteenth century; and, great as he was in intellectual power, he was in other respects an ordinary man, on a level with his times. The Church had held and practised the burning of heretics for at least five hundred years. He saw with an eagle's eye the corruptions of Rome, but he did not understand the horrible wickedness of a persecuting spirit. Few of the reformers understood it. Foxe, in his memorable protest to Queen Elizabeth against the burning of the German Anabaptists in Smithfield, stands almost alone. When Calvin entered on the prosecution of Servetus, there is some reason to believe that he did not anticipate a capital sentence; and we know that he attempted to obtain for Servetus, when condemned, the favour of a less torturing death. For a defence of his conduct, so far as it admits of palliation, the reader, if so disposed, may consult the Rev. John Scott, in continuation of Milner's "Church History," or Dr. Merle D'Aubigné on the "Reformation in France and Switzerland."

With the death of Servetus, his opinions fell into neglect; he did not succeed in forming a party at Geneva, nor did a Socinian church rise from his ashes. The minds of men, suddenly freed from the restraints of ages, broke out, however, in extravagant

speculations on the nature of the Deity, which were repressed, after the manner of the times, by the torments of the Inquisition. Gentilli, a Neapolitan, suffered death in 1566 for having adopted the Arian hypothesis rather than the doctrine of Servetus; he considered the Son and the Holy Spirit as subordinate to the Father. Gribaldi, a lawyer, escaped public execution by a timely death in prison; he supposed the Divine Nature to be divided into three spirits, each distinguished from the rest by number and subordination. The names of Aleiat, Tellius, Paruta, Leonardo, and others, appear amongst those who exposed themselves to danger, or suffered death, for sentiments deemed heretical on the question of the Divine nature. It was in Poland that the Unitarian cause was gaining ground.

Persecuted elsewhere, the Unitarians were treated with kindness by the Emperor Sigismund, who granted them the free exercise of their religion, and invited Blandrata to his court. The states of Poland entered into an agreement, by which their sovereigns were bound to subscribe and swear to a declaration that universal toleration should be maintained. Those who denied the Trinity now first took the name of Unitarians: they had been called Pinezovians, from the town of Pinezow, in which many of them lived, or, more frequently, Racovians, from the city of Racow, the centre of their community, where they were protected by John Siemenius, prince or palatine of Podolia; they had also flourishing societies at Cracow and other towns in Poland and Lithuania.

Up to this period the Unitarians had not adopted any settled creed: amongst themselves great differences existed; and the young community was threatened with destruction from its internal discords. The only great point of agreement was their rejection of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity; and the early history of the Unitarian Church in Poland, if Church it might be called, is that of a number of jarring sects, each tenacious of its own opinions and impatient of its rivals. Besides a considerable number of enthusiasts, smitten with the follies of the German Anabaptists, and anxious to introduce a community of goods, an equality of rank, and other extravagances, there were some who entertained the ancient Arian doctrine, connecting with it the denial of infant baptism. At length two great factions, the Buduæans and the Farnovians, absorbed the

rest. The former were so called from Simon Budnæus, their leader, a man of considerable acuteness and sagacity, who perceived more clearly than the rest the conclusions to which the peculiar principles of Lælius Socinus naturally led, and protested against the propriety of offering religious worship of any kind to Jesus Christ; he maintained, further, that Christ was not begotten by any extraordinary act of Divine power, but that he was conceived, like other men, in a natural way. This opinion, generally avowed by Socinians in later times, was then received as impious and profane. Budnæus, who had gained over to his doctrine a great number of proselytes in Lithuania and Russian Poland, was deposed from his ministerial functions in 1584, and publicly excommunicated, with all his disciples. It is said, however, that he afterwards abandoned his peculiar and offensive sentiments, and was readmitted to the communion of the sect. His peculiar doctrine was soon afterwards adopted by Francis David, the superintendent of the anti-Trinitarian Churches in Transylvania, and violent contentions followed. Blandrata interfered, but without success: his influence with the government was supreme, and he must, therefore, bear the odium which attaches to the first persecutor within the infant community. David remained unmoved: he was in consequence arrested by Christopher, Prince of Transylvania, and thrown into prison, where he died at an advanced age.

In this dispute we first become acquainted with the celebrated Faustus Socinus, who was long regarded as the apostle of the Unitarian creed and the founder of the Socinian Churches. He was the nephew of Lælius; he was born, in 1539, at Sienna, in Tuscany, of a noble family, and seems to have possessed a cultivated mind and a generous heart. It is with reason that the Unitarians of later days object to be called Socinians; for, in fact, the authority of Socinus is opposed to them on several vital points. He was invited by Blandrata into Transylvania, to dispute with Francis David; and a discussion followed in public, after the manner of those times, which proves that Socinus was at this period, when he was forty years of age, rather an Arian than what is now understood as a Socinian. He thought that worship ought to be offered to God through Christ as a mediator; he believed in the miraculous conception, and the perfect holiness, of Christ. "I am accused," he says, in a private letter to Valo-

vitz. professor in the academy at Cracow, "of making Christ a sinner ; whereas I have expressly said, this is the height of blasphemy, such as I wish might never arise in my mind, not even in my dreams." "Jesus," he says again, in his works. "is in the highest, truest sense, the King of God's people." At the same time he denies that Christ was the only-begotten Son of God. "This," he says, "I regard as a mere human invention, and as entirely repugnant to sound reason." This last expression reveals what all orthodox Christians agree to condemn as the unsound principle on which Unitarianism is erected. The progress of philosophy, which has laid hands so rudely on many conceits of the sixteenth century, has exposed the fallacy of this. The boast of right reason, as applied to the mode of the Divine existence, or the generation of the Son, is childish, simply because the facts on which reason professes to be exercised lie beyond her province ; and the reasonings, so called, are nothing more than a series of assertions or negations, sustained only by illustrations or analogies, neither of which can, from their nature, enforce a process of induction. "Sound reasoning," he proceeds, "abhors the thought that the individual and simple essence of God should be divided or multiplied, or that remaining entire or numerically one, it should be common to many." (*Socini. Opera*, tom. i., p. 654.) It would be more correct to say, that inasmuch as the individual and simple essence of the Deity is something incomprehensible, it therefore follows that we have no means of ascertaining under what forms or conditions it may exist, and must satisfy ourselves simply with the declarations of revelation on the subject.

The pre-existence of Christ before his birth of the Virgin is thus curiously explained : "These passages," he says, quoting the texts in favour of the doctrine, "might refer to a prior existence, if they could not be applied to Christ as a man. But nothing is more probable, and more agreeable to the very words of Christ himself, here and elsewhere, than that Christ himself, after he was born, and before he entered on the office assigned him by his Father, was, by consequence of the Divine counsel and agency, taken up into heaven and remained there sometime, that he might hear from God, and, being with him, might see those things he was to announce to the world in the name of God himself." Socinus rejects the doctrine of the atonement,

and yet, in some sense not easily explained, he admits the eternal priesthood of Christ. On justification, Socinus differs but little from the Council of Trent. "No one is justified before God unless he first confide in Christ, and obey him; which obedience constitutes those good works by which we are justified; so then, when St. Paul denies that we are justified by works, his intention is only to say that we cannot be justified before God by the merit of these works, but not that no good works are required of us to our justification before God."—*Opera*, tom. 1, p. 603.

From these principles the Unitarian system grew. The opinions of Socinus, as they gained ground, were afterwards cast into a more systematic form, and in some instances modelled anew. But of all sects or parties, the Unitarians are those of whose acknowledged principles it is most difficult to speak with certainty. They push liberty of thought and independence of authority to the utmost extreme, and they have always gloried in this avowal. They acknowledge no masters.

We have yet to mention the Farnovians, so named from Farnovius, or Farnecius, who taught the Arian system, asserted the pre-existence of Jesus Christ before the creation of the world, and refused religious worship to the Holy Spirit. Farnovius separated in 1568 from the Polish Unitarians, and was followed by several persons of rank and learning. For a time the schism flourished, but on the death of its leader it was dispersed, or returned into the communion of those who were led by Faustus Socinus.

In 1754 a catechism or confession of faith was published at Cracow. It is sufficient to mention it, since it has, we believe, no authority with Unitarians; it may be seen in Moshcim. It is remarkable for the inconsistency of its statements with each other, and the loose oriental style in which it is drawn up. This ancient catechism, which was little more than a rude and incoherent sketch, was laid aside, and a new form was prepared by Faustus Socinus himself. It is called the Racovian catechism. It was corrected from time to time by eminent Socinian teachers, and was once regarded as the confession of faith of the whole Church. It was first published in 1609, with a dedication to our king James I. Socinus was now at the head of the Unitarians of Poland, and under his direction the small body, hitherto wanting numbers, strength, and union, was recruited by proselytes of all ranks. The noble, the opulent, the

learned, and the eloquent crowded to his standard. They still had to contend against the hostility of the orthodox churches, but the zeal of the Reformers was fast expiring, and the jealousy of Rome was diverted into other channels. Another fortunate event seemed to complete their success. In the year 1600 Jacobus à Sienna, the lord of Racow, embraced the doctrine, and erected a public school, designed as a seminary for the Socinian Church, in his own city, which he declared to be the metropolis of the Unitarian faith. The affairs of the Unitarians were now managed by assemblies, or synods, on the Presbyterian plan. The synod consisted of the elders, ministers, and deacons of the Unitarian Churches of Poland and the neighbouring countries. They elected two moderators, the one a minister, the other a layman, who presided jointly. The power of these assemblies over the churches represented in them was almost despotic. They discussed every subject connected with religion, formed new churches, undertook missions into foreign countries, and discussed projects, frequently entertained about this time, for a union with the Calvinists or Anabaptists. The synod assigned pastors to particular churches, removed them from place to place, and ordained or consecrated those who were candidates for the sacred office. They inquired into the morals and conduct of the clergy, and investigated the discipline maintained by the pastors, elders, and deacons. Private tutors were appointed for the nobles and professors for the public schools; the oversight being intrusted to the presidents, who were to examine into the learning and morals both of professors and students, and to make reports to the synod. The control of the public treasury was entirely in their hands. To this fund every member of the Church contributed, and out of it the salaries of the ministers and the expenses of the colleges were paid. A provision was made for the support of widows and orphans and aged ministers. Relief was granted to exiles and foreigners in distress, with special reference to those who suffered for their attachment to Unitarian principles. The remainder of the fund was devoted to the extension of the Unitarian cause, by publishing books, or sending out missionaries. General deacons laid before the synod an account of the sums expended or required, and a report was made of the contributions of each church towards the public expenses: and, lastly, at these meetings the Lord's Supper was celebrated, and



converts admitted through the rite of baptism. The acts and resolutions of these synods were of national importance; they were kept with great care, and were still in existence when Poland ceased to be a nation in the last century. They were contained in several volumes in manuscript, chiefly in the Polish language, with an intermixture of Latin words and phrases.

The fall of Socinianism in Poland was no less rapid than its rise. The Socinians were regarded by all parties with dislike and jealousy. The Roman Catholics of Poland were inveterate against them; for they had not only blighted the glories of the ancient superstitions, but had succeeded in obtaining possession of all those honours in the state which were the reward of eloquence, art, or learning. In time the ill-feeling broke out, and the two parties proceeded from mutual insults to acts of violence. In the year 1638 some students of the Unitarian college at Racow threw down a wooden crucifix which stood at the entrance of the town. The foolish act was resented by the whole papal community, and an accusation against the Unitarians was laid before the courts of law. This boyish freak was construed into a premeditated act of sedition. The Socinians offered in vain the most solid proofs of their innocence; the president of the academy in vain cleared himself from the charge by a solemn oath; in vain was a protest offered on their behalf by many delegates of high rank and of other churches. The diet of Warsaw decreed that the academy of Racow should be destroyed, its professors banished, the printing-house of the Socinians pulled down, and their churches closed. The vindictive sentence was executed without the least delay. Other calamities followed, and similar edicts were enacted in other parts of Poland. The Cossacks made frequent irruptions, and the Unitarians, whom they had learned to abhor as impious men, suffered greatly from their violence. The king of Sweden invaded Poland, and they submitted to him in the hope of finding relief. Casimir recovered his territory, and avenged himself on the Socinians as traitorous subjects. In the year 1658 it was decreed by the diet at Warsaw that all the Socinians should leave the kingdom, and capital punishment was denounced against all who should, for the future, either profess their opinions or shelter those who did so. They were at first indulged with a respite of three years for the settlement of their affairs; but this short term was soon afterwards

reduced to two years. In the year 1661 the terrible edict was renewed, and all the Socinians who remained in Poland were barbarously expelled, with cruelties such as the Jews experienced when driven from Spain by the Dominicans. Some of them sought an asylum in Transylvania; a considerable number found their way to Silesia, Brandenburg, and Prussia; others repaired to Holland and Great Britain. They met with little favour in any one of their retreats. The hand of power was everywhere against them. Papist and Protestant alike received them with coldness, if they did not treat them with tyrannical severity. Thus the Unitarian churches, after an existence of more than a hundred years in Poland, were at length destroyed, and in Europe they have never since regained the same importance.

Till the partition of Poland, a few Socinians still lingered there, holding their meetings as opportunity permitted, like the Huguenots in France, in fields, or forests, or private houses. They retained a regular ministry; their young men being educated at Leyden, or at the college of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam. On the partition of the kingdom, they were included by Russia and Austria in the number of Dissidents, a general title under which all Christians were included who were not members of the Established Church in one or other of those kingdoms; and they have since been permitted to enjoy their religious opinions undisturbed. In Holland, they were known as Anabaptists, who practised immersion; but their numbers were not considerable, and they have slowly disappeared.

The only society of Socinians in England, was formed by the famous John Biddle, during the protectorate. He had been imprisoned for his heretical notions before the king's death, and during his confinement, in the year 1647, he had published twelve questions or arguments against the deity of the Holy Spirit. He was answered by the learned Matthew Poole, the author of the "Synopsis Criticorum," and his book was ordered to be burnt. The next year, being still in prison, he published seven articles against the deity of Christ. The Westminster Assembly was sitting, and it was seriously moved by some of its zealots, that he should be put to death as a heretic. But Cromwell disliked intolerance, and, when it showed itself among the Presbyterians, viewed it with contempt. In 1651, Biddle was set at liberty; he immediately published two catechisms, the one a Scripture

Catechism, the other for the use of children. In these, he maintains, That God is confined to a certain place : That he has a bodily shape : That he has passions : That he is neither omnipotent nor unchangeable : That we are not to believe three Persons in the Godhead : That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God, but only a divine lordship : That he was not a priest while upon earth, nor did reconcile men to God : That there is no deity in the Holy Ghost. These propositions were condemned by the Parliament, and the author was again committed to prison. But soon after, Cromwell dissolved his Parliament, and Biddle was set at liberty. His zeal, however, does not appear to have been crushed amidst the dangers to which it had exposed him. He now challenged Griffin, a Baptist minister, to dispute with him, in St. Paul's, on the question of the deity of Christ. This occasioned fresh disturbance, and the Privy Council committed him once more to Newgate ; but the Protector again wisely interfered, removed him to the Scilly Islands, and even allowed him a pension of a hundred crowns a year. Here he remained seven years, when he was set at liberty. Dr. Owen, the Independent, answered his catechisms in a learned and elaborate treatise, entitled "*Vindiciæ Evangelicæ.*" After the Protector's death, he opened a chapel in London, where he preached till the Restoration. He was again seized while in the pulpit, and imprisoned, probably under the Act of Uniformity, rather than for heresy, and died in confinement in 1662. Biddle is represented by his friends, as a man of exalted piety ; his learning was admitted by all parties ; his memory was retentive ; and, in proof of his knowledge of the Scriptures, it is mentioned, that he could repeat all St. Paul's Epistles in Greek. Notwithstanding the peculiarities of his doctrine, he observed, and expected from others, seriousness and reverence in speaking of God, and Christ, and holy things. He would, by no means, hear their names or titles, nor any sentence of Holy Scripture, made use of lightly. In his common conversation, he expressed an awe of the Divine presence. In his private devotions, it was his frequent custom to prostrate himself upon the ground, after the example of our Saviour in his agony, and this posture of worship he recommended to his intimate friends. He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Firmin, a person of great benevolence ; but his congregation disappeared, and with it, the last traces of the ancient

Polish Unitarians in England. The adherents of Biddle were called Bidellians at the time ; but they preferred the title of Unitarians, although they did not perfectly agree either with Socinus or the Unitarians of Poland. They differed from them in this, that they believed the Holy Spirit, though not God, to be a person, in the common acceptance of that word. Biddle asserted the liberty in which Unitarians make their boast. He was not anxious to form a party guarded by specific tests, or doctrines accurately defined. He left all men to that liberty which was consistent with their mutual edification, says his biographer, and a conscientious profession of what appeared to their minds the truth.

Before we leave the ancient Unitarians, their most distinguished writers must be mentioned. At the head of these stands Faustus Socinus himself. The works of the Polish Unitarian authors were published at Amsterdam, in nine volumes folio, in 1668. The first two volumes contain the works of Socinus. They consist of expositions of Scripture, and of controversial tracts. The former are partly critical, partly philosophical. His criticisms would not now be received by any party, as of much importance. His theological creed resembled that of Arius, in the divinity it assigns to the Son of Man, rather than that of modern Unitarians, in the mere humanity which they assign to the Son of God. What is worthy of praise is the candid spirit, and the freedom from passion, with which he writes in an intemperate age. After him, Crellius comes next, with several others of less note. He was the son of a Lutheran minister, but adopting Unitarian sentiments, became rector of the university of Racow. He published commentaries upon some of the gospels and epistles, and other practical works in divinity. Grotius is claimed by the Socinians as a convert in his later years. In his youth he attacked the Socinian doctrine, as to the design and efficacy of the death of Christ. He was answered by Crellius, to whom he made no reply, but thanked Crellius for his work ; and his annotations, it is argued, are a complete system of Socinianism, not excepting his notes on the first chapter of St. John's Gospel. On the other hand, it is maintained, by those who defend his orthodoxy, that in many of his private letters, he expressed great dislike to the Socinian theory ; that his compliments to Crellius show nothing more than the liberality of his

mind ; and that if his interpretation of certain texts be admitted to prove his Socinianism, Calvin himself, by the same method of reasoning, may be charged with Arianism. And that, after all, it is not material to the cause of truth what side any man, eminent for learning and judgment, may have espoused, since religious truth rests on evidence, and not on authority.

With the decay of piety Arianism appeared, soon after the revolution, amongst the English Nonconformists, and, to a certain extent, amongst the clergy of the Church of England. It was not, however, the Arianism of the second century, but rather the result of a philosophical exercise upon the supposed nature of the Deity. It rested neither on biblical criticism nor patristic authority, but upon a metaphysical philosophy then much in vogue. Whiston, professor of mathematics at Cambridge, is perhaps as much entitled as any other person to be considered the founder of the school. He felt himself at liberty to frame theories of the Divine existence precisely as he framed theories of the creation of the world, without the support of any kind of evidence, but simply as hypotheses by which apparent difficulties might be explained. Whiston was expelled the university in 1710 for heresy. Dr. Samuel Clarke, rector of St. James's, Westminster, maintained Arian sentiments from the pulpit and the press a few years afterwards ; but his conduct was blamed ; the Convocation took up the question, and Clarke desisted from the controversy as the condition of retaining his preferment. Beyond this, Arianism made no advances of importance in the Established Church. It was otherwise with the Dissenters. For a period of at least fifty years, the whole of the three denominations, Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians, were agitated with discussions on the Trinity ; the Arians still gaining ground, and the orthodox party being gradually silenced. Still there was no well-defined creed or symbol to which the Arians subscribed. They were known rather by their contempt of creeds and subscriptions. They prided themselves upon their freedom from human impositions ; they were the friends of free inquiry, free thinkers, rational Christians. They were known rather by what they denied than by what they taught. The founder of modern Unitarianism in England was Robert Priestley

Priestley, the son of a Dissenter, was sent for his education to the academy at Daventry, which Dr. Doddridge had founded ; it

was then under the control of Dr. Ashworth; and he left it with a mind unsettled, the tutors themselves being divided on the question of the Trinity. In 1762 he became tutor of an academy at Warrington, under the auspices of the heterodox Dissenters. In 1774 he removed to Birmingham, where he undertook the charge of a congregation of Nonconformists; and here the most important part of his ministerial life was spent. He was a voluminous writer, not only in theology, but in chemistry, science, history, and other subjects; and from his own writings we collect the outline of his creed. In his "Theological Repository," volume iv., page 22, he says, that "as to the apostles, there will perhaps be no great difficulty in admitting that the great object of their mission did not require any particular illumination with respect to the knowledge of the Scripture; and therefore they would be naturally influenced by that mode of interpretation which was generally adopted by their countrymen." And, in page 442, "it is evident that the apostles often applied the Scriptures very improperly, and with no better judgment than their unbelieving countrymen." This may be sufficient to explain his views on the subject of the inspiration of Scripture. He denies that the Holy Spirit enlightened the apostles on the day of Pentecost, although they were then endued with extraordinary powers; "but we do not find that their minds were enlightened in a direct manner at all; that is, they had no new knowledge communicated to them; all their illumination that they had in consequence of it being that which they derived from their own reflections on that remarkable event, and on the powers which they had in consequence of it." (Vol. iv., page 192.) "I have frequently declared myself," he says in his letters to Dr. Horsley, "not to be a believer in the inspiration of the evangelists and apostles as writers." (Part i., page 132.) Thus the testimony of the writers of the New Testament to the proper divinity of our Lord is at once disposed of. This, the cardinal point of the controversy, Dr. Priestley treated with a freedom equally unknown to Socinus and the English Arians. Socinus admitted that Jesus, though not God, had a nature far exalted above that of man: Priestley denied that he was more than a mere man, and sometimes he did this in language that could not fail to be offensive to his opponents. Socinus thought the worship of Christ admissible; maintaining only that the highest

faith, and consequently the purest devotion, would lead the worshipper at once to God the Father. Priestley, in his "Familiar Letters, addressed to the inhabitants of Birmingham," charges all orthodox Christians with idolatry. "All," he says, "who believe Christ to be a man, and not God, must necessarily think it idolatry to pay him Divine honours. We have no other definition of idolatry than to worship as God that which is not God. Do not all Protestants say it is idolatry in the Catholics to pray to the Virgin Mary, to Peter, Paul, or any other saints, or even to angels or archangels? Do you not continually charge the Catholics with idolatry on this principle? Now it is on the very same principle, and no other, that we, who consider Christ as being a man, such as Peter and Paul were, say that it must be idolatry to worship or to pray to him. This is only the necessary consequence of avowing our belief, with what must follow from it." (*Letter V.*) Dr. Priestley also maintained that future punishment is probationary, holding, in fact, the doctrine of a purgatory; and he dwelt with satisfaction on this view of the subject to the last moment of his life. A disgraceful riot, in which his house and chapel were destroyed, drove him from Birmingham in 1793; he had become obnoxious, not only from the freedom of his religious opinions, but still more from his admiration of the French revolution. He then took charge of the congregation of his deceased friend Dr. Price, in London; but soon afterwards retired to America, where he was received but coldly, and died in retirement in 1804.

The academy at Daventry, under the superintendence of Dr. Ashworth, produced another Unitarian minister, in some respects more eminent than Priestley. Thomas Belsham, the son of a dissenting minister, pursued his studies with so much success, that he was appointed assistant tutor, and, upon the death of Dr. Ashworth, principal of the institution. He had been educated in the doctrines of Calvinism; he now began to doubt their truth; and having embraced Unitarianism, he left the college, and relinquished his connexion with an orthodox congregation in the neighbourhood, of which he was the pastor. A new college was opened at Hackney by the Unitarians, and it was placed under his care, but it was soon closed for want of funds, and Belsham succeeded to the congregation over which Dr. Priestley had for a time presided. In 1805 he removed to the chapel in

Essex-street, which had been built for Mr. Lindsey, a clergyman of the Church of England who had embraced Socinianism, and was eminent in the last century, as a Unitarian minister. Here Mr. Belsham laboured till the close of his life, and was long regarded as the head of his party. His talents were undoubtedly of a high order; he was an able writer upon almost every point of theology. He published a volume on the evidences of the Christian revelation, which, for a time, was popular; and an improved version of the "New Testament," which was severely criticised by his Trinitarian opponents. Priestley and Belsham met with a powerful antagonist in Horsley, Bishop of St. David's. Horsley was a controversialist of a clear head and of great attainments, although the latter are now supposed to have been overrated. He wrote with force, but in a dictatorial style; he was proud and disputatious; and Priestley replied with needless irritation. The great point at issue between them was the faith of the primitive Church on the subject of the incarnation and the atonement. Dr. Priestley had published a treatise on the corruptions of Christianity, amongst which he placed the doctrine of the Trinity: this, he said, in the form in which it is now maintained, was of no greater antiquity than the Council of Nice. Horsley, then archdeacon of St. Albans, answered these assertions in a charge to the clergy, in 1783. Priestley, who never declined a challenge, immediately replied. Horsley resumed his pen, and the result was given to the world in the most valuable of his writings, namely, his "Tracts in controversy with Dr. Priestley, upon the historical Question of the Belief of the First Ages in our Lord's Divinity."

After the death of Priestley, the leadership of the Unitarians in England devolved on Thomas Belsham. Less various in his knowledge than Priestley, he was a more formidable opponent. Priestley, whose attainments were rather extensive than profound, was rash in his assertions, and was easily driven in from many of his outposts. Belsham was more thoughtful; he reasoned with less acuteness, but greater force of argument. His "Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ," published in 1811, formed an epoch in Unitarian controversy. To a great extent it affected the whole character of Unitarianism, and its influence is still apparent in the tone of feeling which prevails amongst the body. It is undoubtedly the ablest work which



modern Unitarianism has produced, though orthodox Christians consider that it has received a full refutation from the works of Dr. Magee on the Atonement and Dr. Pye Smith on the Scripture testimonies to the divinity of the Messiah.

The history of the Unitarians during the present century affords no striking incidents either in England or elsewhere. It has been that of quiet, rather than rapid, progress. Indeed, taking into the account the increase of population, and comparing the advances of Unitarianism with those of almost every sect of evangelical Christians, it may be questioned whether its relative position is improved since the days of Price and Priestley. In bringing this paper to a close, we shall offer some remarks on the constitution of the Unitarian Churches, as they now exist, and upon the scheme of doctrine they profess.

The number of congregations in England is about two hundred and fifty. In Scotland and Ireland there are, besides these, about fifty congregations. Of these three hundred one-third at least are old Presbyterian foundations of the Nonconformists and later Puritans. Events which have been related (see PRESBYTERIANS) placed these chapels, most of which have small endowments, in the hands of the Arians of the last century, and these, in turn, made way for the Unitarians who now possess them. A few congregations practise adult baptism; these are the descendants of the Anabaptists; but whatever may have been their constitution in past times, all the Unitarian Churches are now congregational. Perfect independence is the characteristic of the whole body, each congregation being, in Church discipline, in its mode of worship, and in the peculiarity of its creed, free to act after its own judgment. The Unitarian body have no accredited representatives, answering to the Convocation of the Church of England or the Wesleyan Conference. They have a general association in London, styled the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. They have also many other societies, but all of these are voluntary, nor is any one of them recognised as having any authority whatever; neither does there exist any Unitarian creed or standard which the general body have ever formally recognised as of authority. Hence they do not receive the Racovian, or any other, catechism, as a standard of faith; nor have they any test of orthodoxy, as applicable either to ministers or laity. Their leading fundamental principles being admitted, their

churches are perfectly free to all who may choose to join them for worship and religious communion ; nor is there any such distinction amongst them as that, which exists among Trinitarian congregationalists, between the church and the congregation, both being one and the same body. They welcome to the Lord's table, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, all who choose to join them, nor question on any account their right to partake with them whenever so disposed. It will immediately be seen that it must be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the numbers of a society thus constituted. On a rough calculation, the Unitarians of the three kingdoms are computed at one hundred thousand.

In America the triumphs of Unitarianism have been greater. The same causes which led to the defection of the English Presbyterians, induced the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers to abandon the orthodox faith. Boston, the chosen retreat of the self-exiled Puritans, is now said to contain, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and fifty congregations of Unitarians. Throughout New England, comprising those northern states which were first colonized by English Nonconformists, Socinian principles are extensively avowed ; and the Unitarian body, though by no means the greatest in point of numbers, is the wealthiest throughout the United States. Amongst the phenomena of Church history, few are more deserving of the student's consideration. He will naturally inquire how it is that a system which has gained so few converts at home should so fascinate our descendants in the western continent. The existence of a national Church is generally admitted on both sides to furnish the solution. There are peculiarities in the American character which must also be taken into the account ; a boldness of inquiry, a fondness for abstract theories, a restlessness beneath opinions of long standing, which have probably contributed to the same result. A majority of the American Quakers, amounting to upwards of forty-three thousand, are Unitarians, and they form a distinct community, the orthodox Quakers having seceded from them.

In Europe Socinianism prevails in the Church founded by Calvin at Geneva, and the Swiss Cantons have undergone a similar change. The few orthodox clergy who remain suffer constant insult and persecution ; for the Unitarians of Geneva have not yet learned to practise those lessons of catholicity and of respect for

the rights of conscience which are the just boast of their party in other lands. The Unitarians of Geneva are entitled to no respect. Enjoying the emoluments and honours of a Calvinistic Church, they denounce from Calvin's pulpits the doctrines which Calvin taught. They are dishonest men, who add to their delinquency the crime of persecuting those who still preach the doctrines of their own Church. With such men the Unitarians of England and America have nothing in common except the name.

Unitarianism, as a theological system, is thus explained by one of its living advocates:—1. Trinitarian and Unitarian are correlative terms; the latter rendered necessary only by the existence of the former; both expressing different views of the one Christian faith. 2. Trinitarianism is not anything more of a positive and substantial faith than Unitarianism. Unitarian Christianity is the distinctive name of that view or form of Christian faith which recognises “but one God, the Father.” Trinitarian Christianity, on the other hand, recognises “the Son as God, and the Holy Ghost as God,” as well as “the Father.” Unitarian Christianity negatives these two additional articles, maintaining the godhead of the Father to be supreme and sole “To us there is but one God, the Father.” This text furnishes a clear and complete definition of Unitarian Christianity.

Thus Unitarian is employed as the correlative of Trinitarian. A believer in one God is a monotheist, as opposed to a polytheist. The words Unitarian and Trinitarian have reference not to the unity, but to the personality of the godhead.

Unitarians defend their system by three lines of argument—critical, historical, and philosophical. Under the first of these the meaning of the Scriptures, and especially the critical examination of the New Testament, is comprised. Under the second it is argued, that Trinitarianism is comparatively a modern doctrine; that its gradual formation can be traced from its commencement to its final establishment by the emperor Theodosius, towards the close of the fourth century, A. D. 380. And under the third the impossibility of the doctrine is asserted. “It is a doctrine,” says Mr. James Yates, in his “Vindication of Unitarianism,” “which councils and parliaments may decree, but which miracles cannot prove.” The examination of these important questions is a labour from which, in the present day, no orthodox minister of religion can shrink, and upon which

ignorance is unpardonable. A fair amount of learning and industry will soon enable him to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion upon the first and second points. The real difficulty lies only with the third, but it exists rather in words than in reality. Unitarianism is, we conceive, the result of a wrong method in philosophy; it overlooks those ultimate facts which are admitted to exist in all other speculations; and, plunging onward in a waste of speculation, demands a proof of that of which it is impossible that any other proofs should reach us than the bare statement of the doctrine by a competent, that is, an inspired, authority.

It remains only to speak of the literature of Unitarianism. Here a striking contrast greets us. In general literature Unitarians occupy a high position; in theology they are almost unknown.

Dr. Channing, whose fame as a writer is now established wherever the language in which he wrote is read, became the minister of a congregation in Boston at the beginning of the present century. His first appearance in the pulpit made a sensation such as had been long unknown, even in a city famous for its preachers. His week-day evening lecture was crowded in that mart of commerce, and his friends announced "a new era in preaching." He brought a fervour into the Socinian pulpit to which it had been long a stranger; the seriousness of his deportment, we are told by his biographer, the depth and sweetness of his voice, the pathos with which he read the Scriptures, and sacred poetry; the solemnity of his appeals; his rapt and kindling enthusiasm, his humble trustful spirit of prayer, his subdued feeling, so expressive of personal experience, made religion a new reality. Spiritual religion was the end of his ministrations. "Let me unite," he says, in his diary, "with the most serious, stately in prayer, for the revival of religion in the society." His biographer indignantly disclaims the imputation that he ever embraced, or even approached, orthodox Trinitarian sentiments; if so, we admire the happy inconsistency which dictated the following sentences:—

"Have I not reason to fear that many are destitute of love to God, to Christ, to the Church, to man? Do they not confide in a course of negative goodness? Are they not full of false hopes from the performance of particular duties, abstinence from great crimes? Are they not easy, and satisfied, because they give no

positive evidence of irreligion, not because they have positive evidence of religion? Do they not mistake habit for principle? Is holiness an end? Is God all in all? Is Christ all in all to them? Is love the habit of their soul, operating in their whole conduct? \* \* \* \* Christ came to recover man from sin. A change of heart is the object of the Gospel. In this consists the redemption of Christ. It becomes man to weep, to feel true, hearty sorrow at sin itself; to abhor and condemn themselves as without excuse, to feel themselves dependent upon free, unmerited, unobligated, sovereign grace, for pardon and renewal.

“The Spirit of God is the blessing of the new covenant. The knowledge, love, imitation, service, and enjoyment of God through eternity are all included in this gift. There can be no other rational, eternal blessedness. The Spirit of God operates on the heart, creates new exercises, and dwells in the souls of Christians, by constantly and immediately supporting all good affections. Every man must be new-born, have a new heart, a new principle, end, motive, disposition; a change, by the Spirit, into a meek, submissive, self-renouncing, self-abhorring, benevolent state of soul, before he can believe, approve, choose the Gospel, and receive the kingdom of heaven.”—*Channing's Memoir*, vol. i. Judging from these specimens, the religion of Dr. Channing appears to have differed from that of Priestley and Belsham in principle as well as in warmth and spirituality.

But even Dr. Channing is better known as an essayist than a divine. His reviews and historical dissertations, rather than his contributions to religious science, have won his reputation. And so it is at home. There is no department of science or literature in which Unitarians do not occupy a distinguished place. The theory of education, political economy, poetry and fiction, and the best reviews, they may safely claim, but in theology little is attempted. No sect in England is so well educated; yet no sect, of equal numbers, contributes so little through the press to the direct spiritual instruction of the people. The same apathy pervades their missions. Their efforts are feeble, their converts few. The fact is admitted and deplored by candid members of their own communion. Whether it be the necessary result of Unitarian principles, whether fervent zeal be consistent with those views of the Divine character and of man's condition, which Unitarians hold, is a question full of the deepest interest

both to themselves and their opponents. The Editor is indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. S. Bache, minister of the New Meeting, Birmingham, for several of the particulars already mentioned, as well as for the following statements:—

“That freedom from tests which is characteristic of Unitarians is characteristic also of our theological institutions, especially of that one of them in which provision is made for the *complete* education of our youth for the Christian ministry, namely, Manchester New College, which has its library and classrooms in University Hall, Gordon-square, and is in connection with the University of London. The Presbyterian College at Carmarthen, too, is equally unsectarian, and is also connected with the London University. Several of our Unitarian ministers from the Principality have received their education partially or wholly there. Besides these two unsectarian institutions, the “Unitarian Home Missionary Board,” has recently been established in Manchester, having for its object to prepare men of earnest and devout minds to be domestic missionaries, Unitarian missionaries, and ministers to rural and other small congregations.

“The chief periodicals connected with the Unitarian denomination in England are the *Christian Reformer*, edited by the Rev. R. B. Aspland. The *Enquirer*; or, *Weekly Newspaper*. The *Sunday-school Penny Magazine*, edited for the Manchester District Sunday-school Association,” &c.

See *Socini Opera*. *Toulmin: Life of Faustus Socinus*. *Mosheim: Eccl. Hist.* *Dictionnaire des Heresies: Art. Socinianisme*. *Dr. Priestley: Letters, Sermons, and Tracts*. *Lindsay's Apology; and Life of, by Belsham*. *Belsham: Calm Enquiry; Tracts and Life by Williams*. *Memoirs of Dr. Channing*. *Bache: Lectures on Unitarian Christianity*. *Art. in Penny Cyclopaedia: Unitarianism*.

**UNIVERSALISTS.**—The great doctrine of Universalism is that the sufferings of the wicked after death are purgatorial in their character, and will finally terminate in eternal happiness. This doctrine is fundamental; but it is held, of course, in conjunction with many others. Universalists may, however,

now be divided into two parties; the evangelical or orthodox, and those who embrace Arian or Unitarian sentiments. Of the latter it is unnecessary to give any detailed account, since, in fact, they form a part, by far the larger part, of the Unitarian body. The process by which Universalism has linked itself with Socinianism has been the result of a mutual attraction. Great numbers of those who began with Unitarianism have advanced in the course of their speculations to Universalism; and, on the other hand, not a few of those who set out from Universalism have cast aside the orthodox creed to embrace the doctrines of Socinus.

Universalism professes to rest in part upon critical exegesis, but more fully perhaps upon philosophical argument. Under the former, those texts of Scripture are argued and explained in which our Lord and the sacred writers have been generally supposed to assert the eternity of future punishment. Under the latter, the benevolence of the Deity, the proper ends of punishment, and similar considerations, are advanced. Nor does Universalism hesitate to make its appeals to the Christian fathers, and to claim their sanction. But few traces of the doctrine, it is admitted, are to be found in the first and second centuries. During this period no controversies had arisen on the subject. Clemens, of Alexandria, is claimed as one of the fathers who during this period held these doctrines. Daillé and Archbishop Potter admit the justice of the charge, the truth of which, from the diffuseness of the father's writings, it is no easy matter to determine. "It is manifest," says the former, "throughout his works, that Clemens thought all the punishments that God inflicts upon men are salutary, and executed by him only for the purpose of instruction and reformation. Of this kind he reckons the torments which the damned in hell suffer."—*De Usu Patrum*, lib. ii. 4. Potter, having spoken of Origen's belief in the salvation of all the damned, adds, "From which opinion Clemens does not appear to have differed much, as he taught that the devil can repent, and that even the most heinous sins are purged away by punishments after death."—*Note in Clem. Alex.*, book vi., p. 794.

Origen was the pupil of Clemens, and may be considered as the founder of Universalism in the early Church. About the year 230 he published his books '*De Principiis*,' in which he

advocates at length the doctrine of universal salvation. It forms part of a system which exposed him to the charge of heresy in his own times, and has ranked him ever since amongst the fanciful and visionary. In connexion with Universalism he held the doctrine of pre-existence. His opinion was, that in the past ages of eternity God created, at once, all the rational minds which have ever existed, whether of angels or men, gave them the same nature and the same powers, and placed them all in one celestial state. Accordingly they were all, at first, exactly alike in rank, capacity, and character. But, as they all had perfect freedom of will, they did not long continue in this state of equality; for while some improved themselves more or less, others degenerated proportionally; till an infinite diversity of character and condition began to take place among them. In consequence of this, the Almighty at length formed the material universe out of pre-existent matter, and appointed those spirits to different ranks and conditions in it according to their respective deserts; elevating some to the angelic order, consigning others to the infernal abodes as demons, and sending the intermediate class, as occasion might require, into human bodies. All these intelligent beings still retain their original freedom of will, and are, therefore, capable of returning from their former transgressions, or of rising to still higher degrees of excellence. The fall of man, in his view, consisted in the descent of the celestial soul to the prison of an earthly body, in consequence of its transgressions in a pre-existent state. In the resurrection, mankind will come forth with bodies not of gross earthly matter, but of an ærial substance; and then the whole human race, both good and bad, will be subjected to a fiery ordeal in the general conflagration, with different degrees of pain, according to their moral purity or corruption. The righteous will quickly pass through this trial into the enjoyments of heaven; but the wicked will then be condemned to the punishments of hell, which consist both of inflicted pain, and of the remorse of conscience. These sufferings, though he calls them everlasting, Origen held would be apportioned in length and severity to each one's wickedness and hardness of heart; but for others, especially for the devil, they would necessarily be rendered intense, and protracted to an immense duration, in order to overcome the obstinacy and corruption of the guilty sufferers. At last, however, the whole intelligent



creation should be purified, and God become all in all.—*De Principiis*, lib. ii. cap. 10, &c.

To what extent Origen was infected either by the Gnostic or the Manichean principles, or whether he framed a system of his own, has been long disputed; for each of the opinions he maintained some text of Scripture is cited as authority. But Origen's theory of interpretation has never been sustained; and the Universalists of modern times, while they quote his name as an illustrious instance of the existence of their doctrines in early times, and amongst some of the leaders of the Church, still decline to bow to his authority. Origen, it must be remembered, was excommunicated by the orthodox party, and died before the sentence was removed.

His opinions lingered in the Church, and even gained ground. Modern Universalists claim St. Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, his brother the Bishop of Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen, in the fourth century as more or less inclined to the sentiments of Origen on the nature of future punishments.

Universalism appears to have been for a time the opinion of a majority of the fathers in the Eastern Church. Gregory Nyssen, Didymus, and Jerome, were to some extent its advocates. Nazianzen, speaking of the Novatians, an heretical sect, exclaims: "Perhaps they will be baptized in the next world with fire, which is the last baptism, and is not only keen but of great duration, and which shall feed on the dull matter as on hay, until it shall have consumed all their sins."—*Oratio*. xxxix. This seems to be the language of indecision, at least; but it must not be forgotten that the writings of the Oriental fathers were at this period deeply infected with the vicious tastes of a rapidly-declining age. Accuracy, and even truth, were of less account with them than some gaudy metaphor or startling paradox. In the Western Church the opinions of Origen also made some progress. St. Augustine, in the greatest of his writings, "The City of God," devotes several chapters to a refutation of the prevailing error. He begins by defending the Church from the charge of intolerance for refusing to allow her members to dispute in favour of a purgatorial fire, and the final release, not only of bad men, but of Satan himself. Such sentiments, he argues, cannot possibly be reconciled with the words of Christ, "Depart from me ye cursed into eternal fire, prepared

for the devil and his angels.”—*Matt.* xxv. 41. Nor with the declaration of St. John in the Revelation, that the beast and the false prophet shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.—*Rev.* xx. 10. Nor with the statement of St. Peter, that God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment.—*2 Peter* ii. 4. “This being the case,” he exclaims, “how can we believe that all or any of mankind, after a certain period, shall be restored from the eternity of this punishment, and not immediately weaken that faith by which we believe the torments of the demons will be endless. Or will the sentence of God, which is pronounced alike against evil angels and evil men, be true with respect to the angels, and be false with respect to men? And again, how can we suppose eternal torment to be only of long duration, and yet eternal life to be without end; when, in the very same passage, and in one and the same sentence, Christ said with reference to both, these shall go away into eternal punishment but the righteous into eternal life.—*Matt.* xxv. 46. Both are eternal, both must be understood either of long duration but at length coming to an end, or else as perpetual with no end. They are linked together: on the one hand eternal punishment, on the other hand eternal life; and it is absurd to say in one and the same sentence, that eternal life will be without end, and that eternal punishment will have an end. Whence we conclude that, as the eternal life of the saints will be without end, so also the eternal punishment of those who shall be condemned will without any doubt have no end.”—*De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxi. cap. 23. He confirms the argument by considerations drawn from the justice of God, and the exceeding sinfulness of sin. The decisions of St. Augustine were received with almost universal deference by the Western Church; in the East his name was regarded with great, though not with equal, veneration; and his authority imposed upon the cause of the Universalists a more fatal check than even the decisions of a general council. Augustine wrote his great work about A.D. 420, and through the remainder of the century we seek in vain for any traces of the doctrine. The final salvation of Satan and his angels was branded as a heresy, and the doctrine of the final restoration of mankind, nearly connected with it, was looked upon as an obnoxious and kindred

error; and the familiar name of Origen almost wholly disappears.

At length the Fifth General Council was held at Constantinople on the 4th of May, 553. One hundred and sixty bishops of the Greek and African Churches were present, and the opinions of the "impious Origen" were condemned. As a summary of doctrines which once extensively prevailed, and, we must add, as a melancholy proof of the degradation of the Christian Church in the sixth century, we place before the reader the decree in which the council uttered its sentence: "Whoever says or thinks that the souls of mankind pre-existed as intellectual, holy natures, but that, growing weary of divine contemplation, they degenerated to their present character, and were sent into these bodies for the purpose of punishment, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the human soul of Christ pre-existed and became united to the Word before its incarnation and nativity of the Blessed Virgin, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the body of Christ was first formed in the womb of the Holy Virgin, and that the Word and his pre-existent human soul were afterwards united with it, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the Divine Word is to become like the angelic and celestial powers, and thus be reduced to an equality with them, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that in the resurrection human bodies are to be of a round, globular form, or whoever will not acknowledge that mankind are to rise in an erect posture, let him be anathema. Whoever says that the sun, the moon, the stars, and the waters above the heavens, are certain animated or intelligent powers, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that Christ is to be crucified in the future world for the demons, as he was in this for men, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the power of God is limited, and that it has created all that it was able to embrace, let him be anathema. Whoever says or thinks that the torments of the demons and of impious men are temporal, so that they will at length come to an end, or whoever holds a restoration either of the demons and of impious men, so that their torments will at length come to an end, or whoever holds a restoration either of the demons or of the impious, let him be anathema. Anathema to Origen Adamantius, who taught these things among his detestable and accused dogmas; and to every one who

believes these things, or asserts them, or who shall ever dare to defend them in any part, let them be anathema; in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen."—*Summa Conciliorum, Paris edit.*, 1672.

Thus the faith of the Catholic Church was fixed, and it has remained ever since unaltered. The opinions of Origen have from time to time revived, but only to be condemned, and too frequently, we must allow, to expose their abettors to pains and penalties which disgrace the orthodox party. The censure of Origen was repeated in various councils: for example, in the first Lateran, A.D. 649; in the Sixth General Council at Constantinople, A.D. 680; and in the Seventh General Council at Nice, A.D. 687.

The Paulicians are sometimes claimed as Universalists. The history of this people is obscure, and their tenets, as related to us by their persecutors, have probably been misrepresented. They claimed, as their name implies, to be an ancient Church, in doctrine the disciples of St. Paul. Their enemies assert that they were the descendants of the Manichees. About the year 660 we first discover this people in considerable numbers, spreading quietly from the neighbourhood of Samesata, in the upper region of the Euphrates, through Armenia, and to the north through Cappadocia and Pontus. They abhorred the use of images and relics, were simple in their rites, and suffered no ecclesiastical domination. Their preachers were distinguished by no titles, and they acknowledged no superiority but that of greater zeal or greater wisdom. Gibbon has written their history with a candour which Milner, the Church historian, has commended. He assumes their descent from the Gnostics, yet he admits that they condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichean sect, and he allows that their creed was simple and spiritual. They are said to have rejected the Old Testament, and some books of the New. For a hundred and fifty years they sustained a bloody persecution from the orthodox emperors of the East with patient and inoffensive meekness. At length they took up arms, about the year 845, and carried on a long and disastrous contest with their oppressors. They were driven into the Armenian mountains, where they remained for two hundred years in comparative quiet and repose. About A.D. 1100 they became known in Europe, a colony of them having been transported by

one of the Greek emperors into what are now the Danubian principalities. A strong though secret discontent was already generally provoked by the profligacy of the Church of Rome; and as the strangers made their way towards Western Europe, the humility of their demeanour and the simplicity of their faith gained many converts: and thus arose those various sects of mediæval times known to Protestants as Albigenses, Cathari, and Waldenses. By Roman Catholic writers they are always described as Manicheans, and they are especially denounced as holding the doctrine of universal salvation, or denying altogether the future punishment of the wicked. But the accusations of Rome are to be received with caution. Into what excesses a few vagrant spirits might wander we cannot tell. The Paulicians, and their successors the Waldenses, pleaded guilty to no such heresies: their books were destroyed, as they themselves were annihilated, in the unrelenting persecutions with which Rome distressed them. At this period the notion of a purgatory was generally entertained by the Romish theologians; and had the Paulicians avowed the doctrine of a final restoration of the lost to happiness it would probably, if not connected with more offensive tenets, have excited but little opposition. Their real crime was the simplicity of their faith. And without better evidence we cannot inscribe them in the catena of Universalism.

The English Lollards were charged with teaching, amongst other doctrines, that all the damned, even the demons, might become happy: and it is probable that some among them held these notions; for at a council convened at Canterbury in the year 1368, Archbishop Langham gave judgment against thirty propositions taught in his province, of which this was one. Vestiges of the opinions of Origen continue indeed to be met with in every kingdom in Europe down to the Reformation.

It is unnecessary to trace the progress of Universalism from the Reformation to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its peculiar opinions were maintained by individuals, but we are not aware that they formed, in England or elsewhere, the creed of a denomination or sect. In every country they were extensively received by Unitarians, and occasionally by divines in other respects reputed orthodox. Of the latter class was Jeremiah White, once chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and preacher to his Council of State. After his death was published his "Restoration

of all Things : a Vindication of the Goodness and Grace of God to be manifested at last in the Recovery of the whole Creation out of their Fall." This volume has been several times republished. The author was a Nonconformist and a Calvinist, and, according to his scheme, Universalism is made consistent with the Calvinistic creed. The work was not made public till the year 1712. About the same time similar doctrines were advocated by Dr. Thomas Burnet, Master of the Charter House, and afterwards by the Rev. William Law and others, of the mystic school of the Church of England. But their opinions made no progress. Soames Jenyns, Dr. Lettsome, Sir George Stonchouse, and other men of speculative minds, entertained and avowed these principles.

From the continent of Europe it would be easy to furnish a long list of names in favour of Universalism ; but in general they were neither the leaders of religious opinions, nor themselves men of earnest piety. Theirs were rather the speculations of unbelievers than the conclusions of deferential students of the Bible. The opinions of D'Alembert and Diderot are of no importance. Some exceptions there were no doubt, and amongst them the name of Lavater must not be omitted. The doctrine of Universalism, we are told, was a sentiment which this eminent philanthropist embraced with all the native fervour of his heart. In more recent times the name of the profound critic, Tholuck, must be added.

The father of the modern Universalists was James Relly, originally a friend and follower of George Whitfield. Relly began his ministerial career in Mr Whitfield's, or Lady Huntingdon's, connexion ; but, gradually renouncing the doctrines he had once espoused, he taught that Christ, as a mediator, was united to mankind, and, by his obedience and sufferings, had as fully restored the whole human race to the divine favour as if all had obeyed or suffered in their own persons. Rellian Universalism, as it has been called, has the system of Calvin for its basis. A work of Mr. Relly's, entitled " Union ; or a Treatise on the Consanguinity and Affinity between Christ and his Church," is that by which he is best known. It has been more than once republished in America and this country. His creed is thus stated by one of his followers, Mr. Whittemore, in his *Modern History of Universalism* : " Jesus Christ had made satisfaction for all the

human race, and bore their sins in his body. Hence he knew nothing of inflicting the demands of justice upon the sinner. Sin is to be dreaded for the natural evils which it brings in its train, but not for the penalty of the Divine law, which we have all suffered to the full in the person of Jesus. Thus although Rely admitted the doctrine of partial suffering in the future state, he maintained that the state of unbelievers, after death, cannot be a state of punishment, because Jesus Christ, who hath tasted death for every man, bore the chastisements of their peace when the Lord laid upon him the iniquities of us all. He admitted the doctrine of misery in the future state only on the principle that while in unbelief men know not, nor believe, that Jesus hath put away their sins by the sacrifice of himself; and therefore they are oppressed with guilt and fear; and these are in proportion to their use or abuse of knowledge; to their receiving, or obstinately rejecting, the Divine evidences and demonstrations of grace and salvation. But he looked beyond all evil and misery, whether in this or the future state, to a time of universal restitution, when all mankind will be brought to know the Lamb of God who hath taken away the sin of the world."

Amongst the early converts of Rely was John Murray. For a time he was a preacher in Wesley's connexion, and after that, a member of Whitfield's congregation at the Tabernacle; but having joined the Universalists in 1770, he lost the confidence of his friends, and sought a home in America, where he is still regarded as the patriarch of Universalism. On the other hand, America furnished a successor to Rely in the person of Elkanan Winchester, who preached to his congregation in Southwark for some years with considerable success. At length the calamity happened to the Rellian Universalists which has again and again occurred in the societies of this sect. They quarrelled and broke up, the majority becoming Unitarians. Universalism in the metropolis, as the characteristic of a denomination, dwindled away, and at length became extinct about the year 1820.

There are at present three societies in Great Britain known as Universalists, which maintain in other respects orthodox sentiments, "all holding, and all rejoicing to hold, as essential tenets of Christianity, the supreme deity of Jesus Christ, the efficacy of his atoning sacrifice, the power of his resurrection, new creation by his Spirit through his word, the election of his

Church, and the inheritance of his kingdom by the members of that Church alone." These are, first a body at Glasgow, among whom are some of the friends and followers of Mr. Neil Douglas, who is regarded as the father of Universalism in Scotland. He was a pastor of the Relief Church in Dundee, but embracing Universalism in 1801, became for more than twenty years the active and laborious leader of the party whose cause he had espoused, or rather had called into existence. Second, a church at Plymouth, of which the Rev. William Seabrook is the pastor; and thirdly, a congregation in Crown-street, Liverpool, under the pastoral care of the Rev. David Thom, who has now presided over it for a period of above thirty years.

The principles maintained by the Liverpool Society are thus briefly stated by Dr. Thom (to whose courtesy we are indebted for much valuable information on the subject of this article) in a private communication to the Editor. "We love the leading doctrines of the Gospel, not as they appear in popular creeds, but as they are laid down in the Scriptures themselves. We know no teacher of Divine truth but the Holy Ghost himself, speaking to us and teaching us in and through the Holy Scriptures. Nevertheless we can love and admire the statements of divine truth which are to be found in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and in other publications, the leading views of which rest upon evangelical principles. To us Universalism is a truth, because God himself reveals it; but it is not to us the main truth. Hence we very seldom speak of it. Regeneration by the Spirit of Christ Jesus, admission into the enjoyment of his knowledge and love, and the fruits and effects which spring from the influence and operation of the truth, are our constant, as they are scriptural, themes." For a further statement of the views entertained by Dr. Thom, we must refer to his "Five Dialogues on Universal Redemption."

To trace minutely the progress of Universalism in the United States is beyond our limits. Murray landed in America in 1770, and there for the first time proclaimed the doctrine as a prominent theme, and in a public and decided manner. New Jersey was the scene of his first labours. Few at first supported him: his opinions, on the contrary, encountered great opposition. At length his converts became numerous. Societies sprang up in every direction. Conventions of Universalists were organized,



and long before his death, which occurred in 1815, Universalism in America had diffused itself to an extent, and had come to possess amongst its supporters an amount of talent, energy, and influence, calculated to give it a high standing among the religious denominations of the great transatlantic republic. Its followers amount to 650,000. Should the reader ask why a cause which advances so slowly in England should have triumphed in America, the chief answer, as supplied by an American Universalist, is this: "Here we have no national establishment to crush us."—*Rev. J. Sawyer, letter in Appendix to "Dialogues" by Dr. Thom.*

The American Universalists are now at variance amongst themselves. About the year 1840, after many bickerings, and the exhibition of much unpleasant feeling, they split into two subordinate divisions, denominated the Impartialists and the Restorationists. The former, who are by far the more numerous of the two bodies, deny the existence of an intermediate state of happiness and misery, the infliction of temporary torments, and the natural immortality of the soul; maintaining, that although there is a distinction between believers and unbelievers in time, this distinction, nevertheless, extends no further; the whole human family, after having died, continuing till the end of time in a state of unconsciousness, and then rising again all at once, and without any distinction, to the enjoyment of eternal life. The latter maintain the immortality of the soul, the existence of an intermediate state, torments inflicted upon the wicked during a longer or shorter period, the reign of the saints, and the ultimate restoration through them of all things by Christ. These, it will be seen, are the sentiments of the older Universalists. Unitarianism is now in America one of the leading features of Universalism.

*Ballou: Ancient History of Universalism. Boston, U. S. 1829.*  
*Whittemore: Modern History of Universalism, from the Reformation to the Present Time. Boston, U. S. 1830.* *Dialogues on Universal Salvation, by David Thom, D.D. Second Edition.*  
*The Restoration of All Things, by Jeremiah White, Chaplain to Oliver Cromwell; with an Introductory Essay, by David Thom, D.D. The Universalist. London. 1850.*

**W**ESLEYANS; or, WESLEYAN METHODISTS.—Few occurrences in Church history are of greater interest than the rise and progress of the Methodists. Their story is interwoven with the founder's life, a man whose character was of force enough to impress itself upon his own age, and to mould into new forms the religion of multitudes of his posterity.

Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, at the beginning of the last century, was the father of three sons; Samuel, born in 1692; John, in 1703; and Charles, in 1708. To John, the second son, assisted by Charles, the youngest, the Methodist societies owe their existence; Samuel took no part in the movement, of which, indeed, he strongly disapproved. The three were brought up at the University of Oxford, and received orders in the Church of England.

Their father, the rector of Epworth, was the son and grandson of clergymen of note. Their mother was the daughter of Dr. Amesley, an ejected minister. The rector's family, too, had been infected with dissent, for both his father and his father's father had retired from the Church under the fatal Act of Nonconformity of 1662, and taken up their lot amongst the Nonconformists. The rector of Epworth appears to have run into the other extreme. He was a high churchman, a man of great erudition, a leader in the polemics of the day, and an author of some renown. He published, in 1736, a folio volume, in Latin, of "Dissertations on the Book of Job." The dissertations are fifty-three in number, and they seem to have been meant to exhaust the subject. Everything connected with the patriarch, the times in which he lived, his language and country, the structure of the book which bears his name, its meaning and inspiration, the behaviour of his friends, and the tempers of his wife, are learnedly discussed. When his son John was one-and-twenty he wrote to him at college, desiring him "to render his assistance in an edition of the Holy Bible, in octavo, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Septuagint, and the Vulgate," which, he says, "I have sometime since designed, and have made some progress in." Yet his sons, studious and learned as they were, grew up in ignorance both of the literature of the Nonconformists and of their history. John had been some years in orders, when, at the house of a friend, he met with "Calamy's Lives of the Ejected Ministers;" and for the first time, read in it the story of the zeal, and

the sufferings, of his own grandfather. The rector of Epworth spent much of his time in London, and was an active member of convocation at a period when convocation was important. His wife perceived with sorrow that the parish suffered in his absence, assembled his parishioners in her kitchen on Sunday evenings, and read a sermon and prayers with them. The rector wrote home in alarm to stay her proceedings; she defended her conduct in a letter, gentle, argumentative, and firm: "And where is the harm of this? If I and my children went a visiting on Sunday night, or if we admitted of impertinent visits, as too many do who think themselves good Christians, perhaps it would be thought no scandalous practice, though, in truth, it would be so; therefore, why any should reflect upon you, let your station be what it will, because your wife endeavours to draw people to church, and to restrain them, by reading and other persuasions, from their profanation of God's most holy day, I cannot conceive. But if any should be so mad as to do so, I wish you would not regard it. And yet," she adds, with great modesty, "there is one thing about which I am much dissatisfied; that is, their being present at family prayers. I do not speak of any concern I am under barely because so many are present, for those who have the honour of speaking to the great and holy God need not be ashamed to speak before the whole world, but because of my sex. I doubt if it be proper for me to present the prayers of the people to God. Last Sunday I would feign have dismissed them before prayers, but they begged so earnestly to stay I could not deny them. We had above two hundred, and yet many went away for want of room." But the rector was afraid of the charge of holding a conventicle, and, greatly to his wife's sorrow, her domestic ministrations closed, with a solemn protest on her part that she was free from the blood of her husband's flock.

From such a home the young Wesleys removed to the university, John having been first sent to the Charter-house, and Charles to Westminster. The seriousness of their deportment was observed, and their success perhaps excited some jealousy amongst their rivals. In 1726 John was elected fellow of Lincoln College; in the same year Charles was elected from Westminster to a studentship at Christchurch, and both distinguished themselves as men of no ordinary promise. In 1729 they began to spend a few evenings in the week together, with two friends, in reading

the Greek Testament and religious conversation ; their numbers were increased from time to time by the addition of several under-graduates their pupils, and by two names afterwards well known in the religious history of England, Hervey and George Whitfield. They now began to visit the prisoners in the Castle, and to attend the weekly sacraments in the college chapel. They read the works of Bull, Taylor, and Thomas à Kempis, and endeavoured, as they afterwards thought, in much ignorance, to exhibit a pattern of the Christian life in their own behaviour. They proceeded with humility and caution, consulting their father at every step, and obtaining the further sanction of the bishop of Oxford. Yet their conduct, in an irreligious age, was regarded by the whole university at first with suspicion and then with anger. A storm of ridicule broke over them ; they were called the Holy Club. " I hear," writes their father at Epworth, " my son John has the honour of being styled the ' Father of the Holy Club.' If it be so, I am sure I must be the grandfather of it, and I need not say that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished than to have the title of his Holiness." But they soon obtained a name by which they are far better known. Its meaning has been much disputed. John Wesley's own account of it, many years afterwards, is this :—" The regularity of our behaviour gave occasion to a young gentleman of the college to say, ' I think we have got a new set of Methodists,' alluding to a set of physicians, who began to flourish at Rome about the time of Nero, and continued for several ages. The name was new and quaint ; it clave to them immediately ; and from that time, both those four young gentlemen, and all that had any religious connexion with them, were distinguished by the name of Methodists." This passage occurs in a sermon preached on laying the foundation of the new chapel near the City-road, London, in 1777, in which there is the following sentence :—" But you will naturally ask what is Methodism ? What does the new word mean ? Is it not a new religion ? This is a very common, nay, almost universal supposition, but nothing can be more remote from the truth. It is a mistake all over ; Methodism, so called, is the old religion, the religion of the *Bible*, the religion of the *primitive Church*, and the religion of the *Church of England*." And these three points he proceeds to prove at large.

John Wesley remained at Oxford, with few intervals, till his father's death in 1735. His course in the university exposed him to constant insults from the young and thoughtless, and to a more determined opposition from the seniors. The living of Epworth was in the gift of the Chancellor, and he was urged by his friends to make application for it. His father, while living, added his importunities; but he was inexorable, believing, as he said, that he could do more good at Oxford. But a wider field opened, and tempted him abroad. Governor Oglethorpe had just founded Savannah, and concluded a treaty with the Creek Indians (the race has disappeared from the earth, it was then computed at 25,000 souls), for whose conversion he professed to feel great anxiety. At his request the two brothers undertook the mission to the Indians, and sailed in October, 1735, for the new province of Georgia. Their mission was unfruitful; they were not allowed to leave the colony and preach among the Indians, and their success as colonial chaplains was not great. They abandoned the mission, and returned home in 1738. From this period the history of the Methodists begins.

The Wesleys had hitherto held the opinions of the extreme high churchmen of that day, both in discipline and doctrine; they were now about to renounce them. In Georgia they had formed an intimate acquaintance with David Nitschman, a Moravian bishop, and other members of that community: the purity of whose lives, their constant cheerfulness in hardship and danger, and the simplicity of their faith, first attracted the admiration of John Wesley. The most prominent article of their creed was "justification by faith only; a faith which was the gift of God, and which wrought by love, producing all good works, through the Spirit, as its consequences." The Wesleys, according to their own statements, had lived hitherto in bondage under the law, seeking justification partly through the merit of good works, and especially through alms and sacraments. "But still," John says, "I was 'under the law,' not 'under grace' (the state most who are called Christians are content to live and die in), for I was only striving with, not freed from, sin. Neither had I the witness of the Spirit with my spirit, and indeed could not; for I sought it not by faith, but, as it were, by the works of the law."—*Journal*, vol. i. page 101.

He was now convinced, from a careful study of the Scriptures,

that his faith had been too much separated from an evangelical view of the promises of a free justification, or pardon of sin, through the atonement and mediation of Christ alone, which was the reason why he had been held in continued bondage and fear. The reading of Luther on the Galatians confirmed him in this view, as well as a more careful study of the articles and homilies. The definition of faith, as given by Craumer in the latter, namely, "a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God," was much upon his mind; and in a short time both he and his brother Charles, inverting their former teaching, began everywhere to proclaim that salvation was to be sought and obtained, "not by the works of the law, but by the faith of Christ."

Before we quit the doctrinal views of the Wesleys, two points should be noticed in which the peculiarities of the Methodists consist, both of which were learned from the Moravians in the first instance, and both of which ever afterwards continued to influence their own ministry, and to mould the opinions of their followers.

1. The first of these is the instantaneousness of conversion. The sense in which this was held will be best explained by a short extract from the diary of the elder brother. "In the evening I went," says John Wesley, in his journal, "very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate-street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." The experience of his brother Charles was very similar; and here we quote a passage from Moore's "Life of Wesley." "Mr. C. Wesley's knowledge of himself, and conscious want of peace with God on a foundation that cannot be shaken, furnished him with a key which opened the true meaning of the Scriptures. He saw the Gospel contained ample provision for all his wants, and that its operation on the mind is also admirably adapted to the human faculties. He now lost the pride of literature, and sought the kingdom of heaven as a

little child; he counted all things as dung and dross in comparison of it; and all his thoughts, his desires, his hopes, and his fears, had some relation to it. He was now brought to the birth. On Whitsunday, May 21st, he waked in hope and expectation of soon attaining the object of his wishes—the knowledge of God reconciled in Christ Jesus. At nine o'clock his brother and some friends came to him, and sung a hymn suited to the day. When they left him he betook himself to prayer. Soon afterwards a person came and said, in a very solemn manner, 'Believe in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and thou shalt be healed of all thine infirmities.' The words went through his heart, and animated him with confidence. He looked into the Scripture, and read, 'Now, Lord, what is my hope? Truly my hope is even in thee.' He then cast his eyes on these words, 'He hath put a new song into my mouth, even a thanksgiving unto our God; many shall see it and fear, and put their trust in the Lord.' Afterwards he opened upon Isaiah xl. 1, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.' In reading these passages of Scripture he was enabled to view Christ as 'Set forth to be a propitiation for his sins, through faith in his blood,' and received, to his unspeakable comfort, that peace and rest in God, which he had so earnestly sought."

"I cannot but believe," says John Wesley, in a sermon written late in life, "that sanctification is commonly, if not always, an instantaneous work." On this point modern Wesleyans entertain, and allow, a certain latitude. They admit that the work is itself progressive; they maintain that its beginnings are sometimes, though not always, instantaneous and perceptible.

2. The second peculiarity of Methodist doctrine was Christian perfection, or deliverance from all sin. In his earlier days Wesley spoke of the perfection which a Christian may attain, in a strain the correctness of which he afterwards saw reason to question. We quote again from one of his latest sermons. "First believe that God has promised to save you from all sin, and to fill you with all holiness. Secondly, believe that he is able thus 'to save to the uttermost all that come unto God through him.' Thirdly, believe that he is willing, as well as able,

to save you to the uttermost ; to purify you from all sin, and to fill up all your heart with love. Believe, fourthly, that he is not only able, but willing to do it now. Not when you come to die, not at any distant time, not to-morrow, but to-day. He will then enable you to believe it is done, according to his word ; and then ‘patience shall have its perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.’ Ye shall then be *perfect*. The Apostle seems to mean by this expression *τελειοι*, ye shall be wholly delivered from every evil work, from every evil word, from every sinful thought ; yea, from every evil desire, passion, temper, from all inbred corruption, from all remains of the carnal mind, from the body of sin ; and ye shall be renewed in the spirit of your mind, in every right temper, after the image of him that created you in righteousness and true holiness. Ye shall be *entire*, *ολοκληροι*, the same word which the Apostle uses to the Christians in Thessalonica. This seems to refer not so much to the kind as to the degree of holiness ; as if he had said ye shall enjoy as high a degree of holiness as is consistent with your present state of pilgrimage.”—*Sermon LXXXIII.* Wesley’s sermons form the standard of appeal on matters of doctrine in the Wesleyan Society.

With these altered views the Wesleys entered on their work. John had been a popular preacher in London, but he now found himself shut out, in succession, from almost every pulpit. In 1738, his friend Whitfield, who had also been in Georgia, upon a mission had just returned home. A small society of earnest religious persons had been already formed in Fetter Lane, the seed from which the Methodist societies were afterwards to rise. Of this the Wesleys were members. At first they were associated with the Moravians, but as the latter fell into mystic notions, Wesley withdrew, and the two societies parted. “The first rise of Methodism,” says Wesley, “was in November 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford ; the second was at Savannah in April 1736 ; the third at London on this day, May 1st, 1738.” Their rules contain the germ of future Methodism. Whitfield had already begun his out-door ministry amongst the colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol ; and Wesley was not slow to follow his example, first in Bristol, then in London, and soon afterwards in many other parts of the kingdom. The impression they produced was marvellous. The crowds who thronged around them heard



for the first time of the realities of the world unseen ; or at least so heard as to be impressed. They were joined in the work by Howel Harris, a minister in Wales, "a man," writes Charles Wesley, "after my own heart." The congregations were immense. In the years 1739, 1740, and 1741, when the experiment was new, we meet continually, in Wesley's journal, with such entries as these : " Sunday, April 15 (at Bristol), explained at seven in the morning, to five or six thousand persons, the story of the Pharisee and the Publican. About three thousand were present at Hannam Mount. Between five and six we went to Rose Green. It rained hard at Bristol, but not a drop fell upon us, while I declared to about five thousand, ' Christ our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.' I concluded the day by showing the society at Baldwin Street that ' His blood cleanseth us from all sin.' " These were the labours of a single day. We might fill pages with similar quotations. In London, the favourite preaching grounds were Moorfields and Kennington Common. The hearers in general amounted to from five to ten, and even fifteen, thousand. In these labours Charles Wesley took his full share.

The moral sublimity of these scenes beggars description. Sometimes, it is true, the people were indifferent. Wesley records that he went, in company with Whitfield, to Blackheath, where twelve or fourteen thousand people were assembled. " I was greatly moved with compassion for the rich who were there, to whom I made a particular application. Some of them seemed to attend, while others drove away their coaches from so uncouth a preacher." He frequently began to speak amidst a shower of stones or more offensive missiles ; but the composure of his manner, and the music of his voice, charmed the few who listened, till their deep attention by degrees infected the rest. The mob, as he stepped out of his coach on one occasion, gathered round him, and closed him in : it was the opportunity he had long been looking for in that neighbourhood ; and he immediately " began to speak to those next to him of righteousness and judgment to come. At first not many heard, the noise around us being exceeding great. But the silence spread further and further, till I had a quiet and attentive congregation ; and when I left them they all showed much love, and dismissed me with many blessings." This was generally the case. " Many more," he relates,

after another sermon, "who came in amongst us like lions, in a short space became as lambs, the tears trickling apace down their cheeks who at first most loudly contradicted and blasphemed. "I wonder," he adds, in a style of remark not a little characteristic, "the devil has not wisdom enough to discern that he is destroying his own kingdom!" His courage and address frequently won the admiration of the most depraved, and those who came to mob the preacher flung off their coats to fight in his defence. Returning home one Sunday night, after preaching on Kennington Common, he found an innumerable mob round the door: the scene which followed he thus describes: "They opened all their throats the moment they saw me. I desired my friends to go into the house; and then, walking into the midst of the people, proclaimed 'the name of the Lord, gracious and merciful, and repenting him of the evil.' They stood staring at one another. I told them they could not flee from the face of this great God, and therefore besought them that we might all join together in crying to Him for mercy. To this they readily agreed. I then commended them to his grace, and went undisturbed to the little company within." In a few minutes a brawling crowd was brought upon its knees in solemn worship!

But in the country the Methodists had, as he expresses it, "hot service; the war against them being everywhere carried on with far more vigour than that against the Spaniards." At Devizes "the whole army of Satan" assaulted the house in which Charles Wesley was preaching. The mayor, for their encouragement, went out of the place, while the curate and two gentlemen, dissenters, having wrought them up to a proper pitch, the whole town became a scene of riot, and their lives were in the utmost danger. Charles Wesley expecting instant death "remembered the Roman senators sitting in the forum, when the Gauls broke in upon them, but thought it a fitter posture for Christians to be taken on their knees." The ruffians, unable to enter by the door, were already untiling the roof. The rest we tell in his own words: "I said, 'This is the crisis.' In that moment Jesus rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm. We heard not a breath without, and wondered what had become of them. The silence lasted for three quarters of an hour, before any one came near us, and we continued in mutual exhortation and prayer, looking for deliverance." At length the constable was

sent to offer terms of capitulation ; which were, that they should be safely escorted out of the town, if they would promise never to preach there again. Charles Wesley had all the courage, if not all the energy, of his elder brother. " My answer was, ' I shall promise no such thing ; setting aside my office, I will not give up my birthright as an Englishman, of visiting what place I please in his majesty's dominions.' " Of such visitors the magistrates were glad to be rid upon any terms. " We rode a slow pace up the streets, the whole multitude pouring along on both sides, and attending us with loud acclamations. Such fierceness and diabolical malice I have not before seen in human faces. They ran up to our horses as if they would swallow us, but did not know which was Wesley. We felt great peace and acquiescence in the honour done us, while the whole town were spectators of our march." Similar outrages occurred in Cornwall, in Yorkshire, and at Wednesbury in Staffordshire, where the Methodists were given up for several days to the license of a furious mob. The ' Whitehall Evening Post,' Saturday, February 18th, 1744, informs its readers that, " from a private letter from Staffordshire, we have advice of an insurrection of the people called Methodists, who, upon some pretended insults from the Church party, assembled themselves in a riotous manner, and having committed several outrages, proceeded at last to burn the house of one of their adversaries." " A Christian country !" exclaims John Wesley, in his journal, " where his majesty's innocent and loyal subjects have been so treated for eight months, and are now, by their wanton persecutors, branded as rioters and incendiaries !"

In the midst of such conflicts were the foundations of Methodism laid. Nor were these the greatest of the perils through which it had to pass. It was beset with dangers from the weakness and follies of some of its allies, and from the determined opposition of resolute and deeply-earnest men, who led public opinion, or swayed the councils of that section of the nation (small indeed it must be confessed), who felt the importance of religion. First of all Wesley had found it necessary to withdraw from his Moravian friends. He had been charmed at the beginning by their simplicity and purity. He was now disgusted with their mysticism, their exclusiveness, and their recent tendency to Antinomianism. He, therefore, published a protest

against their conduct and principles, and retired with his society in 1740 to the Foundry in Moorfields. He and his friends had never been members of the Moravian Church: they now withdrew from religious intercourse; and he began his ministry at the Foundry with seventy-two adherents. A more painful difference, to his own feelings, was that which existed between several members of the Wesley family and himself. His elder brother Samuel, now master of the grammar-school at Tiverton, was deeply offended by his preaching and conduct. In a letter written to their mother (who was now a widow) about this time, he laments, with great surprise, "that she should countenance this present delusion so far as to be one of Jack's congregation." He objected especially against his doctrine of assurance, and still more to those spiritual impressions, those sudden bursts of agony or joy, which frequently occurred amongst the hearers under the preaching of the early Methodists. "I am heartily sorry," he says, "such alloy should be found amongst such piety." Samuel objected, too, to the doctrine of justification by faith only, as set forth by his two brothers. Hall, a brother-in-law, opposed them with great bitterness; and his elder sister sent a sneering message to John, "since he had learned to cast out devils, to cast the devil of poverty out of her pocket." Their foes were those of their own household.

We have had occasion to remark elsewhere that the bishops were, during the greater part of the last century, more enlightened than the clergy. Archbishop Potter gave the two brothers a long interview, heard their statements, commended their zeal, and cautioned them to adhere in their preaching to the great essentials of the Gospel: other matters, he said, must be left to time and the providence of God. For this wise advice John Wesley expressed much gratitude in his latest years. Bishop Gibson of London also treated them with candour, though he did not encourage their irregularities: he cautioned them both against enthusiasm; and censured Charles, who had not yet thrown off his high-church education, for rebaptizing the infants of dissenters. From the parochial clergy, with few exceptions, they met with determined opposition, or with scorn and rudeness. Other difficulties arose from the French prophets, who raised some disturbance and gained some proselytes in the society. But the most painful, or at least the most disastrous, of the many

conflicts which threatened for a time the existence of the infant cause, was the rupture with Whitfield and the Calvinists. The quarrel was long and violent, and the spirit in which it was conducted was not very creditable to either party. This remark, however, applies with more force to the inferior combatants than the leaders in the fray. John Wesley always wrote and spoke severely, not to say harshly, on the subject of the Divine decrees. And there was a keenness in his style which was sure to sting the opponent it might not happen to convince. At the beginning of the controversy he published a sermon, in which, after charging the Calvinistic doctrines with folly, impiety, and blasphemy, he requests that he may be answered, not with railing accusations, but with argument and in the spirit of love. The request, though reasonable, was not likely to be granted; for the man who rails upon his adversary excites the evil passions which he professes to deprecate. Nor was all the fault on one side. The evil tempers which it elicited on both were deplored at the time by all who were not heated with passion, and the controversy remains on record a wretched instance of human infirmity. For a time the world exulted in the suicidal conflict; the reputation of the leaders suffered, and with it for a while their influence almost disappeared. Whitfield notes with sorrow that his congregations on Kennington Common were shrivelled to a handful in consequence of these disputes. But he had a loving heart, and a reverence for John Wesley which nothing could destroy. In his will he left memorials of his affection "to the two brothers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them in heart and Christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine." John Wesley preached his funeral sermon, in which he spoke of him with the reverence and affection due to so illustrious a name.

We may here offer a remark upon the theological system which the Wesleys had now adopted. It was evangelical Arminianism; and this became henceforward, as it still continues to be, the accepted creed of the Methodist societies. The Wesleys followed Arminius on all the points on which he differed from Calvin. At the same time there were several particulars on which they themselves differed from Arminius, such as the instantaneousness of sanctification, and the perfection attainable

in this life. John Wesley, still anxious to continue his union with Whitfield, drew up the following articles of peace. We believe that they represent his settled views upon the subjects in dispute, as he held them to the close of his life, and handed them down to his followers; only that, with regard to the admission contained in the last sentence, as to the necessary final perseverance of any of the elect, his friend and biographer, Mr. Moore, tells us that "he afterwards doubted of this." "Having for some time," says he, "a strong desire to unite with Mr. Whitfield, as far as possible, to cut off needless dispute, I wrote down my sentiments, as plain as I could, in the following terms:—

"There are three points in debate: 1. Unconditional election. 2. Irresistible grace. 3. Final perseverance.

"With regard to the first, unconditional election, I believe that God, before the foundation of the world, did unconditionally elect certain persons to do certain works, as Paul to preach the Gospel.

"That he has unconditionally elected some nations to receive peculiar privileges, the Jewish nation in particular.

"That he has unconditionally elected some nations to hear the gospel, as England and Scotland now, and many others in past ages.

"That he has unconditionally elected some persons to many peculiar advantages, both with regard to temporal and spiritual things.

"And I do not deny (though I cannot prove it so),

"That he has unconditionally elected some persons, thence eminently styled 'the elect,' to eternal glory.

"But I cannot believe,

"That all those who are not thus elected to glory must perish everlastingly; or,

"That there is one soul on earth who has not, nor ever had, a possibility of escaping eternal damnation.

"With regard to the second, irresistible grace, I believe that the grace which brings faith, and thereby salvation into the soul, is irresistible at that moment.

"That most believers may remember some time when God did irresistibly convince them of sin.

"That most believers do, at some other times, find God irresistibly acting upon their souls.

“ Yet I believe that the grace of God, both before and after those moments, may be, and hath been resisted; and that in general it does not act irresistibly, but we may comply therewith, or may not.

“ And I do not deny,

“ That in those eminently styled ‘the elect’ (if such there be), the grace of God is so far irresistible, that they cannot but believe, and be finally saved.

“ But I cannot believe,

“ That all those must be damned in whom it does not thus irresistibly work; or,

“ That there is one soul on earth who has not, and never had, any other grace than such as does, in fact, increase his damnation, and was designed of God so to do.

“ With regard to the third, final perseverance, I believe that there is a state attainable in this life, from which a man cannot finally fall.

“ That he has attained this who is, according to St. Paul’s account, ‘a new creature;’ that is, who can say, ‘Old things are passed away; all things’ in me ‘are become new.’

“ And I do not deny,

“ That all those eminently styled ‘the elect’ will infallibly persevere to the end.”

The two Wesleys had now formed societies in London, Bristol, Newcastle, and other places. For their guidance a few simple rules were drawn up. “There was only one condition previously required of those who desired admission into these societies—a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.” They were not therefore a Church, nor at this period were they meant to be so. They were merely an assembly of earnest-minded men, of various communions it might be, who met for mutual edification. But such a constitution could not last, and circumstances soon arose which cemented the original *societies* into one great *connexion*, and have since led it to assume the powers and the distinctive title of a *Church*.

These rules still remain in force, after the lapse of more than a century; and the original character and design of Methodism cannot be more clearly or more briefly stated than in the terms in which they are expressed:—

“1. In the latter end of the year 1739 eight or ten persons

came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired (as did two or three more the next day) that I should spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come, which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That we might have more time for this great work, I appointed a day when they might all come together, which, from thenceforward, they did every week, viz., on Thursday in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them (for their number increased daily), I gave those advices from time to time which I judged most needful for them, and we always concluded our meetings with prayer suitable to their several necessities.

“2. This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, then in other places. Such a Society is no other than a company of men having the form, and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.

“3. That it may the more easily be discerned whether they are indeed working out their own salvation, each society is divided into smaller companies, called classes, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every class, one of whom is styled the leader. It is his business,

“(1.) To see each person in his class once a week, at least, in order

“To inquire how their souls prosper;

“To advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require;

“To receive what they are willing to give towards the support of the Gospel.

“(2.) To meet the ministers and the stewards of the Society once a week, in order

“To inform the minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly, and will not be reprovèd;

“To pay to the stewards what they have received of their several classes in the week preceding; and

“To show their account of what each person has contributed.

“4. There is one only condition previously required of those



who desire admission into those Societies; viz., ‘a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved from their sins.’ But wherever this is really fixed in the soul it will be shown by its fruits; it is, therefore, expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

“*First; by doing no harm*, by avoiding evil in every kind, especially such as is generally practised; such as

“The taking the name of God in vain;

“The profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work thereon, or by buying and selling;

“Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity;

“Fighting, quarrelling, brawling; brother going to law with brother; returning evil for evil, or railing for railing; the using many words in buying or selling;

“The buying or selling uncustomed goods;

“The giving or taking things on usury, viz., unlawful interest;

“Uncharitable or unprofitable conversation, particularly speaking evil of magistrates or of ministers;

“Doing to others as we would not they should do unto us;

“Doing what we know is not for the glory of God; as,

“The putting on of gold and costly apparel;

“The taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus;

“The singing those songs, or reading those books, which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God;

“Softness and needless self-indulgence;

“Laying up treasure upon earth;

“Borrowing without a probability of paying, or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.

“5. It is expected of all who continue in these Societies that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

“*Secondly; by doing good*, by being in every kind merciful after their power, as they have opportunity; doing good of every possible sort, and, as far as is possible, to all men;

“To their bodies, of the ability that God giveth; by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by helping or visiting them that are sick, or in prison;

“To their souls, by instructing, reproofing, or exhorting

all we have any intercourse with, trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine of devils, that 'we are not to do good unless our hearts be free to it;'

"By doing good especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others, buying of one another, helping each other in business; and so much the more, because the world will love its own, and them only;

"By all possible diligence and frugality, that the gospel be not blamed;

"By running with patience the race that is set before them, denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily; submitting to bear the reproach of Christ; to be as the filth and offscouring of the world; and looking that men should say all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake.

"6. It is expected of all who desire to continue in these Societies that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation, "*Thirdly; by attending upon all the ordinances of God:* such are

"The public worship of God;

"The ministry of the Word, either read or expounded;

"The Supper of the Lord;

"Family and private prayer;

"Searching the Scriptures; and

"Fasting or abstinence.

"7. These are the general rules of our Societies: all which we are taught of God to observe, even in His written Word, the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice. And all these we know his Spirit writes on every truly-awakened heart. If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be made known unto them that watch over that soul, as they that must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways, we will bear with him for a season; but then, if he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls.

(Signed)

"JOHN WESLEY.

"May 1st, 1743."

"CHARLES WESLEY.

The peculiarities of the Wesleyan polity now developed themselves. Lay preachers appeared. Maxfield, a zealous young man, of natural eloquence, was instructed by the elder Wesley to

meet the society in London during his own absence, to pray with them, and to give them such advice as might be needful. But he soon began to preach, and the people crowded to hear him. Wesley returned home displeased, quite resolved to rebuke the offender and to put a stop to his irregularities. He was prevented by the remonstrances of his mother, and he submitted with reluctance. Maxfield was soon followed in the field by John Nelson, a Yorkshire stonemason, who had come to London seeking employment—a man whose rude energies, whose strength of understanding, unassisted by human learning, whose athletic frame, and voice of thunder, shook many stout hearts whom Wesley's gentler notes had assailed in vain. A number of lay preachers, under the name of assistants and helpers, were now engaged in the work in various parts of the kingdom. By this time several clergymen had also united in the work. The number in the society was very considerable. There was in consequence a general desire for more visible union, and an urgent necessity for some general plan or system. The Wesleys invited the principal leaders in the great movement to assemble in London; and in June, 1744, the first Conference was held. Thus originated a body which has since exercised at least as great an influence on Christianity as any clerical synod since the general councils of the early Church. The business of this first Conference was comparatively simple and easily despatched. The different parts of the kingdom into which Methodism had fought its way, were now divided into *circuits*, to which certain *preachers*, who were laymen, were appointed for a given time, and then removed to other circuits. The superintendence of the whole was in the two brothers, but more particularly in the elder. Charles, indeed, never cordially entered into the scheme of a lay ministry; and as the preachers became more numerous and more important he grew still more dissatisfied. Wesleyan Methodism, as it afterwards existed, never had his cordial approbation. From this time, although he still continued to work affectionately with his brother in many points, John Wesley is to be regarded as the head and leader of the Methodists; and as such we shall speak of him through the remainder of these pages. The Conference of 1744 proceeded not on a preconceived plan, but, as they say in their minutes, "step by step, as circumstances suggested, and the way opened." The keen sagacity of Wesley

even now foresaw the danger of the ultimate separation of the societies from the Church of England when he and his coadjutors should be removed. The subject was discussed and the risk boldly confronted. The resolution of the Conference was, "We do, and will do, all we can to prevent those consequences which are supposed to be likely to happen after our death; but we cannot in good conscience neglect the present opportunity of saving souls while we live, for fear of consequences which may possibly, or probably, happen after we are dead." To this principle John Wesley adhered, and it is the key to his public conduct ever after. Charles, after some years, less steadily observed it, if indeed he did not abandon it. The interests of Methodism were dear to the elder brother; the discipline of the Church of England, especially as he advanced in years, was equally dear to Charles.

A remarkable feature in the economy of Methodism is the distribution of the societies into *classes*, each governed by its *leader*. They originated in the division of the society in London, at a very early period, into small sections, each of which was visited weekly by some zealous person appointed to collect subscriptions towards the erection of a chapel or preaching-house. Wesley immediately perceived the vast influence which such a system gave to those who conducted it, no less than the unanimity and compactness which it was likely to produce in the societies themselves. The class system was instituted. It was made a spiritual, and at the same time a confiding and confidential, meeting; it brought the circumstances of each individual, his spiritual conflicts, his religious progress or declension, under frequent review, or rather it placed it under a constant glare of light. The work assigned to the class-leader, in the first instance, was to see all the members of his class once a-week; to advise, reprove, or exhort, as occasion might require, and to receive what they were willing to give towards the relief of the poor. At first the leader visited each person at his own house. But as the societies increased, this was not always expedient or even practicable: it was agreed that those of each class should meet together once a-week. A class generally consisted of from ten to twenty members; and every member of the Wesleyan Society is supposed to be a member of one of these classes. An hour, or sometimes two, are spent in religious conversation,

the leader of the class investigating by direct interrogation the state of mind of each member, and concluding with prayer and praise. The leader makes from time to time a formal report of the state of his class, and of each member of it, to the preacher, his superior. The preacher, if necessary, carries it before a tribunal of his brethren; who again, if occasion should require, lay it before the Conference. Nothing can be conceived more perfect in its way than the discipline of which the class meeting is the foundation. Every Wesleyan lives from day to day under the inspection of the whole body. For good or evil the power with which it invests the governing body is enormous; it is such as no other Protestant Church possesses. On the other hand, wisely conducted, its utility is not to be overlooked. Wesley himself regarded it with peculiar favour. "It can scarce be conceived," he says, "what advantages have been reaped from this little prudential regulation. Many now happily experienced that Christian fellowship of which they had not so much as an idea before. They began to bear one another's burdens, and naturally to care for each other. As they had daily a more intimate acquaintance with, so they had a more endeared affection for, each other. And, speaking the truth in love, they grew up into Him in all things, who is the head, even Christ." *Works*, vol. viii. p. 254.

Thirty years passed away and the Methodist societies steadily increased. They were still subject to constant insults, and sometimes to real persecutions. But the work was vigorously taking root. In 1749, the chapels were vested in trustees; the number of circuits had increased to twenty-two; funds for the support of the preachers, and pensions for those worn out in the service, were established; and the whole economy of Methodism was in operation. In 1765, the circuits in England had increased to twenty-five. In Presbyterian Scotland there were four; in Wales, two; and amidst the Roman Catholics in Ireland, eight. And the total number of lay preachers, whose whole time was given up to the work, acting implicitly under Wesley's instructions, had risen to ninety-two. He now made a last effort to induce the pious clergy whom he knew, to join with him in promoting the influence of religion in the land. This was to be done without any sacrifice of principle, "each being still at liberty, as to outward order, to remain quite regular or quite

irregular, or partly regular and partly irregular." But as he still intended to retain his lay preachers and his own modes of action, the project failed; and from this time he seems, though still with reluctance, to have forced himself to contemplate the probability of a secession from the National Church. In 1777 Charles Wesley died; and in the same year Fletcher, vicar of Madeley; the two pillars on whom the founder of Methodism had chiefly leaned. But the cause was young and buoyant, and their loss did not stay its growth. Two greater calamities were, the growth of a wild fanaticism in London, in which Maxfield and George Bell rivalled the folly of the French prophets; and the revival of the Calvinistic controversy, provoked by certain Minutes of a Conference held in 1770, in which, in their zeal against antinomianism, the Methodists seemed to shake the foundation of justification by faith. Wesley explained the Minutes, or rather amended them, to the satisfaction of his opponents, the chief of whom was the Honourable and Reverend Walter Shirley, brother to Lady Huntingdon. But the quarrel never healed; and the greatest hindrance that Methodism has encountered arose out of this intestine feud.

The year 1784 is remarkable in the annals of Methodism. The Conference, its supreme ecclesiastical court, was formally constituted by a Deed of Declaration enrolled in the Court of Chancery. This important document is dated the 28th of February 1784. It is the great charter of Methodism. The genius of Wesley as an ecclesiastical legislator is resplendent in it. To the constitution which it embodies and prescribes, the astonishing vigour, the concentration and therefore the success, of the Wesleyan system, is in a great measure due. On the other hand, to the Deed of Declaration are owing the convulsions which have shaken the Wesleyan body to its centre, and which still threaten its prosperity, if not its existence.

The composition of the Conference is purely ministerial. It is defined to consist of preachers and expounders of God's holy word, commonly called Methodist Preachers. They are in number one hundred, and were originally appointed by the sole authority of John Wesley. As vacancies occur they are empowered to fill up their number by election, which is conducted by ballot. Any preacher who has been one year or upwards "in full connexion," is legally qualified to be elected, but the

choice in general is taken from the senior members of the connexion. The legal Conference, therefore, always consists of one hundred members; but, in point of fact, all ministers in full connexion may attend the Conference, join in the discussions, and even give their votes. In effect, there are two houses sitting in one chamber. To illustrate this, we may take the case of the election of the president and secretary. According to the deed, the Conference, that is the hundred, "shall choose a president and secretary out of themselves;" and this continued till the year 1814; since which period the privilege of voting in order to such nomination was conceded to all the preachers present who shall have travelled fourteen years and upwards, voting on this, as on all occasions, by ballot; and the candidates who may have the largest number of votes are to be considered duly nominated. The legal Conference of a hundred are then requested to elect the persons thus nominated by the general body. They may, however, negative their nomination; if they do so, another nomination immediately takes place; the result of which, in like manner, is submitted to the decision of the hundred, who are still the legal electors. Upon all other questions every preacher in full connexion, being first deputed by his respective district meeting, is now considered to possess an equal right with the hundred themselves to vote upon every question that may come before them; but this is a pure concession on the part of the hundred. The Conference assembles yearly at one of the great towns in England in succession; generally in London, Bristol, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, or Liverpool, where the societies are most numerous. The duration of the yearly sessions of the Conference, as determined by the deed enrolled in Chancery, shall not be less than five days, nor more than three weeks. During the intervals of its sessions, from year to year, the last president and secretary remain in office. And by a law in 1792 it was enacted that the same president should not be eligible for re-election till the term of eight years from the time of his former election. This was done to prevent the assumption of a power which might be dangerous in the hands of one individual; for during the vacation, as it may be termed, the authority of the president is in many cases absolute. From a "list of reserve," which, by order of the Conference, is left in his hands, he supplies any vacancies in the circuits which may be caused by the death of the preachers. He must sanction any

change of preachers which, by the decision of any inferior courts, it may be deemed necessary to make. He has a right, on the request of a party concerned, to visit any circuit, to inquire into their affairs, with respect to the state of religion and of Methodism, and, in union with the district committee, to redress any existing grievance. He is always *ex-officio* chairman of the district in which he is stationed during the year of his presidency. The president is expected to exercise the authority vested in him by determining, in conjunction with the superintendents of the place, where the next Conference shall be held, and naming the preachers who shall officiate in the principal chapels during the Conference. During its sessions the president is invested with the privilege and power of two members in all acts of the Conference; and this continues during his presidency.

In the legal Conference is vested the absolute right of appointing ministers to all the chapels in the connexion and removing them therefrom, the only limitation being that which is thus expressed:—"The Conference shall not, nor may, nominate or appoint any person to the use and enjoyment of, or to preach and expound God's holy word in, any of the chapels and premises so given or conveyed, or which may be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, who is not either a member of the Conference, or admitted into connexion with the same, or upon trial as aforesaid; nor appoint any person for more than three years successively to the use and enjoyment of any chapels and premises already given, or to be given or conveyed upon the trusts aforesaid, except ordained ministers of the Church of England."

These are, no doubt, extraordinary powers; the justification lies in the necessity of the case. A great number of chapels had sprung up, which, with scarcely an exception, were vested in trustees, the trust invariably stating that the ministers should be appointed by Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, or by "the Conference of the people called Methodists," after their death. Some of these deeds made no reference to any posthumous appointment, and the chapels would then have reverted to the trustees; nor was the Conference at present a body which the law could recognize. The chapels then, on Wesley's decease, would have belonged to the trustees, as patrons, and it was easy to foresee the consequence. Independency was inevitable, if not the dissolution of the trusts. The trustees, held together by no



common bond, would have acted as isolated companies. Some of them had already withdrawn from the Society, others were little qualified to judge of the fitness of candidates for the pastoral charge. They had no endowments to give, nor influence to raise contributions for the support of a minister. Several of the trustees had already expressed their intention of appointing whom they should think proper after Mr. Wesley's death. That men, not a few of whom had departed from the Society, and some had been expelled from it, should merely, from their legal authority over the premises, appoint preachers to instruct the flock, was to Wesley a distressing prospect; and even where they continued members of the Society, and attached to its interests, little could be expected, in a matter of such vital concern, from a body of men, engaged in secular business and often ill-educated. On these grounds it was, as Wesley himself declared, that he transferred all his rights to the Conference. "You see then," he says, in a pamphlet he put forth on the subject, "in all the pains I have taken about this absolutely necessary deed, I have been labouring not for myself (I have no interest therein), but for the whole body of Methodists, in order to fix them upon such a foundation as is likely to stand as long as the sun and moon endure; that is, if they continue to walk by faith, and to show forth their faith by their works, otherwise I pray God to root out the memorial of them from the earth."

Such are the secular powers committed to the Conference. Its spiritual authority is still more formidable. The eighth clause of the deed of 1784 runs thus:—"The Conference shall and may expel and put out from being a member thereof, or being in connexion therewith, or being upon trial, any person, member of the Conference, admitted into connexion, or upon trial, for any cause which to the Conference may seem fit or necessary; and every member of the Conference so expelled and put out shall cease to be a member thereof, to all intents and purposes, as though he were naturally dead." Equally unlimited are their powers of appointment and election. By the ninth clause, "The Conference shall and may admit into connexion with them, or upon trial, any person or persons whom they shall approve, to be preachers and expounders of God's holy word, under the care and direction of the Conference." This clause invests the Conference with an absolute and unqualified right to expel from its

communion, and of course from the communion of the Society, for any cause, which, in the serious and deliberate opinion of a majority of its members, may call for such a proceeding. The defenders of the Conference affirm that this power has never been exercised except for one or other of the following causes, immorality of life, unsoundness of doctrine, notorious deficiency of ministerial talents, or flagrant violations of the established discipline of the connexion; and they add, that to every accused party, whatever may be the nature of the charges preferred against him, their rules furnish all reasonable facilities for an impartial trial and an unprejudiced defence. It is enacted that no charge brought by one preacher against another shall be heard in the Conference unless previously examined in a district meeting, and that all charges shall be previously made known to the person accused, verbally or in writing. An appeal to any civil jurisdiction by any member who may think himself aggrieved by the district meeting, or other inferior courts, is a violation of the established rules of the Society, as well as of the law of the New Testament, and he who takes such a step forfeits his right of appeal to the Conference.

These rights are vigorously enforced. Every Wesleyan minister is under subjection to the Conference as the supreme tribunal. The minutes of the Conference are the laws of the connexion, and every preacher consents to them. "Act in all things," such are the instructions they contain, "not according to your own will, but as a son in the gospel. As such it is your part to employ your time in the manner we direct; partly in preaching and visiting from house to house, partly in reading, meditation, and prayer. Above all, if you labour with us in our Lord's vineyard, it is needful you do that part of the work which we advise, at those times and places which we judge most for his glory."—(*Large Minutes*, p. 18). The authority of the Conference extends alike to every preacher in the connexion. No name however honoured, no length of services, no office, can exempt from its control and jurisdiction. Its stated annual examinations respecting ministerial qualifications, character, and fidelity, extend alike to all, and every one is equally under its authority.

The constitution of the Wesleyan Conference has been much discussed beyond the limits of the Wesleyan body of late years,

and the extravagant eulogies of its admirers have been drowned in public censure. The subject will present itself to our notice again upon a later page. We may here observe that one difficulty still surrounds the inquiry, though volumes have been written upon it. Was the Conference designed by Wesley for a society of Christian laymen, who should still continue to be members of the Church of England or of other Churches? Or was it intended as the constitution of a Church? For, if the former, it may be conceded that the restraints were needful, and that the hardship was by no means great. Expulsion from a Society is a very different thing from expulsion from a Christian Church. The rules by which a body of Christian men, members of another Church, may choose to bind themselves in some common enterprise, may be few or many; they may be just or arbitrary; but while the parties consent to them they may still be useful, nay, sufficient for the purpose, though confessedly imperfect or capricious; but Church fellowship is a sacred matter: a body which exercises the right of excommunication must act on principles which are both scriptural and clearly defined; it must exhibit its credentials, showing that the head of the Church has himself empowered it to use the machinery it employs.

Wesley did not profess to establish a Church, but merely, to use his own favourite words, a Society or a Connexion. He refused to his preachers the title of reverend. He refused to permit them, except in special cases, to administer the Lord's Supper. He charged them, from time to time, with the utmost solemnity, never to forsake the Church of England; and he seized frequent occasions to express, in the most forcible terms, his own affection for it, and these were his sentiments to the last. Writing, in 1781, to Sir Harry Trelawney, he says, "You have need to be thankful on another account likewise; that is. your prejudices against the Church of England are removing. Having had an opportunity of seeing several of the Churches abroad, and having deeply considered the several sorts of dissenters at home, I am fully convinced that our own Church, with all her blemishes, is nearer the scriptural plan than any other in Europe." —(*Moore's Life*, ii. 282.) Did he then anticipate and provide for the secession of his followers? were his laws intended to supersede the discipline of the Church, or were they meant only

to be auxiliary to it! If we judge by his professions we must arrive at the latter conclusion; and yet, if we calmly weigh his conduct, we shall perceive that his mind wavered, and that his measures varied as his keen sagacity and foresight, or his traditional reverence for the Church, prevailed. But, on the whole, it appears most probable that the Conference was framed to meet an existing emergency rather than to provide a constitution for a future Church.

The first Conference, however, witnessed a proceeding which shows, beyond all question, that on some points of Church government the mind of Wesley had undergone a change. Several of his preachers had already, in 1770, entered on a mission in America. In 1773 they held their first little conference in Philadelphia, having about a thousand members in the different societies, and six or seven preachers. In 1777 there were forty preachers, and about seven thousand members in the societies, besides many hundreds of negroes. The preachers, when the war broke out with England, generally espoused the cause of the mother-country, and were obliged to fly. Many of them, refusing the oaths of allegiance to the states in which they laboured, were fined or imprisoned. The societies in consequence were destitute of the sacraments; they could neither obtain baptism for their children nor the Lord's Supper for themselves, from Baptist, Independent, or Presbyterian ministers, but on condition of joining their Churches; and almost all the clergy of the Church of England had left the country. The Methodists of America importuned their ministers to form them into a Church, that they might be, at least, no longer deprived of the Christian sacraments. Mr. Asbury, who was at the head of the mission, declining to do so, a majority of the preachers withdrew from him, and consequently from Mr. Wesley, and chose out of their own body three senior brethren to ordain others by the imposition of hands. Asbury and his party refused to acknowledge their orders, which, in fact, were soon afterwards declared invalid by a vote of one of their Conferences, and a reunion for a time took place.

The United States being now independent, Asbury laid these difficulties before Mr. Wesley, by whom they were submitted to the Conference. And now he proceeded another step; he ordained two missionary presbyters, being assisted in the admi-

nistration of the rite by Dr. Coke and Mr. Creighton, clergymen of the Church of England; and Dr. Coke himself he ordained superintendent, or bishop, giving him letters of ordination under his own hand and seal, and at the same time a letter, which we subjoin, and which he was instructed to print and circulate in America.

*“To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America.*

*“Bristol, Sept. 10, 1784.*

“BY a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from their mother country, and erected into independent states. The English Government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states in Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the provincial assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation, some thousands of the inhabitants of these states desire my advice, and, in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

“Lord King’s account of the primitive Church convinced me, many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned, from time to time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our travelling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace’ sake, but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national Church to which I belonged.

“But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers. So that for some hundred miles together, there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord’s Supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end, and I conceive myself at full liberty; as I violate no order, and invade no man’s right, by appointing and sending labourers into the harvest.

“I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America; as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the

Lord's Supper. And I have prepared a liturgy, little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best-constituted national Church in the world), which I advise all the travelling preachers to use on the Lord's day, in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's day. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present, I cannot see any better method than that I have taken. It has, indeed, been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object:—1. I desired the bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us? 4. As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the State and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church. And we judge it best, that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free.

“JOHN WESLEY.”

Thus an episcopal Methodist Church was founded in America, its orders derived from John Wesley. The proceeding was warmly canvassed at the time, and amongst the Methodists themselves the wisdom, and even the propriety, of the measure was by no means universally allowed. If, said the dissatisfied party, episcopacy be a superior order, the bishop cannot be ordained by a presbyter, for then the less ordains the greater, and all order is inverted. If they be equal, Dr. Coke has the same right to ordain Mr. Wesley that Mr. Wesley has to ordain Dr. Coke. The latter objection is thus answered by a zealous follower of Wesley: “If this should be granted, what will it amount to? As presbyters of the Church, they had, certainly, the same right to ordain; and if Dr. Coke had been the father of that great work which is called Methodism, he would in that case

have had a right to ordain Mr. Wesley to superintend any part of that work. But Dr. Coke was not the father of that work; he was still a babe, a son in the Gospel, but remarkable for zeal and activity. His education, rank in life, and station in the established Church, pointed him out, however, as a proper person to be employed in that new and very delicate situation in which the Methodists were placed by the recent revolution in America. The Doctor certainly needed all the authority and influence which Mr. Wesley could give him; and if he chose to give it to him according to the forms of the Church of England, which he loved, and which is so truly venerable, who has a right to find fault with him?"—*Moore's Life of Wesley*. The true anomaly, as candidly stated by Mr. Watson, in his life of Wesley, was that a clergyman of the Church of England should ordain, in any form, without separating from that Church and formally disallowing its authority; and yet, if its spiritual governors did not choose to censure and disown him, it would be hard, he thinks, to prove that he was under any moral obligation to withdraw from it. The bishops did not institute proceedings against him, and he did not feel that his own conduct was inconsistent with a certain allegiance to the Church. "I firmly believe," he says, some years before to his brother Charles, "that I am a scriptural *ἐπίσκοπος*, as much as any man in England; for the uninterrupted succession I know to be a fable, which no man ever did or can prove. But this does in no wise interfere with my remaining in the Church of England; from which I have no more desire to separate than I had fifty years ago." Charles adhered to the opinion that bishops were a higher order in the Church, and of divine appointment; and hence he strongly disapproved of all his brother's ordinations. Charles was then upon the borders of the grave, and the spirit in which the two brothers at length agreed to differ does honour to their principles. "I walk still," says John to Charles, "by the same rule I have done for between forty and fifty years. I do nothing rashly. It is not likely I should. The heyday of my blood is over. If you will go hand in hand with me, do. But do not hinder me, if you will not help. Perhaps, if you had kept close to me I might have done better. However, with or without help, I creep on. And as I have been hitherto, so I trust I shall always be, your affectionate friend and brother." To this, Charles responded: "I thank you for your intention to

remain my friend. Herein my heart is as your heart. Whom God hath joined let not man put asunder. We have taken each other for better for worse, till death us do part! no—but eternally unite. Therefore, in the love that never faileth, I am your affectionate friend and brother, Charles Wesley.”

John Wesley was highly displeased when he found that Coke and Asbury assumed the title of bishops. He had enjoined the Doctor and his associates, and in the most solemn manner, that it should not be taken; he would have simply called them superintendents. When he found that they made use of the episcopal style and title, he was greatly hurt, and rebuked them sharply. “I study to be little,” he writes to Asbury; “you study to be great. I creep; you strut along. I found a school; you a college; nay, and call it after your own names (Cokesbury College, from the names of its founders, Coke and Asbury). One instance of your greatness has given me great concern: how can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, call me bishop. For my sake, for God’s sake, for Christ’s sake, put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better.” But the American Episcopal Methodist Church asserted its independence and still retains its title. Its bishops are plain and simple in their manners, they claim no superiority of order, and are distinguished from their brethren only by their office as superintendents, which is regarded as an extension of that of elder or presbyter, but creates no other distinction. Dr. Coke returned to England, and though a bishop in America, he neither used the title nor made pretensions to the office at home. Some time after this, Wesley appointed several of the English preachers, by imposition of hands, to administer the sacraments to the societies in Scotland. But he steadily refused to give this liberty to his preachers in England; and those who administered the sacraments in Scotland were not permitted to perform the same office in England on their return. Though now satisfied of his power as a presbyter to ordain for such an administration, he refused, not merely, as he said, for the sake of peace, but because he was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national Church to which he



belonged. Between the preachers whom he ordained by imposition of hands and those, the great majority, who were merely appointed to the ministry by the vote of Conference, he made no distinction. As the father and founder of the connexion, his power was absolute. A few of the preachers received ordination from a Greek bishop then in England; but Wesley, though he admitted that the Greek was a true bishop, forbade them to administer. He suspended, or dismissed for misconduct, the ordained and unordained alike; and at length he instructed one of the preachers to baptize and administer the Eucharist in particular circumstances, although he had no other ordination than his being received into full connexion at the Conference like the rest; and he allowed two others to assist him in administering the sacrament in Dublin, to the great offence of the Church people there. In short, he can be no longer regarded as a consistent churchman, and his defence of his own conduct is embarrassed with inconsistencies. The ablest of all his apologists, Mr. Watson, admits, "it must be conceded, that, however faithful he was in abiding by his leading principle of making mere adherence to what was called "regular," give place to the higher obligation of doing good, he was sometimes apt, in defending himself, to be too tenacious of appearing perfectly consistent."

Charles Wesley died at the age of seventy-nine, in 1788, and was borne to the grave, respected by good men of every name, by eight clergymen. His attachment to the Church of England was sincere and ardent; he had a noble and generous disposition, great zeal, and with it great disinterestedness. His taste was exquisite, and some of his hymns are amongst the best that we possess. He was a satirist, and had he indulged his vein might have stood high amongst authors of that formidable class. His brother's lay-preachers with their occasional airs of consequence were sometimes the subject of his verse, and hence he was by no means a favourite with the elder Methodists, his contemporaries. He was overshadowed through life by the reputation of his greater brother. Thus Charles Wesley is one of those superior men whose renown has always been less than his deserts.

John Wesley himself soon followed his brother. He died on the 2nd of March, 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. His character has been often drawn by friends and foes. The record of his labours preserved in his own journals, in which too are

noted down without reserve his opinions upon men, and books, and passing occurrences, furnishes one means of investigation. Another is supplied by his known conduct and the actions of his life ; and a third by the opinions of his contemporaries. Judging from all these sources we assign at once to Wesley, besides fervent and apostolic piety, the characteristics of great natural talents, an energy almost without a parallel, pure disinterestedness, except that it was tinged with a love of power, and a capacity for government such as only the greatest minds possess. His mental infirmities are too obvious to escape notice. He was credulous as a child whenever some favourite theory required the support or confirmation of a tale of wonder. That his rule was arbitrary perhaps detracts nothing from his merit ; it was the discipline which his societies required ; it was suited to the circumstances and the men he governed. Under any other system early Methodism would have burst its bonds and perished in the infancy of its precocious liberties. His wisdom as a legislator, if estimated by the immediate success of his societies, was very great ; if by the disruptions which have since occurred, and which rend them still, it is more questionable. But here again the question returns upon us,—has the machinery which he set up been employed for the purposes for which he meant it ? or has the discipline which he intended for a Society been made use of for a Church ? If a scheme designed for one purpose is made use of for another, its contriver is not to blame although it fails. Upon this point the elder Wesleyans themselves were never of one mind. Some of the personal friends of Wesley maintaining that the Conference was meant to be a secular body and the preachers laymen ; while others claimed for it all the rights and functions of a supreme clerical synod, or general council. With the one party the Methodists were a Society, with the other a Church.

That his piety was sincere none will now deny ; and in his private life the graces of the Christian character were displayed in high perfection. He rose early, and frequently preached to large congregations at five in the morning, at which hour he had for many years a stated service in the chapels in London. No man was ever more anxious “to redeem the time.” Scarcely a moment of the day was lost. He was methodical and diligent. Sickness and languor he knew only by report, or by his pastoral

visitations. He was not only the most frequent preacher, but the most voluminous author of his times, although he travelled in general, for half a century, and for the most part on horseback, four or five thousand miles a year. His attainments as a scholar would alone have entitled him to high respect. In Greek his knowledge was perhaps not inferior in extent or accuracy to that of the best scholars of his age. Latin he wrote and spoke with remarkable fluency to the end of his life; his conversations with Zinzendorf, recorded in his diary, will satisfy the reader at once of his logical and classical ability. At the University he studied Hebrew and Arabic. In Georgia he conducted public worship both in French and Italian, and he offered to render the same service to a regiment of Germans at Newcastle-on-Tyne during the rebellion of 1745. He was an admirable disputant, for his style was clear and well arranged, and his arguments transparent. But he wanted courtesy and gentleness. Like Baxter he provoked his opponents by the keenness of his sarcasms, and then, like Baxter, he complained of their want of generosity and candour, and sighed for peace. As a preacher he was by no means so popular as Whitfield; but his sermons, less impassioned and less eloquent, were more full of thought. Wesley appeals to the understanding before he assails the conscience. He unfolds the text, analyzes, explains, and defends it, always in a lucid manner, sometimes with learning and critical skill; and then he proceeds to enforce its lessons on the life and heart. He impressed and instructed thousands who never joined his societies or accepted all his doctrines. His influence was not confined to his own societies; and he was the chief instrument whom God raised up for the revival of religion in an age when true piety, by the confession of all parties, was almost extinct.

He had in a rare degree the faculty of selecting fit agents for his work. The elder preachers of his connexion, who shared his early toils and triumphs, were men only less remarkable than their leader. Many of them survived far into the present century, and they are still remembered in the north of England as venerable men of simple manners, strong sense, and earnest piety. They had seen and observed much: in old age they delighted to recount their perils, and tell, often with the richest humour, of their past adventures. To the children of the family, the visits of these worn-out soldiers of Methodism were

always grateful ; and those who remember them will have conceived a high respect for that master-mind which could choose such agents, direct their work, and hold them in complete subjection. Their reverence for Wesley,—expressed in tones subdued and reverential whenever his name was mentioned,—in the repetition of his sayings, the imitation of his manner, the almost childish delight with which each loving word, each token of his affection was repeated, all this bespoke a homage such as men have seldom, in these later ages, paid to their fellow-men. It was such as we may suppose the disciples of an apostle paid to their teacher in the primitive Church.

The death of its founder was a crisis in Methodism. During his life he had exercised more than episcopal authority. He had a power of legislation at the head of the Conference (which had never been known to resist his will) that was subject to no control. He had been recognised as the spiritual father of the whole community. In all disputes, whether in the body of the preachers or amongst the societies, the final appeal was to him ; and he decided the case according to existing rules, if such were in existence ; if not, upon his own discretion. The Conference assembled at Manchester after his death declare, “that they found themselves utterly inadequate to express their ideas on this awful and affecting event.” “Their souls,” they say, “do truly mourn their great loss, and they trust they shall give the most substantial proofs of their veneration for the memory of their most esteemed father and friend, by endeavouring, with great humility and diffidence, to follow and imitate him in doctrine, discipline, and life.” If such poignant grief should seem extravagant on the death of an old man of eighty-eight, full of honour and of years, the anxiety at least was real. The Conference, accustomed hitherto to listen with implicit docility to the instructions of its great dictator, and to register his decrees, felt the depression of a bereaved and desolate child. And in truth its difficulties were formidable. The rights of the trustees, and the demand of the laity to a share in their deliberations, were now stoutly urged, and must be strenuously resisted. Involved in this was the higher question whether Methodism should claim to be a Church, assuming its functions of ordaining ministers, dispensing sacraments, and administering ecclesiastical discipline ; or whether it should contentedly remain, if that indeed were possible, a mere

Society, such as Wesley contemplated in 1742. Thirdly, the discipline must be, to some extent, remodelled; and new powers created to supply the want of that wholesome authority which one strong hand had hitherto impressed. It was a task from which the greatest of the canonists might have recoiled. A few plain men, of simple minds, boldly attempted what has proved to be the greatest enterprise in the ecclesiastical history of modern times, and constructed another Church in the heart of Protestant England. They were neither aware of the greatness of the work, nor of the difficulties which would arise out of it.

The societies were in a state of insubordination. The trustees, on whom Wesley had settled the chapels built through his exertions, threatened a secession, and demanded a seat in the Conference. The people clamoured for the sacraments. Those on the contrary who adhered to the Methodism of Wesley's early years, protested against any change. The elements of disorder were thoroughly at work; and that Methodism did not expire with its founder, and was not buried in his tomb, is owing to the Conference of 1795. It assembled at Manchester, and drew up a Plan of Pacification, by which, for a time, the breach was healed. This Act of Pacification is, in fact, the constitution of the Wesleyan Church, and therefore demands a careful and patient consideration. It embraces three points:—the position of the laity, and especially of the trustees; the organization of a Church; and the institution of such further discipline as the circumstances of the case required.

As the title imports, it was a compromise; and this as regards the trustees on the one hand, and the Church of England on the other. The ministry of the word the Conference had always claimed. The administration of the Lord's Supper by the preachers was now sanctioned; and therefore by this act (according to the judgment and practice of the reformed Churches) they asserted their claims in the full sense to the ministerial office; and, in effect, constituted themselves a Church. But the sacrament was to be administered by those only who were authorised by the Conference, and at such times and in such manner only as the Conference should appoint. It was always to be administered according to the form of the Established Church; but the person who administered had liberty besides to give out hymns, and to use exhortation and extempore prayer. Both the sacraments

were to be given only to members of their own society, or their children. The majority of the Conference at this time, and long afterwards, retained a warm affection to the national Church. "We agree," say they, "that the Lord's Supper be administered among us on Sunday evenings only, except where the majority of the stewards and leaders desire it in church hours, or where it has already been administered in these hours. Nevertheless, it shall never be administered on those Sundays on which it is administered in the parish church." And, further, whenever Divine service was performed in the chapels in England in church hours, which could only be done by special consent of the Conference, the officiating preacher was instructed to read either the service of the Church, or Wesley's abridgment of it, or at least the lessons appointed by the calendar; but the Conference recommend either the full service or the abridgment. Wesley had himself allowed of service in church hours under certain circumstances, which are thus stated in the minutes of the Conference in 1786. 1. When the minister is a notoriously wicked man. 2. When he preaches Arian, or any equally pernicious doctrine. 3. When there are not churches in the town sufficient to contain half the people. And 4, when there is no church at all within two or three miles. As we have seen, he had also ordained some of his preachers under peculiar circumstances, and authorised their administration of the sacraments; the Plan of Pacification is therefore to be regarded rather as the development of primitive Methodism than as the establishment of an original constitution. Strange as it may seem, the administration of the sacraments was a concession made by the Conference to the people. The elder preachers, trained in Wesley's sentiments, were far more anxious to extend religion than to form a Church. The warning of their venerable friend against the perils of secession was still ringing in their ears; and greatly as the change would contribute to their own importance, they proceeded with hesitation, some of them with reluctance. And, after all, "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was never to be administered in any chapel except a majority of the trustees of that chapel on the one hand, and the majority of the stewards and leaders as best qualified to give the sense of the people on the other hand, allow of it, and in all cases the consent of the Conference shall be first obtained." An additional law was added, thus: "The Conference by no means

wishes to divide any society by the introduction of the Lord's Supper ; and therefore, except that a majority of the stewards and leaders who desire the Lord's Supper among themselves testify in writing to the Conference that they are persuaded that no separation will be made thereby, they will not allow it."

The claims of the trustees and lay members of the Society were settled in the following manner. It had all along been a fundamental rule in Methodism that the preachers should travel from place to place, never remaining more than three years in one circuit, nor (though this was a subsequent arrangement) returning to the same place within eight years. Wesley considered itinerancy to be essential to his success. He pleaded for it the example of the primitive Church and the Saxon bishops, as well as that of the Reformation. "We were not the first itinerant preachers in England. Twelve were appointed by Queen Elizabeth to travel continually, in order to spread true religion through the kingdom, and the office and salary still continue, though their work is little attended to. Be the preacher's talents ever so great, they will, ere long (that is, if fixed to one particular charge), grow dead themselves, and so will most of those that hear them. I know, were I myself to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and most of my congregation asleep. Nor can I believe it was ever the will of our Lord that any congregation should have one teacher only. We have found by long and constant experience that a frequent change of teachers is best." While he lived, the societies cheerfully acquiesced in the appointments made by Conference, that is, by Wesley himself. His wonderful sagacity enabled him, with a precision which no Conference could reach, to single out the fittest instruments for the work in hand, and to suit each chapel with the preacher best suited for the flock. But the trustees were not unnaturally anxious, now that he was gone, to have some share in the selection of their own ministers.

The Plan of Pacification met their solicitations thus. First, it asserted the absolute right of the Conference to appoint, and the inability of the trustees to expel or exclude the preacher so appointed. But, secondly, it called into existence a new court, entitled a district meeting, of which the trustees were members ; and it operated thus :—If the majority of trustees or other officers

believed that any preacher, appointed for their circuit, were immoral, erroneous in doctrine, deficient in abilities, or contumacious of the laws of Methodism, they had authority to summon the preachers of the district and all the trustees, stewards, and leaders of the circuit, and place the accused upon his trial. Each member having an equal vote, except the chairman (who was always to be the chairman of the district), to whom, when necessary, a second casting vote was given. If a majority condemned the accused party, he was at once suspended by the district committee, not only from the chapel in question, but from all public duties; but only till the next Conference, to whom the case was always to be remitted for final adjudication.

To the constitution thus sketched out the great majority of the Methodists have ever since adhered. The Plan of Pacification is regarded as indicating the rights and duties both of the clergy and people. From this point of time the Methodists became a Church. Yet, when separation from the National Church took place, it assumed, to use the language of Mr. Watson, the mildest form possible, and was deprived of all feelings of hostility; it did not, in any great degree, result from the principles assumed by Dissenters on the subject of establishments. A considerable number of the Methodists actually continue in communion with the Church of England to this day. All her services and her sacraments may be observed by any member of the Wesleyan society who chooses it; and they are actually observed by many. Methodism did not rush down, but gently glided into a state of partial division from the Church; and this, by neither arousing passion nor by exciting discussion on abstract points of Church polity, has left the general feeling of affection to all that is excellent in the establishment unimpaired. Indeed, it is only within the last twenty years that the Wesleyans have begun to speak of themselves as a Church. Previously, they styled themselves a society or connexion, and much was written, and often with warmth, to prove that neither the Plan of Pacification nor any later act or document, showed a disposition to assert the rights of independent churchmanship. This, however, was a mere strife of words: the Methodists retained the doctrines of the Church of England, but they added a supplementary discipline which was all their own. There was an apparent want of candour in professing warm attachment to the Church of England,



while her episcopal functions, so far as Methodism was concerned, were superseded by a Presbyterian Conference. This, however, now belongs only to the past. The Wesleyans of the present day assert their independence: "Methodism," they say, "forms a Christian Church complete within itself. Convenience and truth alike require that we should be thus designated, rather than by secular and equivocal words, which are not suitable to the exact propriety of language. Connexion is a mercantile expression, community is monastical, society is deceptive, for there are societies political as well as religious. Much less are we a sect, for a sect is the fragment or section of a larger body, to which it always bears some relation. We are nowhere dominant, nowhere in subjection, nowhere a sect, but a Church wherever we exist. . . . The Wesleyan community is distinctly, independently, and perfectly a Church."—*Dr. Rule, On Wesleyan Methodism considered as a Church.*

Thus was Methodism constituted and settled soon after its founder's death. A few changes have since been made, to which we shall have occasion to refer, but none of them affect its leading principles. We shall now attempt to place at one view before the reader's eye, a general outline of the Methodist Church, directing our attention first to its functionaries and ministers, with their several offices; secondly, to the constitution of those inferior courts, by which, in submission to the Conference, the whole is governed; and thirdly, to its modes of worship and religious observances.

Every Wesleyan in society, being a member of some class, the office of class-leader is one of great importance. Their numbers alone would give them influence, since they are by far the most numerous officers in the whole communion. Besides acting as spiritual advisers to the members of their own classes, they have great influence in the management of the Church. No single person can be received into the Society, to whom they formally object; nor can an individual be excluded from the Society, in the ordinary course of things, without their concurrence, which is equally necessary when a leader is to be removed from office, or a new one appointed. Their influence and authority are in some respects greater than that of the ministers themselves; for in addition to that which the letter of the law confers, they have a local influence which the travelling preacher does not possess. The Wesleyan minister, removing every two or three years, sel-

dom acquires local influence ; he is admired for his talents or revered for his piety, but the affections of the flock are soon transferred to another pastor. Local influence throws its weight into the scale of the leaders, rather than into that of the preachers ; and in them the Conference has sometimes met with its most formidable rivals. Many females are class-leaders, the class consisting of their own sex.

The local preachers are next in order in the ascending scale. They occupy a distinguished position in the Wesleyan constitution. They are laymen, and are so considered, and their services are perfectly gratuitous. They do not administer the sacraments, nor officiate beyond the circuit in which they have received their appointment. In general they are engaged in secular affairs, and aspire to no higher office. By means of their exertions, services are performed in remote hamlets or school-rooms, or even in the largest chapels in the absence of the regular preacher ; and with regard to most of them, the esteem of those who benefit by their labours is the only distinction they enjoy. But since no person can be taken into the regular ministry who has not given some proof of his fitness, in the capacity of a local preacher, their body has the honour of filling up the ministerial ranks ; it is the last step towards the clerical office, and a necessary preparation for it. During the last thirty years, several academies or colleges have been founded, in which young men of promise are educated for the ministry. This, to some extent, has modified the usage with respect to local preachers. The students, however, are still disciplined for the work by previous exercises. They are sent out on the Lord's day into the neighbouring towns and villages to expound and preach, and are, in fact, while students, a body of local preachers at the same time.

There are also stewards, treasurers, and trustees. These are all laymen, and take an active part in the administration of the temporal affairs of the Church. The stewards receive from the class-leaders every week, the sums of money contributed by their several classes, with an exact account of what amount each person has contributed. Every member of the Society is expected to contribute something, and the money thus raised is expended in the support of the preachers, and of the cause of Methodism in general. The stewards are appointed by the leaders, with the approbation of the superintendent, or senior minister, of the district. The stewards deliver the collections

once in three months to a circuit steward. The circuit stewards are appointed by the leaders of the whole circuit.

The trustees, as we have shown, can neither appoint nor eject the minister. They manage all the temporal concerns of the chapel, and are the legal guardians of the property. They receive the pew-rents, but they have no personal or private estate in the chapels. These are strictly speaking *res sacre*, not the property of any party. Should the Conference at any future time dwindle away, so that not thirty members remain, the chapels, by the deed of 1784, would revert to the trustees. In the meantime, they hold them upon trust, "to suffer and permit such persons as shall be appointed by the yearly Conference, and no others, to have and enjoy the said premises, therein to preach and expound God's holy word." Many of the chapels are built with borrowed money; for these loans the trustees are responsible, and they receive the rental of the pews as their security.

The Wesleyan clergy, generally styled in official documents preachers, or travelling preachers, are examined and ordained by the Conference. The candidate must, in the first instance, be recommended from the circuit in which he has officiated as a local preacher. This recommendation must come from the superintendent, and it cannot be given without the consent of a district meeting, composed of the officers of the Church. If admitted by the Conference, he undergoes a probation or diaconate of four years, during which period he is occupied in the work of the ministry, but he may not administer the sacraments, nor can he be a superintendent. If approved, he is then received into full connexion, and ordained a Presbyterian. Before the year 1836, the candidate was admitted or ordained by a simple vote, without the laying on of hands. The Conference then passed the following resolution:—"The Conference, after mature deliberation, resolves, that the preachers who are this year to be publicly admitted into full connexion, shall be ordained by imposition of hands, that this shall be our standing rule and usage in future years, and that any rule of a contrary nature, which may be in existence, shall be, and is hereby, rescinded." The candidates are ordained by the imposition of the hands of the president, ex-president, and secretary of the Conference for the time being, together with two of the senior ministers present, who are nominated by the president.

The form made use of by the Conference is contained in Wesley's abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer, and is entitled, "The Form and Manner of Ordaining of Elders." In this service, the expressions are altered to suit a Presbyterian discipline, and certain additions are made which pledge the candidate to the peculiar views of Methodism. For example, the president accompanies the imposition of hands with the address used by the bishops in the Church of England, slightly altered, thus:—"Mayest thou receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Christian minister, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God, and of his Holy Sacraments; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The president then delivers a Bible to each person so ordained, and addresses him thus:—"Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to administer the Holy Sacraments in our congregations." The questions proposed are those of the Ordination Service of the Church of England, with these additions:—"But as you are to exercise your ministry under the direction of the Wesleyan Conference, I have further to inquire, whether you have read the first four volumes of Mr. Wesley's Sermons, and his notes on the New Testament; and whether you believe that the system of doctrine therein contained is in accordance with the Holy Scriptures? I have also to ask you, whether you have read the Large Minutes, and believe that the general system of discipline contained therein is agreeable to the Holy Scriptures; and whether you will maintain and enforce it in the societies which shall be committed to your charge?"

The president may also at his discretion propose the following questions, which the candidates are expected to answer "as in the presence of God."

"Have you a lively faith in Christ? Do you enjoy a clear manifestation of the love of God to your soul? Have you constant power over all sin? Do you expect to be perfected in love in this life? Do you really desire and earnestly seek it? Are you resolved to devote yourself wholly to God and to his work? Do you know the Methodist plan of doctrine and discipline? Have you read the 'Plain Account of the Methodists?' the 'Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion?' Do you know the rules of the Society, and of the bands? Are you determined,

by the help of God, to keep them? Do you take no snuff, tobacco, or drams? Have you read and seriously considered the minutes of the Conference? Especially have you considered the rules of a helper? and, above all, the first, tenth, and twelfth? and will you keep them for conscience' sake? Are you determined to employ all your time in the work of God? Will you preach every morning and evening when opportunity serves, endeavouring not to speak too long or too loud? Will you diligently instruct the children where you can? Will you visit from house to house where it may be done? Will you recommend fasting and prayer both by precept and example? Are you in debt?"

These questions being answered to the satisfaction of the examiners, the president introduces the candidate to the Conference, in whose presence he undergoes a further examination. Each preacher is required to give a full and explicit declaration of his faith as to the doctrines taught by Mr. Wesley in his first four volumes of sermons and his Notes upon the New Testament. The president has also discretionary authority to require from each candidate an answer to any question which he may think proper to ask him respecting the doctrines contained in the eight volumes of sermons which Mr. Wesley left in his will to the preachers. Dr. Adam Clarke in his Commentary, published about 1820, denied the eternal sonship of Christ, though at the same time he maintained the doctrine of the Trinity. The Wesleyan body rejected his hypothesis, and by a minute of the Conference of 1827, it is "acknowledged to be the indispensable duty of the president of the Conference for the time being, to examine particularly upon the doctrine of the eternal sonship of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it is stated by Mr. Wesley, especially in his notes upon the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, every preacher proposed to be admitted into full connexion, and to require an explicit and unreserved declaration of his assent to it, as a truth revealed in the inspired oracles." The candidates, if approved by the Conference, are then brought before the whole congregation assembled for the purpose by public notice. The president explains the nature of the service, describes the previous probation of the candidates, and the result of the examinations to which they have been subjected; and then calls upon as many of them as time will

permit "to declare for the further satisfaction of the congregation their conversion to God, their present experience of divine things, their conviction of their call of God to the ministry, and their purpose of devoting themselves for the future to the work." The ordination follows on the next day, and in general in the presence of a crowded congregation.

The preacher thus ordained becomes the minister of a Presbyterian church. He is stationed by the Conference in whatever circuit they may choose to place him. The junior preacher, or deacon, removes every year. Being now received into full connexion (to use the Wesleyan periphrasis) he remains two, or, at the utmost, three years in the same circuit. The Conference then assigns to him another station. The business of appointing several hundred ministers is extremely laborious. A stationing committee, consisting of members of its own body, first prepares a general outline or plan of the stations; the Conference at large revises the schedule laid before it, and finally determines the circuit and the work of each individual. Every preacher is expected to yield implicit and cheerful submission; and to hold himself prepared to labour in any station, at home or abroad, to which the Conference may think proper to appoint him.

The travelling preachers are held in high esteem. They are the pastors of the Methodist flock, are entirely devoted to the work of the ministry and are released from secular affairs. They are provided with a stipend and a house by the stewards of the circuit in which they labour, upon a scale which generally combines domestic comfort with strict economy. Some circuits are rich, others extremely poor; and the income of the preacher varies in proportion. Some circuits would scarcely support a minister were they not assisted by the contributions of the more wealthy districts. But all payments are made upon a scale which has the approbation of the Conference. The people cannot deprive the pastor of his stipend. If he be unpopular, the certainty that he will soon be removed prevents the growth of bitterness on both sides; and the man who is disliked and useless in one post is often respected and successful in another. One feature in the Methodist economy deserves to be imitated in other Churches. A retiring pension is provided for superannuated ministers, and a small provision is made for the widows and young children of those who die in the work. No man is com-

pelled from hard necessity to inflict on his congregation the feeble services of second childhood. No Methodist preacher looks from his dying bed upon a helpless family, oppressed by those sorrows and forebodings under which so many a dissenting minister, and so many a curate, has been crushed !

The constitution and powers of the Conference have been explained, and the reader will have formed an idea of the system of Methodism in general. But the details of its machinery are somewhat complicated, and beyond the Wesleyan pale not always understood. We proceed to give an account of those inferior courts or tribunals which connect the Conference, as the supreme authority, with the humblest Methodist ; and by means of which it becomes acquainted with his circumstances and even with his wishes.

The lowest of these is the *leaders' meeting*. The leaders' meetings are composed of the travelling preachers stationed, for the time being, in the circuit ; the stewards for the particular Society to which the meeting is attached ; and all persons, male or female, who are regularly in office as leaders. Wherever there is a chapel, congregation, and Society, a leaders' meeting is essential. Their powers have been enlarged at various periods. They have now a veto upon the admittance of members into the Society : they possess the power of a jury in the trial of accused members. Without their consent no leader, no steward, can be appointed to office ; nor can he be removed, except the crime proved against him merits exclusion from the Church, in which case the superintendent, that is the presiding preacher, or presbyter, of the district, may at once depose and expel him. In conjunction with the trustees of the chapel to which their meeting is attached, they determine whether or not the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be there administered ; and the fund for the relief of the poor and afflicted members of the Society is under their control.

Superior to the leaders' meeting is the *quarterly meeting*, the chief local or circuit court, though not invested with judicial powers. The constitution of this meeting has never been defined by the Conference. Originally it consisted of the travelling preachers, the stewards, and such other members of the Society as the superintendent, on his own responsibility, invited to attend. Its composition now varies according to local customs, and is therefore loose and undefined. But it is generally under-

stood that only those who hold office in the Society, or are otherwise specially appointed, can take part in its proceedings. Its business is chiefly financial; it examines and audits the accounts of the stewards. The pecuniary claims upon them are considered, and the method for raising necessary supplies. The Conference has also acknowledged the right of the quarterly meetings exclusively, to petition for preachers; that is to request the Conference to send such preachers as they themselves have nominated. The Conference engages to give to such petitions that respectful consideration to which they are entitled. They are directed to be carefully read and considered, first by the stationing committee, and then, if called for, by the Conference. The Conference however does not divide its rights with the quarterly meeting. The petition may be laid aside, and its prayer refused. The practice of petitioning is discouraged by the Conference. It has been found to produce serious inconvenience, and, in several respects, to be detrimental to the interests of the people. The wisest of the Wesleyan body complain of the mischievous tendency of a system which keeps the societies in constant agitation, wounds the feelings of the greater number of the preachers, while it caresses, to their hurt, a few popular men; and is open, in short, to most of the objections which can be urged against a popular election of the pastor, to which it bears a close resemblance.

The *local preachers' meeting* is held quarterly. Here the superintendent institutes inquiries into the moral and religious character of the local preachers, their soundness in the faith, and their discharge of the duties of their office; he examines probationers, and candidates are proposed, but only by himself, and after a private examination. For in all cases it is the sole right and duty of the superintendent to nominate the candidate, whether for admission or probation, or to a place upon the Plan as an accredited local preacher; the approval or rejection rests with the majority of the meeting. The superintendent cannot place any one upon the Plan "without the approbation of the meeting," and the meeting cannot oblige him to admit any one of whom he disapproves. The local preachers are responsible to their own meeting for every part of their official conduct; but for all acts affecting their character and standing as members of the Society, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the leaders' meetings to which they respectively belong. There are but few



positive laws relating to this class of officers recorded in the minutes. Much of the discipline by which they are governed, and especially that by which they are admitted into office, is determined by common usage.

There is also a *trustees' meeting*, purely secular; but it is to be observed, that the superintendent is always ex officio the chairman; and further, in case of unavoidable absence, he has power under his handwriting to appoint a deputy to preside and exercise all the powers that would vest in him were he present.

But the *district meeting* is, after the Conference itself, the greatest of the Church courts. On the death of John Wesley the three kingdoms were first divided into districts, and the district meeting was immediately created to transact the business of each district during the intervals of the Conference. It was at first a court of appeal to supply the lack of Mr. Wesley's authority in the settlement of disputes and the redress of grievances. There are now five kinds of district meetings, of which, however, the first is by far the most considerable. This is the *annual district meeting*, to which all the preachers of the different circuits within its boundaries are summoned. The two stewards of each circuit and the treasurers of the funds under the control of the Conference are present, but only during the transaction of its financial business; so rigidly does Methodism guard the rights of her ministers. At these meetings, the laymen having withdrawn, a searching inquiry is instituted into the character and conduct of every preacher in the district. Each case is taken in succession; and it is the duty of the superintendent to ask the following questions "distinctly and successively," as each preacher is submitted to the ordeal:—1. "Is there any objection to his moral and religious character?" 2. "Does he teach and believe in our doctrines?" 3. "Has he duly observed and enforced our discipline?" 4. "Has he competent abilities for our itinerant work?" A separate answer to each of these questions is expected to appear recorded on the minutes. This court, as well as the Conference, has the right to institute any inquiry which it may deem expedient into the moral, Christian, or ministerial conduct of the preachers under their care, though no formal accusation may have been brought against them; and they have also the authority of deciding

upon them judicially, "as to them may seem most conformable to the rules and usages of our connexion." Any preacher who refuses to submit to the friendly examination of the chairman, and of other brethren, or to take his trial regularly and formally when required to do so, shall be considered as ipso facto incurring the penalty of suspension till the ensuing Conference. The examination of candidates for the ministry is another branch of the duties of the annual district meeting. A series of questions, provided by the Conference for that purpose, is proposed, but these are rather a guide to the chairman than a restraint on his authority. He is required to call upon them for a statement of their spiritual experience, to subject them to a strict and particular examination on the doctrines of Christianity, on their acquaintance with the writings of Mr. Wesley, and the general discipline of the connexion; and, if satisfied, to admit them upon trial, the final decision being always reserved for the Conference. A third duty the district meetings discharge is that of transacting the financial business of the district. This is very extensive; it includes the receipt and payment of the yearly collection in support of the cause; the allowance for claims of deficiency of income for the preachers, their wives and servants, and domestic expenditure; claims for extraordinary deficiencies arising from sickness, removals, and the like; the disposal of the funds for the education of the preachers' children, and the consideration of cases of chapels, applying for relief. Requests are entertained for permission to build, purchase, or enlarge chapels. And lastly, the spiritual affairs of the district are reviewed. In general, the annual sessions of all the districts are closed by reading a compendium of the Wesleyan pastors' duties which was drawn up and passed at the Conference of 1820. From this document, which is of considerable length, we cannot refrain from presenting the reader with the following extract:—

"Let us ourselves remember, and endeavour to impress upon our people, that we, as a body, do not exist for the purposes of party; and that we are especially bound, by the example of our founder, by the original principle on which our societies are formed, by our constant professions before the world, to avoid a narrow, bigoted, and sectarian spirit, to abstain from needless and unprofitable disputes on minor subjects of theological controversy, and, as far as we innocently can, to 'please all men for

their good unto edification.' Let us, therefore, maintain towards all denominations of Christians, who 'hold the Head,' the kind and catholic spirit of primitive Methodism; and, according to the noble maxim of our fathers in the Gospel—be the friends of all, the enemies of none."

There are also *special, financial, mixed, and minor* district meetings. These may be considered in the light of committees and sub-committees, with the exception of the mixed meeting, which arose out of the Act of Pacification of 1795. It is remarkable for its concession to the lay-officers in a matter of no less importance than the trial of a preacher. If the majority of the trustees, or of the stewards or leaders, believe that a preacher in the circuit is immoral, unsound in doctrine, or even deficient in abilities, or guilty of violating the rules of the Society, they are empowered to form this mixed tribunal. The chairman of the district is the president, and every preacher, trustee, steward, and leader has a voice, the chairman possessing the casting vote. The preacher, if condemned, is silenced. "They shall determine amongst themselves how he may be disposed of till the Conference;" and they have authority to "suspend him from all public duties till the Conference if they shall think proper." Still the mixed district meeting has but a subordinate authority. It is not an independent court, whose decisions may, however, be set aside by the superior tribunal. In its nature it is a temporary or intermediate court, whose sentence in point of time always expires within twelve months.

It is impossible to close the survey of the institutions of Methodism without being struck with the vast powers which are centred in the Conference itself. Its minutes are the statutes of the Church. Its members are appointed by themselves. Its deliberations, unless when, by an act of grace, it relaxes something of its caution, are secret. Its authority is absolute. And yet it possesses a strong hold, not upon the fears, but upon the warm affections of a vast proportion of the Methodist societies. It is regarded by them with more than confidence, with veneration, often with something of filial regard. In explanation of so remarkable a fact it must be remembered that the Methodist Church consists of voluntary societies: that those who become members of it are members from choice, and that no man dissatisfied with its economy is compelled to remain within its pale

and offer a grudging support to a system which he disapproves; and that the Wesleyan Church is full of intelligence. Where the scriptures are prohibited a corrupt priesthood may compel submission, or extort compliance. Where general intelligence prevails such priestcraft is almost impossible. And, lastly, let it be borne in mind, that the Methodist Conference has no power to exact compulsory support. It has no tithes, no rich endowments, no state provision or patronage, nor any pecuniary resources, but such as it can secure from the voluntary aid of voluntary supporters. The supplies of its ministry must be derived from the contributions of a willing people; and, therefore, can be secured only by affectionate zeal and Christian fidelity on the part of its ministers. The security of the Wesleyan Church from the arbitrary power of its Conference rests, then, upon this basis—that the terms of communion are purely voluntary, and that the sole resources of the clergy are the free-will offerings of the people. Should the Conference attempt at any time to enforce measures oppressive or injurious to the members at large, the Society itself would be, in consequence, dissolved. Such are the reasonings of the Conference and its defenders.

The religious worship of the Methodists is marked by some features of interest. The public services are either extempore or liturgical, or, not unfrequently, partaking of both characters. In the City Road chapel, the most important erected during the life of Wesley, the liturgy is always read in the forenoon, and for many years this service was performed by a clergyman of the Church of England. A prayer-book is used in many of the greater chapels, but there is no unvarying rule on the subject. The custom is retained which grew up in each, and there are many chapels in which no liturgy is used. A minute of the Conference requires that, if the chapels be open during the hours of divine service in the parish church, the liturgy, “or at least the lessons for the day,” be read. The service is that of the Church of England, with some changes and omissions, from a revised liturgy which was prepared by Wesley. Some sentences and entire psalms are omitted from the Psalter, for he did not hesitate to affirm that there were some sentiments in the Psalms of David which no Christian could properly use. Several prayers are omitted, as well as the collects, epistles, and gospels for saint’s days. In the offices for the administration of the sacraments,

matrimony, communion of the sick, burial of the dead, and the ordaining of deacons, elders, and superintendents, many changes are introduced. Since the death of the founder, the Wesleyan Church has adopted twenty-five articles in the place of the thirty-nine, and based upon them. The rite of confirmation is not in use, though it is no unusual thing for the children of Wesleyan parents to be sent for confirmation to the bishop of the diocese.

Singing forms a considerable part of public worship : scarcely a religious meeting, public, social, or private, is held, which does not begin or close with psalmody. The hymn-book was prepared by John Wesley, the most valuable part of it being the contribution of his brother Charles. A hymn or two of real sublimity were written by John Olivers, one of the first Methodist preachers. John Wesley added several of his own : most of the remainder are borrowed from Watts and Doddridge. The hymn-book, though not a standard of doctrine, is revered as a depository of scriptural truth and sound Methodism. It is guarded with care, and published by the Conference alone. "Our hymn-book," says Dr. Rule, "is more copious beyond comparison, and more evangelical and devotional, than any collection of which traces have been left from Christian antiquity, and may safely be left to comparison with any similar collection yet published." Where organs have been introduced, the Conference by a minute requires, that they shall be so used as not to overpower congregational singing, but only to assist it ; and they add some excellent advice : "Let no pieces, as they are called, in which recitatives by single men, solos by single women, fuguing (or different words sung by different voices at the same time), are introduced, be sung in our chapels. Let the original simple, grave, and devotional style be carefully preserved ; which instead of drawing the attention to singing and the singers, is so admirably calculated to draw off the attention from both, and raise the soul to God only."

Membership is necessary as a condition of stated admission to the Lord's Supper ; and membership implies being placed under a leader in a class. It is the duty of the preacher to examine each member every three months, and to give him a ticket, bearing his name and a text of Scripture, which entitles the holder to the privileges of membership during the ensuing quarter.

Besides the class meeting, the members are encouraged to meet in bands. These were instituted by Wesley, and by him highly valued; these appear to be voluntary social meetings, consisting of members of the Society. The original rules drawn up by the hand of Wesley contain some wise instructions:—

“You are supposed to have the faith that overcometh the world. To you, therefore, it is not grievous—

“I. Carefully to abstain from doing evil: in particular—

“Neither to buy nor sell anything at all on the Lord’s day.

“To taste no spirituous liquor, no dram of any kind, unless prescribed by a physician.

“To be at a word, both buying and selling.

“To pawn nothing, no, not to save life.

“Not to mention the fault of any behind his back, and to stop those short that do.

“To wear no needless ornaments, such as rings, ear-rings, necklaces, lace, ruffles.

“To use no needless self-indulgence, such as taking snuff or tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician.

“II. Zealously to maintain good works: in particular—

“To give alms of such things as you possess, and that to the uttermost of your power.

“To reprove all that sin in your sight, and in love, and meekness, and wisdom.

“To be patterns of all diligence and frugality, of self-denial, and taking up the cross daily.”

Love-feasts, in imitation of the primitive Church, are held frequently: none but members are admitted except by permission of the preacher. The minister presides, and the time is spent in devotional exercises. Wesley states, that in order to increase, in the classes he had formed, a grateful sense of all God’s mercies, he desired that they should meet together once a quarter “that,” said he, “we might eat bread together, as the ancient Christians did, with gladness and singleness of heart. At these love-feasts, so we termed them, retaining the name, as well as the thing which was in use from the beginning, our food is only a little plain cake and water: but we seldom return from them without being fed, not only with the meat that perishes, but with that which endureth to everlasting life.” Wesley copied the love feast from the Moravians, and they from the primitive Church

A description, by Tertullian, of one of these festivals, about the end of the second century, has been quoted as no unapt description of the Methodist love-feast. "Our supper shows its character by its name, for it is called *ἀγάπη*, which signifies kindness. Nothing that is trifling or immodest is permitted, nor do we take our places until prayer has been offered up to God. Those who are hungry eat till they are satisfied; they drink only what is necessary; they are not oppressed with feasting, but are still able, through the night, to remember that God is to be adored. They speak like persons who know that God is listening. Having washed their hands, any one who pleases recites from Scripture, or gives an address, and we sing praise to God. The feast closes as it began, with prayer."—*Apolog.* c. 39.

The watch-night is also defended by the practice of primitive antiquity. Its introduction, too, at first was casual. A century ago, a few Methodists in the neighbourhood of Bristol, probably in very humble life, being surrounded daily by the profane, met together at night to spend some time in prayer and praise, without interruption. The singularity of the proceeding was offensive to some, and in others it roused suspicion. Wesley did not hastily condemn their conduct. He thought he perceived a resemblance in the practice to the nocturnal assemblies of the primitive Christians; but to remove every occasion of offence, he made these vigils public instead of private. Placing himself at the head of his people, in this as in every other movement, he continued for some time to hold watch-night services monthly at Bristol, London, and Newcastle. Just as in the first ages, the love-feast from its name, and the vigil or watch-night from its hour, were represented as the orgies of dissolute fanatics; and these charges were sometimes repeated by those, from whom at least a better acquaintance with Church history might have been expected. "You charge me," says Wesley, addressing an Irish clergyman, "with holding midnight assemblies. Sir, did you never see the word 'vigil' in your Common Prayer-Book? Do you know what it means? If not, permit me to tell you that it was customary with the ancient Christians to spend whole nights in prayer, and that these nights were termed *vigiliæ* or vigils. Therefore, for spending a part of some nights in this manner, in public and solemn prayer, we have not only the authority of our own national Church, but of the universal Church, in the earliest

ages." The watch-nights are chiefly held on the eve of the new year. Several hours are spent in prayer and exhortation, and the meeting is closed with praise as the new year is ushered in. A "covenant service" is also held at the opening of the year; when each member solemnly pledges himself to fresh devotion to the service of God. There is a quarterly fast, which all members of the Society are enjoined to keep. Wesley, in his instructions to the preachers, urges most impressively the duty of observing a rigid fast every Friday.

We now resume our history. The pacification of 1795 satisfied the moderate party, as they were termed, who formed the great bulk of the Society. But it was an age of the wildest political excitement. During the period of those disputes by which the Methodists were agitated, the French revolution was raging in its fury, and the Methodist body was not free from the contagion. There was now a party in the connexion whose views extended far beyond the horizon which bounded the aspirations of either of the Wesleys. They are described by the elder Methodists as young men who had been introduced into life, and formed their opinions in that state of things which the French revolution introduced; they would not only enjoy liberty themselves, but force it upon others. The Conference had determined that the Lord's Supper should be administered only in those chapels where a majority of the Society, as represented by the trustees, demanded it. With this restriction they were displeased; a contest followed, and the constitution of the Conference now provoked their attention. In a word, they insisted on the introduction of lay delegates, and this on the ground of fitness and expediency. Inspired with something of that enthusiasm respecting the rights of the people which had so generally seized the nation, they contended that the people ought to be represented in the Conference, and have a share in making the laws by which they were controlled. The Conference resisted the proposal; and the first of those secessions took place which have returned from time to time, paralyzing the societies in the hour of their greatest vigour, and threatening the very being of the Methodist Church.

Of the first secession, Mr. Kilham, a member of the Conference, was the leader. Dissatisfied with the Plan of Pacification, he published a tract on the "Progress of Liberty" with respect to



Church government, soon after the Conference of 1795. For this he was arraigned before a district meeting at Newcastle in the following February. The fire spread. The author of a pamphlet printed by one of his party at Bristol in 1796, gives quotations from nearly fifty pamphlets and circular letters, in favour of the change. Mr. Kilham was dismissed from the Society at the Conference of 1796, and the whole connexion was for some time in a state of violent agitation. The Kilhamites issued an address at Newcastle, maintaining, as their first position, that "according to the present rules of Conference, the Methodist preachers ruled their people without consulting them." The dissatisfaction spread far and wide; it flew from Newcastle to Manchester, where a considerable number of trustees, leaders, and members were expelled from the Society by the local court, a special district meeting. When the Conference met in 1797, the question of admitting lay-delegates was formally discussed, and the following resolution stands upon its minutes:—"The Conference, having maturely considered the subject, are thoroughly persuaded, with many of our Societies whose letters have been read in full Conference, that they cannot admit any but regular travelling preachers into their body, either in the Conference or in district meetings, and preserve the system of Methodism entire; particularly the itinerant plan, which they are determined to support."

The decision was the signal of disruption. Kilham and his friends retired, and formed "the New Connexion;" a body which has ever since taken its stand amongst the most respectable, zealous, and orthodox of the smaller Churches of the Nonconformists; its history is presented to the reader in a separate article. Those who feel no disposition to be elated with the disasters of Methodism, may be forgiven if they hesitate in expressing their approbation of the firmness, so much applauded by high Wesleyans, of this Conference of 1797. Their apologists contend that "the refusal was not dictated by the love of power, but by the stern conviction that they could not act otherwise, without violating the pastoral trust reposed in them as Christ's ministers." But we are not aware of any pastoral trust imposed by Christ, which would exclude the laity from a seat in Convocation, or a vote in Conference. "They felt," it is said, "they could not introduce laymen into their own body, or even into the

district meetings, consistently with a due regard to the purity of their doctrines and ministry, the preservation of the itinerancy, and the real welfare and liberty of the people at large." These are the statements of Dr. Beecham, late President of the Conference, and its able apologist. The turbulent state of the societies at the time, may perhaps justify this disparagement of the laity; but we should be sorry to admit, as a general principle, that purity of doctrine is exclusively confined in any Protestant Church to the safe keeping of its clergy, or even that the real welfare and religious liberty of their brethren would be unsafe if the laity were allowed a voice in the supreme courts of legislation. It is contended further, "that the admission of lay-delegates would have destroyed the Conference, which was nothing, but as it was defined and invested with power by the Deed of Declaration. So that a Conference admitting lay-delegates would have had no legal existence; and no other body could have performed its prescribed functions." But these consequences were not inevitable. In this, as in most cases, where conflicting claims are to be adjusted, mutual concessions might have been made. There were many subjects, for instance, in which lay-delegates might have been admitted into the Conference, both to speak and vote, without affecting the validity of the Deed of Declaration. Indeed, we cannot perceive what possible danger could have arisen from their presence, even in numbers equal to those of the preachers, so long as an absolute veto was still lodged, as it must have been, in the upper house, or original Conference of one hundred.

With more force, it is contended, that if the concession had been made, a disruption on the one side or the other would still have taken place. For the Conference did not stand alone. It was not the whole of the connexion which was asking for the admission of lay-delegates into the Conference. Many of the societies regarded the question in the same light as the Conference itself. In the midst of the popular outcry for religious liberty, the same alarms were felt by Methodists, jealous of their existing institutions, which, at the same period, inflamed the eloquence of Burke, in his apprehensions for the safety of the constitution of the State itself. And they felt they owed it to themselves, to the cause of God, and to the Conference, to avow their sentiments in such a crisis, and to support the Conference by the assurance of their

attachment to it. They went still further, and declared their conviction that Methodism was safer in the hands of the Conference as then constituted, than if lay-delegates should, unhappily, be admitted to a place either in the Conference or the district meetings.

Some concessions of importance the Conference made. With reference to financial and other secular matters, more authority was given to the quarterly and district meetings. Till Wesley's death, the yearly collections of the Society had been paid over to the Conference, and by them divided among the preachers, and spent on other legitimate objects. The Conference of 1791 published their accounts in a brief statement, which occupies seven lines; so little had the Society hitherto interfered in matters of expenditure or finance. On the death of Wesley, the district meetings were empowered to receive and pay certain funds, particularly the preachers' stipends, remitting a statement of their financial proceedings, together with the balance of their receipts, to the Conference. This power was now extended to the quarterly meetings; and the Conference undertook to publish a full account of its receipts and expenditure in such a form that every circuit might satisfy itself, by comparing its own accounts with those of the Conference, that no collusion had been practised. Another regulation provides that all other temporal business shall originate in the quarterly meetings. The concessions which relate to discipline were still more important. The leaders' meetings had a veto on the admission of new members by the superintendent, when they chose to exercise it. And with regard to the expulsion of delinquents, the superintendent, who had hitherto exercised this formidable power without control, was now instructed not to proceed to extremities until the leaders were consulted, "and the crime proved to their satisfaction." The leaders and stewards were for the future to be appointed and removed, not by the superintendent alone, but in conjunction with the leaders' meeting.

The secession of the Kilhamites, however, seemed rather to relieve Methodism than to impede its triumphs. For thirty years after the death of Wesley it pursued one unbounded course of marvellous success. Persecution had died away, or, if feebly offered, was of service to the cause, raising up friends, promoting inquiry, and stimulating zeal. When Wesley died, the number

in connexion with him was eighty thousand, including America and the West Indies. Within ten years the societies had increased in Great Britain alone more than forty thousand. In twenty years the increase was more than a hundred thousand.

In the year 1811, a bill was brought into the House of Lords professedly to amend the Act of Toleration, but in fact to repeal its most important and beneficial provisions. Had it passed, and been rigidly enforced, it might have effected the entire subversion of the Wesleyan ministry. This unwise attempt not only failed but recoiled. The Methodists learned their political strength. More compact, more united, more energetic than any Protestant communion, the sense of danger, and the stronger sense of insult, roused them to exertion. In the face of their remonstrances and petitions, in which they were joined by all the friends of religious liberty, the bill was hastily withdrawn; and it is the last attempt at coercion in matters of religion that the British Parliament has witnessed. The Wesleyan body have never combined to use their power for the service of any party, or the attainment of any selfish objects. Their political influence has been nobly employed in the service of mankind;—for the suppression of the slave-trade, in 1806; for the right of introducing missions into India, in 1813; for the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, in 1833.

At the Conference of 1813, Dr. Coke, then in the sixty-seventh year of his age, expressed an earnest desire to proceed to the East Indies, for the purpose of establishing a mission there. Eighteen times had he crossed the Atlantic for missionary objects; yet his ardour was unabated. He sailed, accompanied by seven missionaries, and died upon the voyage. After Wesley himself, no man connected with the Methodists ever contributed more to extend the blessings of Christianity amongst mankind. The mission, notwithstanding his death, was opened at Ceylon; and Dr. Coke's departure from England and his sudden death, which it was feared might prejudice the missionary work, had, in fact, the contrary effect. The connexion had almost entirely relied on his personal exertions, both in directing the operations of the missions in the West Indies and Canada, and in providing the means of their support. The preachers and people now awoke from their supineness; a missionary society was formed in con-

nexion with the Conference, and the missions soon prospered beyond all former example.

The Methodists' societies continued steadily to increase till 1827. At length, the trivial cause of so many bitter conflicts between Churchmen and Puritans in days past, the introduction of an organ, opened the waters of strife. The trustees of a chapel at Leeds wished to introduce instrumental music, and made application to the district meeting for permission. The district meeting refused; for the old Methodists regarded instrumental music as injurious to spiritual worship. The trustees made their appeal to the Conference, who saw fit to grant their request. Hereupon the organ was forgotten, and the broad question was discussed, whether the Conference possessed the right to interfere in such a case and overrule the decision of a district meeting. It was a struggle for independence on the part of the latter, and, as it soon appeared, on the part of many of the Methodists, who seceded from the main body, protesting against what they termed the oppression of the Conference. They insisted that the Conference violated its own law in receiving an appeal against the district meeting on the subject of the organ. The Conference party replied that wherever there is a right to make laws, there is a right to receive appeals as inherent; and that it was monstrous to suppose that a Methodist, or body of Methodists, however aggrieved by the decisions of a district meeting, had no redress. Some sharp invectives were not spared by the Conference against those who, professing to be the friends of liberty, would have made the local courts despotic. There was a law of Conference on the subject, but it was somewhat vaguely worded, and both sides claimed its shelter. It was this: "We think that in some of the larger chapels, where some instrumental music may be deemed expedient in order to guide the congregational singing, organs may be allowed by special consent of the Conference; but every application for such consent shall be first made at the district meeting; and if it obtain their sanction, shall be then referred to a committee at the Conference, who shall report their opinion as to the propriety of acceding to the request, and also as to the restrictions with which the permission to erect an organ ought, in that particular case, to be accompanied."

The Conference asserted its rights, but at the same time in-

structed the preachers "to invite back, and to receive with perfect oblivion of the past, those who had been so led away by the arts of disaffected men;" but a secession had taken place which could not thus be recalled.

A more serious rupture followed in the case of Dr. Warren, in 1835. Here, again, the cause of the quarrel was insignificant. The Conference had resolved to open a Theological Institution for the education of their future ministers. On the details of the question differences of opinion arose, and angry pamphlets were exchanged. Dr. Warren, an eminent minister, was the leader in the contest on the side which opposed the measures of the Conference; he was in consequence suspended by the Manchester district meeting. Against this suspension he appealed to the Court of Chancery. The events which followed are important in Wesleyan history, not only for the extraordinary interest which they occasioned at the time, but still more for their consequences, which are still unfolding themselves.

The district meeting requested Dr. Newton, another eminent minister, to undertake the duties of superintendent of the circuit in Dr. Warren's place; and the object of this application to the Court of Chancery was to obtain an injunction against Dr. Newton and the trustees of the Oldham-street chapel in Manchester, all of whom concurred in his exclusion from their pulpit; and against those trustees of another Wesleyan chapel in Manchester who also approved of the suspension and of Dr. Newton's ministry in that place; for two or three of the trustees of the latter chapel made common cause with Dr. Warren, and joined with him in applying to the court for his restoration to the exercise of his ministerial functions. The case excited the deepest interest; the most eminent counsel were employed on each side, and the judgment of the Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards that of the Lord Chancellor, into whose court it was removed, were elaborate and prepared with the greatest care; but the Vice-Chancellor refused the injunction, and his judgment was affirmed by the higher court. "I am of opinion," said the Lord Chancellor, "not only that the district meeting had the power to suspend, but I am of opinion that they acted legally—I am not called upon to say more. Whether they acted wisely, discreetly, temperately, or harshly, these are matters with which I have no concern, and upon which I desire now to express no opinion." The Lord Chancellor con-

cluded with an expression of his great regret at the existence of the dissensions which had given rise to the proceedings ; and he added, “ From what I have heard, and from what I may say I know, of the character of Dr. Warren, of his learning, of his piety, of his talents, and of his good conduct, which have been stated on one side and not even attempted to be contradicted on the other—taking all these things into consideration, I must express my regret that he should have been the sufferer, I will not say the victim, but the sufferer in these proceedings.” Dr. Warren was permitted to be heard in the next Conference in his own defence, although it was thought he had forfeited his right of appeal to that tribunal. In justice to the Conference, we should willingly have quoted at large the grounds of their decision ; but they are mixed up with personal charges and recriminations which ought to be forgotten. Dr. Warren was expelled, and the sentiments of the Conference may be gathered from the following resolution :—

“ While the Conference cannot but express their utter abhorrence of the principle that a minister, while professedly in union with our body, may appeal from the regular and constitutional jurisdictions of his own connexion to the civil courts, as tending to a violation of the laws of the New Testament, a breach of faith with his brethren in the ministry, and a fearful disregard of consequences to the cause of Christ, they feel called upon to record their fervent gratitude to the great Head of the Church for the gracious interpositions of His providence in the recent decisions of his Majesty’s High Court of Chancery, to refuse the injunction applied for by Dr. Warren, with a view to set aside the authority of the special meetings of the district committee held in his case in Manchester. They feel especially called upon to acknowledge the hand of God in these decisions, as confirming the validity of Mr. Wesley’s Deed of Declaration ; securing to the preachers appointed by the Conference the inalienable occupation of our pulpits ; recognising the pastoral supervision and authority of the Conference as the supreme tribunal of Methodism, through the medium of its district committees, and affording the ample security of British law to the general economy of Wesleyan Methodism.”

The association formed by Dr. Warren soon contained many thousand members. It was the third great secession which the

Wesleyan body had experienced, but still it seemed for the present scarcely to affect its strength. Dr. Warren soon afterwards took orders in the Church of England, and the association, deprived of its leader, made no great progress.

On the other hand the Conference party pursued their triumphs. The year 1839 was celebrated as the centenary of Methodism. A century had passed since the Wesleys and their companion Whitfield began their out-door ministry on commons and at the corners of the streets. It was, as John Wesley had recorded in his journal, "a sudden expedient, a thing submitted to rather than chosen, and therefore submitted to, because he thought even preaching thus better than not preaching at all." A hundred years had silently glided by, and the fruits of his self-devotion, and that of a few others his partners in disgrace and glory, were apparent to the world, in the general reformation of morals and in the diffusion of that religious truth which, when Wesley and his companions began their field preaching, was all but unknown. The number in the societies which he had raised is a very imperfect test of the influence he had exerted; and yet measured even by this standard, few indeed are the men who, whether for good or evil, have so deeply influenced mankind. There were now in England alone 3,000 chapels, besides a vast number of other places, in which the Wesleyan ministry was conducted. In some of the towns the chapels were of very large dimensions; in Leeds alone they contained 3,000 free sittings for the poor. The members of the Wesleyan Church in Great Britain were 296,801. The ministers were 1,019; the local preachers not fewer than 4,000. The Sunday-schools were upwards of 3,300; in these, 59,000 teachers gratuitously taught 341,000 children. Ireland contained 49 circuits and 18 mission stations; in which 160 preachers laboured amongst 26,000 members of society. In Canada there were 47 districts, exclusive of 47 missionary stations; and the members of the society were 14,000. Fifteen hundred red men had abandoned savage life, and were regular members of the Wesleyan Church; and but for the ministry of its preachers, many thousands of the British settlers would have been entirely destitute of the ordinances of Christianity. The missions employed, in different parts of the world, above 300 accredited ministers, besides local preachers and assistants, having under



their care, including children and adults, more than 180,000 souls. The missionaries preached the Gospel in more than twenty languages, to some of the remotest nations of the earth. For the support of this vast enterprise the Wesleyan societies, assisted by the liberality of the Christian public, raised, in the year 1837, the sum of 83,648*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

In America, the seed planted by Coke and Asbury had borne fruit abundantly. The Methodist Episcopal Church outnumbered the connexion in Great Britain. The societies, scattered over an immense tract of country, were placed under the care of 28 conferences, and superintended by six bishops. There were 3,106 itinerant ministers; 216 who were superannuated; and 5,792 local preachers. The private members amounted to 686,549; of whom 605,212 were whites; 79,236 were coloured; and 2,101 were Indians. The Methodist Episcopal Church had a prosperous mission at Liberia, on the African coast, and another at Texas; it had six collegiate institutions, and one university. Four of these are west of the Alleghany Mountains, in the great valley of Mississippi, and its tributary waters, and three are in the Atlantic states. All of them possess the power of conferring academic degrees.

The jubilee year closed a long succession of triumphs, and a long season of comparative repose. The surface of Methodism was unruffled, and the enthusiasm of her children had suffered no abatement. It was proposed to erect in memory of the festival a centenary hall in London, at an expense of 40,000*l.*, to build a missionary ship, to found a theological college, to release the schools and chapels of the connexion from debt, and to provide an additional fund for sick and aged ministers. For all these purposes 80,000*l.* were asked, and more than twice that sum was cheerfully subscribed: the jubilee fund amounted to 215,000*l.* The year of jubilee closed, as it began, amidst general congratulations and devout thanksgivings.

But appearances were seldom more fallacious. The expulsions at Leeds, and the affair of Dr. Warren, rankled in many hearts. The impression had already gone abroad amongst the societies, that the people as represented in the leaders' meetings and the quarterly meetings were deprived of that influence which the Pacification of 1795 conceded to them; that they were governed absolutely by the Conference, and that the Conference itself was

governed by a clique. At length these murmurs found expression, and the "Fly-Sheets" appeared. The first was published in 1844, the second in 1846, the third and fourth in 1847 and 1848. These tracts were evidently written either by members of the Conference, or by those to whom its secret proceedings were revealed. They are anonymous. "Printed by order of the corresponding committee for detecting, exposing, and correcting abuses. London, Manchester, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Hull, Glasgow." Their manner is coarse and personal; individuals are singled out by name for ridicule, and overwhelmed with insult. They remind us of the Mar-prelate pamphlets of the early Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth; and they may be described, in the words of the proclamation in which those libels were denounced, as "drawn up in railing sort, and beyond the bounds of all good humanity." The charges they contain are such as, if true, indicate a state of society on the verge of dissolution from the pride, selfishness, and rapacity of its rulers. It is not, however, the Wesleyan system, but the administration of it, they arraign. There is no cry for constitutional change, but only for a better administration. If the charges were untrue, the annoyance to individuals was the sole injury they could inflict, and the parties assailed might have trusted their reputation to the safe custody of public opinion. Nor would it have been beneath the dignity of the Conference to have amended whatever might have been amiss, even at the suggestion of the unknown and scurrilous authors of the Fly-Sheets. If their attacks were of importance it was because the impression was stealing abroad that the machine worked heavily,—that Methodism had settled on the lees,—that it was growing indolent and luxurious.

The Conference addressed itself, not to the investigation of the alleged abuses, but to the punishment of the supposed offenders. In addressing the Conference on the subject during their session of 1849, the president said, "that a secret irresponsible body had risen up which interfered with the just rights of the Conference, which reflected on its acts and appointments, and which endeavoured in various instances to render those acts and appointments null and void. The Conference was bearded by this secret and irresponsible power; he had a full conviction the time was come when this evil should be dealt with and effectually corrected

it retarded them in their great work ; it was an evil they must tolerate no longer, lest they should be partakers of other men's sins." The Conference proceeded in the exercise, as it declared, of its undoubted right to "put a brotherly question" to several of its members who were suspected of having written the Fly-Sheets, or having a guilty knowledge of their authors. The question, as stated by the accused, was couched in these words:—"Are you the author of the Fly-Sheets? answer the question, 'Yes' or 'No,' without any prevarication." Mr. Everett, to whom the question was first proposed, positively and peremptorily refused to answer ; expressing, says the Conference, his refusal, "in terms and in a tone justly offensive." He was expelled. Two other ministers, Messrs. Dunn and Griffiths, also declined to answer the interrogations, which in their case extended to the "Wesleyan Times" and "Wesleyan Banner," two obnoxious papers, as well as the Fly-Sheets. Nor would they "pledge themselves to abstain from taking part directly or indirectly in any agitating proceedings which might be pursued by others;" they, too, were in consequence expelled, with only one dissentient voice. Two other ministers were censured and degraded from the office of superintendent, but not expelled ; and the business was closed with a solemn declaration, to which the preachers, with a few exceptions, affixed their names, expressing their "indignation and abhorrence at the anonymous attacks made upon their brethren in the Fly-Sheets." A protestation was added "that they had never intentionally communicated with the authors of those publications with a view to afford information or assistance;" nor would they "allow these wicked slanders to detract from the esteem and confidence they felt for those against whom such attacks had been directed."

The Conference appears to have thought that with these strong measures their difficulties were at an end. In their annual address they congratulate the societies on a large accession of numbers, both at home and abroad. Their "sessions," they say, "had been blessed with more than ordinary influences from above. Some painful circumstances had indeed occurred, but the hoary age and active zeal of this body have combined in maintaining our righteous economy. Forbearance and tenderness have been shown to the utmost limit that allegiance to our common cause permits ; but freedom of mutual ministerial inquiry must be maintained, or we must consent to the abandon-

ment of all our distinctive discipline;" and for a time their anticipations seemed to be crowned with success. At the Conference of 1850, held in London, another minister, Mr. Bromley, was expelled, "having countenanced the unrighteous agitation which was still carried on." With this exception the yearly address declares that harmony and peace pervaded the sittings of the Conference. Nine thousand members had been added to the Society, and twenty thousand more had been received on trial. Many memorials had been received, which are answered, in general, by the declaration that the Conference would adhere to the true principles of Methodism, and maintain the sacred trust reposed in them by the venerable Wesley. But now the petitioners were by no means satisfied. Before the Conference met, upwards of four hundred gentlemen had assembled in London as delegates from the connexion in various parts of the kingdom, "to confer as to the best means of arresting the further progress of an agitation which threatened Methodism," as they already saw, "with utter ruin." They had laid their complaints before the president, who refused, however, to receive them. They now appealed to the Conference; and when it met, petitions bearing upwards of fifty thousand signatures, praying for a redress of various grievances, or the concession of additional rights, were laid before it by the delegates. Of course, general declarations of a determination to adhere to the principles of Wesleyan Methodism were far from satisfactory to the petitioners. On the other hand, the Conference still sought to dissipate the storm by expelling all who were suspected of disloyalty. The work of excision now began in earnest; nearly every individual who had attended the delegates' meeting was expelled; whole classes were cut off at a stroke, and even societies disappeared: the entire connexion became a scene of turmoil and disaster. The disputes arrested a large share of public attention; and the London daily press suspended its discussion of political affairs to discuss the affairs of Methodism. A private quarrel, if such it were, never engaged so much of the national concern.

The Conference met at Newcastle in 1851, still resolved to conquer by severity. Dr. Beaumont, a minister of high standing and great eloquence, was degraded from the office of superintendent, for having shown his sympathy, in various ways, with the excluded ministers. The delegates again assembled, and re-

requested an interview with the Conference, or at least with a committee to be appointed by it, in order to confer on the general state of the connexion ; but they were an “ unauthorized body,” and their petition was again declined. A number of memorials, however, were presented, and the Conference appointed a committee of fifty-four of its own members “ to examine the suggestions contained in them, and to report on the same :” and the president was authorised, if he saw fit, to invite a number of suitable laymen, not, it is true, to assist the committee in its inquiries, but “ to confer with them on the results to which they had attained.” Still the appointment of this committee was regarded as a token for good, and hopes were entertained throughout the Societies that peace might be restored. During the year the Societies had suffered in Great Britain alone, as reported at the Conference, a loss of fifty-six thousand members. But the Conference was still resolved, as they said in their annual address, “ to hold the pastoral crook with steady and unfaltering hand.” Of the seceders, they say, that “ they had yielded to the arts of a few misleaders ;” and, with regard to the agitators or reformers, they express their deep concern “ that a system of wicked agitation, unparalleled in the history of the modern Church, should have been regarded with a moment’s tolerance by any who have enjoyed the privileges of our Church communion.” The high tone which the Conference assumed towards their opponents was scarcely charitable. “ Certain agitators have abused the measure of confidence that they had been allowed to wield. Their plans have been altogether alien from the temper of our holy Christianity. They have transgressed the New Testament law, and involved themselves in the dishonour, hitherto unexampled among us, of attempting to force us into compliances which they know that our conscience condemns.” “ These men have excluded themselves from our confidence, but not from our pitying charity and our prayers. We beg you, dear brethren, to join us in interceding that God may give them repentance, and that the fearful sin of destroying precious souls may not be laid to their charge in the great day. Whatever plans may yet be framed to oppose and irritate you, let your love be invincible.” Such language, as applied to the fifty-six thousand expelled and alienated members was severe, if not unjust ; though it might accurately describe the spirit of the authors of the Fly-Sheets. The air of pious condescension was felt to be insulting to men who\*

had suffered in resisting what they still believed to be ecclesiastical oppression. In the dominant party a gentler spirit would at least have been more likely to heal the breach.

In December, 1851, a meeting of officers and members of the Society assembled from various parts of the kingdom in the town-hall of Birmingham to confer "on the present disastrous state of Methodism." It drew up a declaration, remarkable at least for its moderation, which was immediately signed by upwards of seven hundred trustees, leaders, and local preachers; and it places the demands of the Society at large, as opposed to the Conference, in so clear a light that we transfer it to our pages.

"1. That we regard the dissensions and afflictions of our connexion with extreme grief and anxiety, and do most ardently desire that the harmony and happiness that once distinguished the body may be restored.

"2. That in our calm and deliberate judgment, our existing disasters are mainly attributable to the great changes that have been made in our connexional polity, during the last thirty years, by which the balance of power in the connexion has been deranged: many important functions committed to the local courts by the 'Constitution of Methodism,' as settled by the regulations of 1795 and 1797, having been *resumed* by the Conference.

"3. That while we acknowledge the divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the responsibility of ministers to their Lord and Master, we do conscientiously believe that their claim to an exclusive government of the Church by virtue of rights inherent in their office, is destitute of a scriptural basis, and repugnant to the spirit and letter of our constitution, the records of the Conference during the early years of the present century, and the known usages of our elder and larger societies in every part of the kingdom.

"4. That for the restoration of peace and confidence, we deem it necessary that membership in Methodism be held inviolable until the vote of the leaders' meeting be taken, not only on questions of *fact*, but also on the points of *criminality* and *penalty*.

"5. That it is also necessary that the same principle be applied to the official position of local officers.

\* "6. That the disciplinary authority of our local courts, under

the presidency of their superintendents, should be subject only to a *mixed* court of appeal.

“7. That *lay influence*, in connexional committees, would be far more satisfactory, if subject to *lay election*, instead of ministerial nomination.

“8. That quarterly meetings should be free from restriction in memorialising Conference on connexional matters.

“9. That as many of those persons who are now in a position of hostility to the authorities of the connexion have been severed from us, or have left us under strongly exciting and irritating circumstances, we venture to express our earnest hope, that Christian generosity and kindness, rather than harshness and repulsiveness, will be cherished and manifested towards any of them desiring to be again united to us in Church fellowship.

“10. That the rules of the connexion should be simplified, and published in as commodious a form as possible, ‘for the benefit and convenience of all classes in the body.’

“11. That no new rule, adopted by the Conference, should be obligatory upon the societies until sanctioned by a majority of the quarterly meetings; the sense of each circuit on such rule to be taken at the June quarterly meeting.

“12. That, looking to the fact of many persons having left our Societies in distress and despair, consequent of their having lost all hope of a satisfactory adjustment of our connexional difficulties, and it having been further ascertained that others are contemplating the same step, we deem it the imperative duty of all who desire the prosperity of our connexion, to unite in promoting reconciliation between hostile parties, with a view to the restoration of peace and harmony.”

The agitation still continued when the Conference met at Sheffield in 1852. Another secession had taken place during the year, and 20,946 members had retired or been excluded. In two years the Societies had lost 77,000 members; but the Conference persisted in the course on which it had embarked, still resolved to subdue rather than to conciliate. The mediation movement had now assumed a formidable character. The “declarationists” exceeded 2,000, and they were principally Wesleyan officers. “From an intense desire,” they said, “for the recovery of peace to the afflicted connexion,” a committee assembled in Sheffield during the sessions of the Conference, for

the purpose of presenting the Declaration, and in respectful terms they prayed that a deputation of their body might be received and heard. The Conference, somewhat haughtily, declined; refusing to recognize a body unknown to the Wesleyan constitution, and in a long reply indulged in severe remarks upon the motives and conduct of the "moderation party." It did not tend to soothe the prevailing discontent that the president, in the use of his discretionary power, had invited 745 lay brethren to meet the Committee of 54 appointed by the previous Conference, carefully excluding every individual whose name was attached to the Birmingham declaration. And it seemed a bitter mockery to be told in the annual address of the Conference, "that amidst the freest possible discussion, the utmost unanimity had prevailed: a oneness of purpose and feeling which overpowered all differences of opinion, and, to an extent that has been rarely witnessed in the history of our connexion, united all minds and hearts in one harmonious conclusion." Yet upon the whole the Conference spoke in a gentler tone, and relaxed something of its peremptory manner. "*We are inclined,*" they say, "*to cherish the belief* that what was capable of being done in the way of formal rule and order to consolidate our union has now been accomplished." Again; "our general economy and discipline are in our confirmed judgment such as cannot with any reasonable prospect of advantage, be *very materially* modified." These sentences refer to the recommendations of the Committee of fifty-four and their assessors. Some changes had been made in consequence of their report: quarterly meetings were defined; provision was made for permitting an appeal to the quarterly meeting for the rehearing of an accused party who might be dissatisfied with the verdict of a leaders' meeting. A few other changes were made, by which the Conference believed "that all pretext for factious agitation was entirely precluded." Their opponents viewed them in a very different light, and spoke of them as a mere mockery of justice.

It is the nature of such unhappy divisions to grow wider as they continue. The Mediation Committee issued another protest in December 1852, in which they express a firm determination to stand by each other, and to protect and console any member of the connexion who may, without moral guilt, become the victim of ministerial persecution. "We cannot admit," they



say, "the right of itinerant ministers to excommunicate members without the sanction of the Church or of its local officers; nor to depose officers without the sanction of their peers. We cannot admit the right of either ministers, pastors, or others, to select whom they please for special conference on matters upon which all are equally concerned. We cannot admit the right of any class of men to fetter all other classes in the Church, for the prevention of a free and honest expression of opinion on matters of Church polity and discipline. put forth in a peaceable and godly manner." In 1853, the Conference had to lament a further loss of more than 10,000 Methodists. But it refused to entertain the protest of the Mediation Committee; which still, however, persists in its endeavours to accomplish a reunion of the Wesleyan Societies upon a basis which a single sentence in their address to the President of the Conference renders sufficiently plain. "Only consent to become Protestant in your pastoral claims on the questions of 'the Divine right of the Pastorate,' and all other matters will be easily adjusted. But while you resolutely maintain lordship over God's heritage, the root of the evil remains, so that sorrow and contention are inevitable, and so too are future disruptions."

The Wesleyan Reformers pursue their object independently of the Mediation Committee, and are the advocates of stronger measures. When the breach began they would probably have been satisfied with a few concessions, and with a more equal distribution of the honours and posts of influence at the disposal of the Conference. They now maintain principles which, if carried into effect, would remodel the Wesleyan constitution. They maintain that the admission of members into the Church, the exercise of discipline upon them, and their exclusion from the Church, are rights vested solely in the hands of Church members, to be exercised by them, either directly or representatively; and that it is the right of all members to be present at all meetings for the transaction of the general business of the Church. This, of course, requires that the Conference should be remodelled and lay representatives introduced. They contend, further, that the nomination and election of all office-bearers is the inalienable right of the Church; and that all the local courts should be independent of the Conference, and their decisions final. The reformers are a powerful and active party, the more formidable

because they refuse to be shaken off. Their aim is not to establish another offshoot of Methodism, but to regenerate the ancient body. They regard themselves as Wesleyan Methodists; and one of the demands in their declaration of principles is "the restoration of all preachers, officers, and members who have been expelled in consequence of the recent proceedings of the Conference as essential to the future peace and prosperity of the connexion." At present, they maintain, the people's rights are little more than a name, since every Church officer in Methodism is virtually selected, nominated, and appointed by the superintendent preacher and by him alone. They add that any layman, whether office-bearer or member, presuming to interfere with the superintendent's prerogative, would peril his connexion with the Society. If not expelled, his independence would be crushed. Such are the allegations of the Wesleyan Reformers.

The total loss of the Wesleyan Societies in Great Britain in consequence of these dissensions is little short of one hundred thousand members—nearly one-third of the whole community.

Still the Conference, and a large and powerful body of more than two hundred thousand Methodists who adhere to it, maintain that the rule it exercises is salutary and wise; in accordance with the provisions of the poll-deed, and the higher sanctions of the Gospel. The claims of the ministry on the implicit obedience of the people were stated by the Conference of 1835 and its organs in the strongest terms:—

"Christ has empowered *the ministers* of the Gospel to govern or regulate the Church by salutary discipline; he has committed *to them the keys of the Church*: in every section of the Church of Christ, *the pastor must bear the keys*, or he is not the pastor of Christ's own making; it is for the ministers of Christ, the pastors of the Church, to reprove, rebuke with all authority, admonish, warn, and finally, when *they judge necessary*, to reject offenders from Church communion."

"*Jesus Christ has not empowered the Church to interfere with the minister in the use of the keys.*"

"The ministry makes the Church, rather than the Church the ministry."

"Everything flows from this source. Humanly speaking, the ministry is *the centre of light and power*: all things grow out of it."

“The minister of Christ is your judge as God’s minister, and you are not to judge him.”

But even amongst Wesleyans of the Conference school these dogmas are not implicitly received. The Conference of 1850 declares, with respect to the exercise of discipline on members of the Society, through the medium of leaders’ meetings, “that it cannot transfer, either altogether or in part, to other hands than those of the ministers the ultimate determination of that sentence, without sinning against its own convictions of solemn duty, and abandoning a right essentially connected with the obligations of the pastorate with which they are intrusted.” Yet Dr. Dixon, a late president, strongly condemns the power of excommunication as exercised by the Conference. “I affirm,” he is reported to have said, “that our rule stands alone in Protestantism. No Church in Protestantism, except ours, gives the power of excision to the minister. We stand alone!” And thus the best and wisest of the Wesleyan ministers have always spoken. That able divine, Richard Watson, in his “Theological Institutes,” far from teaching that the people may not judge the pastor, asserts that “the rule which forbids Christians to eat, that is, to communicate at the Lord’s table with an immoral brother, holds good of course when that brother is a pastor. Thus pastors were put (by the apostles) under the influence of the public opinion of the Churches, and the remedy of separating from them, in manifest defections of doctrine and morals, was afforded to the sound members of a Church, should no power exist, able or inclined to silence the offending pastor and his party.”—Vol. iii., p. 260. From the writings of Dr. Adam Clarke, and of his æknowledged guide and teacher, Wesley himself, we might readily extract many pages to show that such views of absolute priestly authority were held in great dislike. The hypothesis that the Conference, as a clerical body, is authorised by Christ to govern absolutely, is, to our apprehension, contrary both to the spirit and the institutions of the New Testament.

With greater force the Conference argues, that its constitution being settled and defined by law, it has not the power to alter, even were it able to amend, it. By the poll-deed it acquired its legal existence; were it to violate its charter that legal existence would cease. It is only the Conference, as enrolled in Chancery, that has any legal power over the trustees of the many thousand

chapels of the Methodists. It is only as thus constituted that it has a right to govern the societies. If the Conference were "reformed," a state of anarchy and chaos would return, and Methodism would perish. The Society is a voluntary one, and those who do not approve of its management are always at liberty to retire; and it is a violation of the law of the New Testament, a sin against God, to remain in it for the avowed purpose of agitation. These are the points which are now in controversy between the Conference and the various sections of remonstrants and reformers. They involve, it will be seen, a legal question of the utmost importance, as well as many considerations of a moral kind; on all of which, even amongst those most competent to judge, great diversity of opinion exists.

Viewing the whole question dispassionately, the reader will perhaps arrive at this conclusion: the Conference, as originally constituted, was suited for the emergency which called it into existence; and the future historian of religion in Great Britain will acknowledge that the regeneration of these kingdoms, and especially the elevation of the labouring classes from a state of brutish degradation, was in no small measure to be ascribed to its exertions. An institution which accomplished a work, apparently so hopeless, in effect so wonderful, as this, ought not to be mentioned without respect. The force and determination of the English character perhaps never displayed itself more genially than in the Methodist Conference in its earlier days. That a band of men born, with a few exceptions, in humble life; with few advantages from education, and none from patronage; with no encouragement even from that public opinion under which so many a patriot has taken refuge from the storm; assisted only by a people whom their own exertions had, in many cases, retrieved from vice and its attendant poverty; without an effort to enrich themselves, though controlling unchecked the expenditure of thousands: that such a body, trusting only to the help of God and its own indomitable energies, should have established its representatives in the remotest regions of the globe, and won the enthusiastic homage of myriads of willing subjects from amongst every race of men, these are deeds which must ever claim for the Wesleyan Conference the respect, if not the admiration, of the whole catholic Church.

But an institution that lives upon its own traditions cannot long

survive. Whatever retains perennial vigour possesses a flexibility, a power of accommodation, which fits it for every change, and enables it, by a marvellous alchemy, to present itself anew, from age to age, in the vigour and beauty of its early youth. This rare endowment the Wesleyan Conference seems to want. Its weakness is that in which its admirers have supposed its strength to lie. It is rigid and inflexible; around it everything changes; within everything remains unaltered. The societies which Wesley formed consisted, when the first Conference was held, of the poor and illiterate. These classes now compose but a small proportion of the Wesleyan Church. Its societies consist of men of information and great intelligence; but the same regimen, with a few unimportant changes, is applied to both. It is attempted to govern the educated citizens and tradesmen of the nineteenth century as the rude colliers of Kingswood and Newcastle were governed a hundred years ago. The result can scarcely be uncertain. If it be true that the Conference cannot change, the triumphs of early Methodism have passed away. Wealthy, respectable, and, within her little circle, safe and even prosperous she may be; but those evangelical ovations, those splendid achievements for religion and for God, which adorn her past history, will disappear from her future annals. An absolute clergy has never yet conducted a Protestant Church to a long career of spiritual successes; invariably the laity have become indifferent and the clergy secular. Those who regard the unhappy contest of the Wesleyans from a distance, are, in some respects, better judges than themselves of the perils which the combatants, too much heated on both sides, are apt to overlook. The feeling of English Christians towards them is at present one of sorrow and anxiety; for good men, acquainted with the subject, are afraid that the calamities of Methodism will prove in their consequences a misfortune to the universal Church.

Our history would not be complete if the literature of Methodism were forgotten. It has this peculiarity, that it is under the special keeping of the Church. Wesleyan literature is a component part of Methodism. It is under the control of the Conference, and yields a considerable revenue, which is dedicated to the general cause.

Wesley was himself a voluminous writer. While he revived the spirit of religion in these lands, he was amongst the foremost

to diffuse useful information of every kind, and to smooth the path of knowledge to the middle and lower ranks of society. No man can charge his memory with the narrow fanaticism that pleads for ignorance as the mother of devotion. Besides books on religious subjects, he published many small and cheap treatises on various branches of science; plain and excellent grammars of the dead languages; expurgated editions of the classic authors; histories, civil and ecclesiastical; and numerous abridgments of important works. Thus, in an age when readers were few, literature was almost forced upon the Methodists. Amongst his principal writings are, his Translation of the New Testament, with Explanatory Notes; his Journals, in six volumes, duodecimo; his Sermons, in nine; his 'Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion;' his 'Defence of the Doctrine of Original Sin,' in answer to Dr. Taylor, of Norwich; his 'Answers' to Mr. Church, and Bishops Lavington and Warburton; and his 'Predestination calmly considered;' besides many smaller tracts on various important subjects. His works were published by himself, in thirty-two volumes, duodecimo, in the year 1771. In addition to these, he published upwards of a hundred and twenty works, mostly abridged from other authors. At a very early period the distribution of religious tracts suggested itself to his active and energetic mind, and he wrote a considerable number. To circulate these and other writings which he approved amongst the Societies, he set up a printing-office and shop of his own. This was the origin of the Book-room or Conference-office. The concern was managed by a book steward, who was accountable to Mr. Wesley, and on his death the property and management passed into the hands of the Conference by a provision in his will. The office of book-steward is one of importance. He is appointed by the Conference from amongst themselves; and his duties are, with the assistance of a committee which is also chosen by the Conference, to manage the bookselling department on behalf of the Wesleyan body. The profits, which are considerable, belong to the Society, and are appropriated to the different funds. The book-steward lays a financial statement quarterly before the committee, and annually before the Conference. Besides the book-steward, the Conference appoints an editor and assistant-editor, who are also members of their own body, and whose appointment is from year to year. Their business is to see that the standard

works belonging to the book-room, particularly those by Wesley and Fletcher, together with the hymn-book in common use, be correctly printed from time to time. And the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine is especially confided to them. This is now, with one exception, the oldest specimen of our periodical literature. It originated with Wesley himself, under the title of the Arminian Magazine.

The publications of the book-room are sold by the preachers in their circuits, and have at least a semi-official character. A minute of Conference expressly commands "that no preacher shall sell at our chapels, or publish from our pulpits, any books but such as are sent from the book-room." The book-room committee may purchase the copyright of any manuscript or printed work, having first carefully and impartially examined it, on behalf of the Conference.

Of the works thus published, the greater proportion, being intended for the Wesleyan Societies, wear something of a sectarian garb to the eye of a general reader. But even here the Wesleyan press has no reason to flinch from a comparison with the religious literature either of Churchmen or Dissenters. Until lately, it has made no pretensions to learning in the high sense; but for a masculine breadth of understanding, for a powerful simplicity, and for that deep earnestness which insures respect, it has been noted ever since the days of Wesley, who first stamped it with these noble features. The tawdry, sentimental style of theology has not often passed the rough ordeal of the book-room committee.

One work has issued from the Conference press which seems already to have vindicated its claims to be received into our standard literature. We speak, of course, of the 'Theological Institutes of Richard Watson.' The title is ambitious, but the work justifies it. 'Calvin's Institutes' are a system of Christian theology on the principles of Saint Augustine. Watson, with equal tenacity, defends the scheme of Arminius. No human writing ever produced, or, from the nature of things, ever can again produce, such an impression upon the religious faith of Europe as the great work of Calvin; and it was a bold attempt in a Methodist preacher to invite comparison, where anything short of great success must have been a childish failure. Yet Watson's confidence in his own powers was not misplaced. His work is of

sterling value ; and, had he been less anxious to enforce a system, and to defend the peculiarities of Wesleyan doctrine and polity, it could scarcely fail to be universally admired.

No Wesleyan writer has obtained so much of the public attention as Dr. Adam Clarke. His 'Commentary on the Holy Scriptures' is too well known, and the judgment of the public has been too long expressed, to allow us in these pages to discuss the question of its merits. It is very unequal ; some parts, especially the Pentateuch and some of the historical books of the Old Testament, are laboured with great care. Others are dismissed with a degree of haste approaching levity. Still the interest which always belongs to the workings of an honest mind, acute and original, accompanies the work on every page, and explains its popularity. In justice to the Wesleyan creed let it be remarked that this work is not published by the Conference, nor has their sanction. We have already mentioned that Dr. Adam Clarke's view of the sonship of Christ is rejected by the Conference. There are other fanciful opinions,—as, for instance, that our first parents were tempted by Satan under the form of a monkey, and that Judas, the traitor, died a penitent,—to which Dr. Clarke has gained, we believe, but few converts amongst any class of his readers.

A number of sects have arisen from the parent stem of ancient Methodism. It is scarcely necessary to describe them, since their doctrines are those of the old Methodists, and in Church government there is no essential difference except in the introduction of laymen into their conferences. Of the New Connexion we shall speak separately.

1. The Primitive Methodists appeared about the year 1810. A few of the preachers, smitten with the American revivals, introduced camp meetings, as they were termed, in their circuits. These the Conference condemned : "even supposing," they said in their Minutes in 1807, "that such meetings are to be allowed in America, they are highly improper in England, and we disclaim all connexion with them." A schism followed : and just as the old society were called Methodists the seceders obtained the name of Ranters. Their conference is composed of one-third travelling preachers and two-thirds laymen ; namely, local preachers, class leaders, and circuit stewards. They have several missions in foreign parts ; and in England and Wales about one hundred thousand members.



2. The Bryanites, or Bible Christians, separated in 1815, under William O'Bryan, a Wesleyan local preacher. They have assumed the name of Bible Christians. They differ little in points of doctrine from other Methodists. Their conference is composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen. They, as well as the Primitive Methodists, allow of female preachers. Their aim, too, appears to be to restore Methodism to its primitive simplicity. There are thirteen thousand members in society.

3. The Wesleyan Methodist Association arose in consequence of the disputes which followed the expulsion of Dr. Warren. It has not assumed the title of a Church, and would probably fall back into the old connexion were its grievances removed. On all those points on which it was dissatisfied with the Conference it has established within itself an amended system of Church government. Its annual assembly admits the laity as representatives, and their number is regulated by that of their constituents: circuits with less than five hundred members sending one; less than a thousand, two; and more than a thousand, three, delegates. The annual assembly admits or censures and excludes preachers, and has the direction of the funds. But each circuit governs itself by its local courts, without any interference as to the management of its internal affairs. According to the returns of the late census, it has three hundred and twenty-nine chapels in England and Wales; ninety itinerant preachers; a thousand local preachers; and more than nineteen thousand members in society.

4. The Wesleyan Methodist reformers do not wish to be regarded as a separate Church, or even an independent connexion; they consider themselves as having been illegally expelled, in consequence of the quarrel which originated in the matter of the Fly-Sheets. They occupy the same position with regard to the old Methodists which the old Methodists themselves occupied, a hundred years ago, with regard to the Church of England; professing and sincerely entertaining a high regard for a communion by which they are cast out; while they themselves, on the other hand, are setting at nought its discipline in some important particulars. Of the hundred thousand members lost to the old Wesleyans, about one-half, or fifty-two thousand, have joined the reformers. They are at present led by the expelled preachers, assisted by no fewer than two thousand eight

hundred lay preachers. Their efforts are still directed to the reform of the old connexion, and their future history must depend in a great measure upon the success or failure of the agitation in which they are now engaged.

The authorities consulted in the foregoing article are—*Moore's Life of Wesley*; *R. Watson's Life of Wesley*; *Wesley's Journals*; *The Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism*, by Thomas Jackson, President of the Conference; *A Compendium of the Laws and Regulations of Wesleyan Methodism*, by Edmund Grindrod; *The Constitution and Discipline of Wesleyan Methodism*, by George Turner; *Wesleyan Methodism as the System of a Christian Church*, by the Rev. William R. Rule, D.D.; *An Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism*, by John Beecham, D.D., Ex-president of the Conference; *The Ministry and Polity of the Christian Church in relation to the principles professed by the Wesleyan Methodists*, by the Rev. Alfred Barrett. All the above-mentioned are published at the Conference Office, and have an official, or semi-official, character.

The recent disputes in the Wesleyan Connexion have been investigated in the following publications.—*The Fly Sheets*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4; *Minutes of the Conference*, 1849 to 1853; *Methodism Past and Present* (sanctioned by the Mediation Committee); *Declaration of Wesleyan Methodist Officers and Members on the State of the Connexion*, Birmingham, 1851 and 1852; *Address of the Mediation Committee*, Birmingham, 1852; *The Church which stands alone in Protestantism*; and various other Tracts and Papers issued by the Reform Association, Exeter Hall, London. *Priestly Despotism rampant in the Wesleyan Conference*; *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P.*, London, 1853; *Correspondence between the Rev. George Osborne and Apsley Pellatt, Esq., M.P.*, London, 1854. These have been replied to, from time to time, on behalf of the Conference, in the *Watchman* newspaper, *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, and in *Grindrod's Compendium*, and similar treatises.

## WESLEYAN METHODIST NEW CONNEXION.—The

Rev. Alexander Kilham was the founder of the New Connexion, which originated in 1797, soon after the death of Wesley. Kilham, a zealous and effective preacher amongst the Methodists, was born at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, the birthplace of the Wesleys, in 1762. His followers complain that neither their cause nor their leader's character have had justice done to them. "From legal penalties," they say, "we have been happily exempt; but for many years the tongue of slander was seldom silent, and the pen of bitter sarcasm was employed against us by our more powerful opponents. The times, too, were unpropitious to us; public opinion was not ripe to estimate our principles, and scarcely

to give credit to our motives." The men who make this appeal are certainly entitled to a hearing.

Kilham preached in days when the preacher's life was often in jeopardy. He had his full share of hardships and marvellous escapes: at length, being threatened with imprisonment if he persisted in preaching in a town in Yorkshire, he sheltered himself beneath the Toleration Act, and professing to be, what in fact he was, a Dissenter, he obtained a licence, which placed him beyond the reach of his opponents. Wesley, in general, did not allow his preachers to take out a licence as dissenting ministers; they were not, he said, Dissenters, nor were they even ministers within the meaning of the Act. Yet the principles of Methodism embraced all denominations in its earlier days, and a Dissenter, as such, was not disqualified from joining the Wesleyan ranks. Kilham, however, had obtained his licence to preach as a Dissenter before he was accepted by Wesley as a preacher in full connexion, or appointed to a circuit by the Conference. On the death of Wesley commotions immediately began. Kilham, and the comparatively few who at present entertained his sentiments, were not prevented by their respect for the founder of Methodism from questioning the wisdom of his conduct in the constitution which he gave to his societies. They complained that the community of which he was the head was designed by him never to assume the proper character and position of a Church, but to exist as a peculiar organization within the pale of the Establishment, and to act as an auxiliary to it. Hence the members, in their united capacity, were called Societies, not Churches; the preachers not ministers, but helpers or lay-preachers; and in the appellation given to other officers, such as stewards and leaders, care was taken to adopt no designation which could possibly indicate for the Methodist body the prerogatives of a Church. Both the names and the functions proper to a Church were to be regarded as the exclusive right of the Establishment, and were, therefore, rigidly withheld from the Methodist community. In conformity to this policy, preaching was forbidden during the hours of Church service; the preachers were neither to receive ordination, nor to assume the right of administering the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. These privileges were to be sought for by the people at the hands, not of their own pastors, but of Church ministers, and conformity to this regula-

tion was regarded by them as a practical repudiation of dissent and a mark of adherence to the Established Church. Kilham was of opinion, too, that Wesley had erred in showing too great a tenacity of arbitrary power, and still more in transferring his own absolute authority to the preachers, especially to the hundred, who composed the annual Conference, and were the sole legislators and governors of the body, to the exclusion of laymen. The discussion of these questions agitated the whole connexion for several years, and various parties were formed, some contending for a strict adherence to the Church of England; some anxious that no changes should be made; while some would have restrained the powers of the Conference, and others would have erected Methodism, as it stood, into a Church. Kilham was at the head of another class, who went still further than the rest; he contended for two objects at once, an entire separation from the Church, including the formation of Methodism into a distinct and independent community, and also such a remodelling of its constitution as would give the laity a full share in the administration and government of the body. Not to repeat the history of a dispute through which we have already travelled, Kilham, after being censured by the Conference of 1791, was finally expelled at the Conference of 1796. His offence was a pamphlet, entitled "The Progress of Liberty," in which he lays down the outlines of a constitution which he "proposed to the consideration of the people called Methodists." The outline embraces the principles adopted by the New Connexion as the elements of their constitution. It contains the following particulars:—

First. That instead of the preachers having the sole power to admit and expel members, these acts should be done with the consent of the people or their representatives.

Second. That the members should have a voice in choosing their own leaders.

Third. That local preachers, instead of being appointed by the circuit preacher, should be examined and approved by the leaders' and quarterly meetings; and with the latter meeting also should rest the power of receiving and dismissing them.

Fourth. That as it was impossible to allow the people to appoint their own ministers, on account of the itinerant plan, yet the quarterly meetings should have a voice in recommending preachers to travel.

Fifth. That lay-delegates, appointed by the quarterly meetings, should attend the district meetings.

And lastly, he proposes, with submission to the preachers and the connexion at large, to appoint one or two lay delegates from every district meeting, to attend the Conference.

Kilham did not immediately join another community, or set up his own standard; he even discouraged the project of his more zealous friends to raise a subscription, in order to meet the expenses should a separation occur as well as to encourage such preachers as might be disposed to join them. He still hoped that a division might be avoided, but whatever might be the issue, "he would hold out no golden bait to allure others." The Conference was held at Leeds, in 1797, and the reformers made their last effort. Delegates from different places had been sent to remonstrate and petition. It was suggested to the delegates that one condition should be the restoration of Kilham to the ministry, but, with great singleness of heart, he insisted that no treaty, in reference to himself, should embarrass their negotiations with the Conference. The delegates or deputation then submitted three different propositions. The first was, that two or more lay representatives from each district meeting should be admitted into Conference, to co-operate with the preachers in transacting the general business of the connexion. This was rejected by the Conference. The second proposition submitted was, that representatives might be admitted into the district meetings, to unite with the ministers in the general business of each district respectively. This proposition also the Conference rejected. The third measure proposed by the delegates was, that representatives should be sent from the different circuits to the place where the Conference was held, but to meet in an apartment by themselves, and thus constitute a second house of legislature, somewhat like the House of Commons; and that no new law or alteration should be rendered valid unless approved by this lay convention. Such a method of transacting business would, no doubt, have involved inconveniences; but more favourable measures being rejected, the delegates had recourse to this final plan, in order to secure the peace of the connexion and prevent a division. This proposition was, however, rejected by the Conference. The concessions actually made have been already stated in our history of the older Wesleyans.

Kilham and three preachers—Thom, Everfield, and Cummings—who of their own free will left the Conference and cast in their lot with him, now felt themselves at liberty to organize a distinct denomination. On the 9th of August, 1797, these brethren, with a number of delegates, met in Ebenezer Chapel, at Leeds, which they had purchased from the Baptists, and here a constitution was prepared, and a secession Church formed in accordance with the principles which Mr. Kilham had advocated. The New Connexion sprang into existence with about five thousand members. Twelve circuits were immediately formed, the centres of which were the large manufacturing towns in the north of England. South of the Trent they had not yet obtained a footing. Kilham, the founder of the New Connexion, died, exhausted with hard service, on the 20th of December, 1798, aged thirty-six. In zeal and diligence, and in active courage, he was perhaps not inferior to Wesley himself, whom he revered as his guide and teacher. What his capacity might have been as a ruler in the Church his premature death does not enable us to judge. The stone which covers his remains in the chapel-yard at Nottingham, describes his character as he appeared to those who knew him well. The greatness of his mind is not to be estimated by the sphere in which he moved. It may be that Kilham possessed all the energy of Luther without his grossness; at least his friends, it is evident, looked upon him with no ordinary feelings of respect. The inscription we transcribe:—

“To the memory of Alexander Kilham, minister of the gospel. A faithful servant in the vineyard of Christ. A zealous defender of the rights of the people against attempts to force on them a priestly domination. Deserted by many of his friends, he lived to see the cause flourish in which he died a martyr. In promoting the glory of God, and the happiness of his brethren, he counted nothing too dear a sacrifice. In this pursuit, ease and indulgence were despised by him. His last hours were peaceful and triumphant; unembittered by a moment’s repentance for having opposed corruption in the Church, he blessed God that he had made him instrumental in doing it, and only regretted that he had not done it more faithfully. Committing his soul to his Redeemer, he took his flight to a better world December 20th, 1798, aged 36.”

The ecclesiastical constitution established by Kilham and his

friends was intended to give that power to the laity which the Conference of the old connexion denied to them. With this view their Conference is constituted upon the representative system. Each circuit elects at the previous quarterly meeting one preacher and one layman, its representatives; or, should the circuit be too poor to bear the expences of two representatives, then a preacher and a layman alternately. Connexional office-bearers are also members of Conference; namely, the treasurers of the various funds, the secretary and treasurer of the missions, and the steward and treasurer of the book-room. The trustees of chapels are allowed a representative when their legal rights are concerned. From the representatives thus chosen the Conference appoints its guardian representatives; of whom the presence of six is necessary to render the constitution legally complete. Thus the Conference consists of ministers, lay representatives, and guardian representatives. The last Conference, held at Sheffield in 1855, consisted of sixty-nine representatives, lay and clerical, five treasurers and secretaries, ten guardian representatives, and two delegates from the Irish Conference.

The history of the New Connexion during its existence of more than half a century, has not been chequered by those occurrences, whether disastrous or otherwise, which claim a conspicuous place in history. Nor has it been marked with any extraordinary success. A small society exists in Ireland, which contains about seven hundred members. In Canada, which is divided into seven districts, there are seven thousand four hundred members. At home the New Connexion numbers sixteen thousand eight hundred members. The late schisms in the old connexion have not, to any perceptible extent, increased the new one.

It is a remarkable fact in the history of Methodism that every secession of importance has retained the doctrines and ordinances of the old connexion, differing solely from it on the question of Church polity. Each in succession has organized a system of lay representation in its Conference. Thus the Methodist New Connexion is to be regarded as the eldest of a number of independent Methodist Churches, amongst all of whom in doctrine there is a perfect agreement, and in discipline scarcely a shade of difference. These secessions have not been confined to Europe. In America two ruptures have taken place. The "Protestant Methodists" were cast out from the Episcopal connexion in

1828, and the "Wesleyan Methodist Church" seceded, on the ground of slavery, in 1842. The former contains fifty-five thousand, the latter sixteen thousand members. Were all these secessions, abroad and at home, consolidated into one denomination, they would form a powerful Wesleyan free Church, numbering at least to a hundred and fifty thousand members. It seems probable that such an union will be attempted, for there is a kindly feeling to each other amongst all the seceders. If it should be carried into effect a powerful community will be formed which may hereafter produce upon the world at large impressions perhaps as deep, and not less important than those which Wesley and his followers impressed in the last century upon Great Britain.

The New Connexion publishes a magazine, of which between three and four thousand copies are circulated. This is a respectable journal. It contains occasional essays in theology and general literature, which would do no discredit to the pages of some of our periodicals of much higher pretensions. And as the work of self-educated men it will be read, by more favoured students, at once with interest and with candour. It also publishes a "Juvenile Instructor," monthly, and a weekly newspaper, the "Methodist Pilot," of both of which the sale is considerable. It is not a wealthy body, although within a few years past it has subscribed 36,000*l.* for reducing the debts on chapels, which has placed the connexion in this respect in easy circumstances. Its preachers, engaged in constant labours amongst the poorer classes, have not aspired to literary honours; nor has it imitated the older connexion in erecting colleges and theological institutions.

*Life of Rev. Alexander Kilham; by T. Blackwell. Methodist Reform and its Originator; by William Cooke. General Rules of the Methodist New Connexion; London, 1854. Minutes of the Conference of the Methodist New Connexion, composed of Ministers and Lay Representatives, held at Sheffield, 1855. The Methodist New Connexion Magazine. Report of the New Connexion's Missionary Society to Ireland and Canada, 1855.*



## POSTSCRIPT.

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Vol. i. p. 41.—The case of the stone altar, introduced at St. Sepulchre's church, Cambridge, by the Camden Society, was carried, not as stated above, before the archdeacon, but before the chancellor of the diocese, in the form of an application for a Faculty to confirm the alterations made by the Camden Society, against which Mr. Faulkner, the incumbent, had objected. The Faculty was granted; upon which the incumbent appealed to the Court of Arches, where the judge, Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, cancelled that part of the Faculty which had sanctioned the stone altar and the credence table.

The Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D. C. L., &c., by a judgment delivered in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of London, December 5, 1855, in the case of Westerton and others against Liddell and others, has again decided against the legality of stone altars and credence tables, and has ordered their removal from the churches of St. Barnabas and St. Paul's Knightsbridge, together with a brazen rood screen from the former church and other ornaments.

Vol. ii. pp. 44 and 45, for "articles of 1695," read "1595" twice.



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