The Guild Text Books

The Presbyterian Churches

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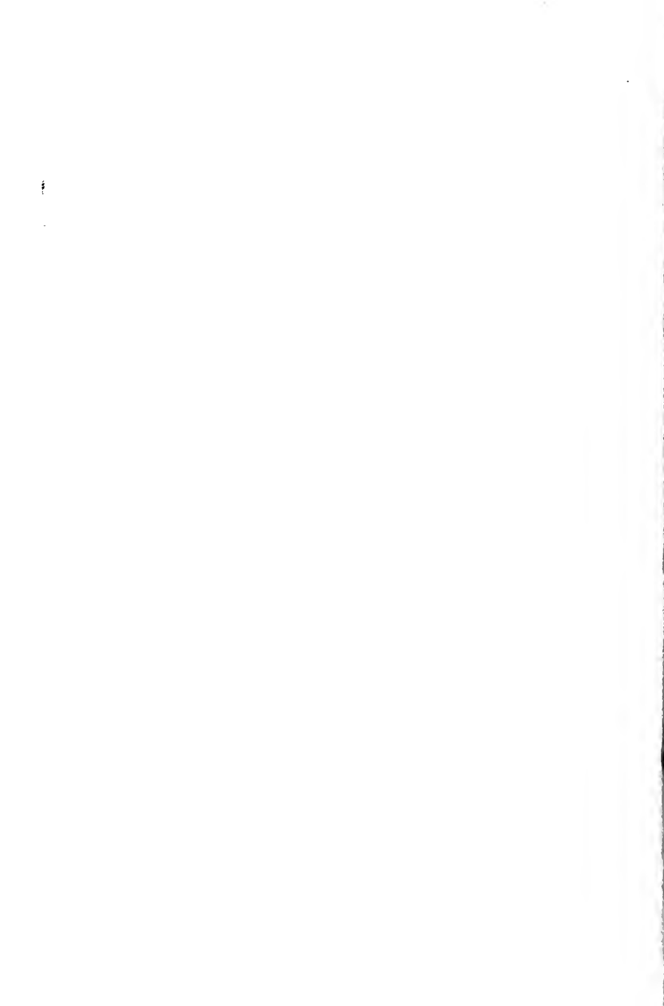
BX 8931 .O5 1897a
Ogilvie, J. N. 1860-1926.
The Presbyterian churches



The Presbyterian Churches

THE GUILD TEXT BOOKS

THE
Presbyterian Churches

THEIR PLACE AND POWER IN MODERN CHRISTENDOM

By the Rev.

J. N. Ogilvie, M.A.

With a chapter on the Presbyterian Churches in the United States of America, by the Rev.

Andrew C. Zenos, D.D.

Author of "Compendium of Church History."

New York Chicago Toronto

Fleming H. Revell Company

Publishers of Evangelical Literature

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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Editors have much pleasure in adding Mr. Ogilvie's book to the Series. They believe it to be its own evidence that the author has been an earnest and sympathetic student of Presbyterianism in its varied development in many nations and countries. The work is the result of much reading and inquiry, and cannot fail to be helpful to many.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN the following pages the endeavour is made to supply a concise historical sketch of the various branches of the Presbyterian Church. So far as the writer is aware, it has not hitherto been possible for the ordinary reader to obtain a general knowledge of the place and power of Presbytery, save at the cost of reading many sectional histories, and diving deep into the valuable Reports of the General Presbyterian Alliance. Of such a study this little book is the outcome; and should it prove a means of deepening in the youth of the Presbyterian Churches their appreciation and love of that system which, under the guidance of Providence, has spread so widely and worked so well, the writer will be satisfied. Every effort has been made to ensure accuracy, the statistics (save when otherwise stated) being taken from the last official Report of the Presbyterian Alliance, and the chapters on the more important Churches having had the benefit of suggestions from members of these

Churches. If, notwithstanding these precautions, any inaccuracies should be discovered, intimation of them will be gratefully accepted.

The writer acknowledges with thanks the valuable suggestions received from Emeritus Professor Mitchell (St. Andrews), the Rev. Dr. Mathews (London), the Rev. Dr. Robson (Aberdeen), the Rev. Dr. M'Cheyne Edgar (Dublin), Principal Grant (Canada), and others; and he desires to record his special indebtedness to the Rev. Dr. M'Clymont for much help both in revision of the proof-sheets and in the general preparation of the work.

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THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

CHAPTER I

RESTORATION OF PRESBYTERIANISM—GENEVA

AS a feature in the life of the Church, *Presbyterianism* reaches back to Apostolic times; as a distinguishing badge of certain great divisions of the Church Catholic, it is strictly modern, dating from the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The course it has run throughout the centuries has been that of a stream which starts with fair promise, but becomes speedily engulfed, and only after an underground passage of many weary miles regains the surface, to enrich and fertilise the soil. The Church of the first century had no features more distinctly imprinted on her than those which are expressed by the term *Presbyterian*, but ere the close of the second century these had disappeared, and did not again come into prominence until the dawn of the Reformation. Then the Presbyterian principles and practices which had been so long suppressed or forgotten reasserted themselves, producing the many and powerful Presbyterian Churches of modern Christendom.

1. **Notes of Presbyterianism.**—Presbyterianism, as an ecclesiastical distinction, has to do solely with questions of Church polity, and although the Presbyterian Churches of modern times vary considerably in the

details of their organisation and in the power assigned to certain office-bearers, there are three marks common to all, which they cannot forfeit without at the same time forfeiting their Presbyterianism. These are :—

(a) *The recognition of the priesthood of the Christian people, by the institution of the Eldership.*—Associated with the Minister of every Presbyterian congregation, for the purpose of ruling over the congregation, are the *Elders.* In their numbers, their mode of election, their duration of office, and also in their proper duties, these vary in different churches; but as representatives of the people in the rule of the Church, and yet exercising authority over the people, they are found in every branch of Presbyterianism. To no feature in her system does Presbyterianism owe more than to the office of the Eldership.

(b) *The Parity of the Presbyters.*—Presbyterian Churches know no higher order of office-bearers than the Presbyterate. In distinction from Episcopacy, which maintains the existence of *three orders* in the Church —Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon—Presbyterianism, by identifying the Bishop with the Presbyter, recognises but *two, Presbyter and Deacon,* and insists strongly on the essential equality of members of the former order. Natural ability, spiritual gifts, or eminent position may and often do give to some Presbyters a very real superiority over others, but never the superiority which springs from having been admitted to a higher order in the Church. Since the Apostles passed away, Presbyterianism maintains, the Church has had no higher order than that of the Presbyters, ordained to preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments.

(c) *The Unity of the Church, represented by a Conciliar System of Government.*—In distinction from Congregationalism, which asserts the independence of every congregation, but in common with Episcopacy, Presbyterianism maintains the organic unity of the Church. In carrying the principle into practice, however, the two great systems show an important difference. The unity which Episcopacy secures by its hierarchy of officers,

Presbyterianism obtains by a hierarchy of councils. The various congregations are grouped together and placed under ecclesiastical councils in an ascending scale, the higher with authority over the lower; while, true to the principle of recognising the rights of the people, the councils are composed of both lay and clerical representatives.

2. **The Restorer of Presbyterianism.**—The man to whom belonged the honour of giving Presbyterianism once more a place and a name in history was *John Calvin.* Born in 1509, his place is among the Reformers of the second generation, but in the magnitude and importance of his work he is unsurpassed by any. His early years were spent in the sleepy and orthodox town of Noyon in Picardy, where his father occupied the influential position of fiscal-agent for the lordship of Noyon and secretary to the Bishop of the diocese—an ecclesiastical connection which proved of advantage to his son. Through his father's influence with the Bishop, Calvin was early beneficed with two livings, which made his education easy of accomplishment. From the first he had been intended for the Church, and with this in view he was sent to Paris, at the age of thirteen, to study at the University. Paris at that time was one of the foremost seats of learning. No student whose mind was alive could fail to come in contact with the new ideas then agitating Christendom, and on an acute intellect such as Calvin's the effect of the impact must have been great. Apparently it cooled his ardour for a clerical career, for on his father suggesting that he should abandon the calling and study law, he at once agreed, and, proceeding to Orleans, entered on the new course. In law as in theology he distanced all his fellow-students, and gained a reputation for ability which was amply justified by his future greatness.

Throughout this period of his career, though he was noted for his austere and upright life, there was little sign of any definite sympathy with the Reforming

party. The only suggestive fact recorded is that he studied with ardour the Greek New Testament. But in 1531 the crisis came. Then his father died, and Calvin was left free to choose his own course, which he did in a very decided manner. The law was abandoned; his two benefices, the only means of support which he possessed, were resigned; and having thus burned his boats, he returned to Paris, and openly connected himself with the small band of Protestants then working in that city. The addition of a man of Calvin's power had a stimulating effect on the little company. The Reformers waxed bold, and in consequence soon experienced the trials of persecution, from which Calvin was forced to save himself by a hurried flight. After various wanderings he found a resting-place in Basel, where he was free to devote himself to those literary labours which were his chief delight through life, and in 1536 he produced his famous work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, a book which more than any other has influenced the development of Protestant Christianity.

3. **The Scheme of a Presbyterian Church.**—The plan of the *Institutes* follows that of the Apostles' Creed, of which they are avowedly an exposition. In thus claiming the oldest creed of the historic Church as a possession of the Church Reformed, Calvin emphasised the fact that no new organisation was being created by the Reformers, nor was any divorce being made from the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ. The divorce was from the errors and superstitions which a millennium of Roman supremacy had added to the Church of early days. The Church of Christ as a divine institution, charged with special duties and the receiver of special blessings, was to Calvin a solemn reality. When later in his life he was called to administer the affairs of the Church in Geneva, one of the most pressing of his cares was to be true to the obligations of this solemn trust; and even now, when first systematising the doctrine as to the Church, his great endeavour was to present loyally the picture of what the Church

had been in her earliest and purest days. With this aim he took the Bible as his sole guide, and after a careful examination of the Scriptural teaching on the subject, formulated a system of Church organisation which continues to be the basis on which rest the Presbyterian Churches of to-day. The main notes of the system thus formulated were three:—

(1) *The Visibility of the Church as an organised community.*—On this point Calvin advanced beyond the teaching of Luther and Zwingli. These two earlier Reformers had been so oppressed with a sense of the many errors of the Roman Church — then the only *visible* Church—that they were content for the most part to emphasise the existence of the *Church Invisible*, and to urge on men the necessity of being in *its* membership. Calvin equally insisted on this need, but went further. He found in the *visible Church* the temporal form and divinely appointed shell of the Church Invisible and Universal, and urged the necessity that all who would be members of the latter should justify their claim by membership in the former. The *Churchly* note which marked the Roman Church passed over to the Presbyterian. "There is no other way of entrance into life," wrote this Presbyterian High-Churchman, "unless we are conceived by her (the Church), born of her, nourished at her breast, and continually preserved under her care and government till we are divested of this mortal flesh and 'become like the angels'" (*Inst.* bk. iv. ch. i. 4).

(2) *The Government of the Church.*—The visibility of the Church as an organised body, charged with special duties, rendered necessary a definite system of government. Here again the Scriptures formed the only guide. Calvin found that among the many duties discharged by the Early Church, three continued permanent, viz. *Instruction*, *Government*, and *Care of the Poor;* and in like manner, of the many office-bearers serving the Early Church all but three were temporary, these three being *Pastors or Teachers*, *Elders*, and *Deacons.* There was thus a perfect correspondence

between the permanent duties and officers, and on this scriptural basis Calvin planned his system. Resting chiefly on 1 Tim. v. 17, where a distinction seemed to him to be drawn between Presbyters who only rule and Presbyters who both rule and teach, he apportioned the work of instruction to the pastor; to him also, in common with a body of Presbyters, "seniors selected from the people," was entrusted the government of the congregation; and to the Deacons was assigned the care of the poor. While claiming scriptural authority for the Presbyterian system thus sketched, Calvin was, however, far from asserting that Presbyterianism was an essential note of the true Church. Other Church systems were recognised as justifiable, though not equally supported by Holy Writ nor so suitable for men.

(3) *The Independence of the Church.*—In her own sphere the Church, according to Calvin's teaching, was independent, subordinate to no earthly ruler, and answerable to Christ alone. As this is a note which has sounded loud in the history of Presbyterianism, so was it struck clearly by the Reformer. Church and State were declared to be two powers appointed by God for the right government of men, the one in things spiritual, the other in things temporal. Closely allied in purpose, they were yet sharply divided in their fields of action, and must in no wise interfere with each other in their respective spheres. Yet as allies each was bound to serve the other when called upon to do so. Should Church censure fail to affect an offender, the State might be asked to lend the power of the sword; and in like manner was the Church bound loyally to aid the State in all good.

In support of his position, Calvin appealed to the teachings of Scripture, early history, and sound practical reason. Scripture gave him his organisation, early history bore witness to its practice, and sound common sense approved its wisdom.

4. **Calvin at Geneva.**—If the scheme of Church Government thus sketched was not to end as a devout

imagination, a place had to be found where it could be tested by practical application to the life of men. Geneva supplied the need. In this Swiss city of 20,000 inhabitants, the Reformed doctrines had been preached for several years by *Farel*, a vigorous and zealous Frenchman, and in 1535, mainly through his endeavours, Protestantism had been adopted by a vote of the citizens. The Roman Catholic clergy were banished ; stringent laws were passed, regulating the manners and morals of the citizens, and the Gospel rule of life was solemnly acknowledged to be binding upon all. There was special need in Geneva of this insistence on the moral side of Christianity ; for the city had become notorious for its evil living. But to his sorrow Farel found his triumph to be but fleeting. The enemy was only scotched, not killed. The Libertine party, which had been silenced in the first hours of popular enthusiasm, gradually recovered its ground, and by perverting the doctrine of Christian liberty, was fast regaining for the city its old ill fame. Farel was dismayed, and was bewailing the destruction of his work, when tidings reached him that John Calvin had arrived in the city, and was intending to stay the night. To the perplexed Reformer, the arrival of the famous theologian was a sign from God. At once he hastened to Calvin's lodging, and placing before him the circumstances of the city, entreated him to stay and help God's cause. Calvin heard the appeal most unwillingly, for his mind was set on other things. He purposed to hasten on to Strasburg and there devote himself to those literary employments in which he had already proved himself a master. To yield to Farel's appeal would mean the sacrifice of his most cherished hopes, and so, believing that he could serve the Reformed cause better by his studies than in any other way, he declined the call. But Farel would take no denial. "I tell you," he said, "in answer to this pretence of your studies, in the name of Almighty God, that if you will not devote yourself with us to this work of the Lord, the Lord will curse

you as one seeking not Christ so much as himself." "By this imprecation," writes Calvin, "I was so stricken with terror that I desisted from the journey I had undertaken." It was a crisis in the Reformer's life. Henceforward Calvin was a man of action quite as much as of letters.

5. **First Conflict with the Civil Power.**—Having taken his decision, Calvin set to work with a will, and strove to stem the rising tide of wickedness. At his instigation, the old laws of the city against drunkenness, gambling, immodest dancing, and licentious living were re-enacted. But it was no narrow spirit which prompted this step. "I do not," he says, "condemn amusements as such: dances and cards are not in themselves evil; but how easily these pleasures succeed in making slaves of those who are addicted to them! Whenever wrong-doing has become an old established custom, we must avoid every risk of falling back into it." At first no attempt was made at definite Church organisation: purity and uprightness of life, as more important, received the chief attention. But when, in pursuance of this aim, Calvin proceeded to carry out his principle of the Church's independence in her own sphere, and applied ecclesiastical censure to evil-doers, without consulting the civic authorities, there ensued trouble. He declined to admit to the Lord's Table certain notorious evil-livers. To the magistrates this seemed an invasion of their prerogative, and they ordered the Reformers to withdraw the ban. But in vain: Calvin and Farel refused to lower the standard of the Church. It was a refusal which led to an open breach, and, to the delight of the Libertine party, the Reformers were banished from the city (1538). "Well," said Calvin on hearing the sentence, "so be it; if we had served man this would be a bad return, but we serve a great Master who will reward us."

6. **Calvin in Exile** (1538-1541).—For the next three years Calvin lived in Strasburg, where he ministered to a congregation of French Protestant refugees, and in

his spare moments increased his acquaintance with other prominent leaders of the Reforming movement. Most important was the close friendship he now formed with Melancthon, who bridged the way between his system and the Lutheran. With the followers of Zwingli also he came to a better understanding, which was helpful for a time in preserving the spiritual unity of Protestant Christendom. But Geneva had not lost sight of him. In his absence from that city the elements of disorder found opportunity to develop, and lawless scenes came to be of frequent occurrence. The citizens learned by unwelcome experience how great a power for good had lain in that thin slender figure with the pale face and keen dark eyes. His indomitable will and lofty character were regretfully remembered, and at last, when political decline as well as moral degeneracy was imminent, they conquered their pride and invited Calvin to return to their midst. But Calvin shrank from going back to the old conflict. "There is no place in the world," he wrote, "which I so much dread as Geneva." And it was not until to the earnest entreaties of friends there were added the representations of a formal embassy from the Genevan civic authorities, that he at last yielded. But in so doing he took care to lay down certain conditions which in the coming days made his work easier and more fruitful. "If you would have me in your city," he wrote, "you must abolish the prevailing sins of Geneva. . . . I cannot live in the same place with a Church whose discipline is in ruins, and where audacity in evil-doing prevails unpunished." The conditions were granted, and with permission to establish a Church constitution according to his own mind, Calvin re-entered Geneva, amid shouts of welcome, in September 1541.

7. **The Presbyterian Church of Geneva.**—No time was lost in taking advantage of circumstances so favourable. On the day after his arrival, Calvin requested the Lesser Civic Council to appoint six of its members to assist him and the other ministers of the city

in drawing up a definite order of Government for the Church of Geneva. This was done, and the order thus drawn up, after being submitted to the Lesser and Greater Councils, and approved by both, was ratified by the assembly of the people on 20th November 1541. These were the celebrated *Ecclesiastical Ordinances of the Church of Geneva.* The day of their adoption may be regarded as the birthday of the Modern Presbyterian Churches; and, inasmuch as they decided the constitution of the first Presbyterian Church, they deserve careful attention. From a constitutional point of view as well as a historical, the most important provisions were those dealing with the *offices* and *courts* of the Church:—

(*a*) **The Offices of the Church.**—Four classes of office-bearers were recognised as requisite for the right administration of the Church of Christ. These were—Pastors (also called Bishops, Presbyters, and Ministers), Teachers, Elders, and Deacons. To each office were assigned distinctive duties.

(1) *The Pastors* had as their special duty the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments, while in association with the Elders they had also to see to the right exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. They were to be nominated to their office by the pastors already in the Church, and to be appointed by the State, with the approval of the people.

(2) *The Teachers* were entrusted with the training of the students in pure theology, and the general education of the young of the community.

(3) *The Elders,* fourteen in number, were to be God-fearing men of unstained character, with the oversight of the morals of the community as their special work. In addition to their moral qualifications, they required to be members of one or other of the civic councils, the Lesser Civic Council nominating them with the approval of the pastors, and the Greater Council confirming. Practically they formed a "Civic Committee on Morals," appointed to act along with the pastors of the churches. They were elected to their office at first for a year, at

the expiry of which the Lesser Council either discharged them or confirmed them for life.

(4) *The Deacons* were likewise to be men of good character and blameless reputation, and were chosen by the civic authorities. Their work was that of caring for the sick and destitute.

(*b*) **The Courts of the Church.**—While each official had his own special duties assigned to him, all were responsible to the *Consistory*, the supreme court or council of the local church. This court was composed of all the pastors with all the elders, and met weekly under the presidency of one of the syndics or magistrates of the city. To the Consistory, at its weekly meeting, the pastors and elders from the different districts brought reports of any offences which had been committed against the moral law, and judgment was dealt accordingly. Excommunication was the severest punishment in the power of the court to inflict; but notice of all such sentences had to be sent to the civic authorities, who might, if they saw fit, add civil penalties to the ecclesiastical.

A minor council which was established was the *Venerable Company*. This body, composed of all the pastors of the town, met monthly for the purpose of mutual admonition, and for testing the qualifications of aspirants to the pastorate.

8. **Defects of the Ordinances.**—In these Ordinances the hand of Calvin is very visible, but clearly visible also is the influence of the State. The *Institutes* had already shown what Calvin would have the Church to be; and in so far as the *Ordinances* differ from the *Institutes*—the Church as realised from the Church as devised—is to be seen the extent to which Calvin had to bend to circumstances. The lofty ideal of a Church independent in her own sphere, and co-equal with the State, was too high for the cautious burghers of Geneva; and while granting much to their religious leader, they yet took care to maintain a strong hold over the Church they were establishing. Their caution is most noticeable in the regulations as to the election of Elders, who were

in no respect to be the choice of the congregation, but were to be selected from the Council and by the Council. Only in so far as they were men of Christian character were they representative of the Christian community. And as if still further to maintain its supremacy, the State insisted on the Consistory, the Court of the Church, having as its president a syndic, an officer of the State. These were serious defects ; yet, despite their presence, the new Church organisation was a decided advance in the direction of ecclesiastical *independence* over anything the Reformed world had yet seen. In the Consistory, moreover, a court was established which was a real power for good, working honestly for the improvement of the moral life of men ; and if in its later career it was guilty of excesses, as it certainly was, yet at first it was an evidence to the world that the Reformed Church aimed at a real reform in the life of her children — that religion with her meant *good living* quite as much as *right thinking*. To Calvin belongs the glory of emphasising this note of the true Church—that she is a power for righteousness.

9. **The Church at Work.**—Accepting the scheme as a compromise, Calvin immediately proceeded to carry it into effect. The weekly Consistory was established, and showed that it was possessed of real power which it meant to exercise. Vice was so energetically searched out that the moral character of Geneva speedily improved ; but, unfortunately, in its desire for a thorough reform the Consistory allowed its zeal to outrun its discretion. Stringent laws were passed regulating the minute details of ordinary life, and civil punishments were attached to ecclesiastical and moral offences, out of all proportion to their gravity. Novel-reading was forbidden, as also all the usual accompaniments of the lighter side of social life — singing, dancing, and the drama. The unjustifiable stringency of the new rules naturally irritated a large section of the people ; but so great was the prosperity of the general community that the large majority sided with the Reformer, and the

Church grew and prospered. Several struggles there were, severe and critical, but from all the Church emerged victorious. Of these the most tedious in its course and the most dangerous in its crisis was the renewal of the old fight with the Council as to the right of the Church to inflict the penalty of excommunication without consulting the civil powers. For seven years the matter was debated more or less actively, the Council insisting on an excommunicated member being restored to membership, and Calvin in the name of the Consistory refusing. Opinions on the subject were asked from the leading teachers of Protestant Christendom, who, without exception, supported Calvin; and finally, in 1557, the struggle ended in his favour by the Greater Council giving a decision which established the spiritual independence of the Genevan Church. The notice of excommunication, which the Ordinances had directed to be sent by the Consistory to the Lesser Council, was recognised as in no respect conferring authority on the Council to revise the Consistory's decision, but was merely information for guidance, in the event of civil penalties being deemed desirable.

10. **Growth of the Church's Independence.**— The hard-won victory was carefully followed up. Now that the independence of the Consistory in the exercise of spiritual discipline had been acknowledged, Calvin sought to have removed from the Church's procedure whatever forms or customs implied subordination to the civil power. Chief of these was the presence in the Consistory, as official president, of one of the syndics with his staff of office. From the first this arrangement had been obnoxious to Calvin, but it was one of the many things he bore with because of the hardness of the time, and now when the times had improved his patience was rewarded. Recognising the incongruity of the custom, the Greater Council in 1560 directed that in future a syndic be not, *as such*, president of the Consistory; but that, in the event of one of the two elders chosen from the Lesser Council being

a syndic, he be the president—as an elder, however, and not as a syndic. It was again a compromise, but this time the gain was on the side of the Church.

In like manner the other grievance of the mode of *Election of Elders* was considerably redressed. The initial choice remained as before with the Council, but there was now added as a necessary accompaniment the approval of the congregation. In this way, by a steady, patient struggle lasting many years, was gained the acknowledgment of the Church as an independent organisation, closely allied with the State but ruled over by officers approved of by herself. Step by step the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* were brought into correspondence with the plan first sketched in the *Institutes*, the growing influence of the great Reformer making the modification easier of accomplishment. And with great benefit to the city of Geneva was this influence exercised. From being noted for profligacy it became renowned for virtue. Its trade revived and its inhabitants largely increased; and in testimony of its moral condition the evidence of John Knox, who lived here from 1555 to 1559, may well be quoted. "In my heart," he wrote to a friend, "I could have wished, yea and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where I neither fear nor eshame to say is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place beside."

11. **The Blot on the Genevan Church.**—With so much that is fair and praiseworthy in the Genevan Church of Calvin, it is not to be wondered at that there should be a reverse side to the picture. In this case the reverse shows intolerance, with persecution as its result. The excessive censorship over the morals of the citizens, and the infliction of civil punishments for breaches of the very strict ecclesiastical code, were without doubt blemishes on Calvin's rule; and though it may be pleaded

in extenuation that they were faults resulting from an excess of virtue, yet faults they must remain. But great though these errors of intolerance were, they pale in the general estimation before the intolerance which sent *Michael Servetus* to the stake, for errors of belief, in the year 1553. Of this action Calvin approved. Servetus, in his book *The Errors of the Trinity*, had lampooned the Christian doctrine of the Godhead, and in a later publication had boldly advanced pantheistic views of the universe. A spirit of bravado seems to have brought him to Geneva, where, after a protracted trial, in which he shocked his judges' ears with blasphemies, he was condemned to be burned at the stake. In the prosecution Calvin took an active part, and though he tried to have the mode of death altered to one less painful, yet to the sentence of death he consented. Sorely has his memory had to atone for his unchristian severity; yet in passing condemnation on the deed, it has to be borne in mind that not Calvin only but the whole Protestant Church of his day, including men like Bullinger and the mild Melancthon, approved of the action. Not yet had the day of liberty of conscience fully dawned.

12. **The Academy of Geneva.**—Against Calvin's zeal for the suppression of false teaching are to be placed his efforts for the dissemination of the true. Of these the founding of the famous Academy of Geneva was the greatest and most fruitful. By his books, pamphlets, and general correspondence he acted all his life as the spiritual guide of the Reformed Churches, keeping in touch with the leaders of the movement in every European country. But a more permanent agency for teaching the Reformed doctrine was seen to be required, and accordingly in 1558 there was founded in Geneva the famous Theological Academy, with *Theodore Beza* as its first rector. Calvin acted as one of the lecturers in addition to his many other duties, and with him were associated other teachers of ability. The response of Protestantism was great and immediate. In the

first year of the Academy's existence 800 students of different nationalities were enrolled. From France, Holland, Germany, England, and Scotland they flocked to Geneva, and drank in eagerly the teaching they received. They became filled with admiration of the Church System and Life which they saw, and on their return to their own lands laboured by speech and action to establish Genevan thought and ways amongst their own peoples. Thus the Genevan Church became the mother of many.

13. **Calvin's Work.**—On 27th May 1564, Calvin died, full of honours though not of years. His life had been comparatively a short one—only fifty-five years—but in lasting results few lives can compare with his. Alike as a teacher and an organiser, he holds a prominent place, possessing the peculiar merit of having combined in himself excellence in both departments. To this combination is mainly due the greatness and enduring character of his work. The legacy which he left to the world may be described as threefold, and was the gift partly of the theologian, partly of the organiser. It comprised—

(1) *An Elevating Theology.*—At the basis of his teaching was the great doctrine of the *Sovereignty of God* over all men and things. The direct responsibility of every man to his Divine Sovereign was so emphasised that men became impressed with a holy fear of God, which cast out all other fear. The doctrine of Election, which is the point in Calvin's theology most objected to, is but the logical sequence of the Divine Sovereignty, and in its application to life helped greatly to harden the moral fibre of the men of the time. To men who felt themselves to be called by God, and predestined to a certain work, the first and last duty was to accomplish the work and fulfil the destiny. Teaching such as this ennobled all who received it, lifted them out of the temporal into relations with the eternal, and encouraged them to work or suffer, live or die in the cause of their Almighty King.

(2) *A Church for the People*—because *of* the people.—The new dignity which had been conferred on men by their direct relationship and responsibility to God found expression in the new place accorded them in the organisation of the Church. No longer were they to be ruled over by priests, but, as themselves priests unto God, they were to regulate and direct the God-appointed institution. As the theology had called for a higher life in the individual, so the doctrine concerning the Church ensured a higher life in the community. The Church was henceforth to be the care of all.

(3) *A Centre from which Presbyterianism might radiate.*—This was the legacy of the man of action. Other teachers had emphasised the Sovereignty of God and the Priesthood of Believers, but Calvin did more. He embodied these truths in actual form, and in the small city of Geneva, by a life of ceaseless action, planted firmly a living Church, where God's Sovereignty was ranked above the sovereignty of man, and where the popular voice was heard in the administration of the Church. From Geneva the sound of the new movement went out into all the world, and from the Church there established the greater part of Protestantism took its shape. In this respect Calvin's work stands in striking contrast to the subsequent history of the work of the German Reformer Luther. Wide indeed was Luther's influence as a Christian teacher, but as a Church organiser it scarcely went beyond the frontiers of the Fatherland. On the other hand, the scheme of Church government re-discovered and re-established by Calvin passed far beyond the walls of Geneva, was welcomed by France, the Reformer's native land, then by Holland, the Rhine Palatinate, Scotland, and Ireland,—and is now world-wide.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN FRANCE

BEFORE ever Germany was roused by the voice of Luther the Reformation had begun in France. So early as 1509 the scholarly Lefèvre had sounded the first note of coming change in his thoroughly Protestant and evangelical commentaries, and for a time the seed thus sown was suffered to bring forth fruit freely. Earnest ecclesiastics, like Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, and evangelists like Farel, had their labours helped by the complacent inaction of the Roman Church authorities as well as by the royal favour of Francis I. But in 1535 a change came over both Church and King, and the new views, from being despised or indulged, were proscribed as heretical and disloyal. Heresy became a capital crime, and for twenty years martyrdoms were common. Yet despite the persecution the leaven spread, and in the spreading of it no agency was so active as the Church of Calvin at Geneva. By countless letters and willing messengers from the great exiled son of France, the suffering Protestants were helped to endure, and though no Church was as yet organised the Reformed Faith made steady progress.

1. **The First Congregation.**—Passing strange was the manner of the formation of the first congregation. One September evening in 1555, when a small company of Protestants in Paris gathered secretly, as was their wont, for prayer, they found their host, La Ferrière, a Frenchman of noble birth, in great trouble as to how to arrange for the baptism of his infant child. Roman rites he would not have, and Reformed rites he could not obtain nearer than Geneva. In the dilemma, and

at the earnest entreaty of La Ferrière, the company decided on the novel and important step of forming themselves into a congregation, and electing one of their number to be their pastor. Thus was born the first congregation of the Reformed Church of France. From Geneva most of the company had derived their faith, and the Genevan model of church order was accordingly adopted. To the pastorate they called La Rivière, a young French noble, who had been educated in Geneva; elders and deacons were likewise chosen, and a regular Consistory formed. The effect of this unwonted step upon the scattered Protestants of France was marvellous. Everywhere they took it as the signal to organise, and so heartily did they respond that within three years there were 2000 similar congregations dotted over the country.

2. **The National Synod.**—The rapid growth of the Church, which was thus revealed, soon led to a development of the Presbyterian principle beyond the point which had been reached by Calvin in Geneva. In that Swiss town, with its four congregations and limited area, one common consistorial court had been sufficient for the Church's needs; but in the wider area of France, with congregations numbering 2000, something more was required if the Church's unity and discipline were to be maintained. A supreme authority over all the congregations was felt to be a necessity, and accordingly the Church in Paris took action. Invitations were forwarded to the sister congregations throughout France asking them to send delegates to a conference to consider the needs of the Church, and in response there assembled in Paris, on 26th May 1559, 150 delegates, to constitute what was afterwards known as *The First National Synod.* They met secretly, "in defiance of almost certain death"; yet with a calm trust in God and a firm faith in the future of their cause, they there laid the foundation of the Reformed Church of France.

3. **The Work of the Synod.**—The Synod's work was to give to the Reformed congregations of France a *creed* and a *constitution.* In both departments Calvin

was the teacher followed. His was the theology as well as the actual draft of the *Confessio Gallica* there framed, and his too, so far as circumstances allowed, was the constitution adopted. What differences there were, from the constitution obtaining in Geneva, resulted either from the necessary severance of Church from State in France or from the greater size of the French Church.

Three classes of officers were recognised as having authority over each congregation—the pastor, elders, and deacons—who in common council formed the Consistory. On the first formation of a congregation all office-bearers were to be elected by the vote of the people, but later vacancies were to be filled by the choice of the Consistory—an "*aristocratic*" principle to which the French Church long strictly adhered. The next step of the Assembly was to group the various congregations together in graded *Councils* or *Synods*, similar to those now existing in all Presbyterian Churches. These were, —(1) *Provincial Synods*, one for each province, consisting of all the pastors with one elder or deacon from every congregation, which were to meet twice a year, to decide appeals from congregations, effect transfers of pastors from one charge to another where desirable, and generally supervise the churches of the province; and (2) *General Synods*, composed of delegates from each Consistory, and possessed of supreme authority over the Church, which were to be summoned in case of special need.

Manifest defects in the scheme thus adopted were rectified by later Synods, which, by interposing a council between the Consistory and the Provincial Synod, called the *Colloque* (the "Presbytery" of the Scottish Church), and by drawing the delegates to the General Synod from the Provincial Synods instead of from the Consistories, completed the conciliar system of Church government. There was thus given to the Church a compact unity which was to prove most useful in the troubled period of her history about to begin. Hitherto she had lived apart from the world, and, alone with God, had increased in faith: henceforth she was to be tried in the political

arena, and for the new experience Providence was preparing her by strengthening her bonds of union.

4. **The Reformed Church in Politics.**—The year 1559 was a momentous one for the Church. Not only did she then adopt a settled constitution—a fact which gained for her adherents the name Huguenots (*Eid-genossen*, or oath comrades)—but then for the first time did she, through her success among the aristocracy of France, become linked with one of the parties of the State. The Huguenots by this time included in their number the leaders of the Bourbons, one of the two great political parties, Anthony, King of Navarre, his brother Louis, Duke of Condé, and Admiral Coligny. It was unavoidable that the adherence of such men should give to the Reformed Church a political character. Nor were the Huguenots unwilling to accept the situation. They saw troubles looming in the near future, and were glad to have for their leaders men of mark and political power. But the open identification with the Bourbons, though increasing the Church's material strength, was not an unmixed advantage, as it also added to the animosity of the opposing Romanist faction of the Guises. And unfortunately for the peace of the Church the times were peculiarly favourable for faction fights, since, after the death of King Henry II., in 1559, first one boy king, Francis II., and then another, Charles IX., was called to occupy the throne. The minorities of kings in past times were rarely peaceful times for their countries, nor was it otherwise with France in the sixteenth century.

5. **Catherine de Medici.**—Most prominent of all the notabilities of the day was Catherine de Medici, the Queen-mother, who was recognised as guardian of the young King Charles on his accession, at ten years of age, to the throne of France. Catherine's position was extremely difficult. She found herself confronted by two powerful parties, each a danger to the throne, but, fortunately for her, hostile to each other and separated by the double gulf of politics and religion. Thus

circumstanced, she adopted and steadily maintained a policy of unblushing opportunism, playing off one party against the other, Huguenot and Bourbon against Romanist and Guise, favouring each as occasion required, but never allowing either to get complete victory. In the earlier years of her regency, as the growing power of the Guises seemed to her to require a check, the Huguenots profited most by this policy. Toleration of the Reformed Faith was proclaimed; and at *Poissy* (1561) was held a famous conference, when, in the presence of royalty, a discussion took place on the theological points at issue between Romanist and Huguenot, the Huguenots being represented by the cultured and scholarly Beza. As was usual with such debates, the conference ended with each side unconvinced; yet it was not without some good results, as was seen a year later, when the *Edict of St. Germain* (1562) granted permission to the Huguenots to meet for worship outside the towns, on condition of their giving up the churches they had seized. Meagre enough the measure seems, but by the leading Protestants it was welcomed. "If we have our religion," said Coligny, "what more do we want?" while to Calvin it seemed the beginning of the end. "If the liberty promised in the edict last," he wrote, "the papacy will fall to the ground of itself."

6. **The Drawing of the Sword.**—The condition attached to Calvin's prophecy was not fulfilled. Stinted though the measure was it proved too liberal for the Guises, who immediately set to work to render it fruitless. Anthony of Navarre was won over to their side by fair promises, though fortunately for the Huguenots his noble Queen, Jeanne of Navarre, in whose hands lay the training of their future leader, her son Henry, proved more steadfast. "If I had my kingdom in one hand, and my son in the other," she said, "I would cast both into the sea, rather than go to mass." But the defection of her husband was a sore blow to the cause she loved, and so emboldened the Guisian party that at Vassy, on a Sunday morning in March 1562, they drew the sword

and massacred the Huguenots of the place as they were at divine service. It was the beginning of evils. Soon the fury spread to other towns. Thousands were slain, the dead in Toulouse alone numbering 3000. In self-defence the Huguenots were now forced to take up arms, and for thirty years, with the exception of brief periods of truce, France was one great battlefield. From the beginning of the struggle, the details of which must be sought in secular histories, the fortunes of war went against the Huguenots, yet so stubbornly was the contest waged, that the conquered party was able at each truce to extort terms of toleration. Of these the most favourable were the terms obtained at the close of the third war, when, on the fatal field of Jarnac, Condé was slain and the Huguenots routed. To the Queen-mother the complete triumph of the Guises seemed then so imminent, that she insisted on peace being concluded, which was accordingly done by the *Treaty of St. Germain* (1569). Liberty of worship was granted in all towns save Paris, and as a security to the Huguenots they were put in possession of four fortified towns, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. As a guarantee of good faith the measure was satisfactory, but it had the evil effect of marking off, more distinctly than ever, Huguenot from Romanist. The Huguenots were now a nation within a nation, possessing fortresses and armies of their own.

7. **St. Bartholomew's Day.**—Following the passing of the treaty came a brief period of Huguenot prosperity. To end the wars the Queen-mother arranged a marriage between her daughter Margaret and the young Huguenot Prince, Henry of Navarre, and invited the prominent leaders of the Huguenots to court, to witness the espousals. Among others of note went Admiral Coligny, when so great was the impression made by the noble old man, that the young King Charles could scarce bear to be separated from his side. A strange friendship it was, and fraught with most evil consequences. To the Queen-mother it seemed to

portend the loss of her influence over her son and the triumph of the Huguenots, and accordingly, true to her principles, she veered round to the side of the Guises. They were jubilant; and so sedulously fanned the flame of her resentment, that in an evil hour a general massacre of the Huguenots then gathered in Paris was resolved upon. No time was lost in carrying the resolution into effect, and shortly before the dawn of St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August 1572, the great bell of the Cathedral of St. Germain tolled out the signal to the assassins. Thoroughly they did their work, sparing neither age nor sex. Distinguished by a white band on the arm and a white cross on the hat—strange emblems for such a work—the murderers scoured through the city, sacking every Protestant house and slaying every Protestant they found. Among the first to fall was the aged Coligny, who, when the blows were raining upon him, cried out to his attendants, with rare forgetfulness of self, "Save yourselves, my friends; I have long been ready to die." For seven days the cruel work went on. Then the other towns in France, catching the madness, repeated the atrocities, and before the lust for blood had been satisfied 70,000 Huguenots had perished.

8. **Result of the Massacre.**—Atrocious as a deed, the massacre as a stroke of policy proved a failure. Says the Abbé Crillon, a Roman Catholic historian of the time, "The Court thought to drown Calvinism in the blood of its defenders, but the hydra resumed new vigour." And so it proved. The Guises had overshot the mark. Their ambition and cruelty excited such suspicion and aversion in the moderate Roman Catholics that a split in the Roman Catholic party ensued. The moderates, who were known as the *Politicals*, separated from the extremists, and joined hands with the Huguenots, in whose success, under their young leader Henry of Navarre, they now saw the only hope of France's political safety. Their accession, raising as it did the force at Henry's back to 50,000 men, made the united party so formidable that Catherine and the new king,

Henry III., hastened to conclude peace on terms most favourable to the Huguenots (1576). But not yet was a lasting peace to be obtained. Enraged at the failure of their scheme, the Guisian party without delay devised fresh measures for extirpating the Huguenots, and, entering into an alliance with Spain, formed the *Holy League*, whose aim was to root out heresy from France. The Pope gave his blessing, and so overawed was Henry III. by the magnitude and sanctity of the union, that he repented of his tolerance and plunged France once more into civil war. Fears and fightings make up the wretched story of the next five years, the fears leading to assassinations and the fightings resulting in varying success. At last in 1589 came the beginning of the end, when, by the assassination of Henry III. at the hands of a Dominican monk, Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot leader, was left heir to the throne of France. But between the heir and his inheritance lay a fatal obstacle, in his religion. The moderate Roman Catholics, who had sided with him when he was fighting for political rights and religious freedom, shrank from seeing a Huguenot upon the throne. Paris closed its gates against a heretic monarch, and the hopes of the Guises began to revive. Henry was in a dilemma. On the one side was recantation of his faith, which would bring peace to the Huguenots and prosperity to France; and on the other side was steadfastness to the Huguenot cause, which would entail a renewal of war and desolation. The consequences to his country and co-religionists decided him, and on 20th July 1593, King Henry IV. was admitted into the Roman Catholic Church.

9. **The Reformed Church during the Wars.**— It was high time that peace should come, for the thirty years of war had sadly interfered with the growth of the Church. Her congregations had been reduced from 2150 to 763, and in spiritual life there had been almost equally great declension. The absence of many members in the field had told heavily on the finances

of local congregations, and as a consequence poverty pressed heavily on the pastors. The change of leaders, too, from Coligny with his deep earnest faith to Henry with his laxness in life and indifference in religion, was not without its effect upon their followers. Fortunately the framework of the Church, which had been constructed at the Secret Synod of Paris in 1559, had been in the interval sedulously attended to. Fifteen National Synods had met during the course of the wars, receiving reports from the various districts and learning by experience the needs of the Church. Of these Synods the most important was that which met at *La Rochelle* (1571), when for a brief space the royal favour was extended. Summoned by letters patent from the King, the Synod had as its moderator the accomplished Beza, and was graced with the presence of the Queen of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret and her son, the future Henry IV. The original constitution and creed, agreed to at the first Synod in Paris, were now revised and confirmed, and Presbyterianism again formally adopted as the polity of the Church.

10. **The Edict of Nantes.**—"I can never use them ill, I must always love them," Henry had said of the Huguenots at the time of his "conversion" to Romanism, and in the *Edict of Nantes* (1598) he gave proof of his sincerity. By this *magna charta* of French Protestantism religious liberty was secured to all. Public worship after the Reformed manner was granted, with more or less restrictions, in all places save Paris and a few other strongly Romanist towns. No longer was the Reformed religion to be a bar to civil privileges. And as securities to the Huguenots they were left in possession of the towns and fortresses which they possessed the year before the promulgation of the Edict. With a free course thus guaranteed, the Reformed Church settled down to a period of quiet and steady work. At the beginning she was greatly helped by an annual grant of 43,000 crowns from the State, with part of which she established two *Theological Colleges* at Montauban and

Saumur, devoting the remainder to a much needed augmentation of the salaries of her poorer clergy. Yet as years passed, through the growing wealth of the members of the Church this need grew less. By the enlightened policy of the King arts and manufactures were greatly fostered, and to his endeavours no section of the community responded so heartily as did the Huguenots.

11. **Gathering Clouds.**—A rude shock was given to all hopes of continued prosperity by the assassination of Henry IV. in the seventeenth year of his reign (1610), at the hands of a Roman Catholic. At once the Huguenots scented danger. "We are going to fall under the yoke of Spain and the Jesuits," remarked Sully, Henry's Protestant Prime Minister, "the Protestants will not enjoy tranquillity long." Nor did they. To Henry IV. succeeded Louis XIII. with, as his chief minister, the great statesman priest *Cardinal Richelieu.* Richelieu's policy was one of concentration of all authority in the crown. Any power or semblance of power existing apart from the crown was noted with jealous eyes, and accordingly the Protestant community, with its fortresses and regular assemblies, became very early an object of aversion. On the pretext of guarding against conspiracy, the Synods of the Church were first compelled to receive a Royal Commissioner (1623) and then altogether suppressed. The Protestant province of Bearn, where the Protestant Church had been dominant for sixty years, was invaded, many of the inhabitants slain, and the Roman Catholic Church re-established. And when (1628) after a year's siege the free city of La Rochelle, the citadel of French Protestantism, fell before the royal troops, the Church was overawed and her political power was dead. Thereupon Richelieu's plans for the uprooting of heresy underwent a change, and, laying aside the sword, he adopted—and with success—the more subtle weapons of bribery and worldly advancement. "Do you believe in transubstantiation?" said the King to the Duke de Lesdiguières. "Yes," replied the Duke. "Then," said the King,

"you are to be Constable of France—come, let us go to mass."

12. **The Bursting of the Cloud.**—In 1643 Louis XIV. succeeded to the throne, when again a statesman priest was the royal adviser, in the person of *Cardinal Mazarin.* On the Huguenots Mazarin looked with a not unkindly eye—a consequence of their wise neutrality in the civil wars which troubled the early part of the reign. "I have no complaint to make against the little flocks," said the Cardinal—"if they browse on bad herbage, they do not wander into bad paths." Tolerance accordingly was shown towards them, and under the mild rule the community gained rapidly in wealth, their honesty and industry drawing to them the greater part of France's foreign trade. Nor were their ecclesiastical affairs less prosperous. By the permission of Mazarin a Synod of the Church was held at *Loudun* (1659), and the outlook was bright, when their indulgent patron died (1661), and at once a change set in. The King fell under the influence of advisers of a narrower policy and more bigoted mind, by whom he was encouraged in those repressive measures against the Huguenots, which only the counsel of Mazarin had previously prevented. Unworthy passion too played its part. An infatuation for *Madame de Maintenon*, the governess of his children, made the King her docile slave, while she in turn was completely under the control of a bitter enemy of Protestantism, *Père la Chaise.* Between them they incessantly fanned the King's hatred of the Huguenots into flame, which burst out periodically in the form of an obnoxious order. The Courts of the Church were again and finally closed. Protestants were declared ineligible for all higher callings and all offices of State. Conversion to Protestantism was made a crime punishable with perpetual banishment, while conversion to Romanism was a virtue to be rewarded. For a Protestant pastor to speak to one of his flock who had lapsed meant death. Protestant children were freely kidnapped by Roman Catholic priests, and

the parents had no redress. In 1681 still harsher measures were adopted. Squadrons of dragoons were sent into the Protestant districts, and there quartered on Protestant families. Brutal and immoral as many of them were, the suffering caused to the hapless families by their presence may be imagined. Pillage, outrage, and murder were of daily occurrence, the King's "booted missionaries," as he termed them, proving very apt in the art of forcible conversion. So excessive was the persecution and so hopeless the outlook, that a steady stream of emigration set in. Thousands of Protestants, gathering together all their property that they could lay hands on, hastened to leave the country. To stop the stream, emigration without the King's permission was made a penal offence, but not before 50,000 Protestants had escaped. Finally, on *22nd October* 1685, the blow fell. The *Edict of Nantes*, long broken in a hundred ways, was formally *revoked*, and Protestantism again declared a proscribed religion in France. By this enactment all Protestant pastors were ordered to leave France within fifteen days; all Protestant temples (as the churches were termed) were to be destroyed; Protestant schools were to be closed, and the children of Protestants, after being baptized by the Roman Catholic priests, were to be trained in the Roman Catholic faith; and should any Protestants be caught trying to escape from France, they were to be condemned, the men to the galleys, the women to prison for the rest of their life. Seven months later the penalty was altered to *death*. Truly at a terrible cost has the Reformed Church of France earned the title "Church of the Cross"! Death or exile were the alternatives now facing the faithful. Whoever could choose exile did so, but many to whom flight was impossible and "conversion" abhorrent died a martyr's death; and many more, in the endeavour to escape, were arrested and put to death. But the frontier of France was too extensive for efficient guarding, and by every possible route, in every conceivable disguise, the Huguenots streamed out of the country. Heartrending are the tales of the suffer-

ings endured by the women and children in their efforts to escape, but all suffering was counted cheap if only the frontier could be passed. Over a quarter of a million Protestants escaped and found a refuge in England, Holland, Germany, Ireland, and America. It was a deathblow to Protestantism in France, from which the Protestant Church has never recovered ; but France did not go unpunished for her cruelty, for the same blow shattered her commercial greatness. The Huguenots who fled were the most skilled artisans of the country, and they took their art with them to bless the countries which received them. Of the 40,000 silk-workers in Tours only 4000 were left ; of the 12,000 in Lyons there remained but 3000. The rest had fled, mostly to England ; and in other manufacturing centres a like tale was told. It was indeed a double-edged weapon which Louis wielded when he drove the Protestants into exile ; and to the present hour his country feels the evil consequences of his action.

Second Period—The Church in the Desert

13. **After the Storm.**—With the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the Reformed Church of France entered on the saddest century of her existence. Exile and death had reduced the once flourishing community to a mere shadow—from four to five millions being a moderate estimate of those who had from first to last been driven from the country—but a remnant still existed. In the mountain recesses of the Cevennes in Languedoc they found a retreat, of comparative safety, from their foes, and there the lamp of Protestantism was kept burning, when in every other part of France it had been extinguished. In caves and hollows of the mountains the fugitives met to worship God, and under the open heavens by faithful pastors the Lord's Supper was administered, though the galleys or death was the penalty to all if surprised. So the Church in the Desert was sustained and religious life fostered. But ere long elements dangerous to spiritual

health made their appearance. The constant risk of death under which the refugees lived bred a fanaticism and wild enthusiasm in their religious life—a course which was all the easier because of the great want of regular pastors. In their absence their place was taken by uneducated men and women, and even children, claiming to be directly inspired by God and called by Him to minister to His people. Strange ecstatic "prophesyings" supported their claims, and, as the contagion spread, disorderly extravagances became the chief note of the community.

14. **The Wars of the Camisards.**—To add to the disorder came the armies of the persecutor. The Abbé du Chaylu, a retired missionary from Siam, who had been appointed arch-suppressor of heresy in the district, had so goaded the Protestants by his cruelties that in revenge a band of peasants had attacked and burned his house and slain their tormentor. The result of the outbreak was the despatch of royal troops to the district, and the commencement of the *Wars of the Camisards.* It was a marvellous struggle. The Camisards—so called from the *camise* or blouse which they wore—were rude and ignorant peasants, with no military training, and numbered only 10,000 men. Yet for more than three years, partly by their desperate bravery and partly through their acquaintance with the mountain districts, they were able to keep at bay the best troops of France. By their boy general *Cavalier* the Maréchals of France had to acknowledge themselves baffled. But bravery and skill were helpless in the long run against numbers, and when *Villars*, the commander of the royal troops, offered honourable terms of peace, Cavalier accepted them. Freedom of conscience and liberty of worship were guaranteed. Unwillingness, however, on the part of the King to ratify the terms, coupled with the reckless enthusiasm of the Camisard "prophets," caused a renewal of the war, which thus went on to the bitter end, when in 1715 the King issued a proclamation that heresy had at last been completely extirpated.

15. **Antoine Court.**—Protestant "heresy" is hard to kill, and within six months after Louis' proclamation proof was given that the "heresy" still lived. There then came to the front one of the greatest men the Protestant Church of France has produced, *Antoine Court, the restorer of French Presbyterianism.* Sprung from a godly peasant race and mostly self-taught, he found himself at eighteen years of age the pastor of the Huguenots who lurked in the town and neighbourhood of Nîmes. There the shattered condition of the Church and the evils caused by the enthusiasts pressed so heavily upon him, that he formed the definite resolution, with God's help, to end the disorder and rebuild the Church which had been overthrown. At his invitation, on 21st August 1715, there met, in an old Roman quarry near Nîmes, the few pastors who remained in the Cevennes and several representative laymen, when Court placed before them the state of the Church and explained his remedy. Lack of discipline and order in the community was the most pressing evil, and this could best be combated by restoring in its fulness the Presbyterian system of elders and pastors governing the Church in council. As he advised, so the "Synod" resolved, and the work began. At Nîmes, as the centre, a regular Consistory was formed, and throughout the district of the Cevennes, wherever Protestants were to be found, *elders* were appointed, and entrusted with the duty of watching over the flock, repressing disorder, and arranging safe places for meetings when the pastor of the division should visit the neighbourhood. For pastors were few, and had to wander over wide stretches of country to minister to their many flocks. This was the beginning of the work. When it was found that Protestantism still lived, persecution revived but failed to arrest the growth. Yearly Synods were held in secret, and the hand of the Church was placed ever more firmly on the religious life of the people. Extravagances were sternly repressed. Districts where the influence of the "prophets" had prevented the nomination of elders were warned that, should

they fail to carry out the instructions of the Church, no notice would be given them of visits of pastors to their neighbourhood. It was a virtual threat of excommunication by a proscribed Church! "What a punishment for a breach of Church order," exclaims Coquerel, the historian of the Church of the Desert, "not to be informed of meetings which, if surprised, entailed on those present a lifelong experience of the galleys!"

The grim determination thus shown by the Church was rewarded by steady progress. In 1728 night assemblies of 3000 people in different districts were common, and the Secret Synod had grown to 60 members, mostly elders. Two years later Court had to flee, with a price on his head; but from across the border at Lausanne he continued to help the cause he loved. Pastors were the great want; and in Lausanne, through Court's instrumentality, there was now established a training institution to take the place of the seminaries at Montauban and Saumur which had been closed. In the meantime, under *Michael Viala* and *Paul Rabaut*, pastor at Nîmes, the work in France went on with such success that it was possible to hold, in 1744, a Synod in the Desert, with some claim to the title "National." Not merely the south-eastern corner of France was represented, as had hitherto been the case, but from the whole of the southern provinces, and a few of the western also, there came deputies.

16. **Growth of Tolerance.**—The progress thus shown brought a sharp renewal of persecution, but it did not last long, for which the Church was mainly indebted to the rise in France of the sceptical spirit. Under the teaching of *Voltaire* religious indifference had become fashionable, and in many cases absolute unbelief prevailed. The Jesuits, who a little later were expelled from the country, were fast losing their influence, and with its wane religious intolerance gradually disappeared. To the Protestant Church came at last the much-needed rest, and in 1787, after nearly a century of proscription, *civil rights* were restored to his Protestant

subjects by the edict of Louis XVI. Their *religious* rights were still withheld, but the hour was fast approaching when they too were to be secured.

17. **The Revolution.** — The year 1789 was an eventful year for France. Then it was that the political storm, which had been so long brewing, came to a head, and before the mob of Paris, rising in their might, the Bastille went down. Said Louis XVI. when the news reached him, "This is a revolt." "Sire," was the reply, "it is a Revolution." It was the opening act in the revolutionary outburst which then passed over France, and, from France, affected the whole of Europe. Every civilised nation felt its influence, but in no country were the excesses which accompanied the movement so great as in the country of its birth. In 1685 France had sown the wind, and now she reaped the whirlwind. The expulsion of her Protestant children from her shores, a century before, had not only deprived her of a strong bulwark against superstition and infidelity, but had also in a great measure left her destitute of the industrious and independent middle class, on whose existence experience has shown a nation's welfare so much depends. The Roman Catholic Church, which, so long as Protestantism was a tolerated religion, had purged herself of many evils and produced many great and good men, sank back into her former corruption when her rival was over thrown. Superstition spread, and in its train came its Nemesis, Infidelity. In the first flush of triumph the Revolutionary party contented itself with confiscating all the property of the Roman Catholic Church, rearranging the dioceses, and generally bringing the Church under the management of the State. At this period the Protestant Church profited so far as to have all laws against Protestantism repealed. But the moderation thus manifested by the National Assembly changed rapidly into intemperance. The anti-religious spirit increased, and in 1793 the *Reign of Terror* began. Christian worship was forbidden throughout France, and for sixteen months every church, Roman Catholic

and Protestant alike, was closed. In the Cathedral of Notre Dâme worship was paid to a profligate woman, clad in classical costume, representing the Goddess of Reason. France gloried in infidelity and revelled in blood. With the fall of Robespierre the awful epoch ended, and religion regained its rightful place. In 1795 the churches were reopened, and to the Protestant Church at last was granted freedom of worship, never, it may well be hoped, to be again withdrawn.

THIRD PERIOD—THE CHURCH OF THE PRESENT

18. The Church under Napoleon Bonaparte. —In the closing year of the eighteenth century Napoleon Bonaparte was made First Consul of France, when his advent to power was the occasion of the Protestant Church being placed on a firm, though not entirely satisfactory, basis. Napoleon was professedly a Republican, but in his tendencies he was as much of an absolutist as had been any of the Kings of France, and in settling the Constitution of the Reformed Church this was abundantly shown. Information regarding the doctrine and constitution of the Church was procured by his Government, with a view to framing a suitable enactment, but when the enactment was issued, on 8th April 1802, it proved to differ considerably from the old Presbyterian system. The Congregational Consistories were abolished, as also the National Synods. The congregations of the Church were then grouped anew into what were termed *Consistorial Churches*, each group comprising 6000 souls, while the council controlling the group was known as the *Consistory*. It was the old name, but it carried new duties, which approximated the duties of the old *Colloque*. In the mode of electing the members of the Consistory, however, the greatest departure from the old ways was seen. In addition to the ministers of those churches which went to form the Consistorial Church, the Consistory included from six to twelve elders who were to be chosen from

those citizens (members) who paid the highest taxes to the State. Wealth in place of piety had become the qualification for office! Five of these Consistorial Churches formed a *Synod Circle*, which was governed by a *Synod*, composed of one minister and one elder from each congregation, but which could meet only by permission of the State and in the presence of a State functionary. So many were the restrictions placed on this higher council that, as a matter of fact, no Synod met during the Napoleonic rule. The *Consistories* were the only councils held, and over them was placed the State *Minister of Culture*. Thus separated from each other, with no legal means of inter-communication except through the State ministry, the Consistorial Churches were debarred from taking mutual counsel and prevented from entering on any common work. It was a repetition of the old policy, *divide et impera*, and it worked: the Reformed Church gave no trouble to the State. There can be no doubt, however, as to the retarding effect the policy had on the Church's own life. She accepted indeed with gratitude the imperfect constitution offered her, and settled down uncomplainingly to work. Half a loaf was better than no bread. After a hundred years of worshipping in the desert under penalty of death, it was a great thing to have freedom to worship God after her own manner, and to receive a recognised place among the institutions of the nation. But as time went on the evil effects of the isolation of the Consistories began to appear. The unity of belief and purpose which had marked the Church in the Desert was gradually lost through lack of intercourse, and divergences which ultimately led to division unconsciously gained in strength.

19. **The Church's Growth.**—Yet, though the seed of future evil had been sown, the Church as a whole prospered, and within five years from the issuing of the enactment there were in France 78 Consistorial Churches and 222 ministers. From time to time proposals were made to remedy the Constitution, but not till 1848 did they lead to action. Then the unrest and remodelling

prevailing in State affairs made the time seem propitious for improvements in the Church, and an unofficial but very representative Synod accordingly met in Paris. Out of 92 Consistorial Churches, 89 had sent their deputies, and by this representative gathering a complete system of Church Government on the old Presbyterian lines was adopted. The four Church Courts were again provided, though under slightly altered names—*Church Consistory*, *General Consistory*, *Provincial Synod*, and *General Synod*. The prospect of obtaining State sanction seemed hopeful, but dissensions among those submitting the proposals caused them to be set aside. It was but a postponement, not an abandonment. Naturally the State could not legislate for a Church divided against herself. A secession had first to come.

20. **The Secession of 1848—and after.**—On the first mooting of the proposal to hold a Synod, some of the more far-seeing ministers of the Church had spoken against it on the ground of the unripeness of the time. "The result of the Assembly," said Mäder of Strassburg, "will be not the organisation but the disorganisation of the Church." He spoke truly, but the disorganisation was a necessary step to organisation. The Synod, by drawing together representatives from all the districts, brought into prominence the great divergences in doctrine and method which had been both fostered and concealed by the isolation of the Consistorial Churches. Hitherto friction had been prevented by isolation, but the proposal for closer union at once gave importance to the points on which the members differed. The main difference was the now familiar one between the *Old and New Schools* of theological thought. The older theology, which had its headquarters at the Faculty of Montauban, where the able *Adolph Monod* had taught, was represented in the Synod by the earnest and enthusiastic *Frederic Monod;* while the newer theology, whose chief seat was Paris, had for its leader the able and acute *Coquerel.* The Evangelical party, under F. Monod, demanded that a

definite creed be formulated for the reconstituted Church, but to a large majority it seemed that it would be impossible in the circumstances to frame a creed which would be acceptable to all, and the motion was accordingly rejected. The result justified Mäder's prophecy. Frederic Monod, accompanied by several others, left the Synod, and being joined by their own and other congregations, formally seceded from the Reformed Church, to constitute *The Union of Evangelical Churches.* In separating from the Reformed Church they also severed all connection with the State, surrendered their endowments, and established themselves on a purely Voluntary basis. Since its commencement the Union has steadily increased in numbers, and has been zealous in Christian work, though it has remained a small body as compared with the parent Church. In its Constitution it is a mixture of the Presbyterian and Congregational systems, each congregation being independent in its management and work, but responsible to the Union for sound doctrine and wholesome discipline. What the Reformed Church lost by the secession she gained in homogeneity, and, as one result, three years after the abortive Synod had been held, the reforms then proposed were finally sanctioned. The property qualification for the eldership was abolished, and the old Church councils, with the single exception of the National Synod, were restored. In 1872 this last link in the Presbyterian chain was granted by Mons. Thiers, and the 30*th National Synod* assembled. At the instance of Mons. Guizot a short Confession of Faith was then adopted as the Creed of the Church, but not without opposition. One-third of the members were against the proposal, and so keen and bitter was the controversy that the permission to hold General Synods with authority over the Church was withdrawn by the Government. In their place *unofficial* Synods now meet every third year, which possess no legislative power, but are useful in maintaining the unity of the Church.

21. **Present Prospects.** — Speaking at the Pan-Presbyterian Council of 1888, Pastor Bersier, the famous preacher of Paris, described his Church in proud but well-merited words: "I represent a great Presbyterian Church—I may say the greatest, when I think of what she has suffered for the cause of Christ and human liberty. And though we are small now, we may say that our poverty has been the riches of many nations." No one will say him nay. The unparalleled sufferings of this Church of the Cross, and the wide diffusion of her influence through her exiled sons, give her a position in the roll of Presbyterian Churches far higher than her present membership would warrant. That membership is small indeed when compared with its former greatness, but when we remember what the Huguenot spirit has done in the past, a Huguenot Church with 400,000 members and adherents is not to be despised. The rugged independence, unswerving faith, and patient endurance which made the Church the *Martyr Church of Presbyterianism* still lives and works for the good of France. So competent and impartial an observer of the France of to-day as the late Miss Betham-Edwards bears cordial testimony in her writings to the higher type of Christian and citizen the Reformed Church produces, as compared with the Roman Catholic, and augurs therefrom a fair and fruitful future. "It is my firm belief," she writes, "that there is a great future for Protestantism in France, were only some Wesley to arise capable of leading the movement. But it must be a Wesley largely imbued with nineteenth-century ideas—an appeal to the taste as well as to the feelings." God speed the needed prophet!

CHAPTER III

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE NETHERLANDS

ON 1st July 1523, the martyrdom at Brussels of two Augustinian monks, for holding Lutheran opinions, announced to the Christian world that the Reformation had reached the Netherlands. The situation of the country, bordering as it did on Germany and France, where Reformed views were current, favoured the entrance of the new Faith; and, once there, the nature of the people made its rapid diffusion a certainty. Alike in education, free privileges, and independence of character, the Dutch were in advance of most of their contemporaries, and eagerly welcomed the new teaching which fitted so well with their national characteristics. From the Lutheran side the movement first came, entering the country from the north, but soon a similar impulse from the south was felt, Calvinistic in its origin and teaching, which ultimately proved the stronger of the two. Gradually the leaven spread through the whole of the provinces, giving to the Reformed Faith of the Netherlands the Calvinistic colour which has ever since characterised it. But before the Church could be built the cross had to be borne.

1. **Persecutions.**—For their head at this critical period the Netherlands had no less a person than *Charles V., King of Spain*, and Emperor of Germany, who to these high dignities added the lesser title of Count of Holland and the Netherlands. In him the Reforming movement found a persistent enemy. Foiled in his attempt to crush Lutheranism in Germany, where his power had many limitations, he resolved that no such failure should mark his operations in the Nether-

lands. The burning at Brussels of *Henry Voes* and *John Esch*, the protomartyrs of the Reformation, gave a proof of his zeal and a sample of his methods. To heresy the death-penalty was attached, and when in 1534 there took place among the Anabaptists, who were at that period numerous in the Netherlands, an outbreak, characterised by gross excesses, advantage was taken of the opportunity to increase the severity of the measures against all Protestants. The *Inquisition* with its barbarous methods was introduced, and in 1550 was promulgated one of the most infamous edicts that has ever stained the statute-book of a Christian country. For a layman to possess a Protestant book, to read the Scriptures in private, to converse concerning the Scriptures either publicly or privately, to lodge or help in any way persons suspected of such heresy, meant death, and a terrible death too—"the men with the sword and the women to be buried alive, if they do *not* persist in their errors; if they do persist in them they are to be executed with fire; all their property in both cases being confiscated to the crown." These awful provisions were literally carried out. Thirty thousand men and women perished, meeting death with a heroism unsurpassed. In 1555 Charles V. abdicated in favour of his son Philip II., but the change of rulers brought no relief to the Protestants.

2. **Presbyterian Beginnings.**—In the meantime, despite persecutions, the Reformed views made such headway that a definite creed and constitution for the Church were felt to be required. The *Southern or Walloon Provinces*, where the movement was strongest, were markedly Calvinistic in their sympathies, and these were now reflected in the formal declaration of Creed and Constitution which they adopted. In 1559, *Guido de Brès*, a Walloon preacher, who had received his training partly in England and partly in Geneva, drew up a Calvinistic Confession of Faith, closely modelled on the French Confession of the same year, which, as revised by Francis Junius under the title "*Confessio Belgica*," was subse-

quently adopted as the Confession of the Dutch Church. Four years later (1563) a thoroughly *Presbyterian Constitution* for the Church was adopted by a Synod held in *Antwerp*, at which representatives were present from most of the Protestant communities of the south. It was a work of faith, which bore fruit in after years, but not, strange to say, in the provinces where it originated. Under the continued pressure of persecution these provinces relapsed into Romanism, while the Creed and Constitution they had framed found a permanent home in the provinces of the north.

3. Protestantism becomes the National Cause.—The continued progress of Protestantism led Philip to try measures of repression, which had a very important result on both Church and State. In addition to reproclaiming the Edict of 1550, and mercilessly enforcing it by the aid of the Inquisition, he increased the Roman Catholic bishoprics from four to fourteen, maintained in the country a large body of Spanish troops, and in many ways interfered with the statutory liberties of the people. The Dutch became alarmed. They saw their provinces the prey of the foreigner, and felt their old freedom and hereditary privileges fast slipping away. A national impatience of the Spanish suzerainty rapidly developed, when it was seen that *civil* liberties as well as religious were in danger. Protestantism became identified with patriotism, and the cause of the Protestant Church, from being that of a party, was recognised as the interest of the nation. To this fusion of the civil and religious interests of the country may be ascribed the ultimate victory of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands. The first sign of resistance was the formation of a league by some five hundred of the younger and more reckless of the nobles and burghers. Binding themselves together by an oath or *compromise* to resist the Spanish tyranny, they approached the Regent, the Duchess of Parma, with the request that the Inquisition should be abolished and the Edicts recalled. The Regent was alarmed, and, promising that the request would be considered, relaxed

the harsher measures until instructions could be received from Spain. Then, as if by magic, the Protestant feeling burst into flame. Crowded religious assemblies were held throughout the provinces, under the open sky, when sometimes as many as 20,000 men, women, and children assembled to hear the Presbyterian preachers. At first the meetings were held with due order and decorum, but soon the enthusiasm bred a fanatical excitement, which passed beyond the control of the ministers. A *storm of iconoclasm* swept over the country, and in the sacking of four hundred Roman Catholic churches, including the grand Antwerp Cathedral, the Protestant mob gratified their hatred of the system which had worked such cruelties in their land. Ministers and nobles tried to stay the fury but in vain. The passion was too deep; and though the work of destruction is to be sadly deplored, it is scarcely to be wondered at. What is wonderful is that, in these days of excitement, blood was not claimed in return for the blood of friends and kinsmen which had been so freely shed.

4. **War to the Knife.**—Tidings of the outbreak were swiftly carried to Philip, and in order to crush the revolt he despatched to the scene the dreaded *Duke of Alva* with 10,000 troops (1567). Alva's measures were of the most ruthless and despotic nature. One merit alone he had—absolute fidelity to his master, but this only served to increase the severity of his measures. Suspending the ordinary courts of justice, he formed a *Council of Disturbances*, which, by its gruesome sentences, soon earned for itself the name by which it is best remembered, *The Council of Blood.* The most trivial causes were enough to warrant a conviction, the mere suspicion of Protestant leanings causing death. Within three months 1800 Protestants were executed. The Church organisation just forming was broken up, the pastors slain or forced to flee, and the whole country thrown into a panic of terror.

5. **William, Prince of Orange.**—At this juncture there came to the front the man who was to be the saviour

of his country, William, Prince of Orange. One of the leading nobles of the Netherlands, he had until now been a Roman Catholic in religion, and in politics a loyal supporter of the King, but the continued deceit and cruelty shown by the Spanish power towards his country now led him to alter both his faith and his allegiance (1568). His espousal of the national cause marked the beginning of the real struggle, as it made apparent to Philip that he had now to contend with the whole of the patriotism of the Netherlands. Freedom as well as faith was at stake. There is no more deeply interesting epoch in secular history than the desperate and protracted struggle which then ensued. Against the mighty power of Spain, then regarded as the first nation in Europe, the brave and sturdy Dutchmen contended, with a courage and resolution which no reverses could overcome. Often defeated, they never despaired, and when, as frequently happened, towns were captured and given over to the Spanish troops for sack and outrage, the survivors set themselves the more determinedly to cast out the oppressors. The *Relief of Leyden* (3rd October 1574), after a five months' siege, during which the citizens endured excessive privations, marked the turn of the tide. In vain did Philip send leader after leader to stem the flow. Alva's cruelty, Requescens's honourable warfare, Don John of Austria's able diplomacy, and the Prince of Parma's urbanity and tact, alike failed to overcome the stern patriotism of the Dutch and the watchful prudence of Orange. The southern provinces were indeed won over to the Roman Church, and remain strongly Romanist to this day, but the more rugged men of the north stood firm. In 1579, by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, the seven northern provinces formed the Union which was the beginning of the Dutch Republic, and elected William, Prince of Orange, to be their Stadtholder.

6. **Settlement of the Church.**—The victory of the State meant also the triumph of the Protestant Church, but her triumph revealed the existence of opposing interests and diverse views, which, during the struggle,

had not been visible. So long as war was raging through the land, organised Church life had been an impossibility. The Church organisation, which had begun so promisingly in the south, had been shattered by Alva's iron strokes. Yet it was not destroyed. The pastors and many of the people, who sought safety in flight across the eastern and northern border, maintained their Presbyterianism in exile. They lived in the hope that better days would come, when they might restore a Presbyterian Church to their afflicted country; and with this expectation a conference of refugees, at the transfrontier town of *Emden*, had framed in 1571 a series of articles emphasising afresh the Calvinistic character of the Church. Amongst other positions thus laid down was the favourite Calvinistic one as to the relations of Church and State in a Protestant land—honourable allies, independent in their own spheres, but lending each other a helping hand where such help was needed. It was an easy matter for a body of Calvinistic divines in exile to pass resolutions of so churchly a tone, but whether a Protestant State would accept them had yet to be seen. It was soon tested. In 1572 Holland and Zealand, the two seaboard provinces, had virtually proclaimed their independence by declaring Orange to be their lawful Stadtholder, and at once the banished Protestants began to return, and Protestant worship to be observed. Two years later (1574) the first *Provincial Synod* of the Dutch Church met at *Dortrecht* to arrange the Constitution, and adopted with some modifications the *Emden Articles* as embodying the views of the Church. But on presenting the resolutions to the Stadtholder and his Council, it was found that the views of the State were different. The Church had made her first move, and had been checked.

7. **Church versus State.**—The check brought to the front the composite character of the Protestant movement. Calvinism had triumphed so far as the majority of ministers were concerned, but not from Calvinism alone had the provinces received their Pro-

testantism. *Lutheranism* and *Zwinglianism* had contributed no inconsiderable share, and now, in the settlement of the Church, Lutheran and Zwinglian views of the relations of Church and State came into prominence. The independence of the Church from civil control, as advocated by the Calvinists, did not commend itself to the new Government. More consonant to its tastes was the Zwinglian view, which, holding that the State was itself a religious community, with the Church as its organ, gave the State supreme control in Church affairs. Of this mind too was Orange. Though in matters of doctrine he was a thorough Calvinist, he dreaded the effect of granting uncontrolled freedom to the Church, even if only in things spiritual. "Toleration" was one of the watchwords of his life, and this he thought could best be secured by the State retaining the supremacy in its own hands. In a proposed constitution which he submitted for consideration (1576), in place of the discarded proposals of the Church, he showed how he thought his object might be best attained. Presbyterian offices and constitution were provided as being admittedly most in consonance with Scriptural precedent; but in the nominations to the offices and in the control of the constitution the hand of the State was to be felt at every point. The project was still-born. As the State had refused the Church's plan, so now the Church would have none of the State's. A like fate awaited a scheme propounded by the second *Synod at Dortrecht* (1578), the first *National* Synod of the Dutch Church, when the churchly note was again too pronounced for the State's acceptance. So also was it with a third proposal, from the National Synod at *Middelburg* (1581). Neither Church nor State would yield. Said the magistrates of Leyden, where the feeling against the independence of the Church was very strong, "If we accept everything resolved on by the Synods, we shall in the end become the Synods' vassals. We will not open to the Churchmen our gates and doors for a new mastership over magistrates and subjects, wife and child." The Union

of the seven provinces had raised great hopes of the foundation of a really National Church, but against their realisation worked these opposing views of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The independence of each province in religious affairs, which had been fixed by the Treaty of Utrecht, also tended in the same direction—the diversity of the religious elements in the various provinces making an organic union impossible. In the end the problem was solved by the establishment of a Provincial Church in each province, all being Presbyterian and allied to each other by a common creed and constitution, but no provision was made for a supreme Church authority, or Assembly ruling over all. A *Provincial Synod* formed the controlling court of each Church, its membership consisting of representatives from the various *Classes* (a combination of the Scottish Presbytery and Kirk-Session) throughout the province. Over all the civil power was dominant.

8. **The Universities.**—The settlement of Church affairs was followed by a marvellous outburst of intellectual and theological activity. The war with Spain still went on—nor did it end till 1609—but its lingering course did not interfere with the Church's work. And it was a pressing work which lay to its hand, none other than the further systematising and developing of Protestant theology on the lines laid down by Calvin. For this work the Dutch Church was better equipped than any other of the Presbyterian Churches then existing, for none were so richly endowed with seats of learning, manned and controlled by Protestants. At *Leyden*, in gratitude to God for the great deliverance, a University had been established in 1575. *Franecker* had followed suit in 1585, and before the first half of the seventeenth century had passed, three other Universities destined to be famous had sprung into existence:—*Groningen*, *Utrecht*, and *Harderwyk*. The theological and intellectual ardour to which the Universities owed their origin was greatly increased through their influence. The Netherlands became the chief theological school of the Reformed

Churches, and formed the arena where two of the hottest controversies were waged which have ever agitated Protestantism, and which had the effect of fixing the creed of the Presbyterian Churches for many generations.

9. **The Arminian Controversy.**—First in time and also in importance was the great Arminian Controversy, which in its essence was a revolt of the human heart against the sterner aspects of the Calvinistic Creed. Twelve centuries before, a similar revolt had been raised by the Scottish monk *Pelagius*, when it was crushed by the great *Augustine;* and often since then have like controversies agitated the Church. They come of necessity whenever the high mysteries of the Divine nature and methods, as declared in Scripture, seem to run counter to the deep feelings of the human heart. The theology of the heart then rebels against the declared theology of the Written Word. Such was the case in the Netherlands in the early years of the seventeenth century. *James Arminius*, a professor in the University of Leyden in 1603, started the controversy by denying the Calvinistic doctrine of *Unconditional Election*, and asserting that election was conditional on God's foreknowledge. Soon followed similar modifications on other points. Against the high Calvinist position that Christ died for the *elect only*, Arminius urged that Christ died *for all;* and inasmuch as the doctrine of the *irresistibleness of the Spirit's influence* seemed to deny the freedom of the human will, he denied the doctrine. Opposing Arminius was *Gomarus*, a brother professor of strict Calvinistic views. The conflict rapidly spread beyond the walls of Leyden, and affected the whole Church. In the streets and market-places, in the cottar's house and the Stadtholder's palace, sides were taken and keen argument held on the deep theological points at issue.

But the controversy was complicated by the existence of other factors than the theological. On the question of *Church Government* the Calvinists declared strongly

for spiritual independence, while the Arminians advocated the Zwinglian method of subordination to the State. *Political differences* also largely influenced the course of the controversy. *Maurice the Stadtholder* was suspected at the time of aiming at a more complete supremacy over the United Provinces, and when he found the majority of the states of Holland which had republican views joining the Arminians, he declared for the opposite party. Thus fanned from three directions, the controversial fire soon assumed proportions dangerous to both Church and State. Arminius died in 1609, but the conflict ceased not. In 1610 his party presented a *Remonstrance* to the Estates of Holland and East Friesland, when they were supported in their prayer by the eminent statesman *Johan van Olden Barneveldt* and the great theologian *Grotius*. Disruptions in the Church at Rotterdam and Amsterdam were additional omens of the probable result of the conflict, unless steps were immediately taken to end it. Accordingly the States-General decided to call a General Synod of the Church to determine the points at issue.

10. **The Synod of Dort.**—The Synod which met at Dort (or Dortrecht) in 1618 was the first and only instance of an Œcumenical Council of the Reformed Churches. The Churches of the seven provinces were of course most largely represented, but in addition there were twenty-eight foreign deputies, many of whom were from Germany, several from England (best known being Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), and one, Walter Balcanquhal, from Scotland. At an early stage of the proceedings, the Arminian party were ruled out of the house in consequence of their refusing to agree to the rules of debate, and after a session of 154 meetings, the *five cardinal points* of the Arminian teaching were condemned as heretical, and the Calvinistic Creed adopted as the Creed of the Church. With an unpardonable severity, which is explainable mainly on political grounds, the Arminian ministers were sent into exile, and their leaders, Grotius and Olden Barneveldt,

seized and imprisoned. Through his wife's devotion Grotius escaped, but the statesman, less fortunate, was sent to the block.

On the death of Maurice the sentence of exile against the Arminians was revoked, and the banished ministers returned to their country, with liberty to preach and teach as they pleased. From this resulted *The Remonstrant Church*, whose history may perhaps be regarded as partially justifying the action of the synod of Dort. Learned scholars and able theologians this dissenting church has had, amongst them being *Episcopius*, *Limborch*, and *Wettstein*, and through their influence the theological views for which the Church contended have spread widely, and have affected the teaching of churches avowedly Calvinistic. But the Remonstrant Church as an organisation has not grown. To-day her members number only 5000.

11. **The Cocceian Controversy.**—The Cocceian Controversy of the middle of the seventeenth century marked a step forward. Commencing as an endeavour on the part of the more cautious Churchmen to prevent the diffusion of the Cartesian philosophy in the Netherlands, it proved in the end to be a formidable struggle between conservative and progressive theology. Protestantism was fast building up a traditional theology, and the Church was in danger of falling into the grip of a new scholasticism not unlike the old, when against this tendency there protested *John Cocceius*, professor at Franecker, an able theologian and an accomplished Biblical critic. His contention was for a *Biblical Theology* as opposed to any traditional or scholastic methods. "Interpret the Bible by the Bible," was his maxim, and in following this method he found lying at the base of God's dealings with men *two Covenants* or agreements —one of *Works*, the other of *Grace*, made with Adam and Christ respectively as the representative heads of the human race. The *Federal* or Covenant system of theology thus formulated met with keen opposition from the older school of the period, led by Gÿsbert Voëtius.

But time was on its side ; already it was the recognised system of the English Puritans and the Westminster confession, and before the end of the century it had practically become the recognised theology of all Presbyterian Churches.

12. **Presbyterian Refugees.**—While the Netherlands were, through much controversy, evolving what was to be the ruling theology of Presbyterianism, they also by their hospitality did much to preserve a Presbyterian Church for other lands, and notably for Scotland. For the Scottish Presbyterians the seventeenth century was one of intermittent persecution, and of those who were forced to flee for their lives the majority sought and found a safe refuge in the Netherlands. In the days of the Covenant the Dutch Universities formed the training school of the young Scots ministers, and among those so trained were not a few whose names were afterwards famous. In Middelburg, Leyden, Campvere, and Rotterdam were flourishing Scots congregations, which were recognised and generously helped by the States-General. The consequence of this enforced residence in the Netherlands of many of the Scots ministers at a time of great theological activity have been far-reaching. The Dutch theology then assimilated, passing over to Scotland, has through the Scottish medium influenced the many Presbyterian Churches which own the Church of Scotland as their mother.

Nor was this the only way in which the Dutch Church helped to extend Presbyterianism. It was the century of *Dutch Colonial expansion*, and wherever the Dutch flag went, the Dutch Church was planted. Of this zeal Presbyterian Churches in Ceylon, South Africa, and America are the present-day result.

13. **Modifications in the Constitution.**—The Constitution of the Church, which had been the result of the Treaty of Utrecht, continued with little modification until the end of the eighteenth century. What modifications there were aimed at securing more thorough ministerial supervision. This problem, which has frequently

exercised Presbyterian Churches, was solved in the Dutch Church by each *Classis* deputing two or three ministers to visit annually every congregation within its bounds and report on the efficiency of the work. Otherwise the Presbyterian system remained unchanged. But with the end of the eighteenth century began the epoch of State constitution-mongering, which tried the Netherlands more than most European countries. From 1795, when the "Batavian Republic" entered on its short life, to 1813, when the House of Orange was restored to power, the Church shared in the prevailing disorganisation. Order then returned, and in 1816 the Church Constitution, which in its main features still continues, was adopted. It was Presbyterian with a completeness never before attained, inasmuch as the conciliar system was now completed by a *National Synod.* The State supremacy, however, continued to be maintained, by the reservation in the King's hands of large powers in the nominations to the higher councils. In 1827 the royal prerogative was again asserted, when the system was adopted of appointing a *Permanent Commission* of seven members of the National Synod. The Synod named fourteen, from whom the *King* chose the seven. Twenty-five years later (1852) came another change, and, up to the present, the final one. Influenced by the example of the neighbouring countries of France, Belgium, and, to a certain extent, Germany, the Government of the Netherlands then adopted the principle of *concurrent Endowment* of all denominations, and withdrew all claim to control over the National Church. From that time, save for the endowments, Church and State have lived apart.

14. **Rationalism in the Netherlands.**—Throughout the present century the Dutch Church has been troubled more than most Presbyterian Churches with the prevalence of Rationalism, a result of the greater freedom in doctrinal matters which she has possessed since the century began. In 1816 the first sign of coming laxness was given by the Synod sanctioning

a modified Creed subscription. "Adherence to the standards of the Church was then required no longer *quia* (because) but *quatenus* (as far as) they conformed with Holy Writ." The door being thus opened, advanced rationalistic views became common, until in 1834 a reactionary movement set in, headed by *Henry de Cock*, which culminated in 1837 in the secession of the more orthodox pastors. Beginning with 30 congregations, this *Christian Reformed Church* has now increased to 303, with 70,000 members. But the National Church held on its course, and in 1853 the Synod declared that from its ministers only an agreement with "the spirit and essence" of the standards was required—the Confessio Belgica, Heidelberg Catechism, and Canons of Dort. From this time divergences in Dutch theology have been very marked, especially since 1876, when, by the removal of the Theological Faculties from the Universities, the teaching of dogmatic and practical theology fell into the Church's own hands. In consequence mainly of these theological differences a second secession of the more orthodox Calvinists took place in 1886, who, after a few years, united with the Christian Reformed Church. Upon the National Church these secessions have had a decidedly weakening effect, the number of aspirants to her ministry being so much reduced that in recent years *one-third* of her charges were reported vacant. But there are now signs of a change for the better, and in a large increase of theological students as well as in the growth of more orthodox views in the ministry, there is the promise of a fairer future.

CHAPTER IV

MINOR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES (CONTINENTAL)

OF the Continental Presbyterian Churches the French and Dutch have an acknowledged historical pre-eminence, derived not only from the stirring incidents which have attended their progress, but also from the important part they have played in the wider development of the Presbyterian system. But besides these Churches there are others which are also Presbyterian in their government and Calvinistic in their creed, and whose past is likewise full of heroic faith and protracted suffering. Political complications, however, in some cases, geographical position and relentless persecution in others, have resulted in their isolation from the full stream of the Presbyterian life of Western Europe, and only since the formation of the General Presbyterian Alliance have they taken their place in the Catholic Presbyterian Church. A convenient classification of these less-known Churches is a threefold one—A. *Approximately Presbyterian Churches*, as the National Evangelical Church of Germany ; B. *Presbyterian Survivals*, as the Churches of Bohemia, Hungary, and French Switzerland ; C. *Nascent Presbyterianism*, as represented in Italy, Spain, Belgium, and elsewhere.

A. *Churches approximately Presbyterian*

THE NATIONAL EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF GERMANY

The National Evangelical Church of Germany cannot be reckoned as purely Presbyterian any more than purely Lutheran, but so strong are certain Presbyterian

elements in her life and constitution that a brief reference to them is necessary. They are a heritage of the decree of the *Diet of Augsburg* (1555), which gave to every German prince the liberty of introducing and enforcing throughout his territory whatever form of Church he pleased—"*Cujus regio, ejus religio*"—a decree tolerant to the rulers but intolerant to the ruled, and the fruitful cause of divisions in German Protestantism.

1. **Introduction of Presbyterianism to the Palatinate.**—In 1559 Frederick III. succeeded to the rule of the Palatinate, and as an enthusiastic Calvinist did his utmost to induce his subjects to adopt his views. In the Upper Palatinate he failed, but in the Lower or *Rhine Palatinate* better fortune attended him, although his methods were not such as can be commended. In the University of Heidelberg Lutheran professors were got rid of, and Calvinistic theologians were brought from Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands to take their place. Similar measures were adopted in many of the more important charges, with the result that in a few years the whole of the Palatinate was a Calvinistic province, and up to a certain point its Church was Presbyterian. That it was not wholly so was due to Frederick's reluctance to allow the real direction of Church affairs to pass out of his own hands—a reluctance which was universal among continental princes. But so far as the Church had power to move, she did so on Presbyterian lines, an enduring evidence of this being *The Heidelberg Catechism*, which was composed for local use in 1563 by two of Frederick's Calvinistic professors, *Olevianus* and *Ursinus*, but was speedily recognised by all the Presbyterian Churches of Europe as a masterly compendium of their beliefs. By its softening of the harsher Calvinistic views on predestination and other points, and by the general moderation of its tone, it won its way to the place it still holds as one of the historic creeds of Presbyterianism.

2. **Presbyterianism in the Duchies of the Lower Rhine.**—A very different cause led to the plant-

ing of Presbyterianism in the duchies to the immediate north of the Palatinate—not patronage but persecution. In 1545 the cruel measures of Charles V. drove numbers of his Walloon subjects to seek refuge in the town of *Wesel* in the duchy of Cleves. Ten years later "Bloody" Mary's deeds in England and the growing hostility to the Huguenots in France forced many English and French Protestants to flee to the same haven; and when, in 1567, Alva's reign of terror began in the Netherlands, thousands of Dutchmen fled across the Rhine to the hospitable duchies. With so many Presbyterian refugees in the country the ecclesiastical aspect of affairs in Cleves underwent a change. The Lutheran theology yielded to the Calvinistic, and a modified Presbyterianism took the place of the Consistorial Church government. Joining hands with the Presbyterians of the Palatinate, these brethren of the persecuted churches now held Synods, and sought to improve the opportunity. Of these the most notable was the *Synod of Emden*, held in 1571, under the presidency of Caspar von der Heyden. It was a representative gathering of exiles from churches of many lands, and for the guidance of these churches it framed the *Emden Articles*—a series of articles closely following the French Confession of Faith, and embodying a complete scheme of Presbyterian Church government.

3. **Later Course of Presbyterianism.** — The Presbyterianism then introduced has continued ever since to be the dominant feature of the ecclesiastical life of Western Germany, though, owing to the persistence with which the civil authorities have maintained their supremacy, it has never attained its full development. A new period was begun when, in 1815, those "Presbyterian" provinces where the "*Reformed*" Church prevailed, as contrasted with the "*Lutheran*," fell to Prussia. The Tercentenary of the Reformation (1817) appeared to Frederick William II. a favourable opportunity for uniting the two great Protestant Churches in his dominions, and accordingly there arose *The National Evangelical Church of Prussia.* It was the

outcome of a compromise, in which Prussia's lead was followed by most of the German States. Each Church was suffered to retain her own standards and walk after her own ways. Elders, Presbyteries, and Synods continued prominent in the Reformed branch, while Consistories prevailed in the Lutheran. Many modifications have had to be made since then, and the stricter adherents on each side have found it necessary to secede. In the United Church herself Lutheran theology and forms of service have affected the Reformed section to such an extent that a *Reformirte Bund* has sprung into existence to check the tendency, but in the *Constitutional* developments the gain has been the other way. The Presbyterian form of government has almost entirely ousted the Consistorial, and, though still in an "arrested" condition,—as the secular power remains the supreme authority in the Church,—the full development is not doubtful, when in the coming days the "arrest" shall have been removed.

B. *Presbyterian Survivals*

I. Bohemia

1. **Origin.**—In the land of Huss and Jerome Presbyterianism of a modified type had found a home half a century before Calvin ruled in Geneva. So early as the middle of the fifteenth century the jealousies and wars of the two sections of the Hussites had led to the formation of a third Reformed community, whose members shrank in horror from the internecine strife, took the Bible as their only guide, and became noted for their lives of simple piety. These were the *Unitas Fratrum*, or *Brethren in Unity*, who formed the seed of future Bohemian Protestantism. As befitted a movement which was largely of the laity, the lay element, when growth necessitated organisation, maintained its position ; and in the constitution adopted in 1496 Elders and Deacons were prominent. Practically it was a *Presbyterian*

Church,—but with one peculiarity. As its highest office-bearer in each synodal district it had a Bishop, elected by the pastors, to which functionary, in conjunction with two or three co-Bishops, was committed the oversight of the Church. So rapidly did the brotherhood increase that we read of a Synod in 1557 being attended by 200 pastors, besides many laity of the nobility and other classes. It had become the true National Church of Bohemia. With the uprising of the Reformation in Western Europe this pre-Reformation Protestant Church came more into prominence, and, recognising its close affinity with the Genevan Church, sent warm salutations to Calvin, by whom they were cordially reciprocated.

2. **Persecutions.**—In 1619 Bohemia came under the sway of the Emperor Ferdinand II., a keen Romanist. Knowing what fate lay before them, the nobility attempted to evade it by inviting to the throne Frederick, the Elector-Palatine and son-in-law of the English Protestant monarch, James I. Frederick accepted the invitation and took the field, but the cautious father-in-law sent no help, and on the *White Hill*, near Prague, the insurrection was completely crushed by the imperial troops. Opposition had sharpened the Emperor's desire to root out all heresy, and with the Jesuits at his elbow to urge him on, he now inaugurated a course of bitter and prolonged persecution, whose brutalities were worthy of Alva. Into the silver mines of *Kuttenberg* 4000 Protestants were thrown headlong in a single year; at Prague 25 of the noblest in the land were executed; and throughout the country Protestant men, women, and children were the sport of a lewd and brutal soldiery. In his aim the Emperor was completely successful. Protestantism to all outward appearance was extirpated. In other lands a safe refuge and a ready welcome were accorded to the refugees who were fortunate enough to escape. *John Amos Comenius*, the famous educationist, who was at the time the senior Bishop of the Church, found a haven in the Netherlands; and still better known to

fame, though nameless, is the company of fugitives who took refuge at Hennesdorf, in Saxony, and later on at *Herrnhut*, where they laid the foundation of the most devoted *Missionary Society* the world possesses. But in Bohemia the Church was not; and for nigh two centuries the iron hand of persecution prevented any resurrection.

3. **Toleration.**—In the end of last century came the first opportunity of renewed life. *Joseph II.*, a humane and enlightened monarch, became Emperor of Austria, and in 1781 issued an *Edict of Toleration.* For political reasons the old National Church of the Brethren was not permitted to reappear, but to Protestantism, either of the Reformed or the Lutheran type, there was granted toleration. The effect was a wonderful revelation of the extent to which a hidden Protestantism had survived. Over seventy congregations in Bohemia and Moravia sprang into existence; Hungary supplied the needed pastors, and the land of Huss had again a Reformed Church. A period of rapid development seemed to be opening, when the Emperor died and was followed by a reactionary successor. The life which had been granted to the Protestant Church became a bare existence, with every opportunity of expansion rigorously cut off. No intercourse was permitted with the Protestant Churches of the outside world; Protestant books and Bibles were stopped at the frontier; professedly National but really Romanist schools were entrusted with the education of all children; and a Romanist occupied the chair in the Ecclesiastical State Council which had the oversight of the Protestant Church. From this cramping environment the Church escaped in 1861, when a more liberal constitution was granted, which has resulted in greater prosperity. Towards the support of the ministry the State gives a small yearly grant of £1500, but refuses what would be more valuable, a *Presbyterian Constitution* for the government of the Church. Over synods and superintendents still rules the Ecclesiastical Council. The

Church to-day, together with the sister Church of Moravia, numbers only 66,000 members, but her heroic struggles in the past, and her resolute Educational and Home Mission work in the present, give good grounds for hoping that, when the growing liberal tendencies of Austro-Hungary have advanced a little further, the Church too will advance, and that most rapidly. She is in touch with the national spirit.

II. Hungary

1. **Origin.**—Somewhat similar in its course, but more fortunate in its issue, has been the history of Presbyterianism in Hungary. As in Bohemia so here Lutheranism was first in the field, but Calvinism proved more enduring. At *Erdöd* in 1545 a synod of the Protestants adopted the *Augsburg Confession*, thereby declaring themselves Lutherans; but five years later the writings of the Genevan Reformers became known, and so cordial was the reception given, that in 1567, at the *Synod of Debreczen*, the *Second Helvetic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* were accepted as the standards of the Church. To these standards, through good report and ill, the Reformed Church of Hungary has ever since steadfastly adhered. Political changes which so nullified the Reformation in Bohemia had the contrary effect in Hungary. The middle of the sixteenth century witnessed the partition of the ancient Hungarian kingdom into two parts, *Hungary proper* and *Transylvania*, when the latter had the good fortune to fall under the rule of Reformed, or at least tolerant, princes. For the Protestant Church it was a crowning mercy, as Debreczen became, under the mild rule, a fruitful centre of religious life affecting the whole kingdom. A check was given to the progress in 1602 by the invasion of Rudolf, the King of Hungary, who subdued Transylvania and began to prosecute the Protestants; but the check was only temporary. His harsh measures provoked a revolt under the brave leader *Stephen Bocskay*, a

Protestant noble, which was completely successful; and in 1606, by the treaty of Vienna, the independence of Transylvania was acknowledged. The victory gave seventy more years of peace and prosperity to the Reformed Church, allowing her to fix her roots deep in the life of the people before the day of her greatest trial should dawn.

2. **Persecutions.**—That day dawned in 1677, when Leopold I. of Hungary commenced a determined persecution of his Protestant subjects. The pastors were commanded to embrace Romanism, and, on their refusal, imprisonment, exile, the galleys, and in some instances death, were the penalties meted out. In the trials of the Hungarian Church the church of Transylvania shared, the principality having lost its independence during Leopold's reign. Often without pastors, deprived of many of their churches, and refused toleration for their creed, the Protestants spent a century of bitter humiliation, which was at last ended with the issue of the *Edict of Toleration* of Joseph II. (1781). From that day of rejoicing the Hungarian Church resumed her onward march. Many difficulties and much irritating opposition she has had to contend against, but the independent position of Hungary in the Austro-Hungarian Union has rendered her progress less hard than would otherwise have been the case. Nor will any help be undeserved which the Hungarians may bestow upon the Church. As a sagacious and not ultra-Protestant writer has recently said, "The Protestant Church was the means of keeping alive their national aspirations, the outcome of the traditions of the past, and leavening these with dreams of moral and material progress and spiritual liberty. The spirit of Protestantism is the source of the magnetic power which is enabling Hungary to realise her national dreams. For, at the present time, hemmed in by Catholicism on all sides, the intellectual backbone of the country, the small nobility, is Protestant, and that of a Calvinistic type" (*Realm of the Hapsburgs*).

3. **Present Condition.**—Until quite recently the territorial divisions of former centuries were perpetuated in the Church, its 2000 congregations and 200,000 members being divided amongst five provincial churches; but since 1881, when a great National Synod met at *Debreczen*, the walls of separation have been broken down, and Hungarian Presbyterianism provided with a unity it previously lacked. Through its long isolation from other Presbyterian Churches, the Hungarian Church was free to develop on lines of its own choosing, and in one respect the development has been unique. Over each *Tractus* (Church-county or Presbytery) is placed a dual presidency, a *Senior* elected from the ministers and a *Coadjutor Curator* chosen from the elders; while in like manner the oversight of each of the five provinces is entrusted to a clerical *Superintendent*, along with a lay *Curator* from the eldership. Presbyterian parity is thus emphasised, while Episcopal superintendence is secured. In its work the Hungarian Church has been noted above all for its *educational zeal.* By the side of every parish church was planted from the beginning a parish school, to ensure the Protestant training of the children, an important point in Roman Catholic lands. High schools and colleges completed the system, and, save during the time of the persecutions, these have been sedulously maintained. Their support and prosperity continues to be one of the main cares of the Church, more especially since the establishment of "confessionless" but really Romanist schools by the State has thrown the burden of supporting the Reformed schools entirely on the shoulders of the Church. A staff of 5000 teachers and an attendance of 300,000 pupils show how well the duty is performed. In its care for the young lies the best assurance of the future prosperity of Hungarian Presbyterianism.

III. SWITZERLAND

Among Presbyterian survivals, by a strange irony of fate, have to be classified the Presbyterian Churches of

Switzerland. The honour paid to the great prophet of Geneva by the country of his adoption has been pitiably small, as compared with that accorded him by the great world outside. For this strange result the *Cantonal* system of Switzerland is mainly to blame. Under that system each canton had the choosing of its own ecclesiastical policy, and when the choice was originally made all but three of the Protestant cantons gave their voice for the methods of Zwingli. The three faithful were those of French Switzerland—*Geneva*, *Vaud*, and *Neuchatel*. For a hundred and fifty years after the first reforming outburst these three churches slumbered peacefully, troubling not the outer world and by it untroubled. In communicating the impulse to the Reformed Churches of Europe, Switzerland seemed to have exhausted her energies. But when, towards the close of last century, the evangelical revival took place in Britain, the French cantons awoke from their lethargy and the old spirit reappeared in the Churches. In all three the revival of life has been attended with ecclesiastical divisions.

1. **The Genevan Church.**—With a peculiar fitness the new impulse came to Geneva from Scotland—the land which owed so much to Calvin. In 1817 the Scottish Evangelist, Robert Haldane, visited the city, and by his apostolic earnestness roused a band of young Churchmen from their lethargy. César Malan, Merle d'Aubigne, Gaussen, and others, catching his spirit, made Geneva ring with an evangel long unheard. To the Church as a whole the movement was unwelcome, disturbing as it did the peaceful quiet of a century, and with the hope of arresting its progress she deposed Malan from her ministry. But the result was not according to her hopes. Congregations were formed outside her pale, and the contagion rapidly spread. To provide an Evangelical training for the young ministers, such as could no longer be assured at the old Academy, d'Aubigne and Gaussen established an *Evangelical School of Theology* (1832), and when in consequence

they also were deposed, the cause of the dissidents rapidly advanced. Still further to help the movement, it happened that simultaneously with these oppressive acts a civil movement was in progress for the purpose of drawing the Church more completely under the control of the State and approximating in other respects to the Zwinglian methods. Since the days of Calvin the management of the Church had been vested in the *Venerable Company* of pastors and in the Consistory; but now that power was gradually being removed. In 1834 the *Venerable Company* lost the management of the old Academy of Beza; in 1847 it was shorn of its ancient privilege of deciding on the qualifications of aspirants to the ministry, and in the same year the Council of State abolished the Confession of Faith. This assumption of vital spiritual powers by the State caused many of the Evangelical party to secede, and in 1849 the *Free Evangelical Church* of Geneva came into existence. It is yet the day of small things with this young Church, having but 3 parishes and 480 members, but it seeks to walk steadily on the road marked out long ago by Calvin. Relieved of many of the "Evangelicals," the National Church succumbed more easily to the attacks of the State, and since 1874 it has lost its title to a place among Presbyterian Churches, having become essentially Zwinglian. The last shred of spiritual power has departed from the *Venerable Company*, which is stated by one of its number, Professor Bouvier, to be "no longer anything but a consulting body, whose principal work seems now to be to gather and to bring to light all the *memorabilia* of her past."

2. **The Church in Vaud.**—Somewhat different has been the course of affairs in the canton of Vaud. Here the leader in the new movement was the celebrated *Alexandre Vinet*, ablest of modern Swiss theologians. In his later life *Lausanne* was the scene of his activity; and there, in 1845, as the result of his advocacy of separation of Church and State, on the State seeking to use the Church as a political agent, one hundred

ministers seceded to form the *Free Evangelical Church of Vaud.* This Church now possesses 4000 communicants, and is specially distinguished by her zeal for foreign missions. Over the *National Church*, whose communicants number 15,000, the Government continues to assert its supremacy, but usually only to the extent of reviewing the Church's decisions so as to satisfy itself that no *civil* right has been interfered with.

3. **The Church in Neuchatel.**—In the National Church at Neuchatel, which honours *Farel* as its founder and the veteran *Godet* as its chief living teacher, division did not occur till 1873. Then the State attempted to deprive the Church of its old independence by introducing Zwinglian methods of government. The Church was identified with the nation, absolute freedom in creed was granted to ministers, and from the Synod all legislative power was removed. Against such crippling enactments protests were made in vain, and accordingly, in 1873, Godet and a large minority seceded, to found the flourishing *Evangelical Church of Neuchatel*, which to-day possesses 92 ministers and 8628 communicants.

C. *Nascent Presbyterianism*

There are still countries in Christian Europe where Protestantism is only in its infancy. In Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium the efforts of Rome to check the reforming movement in the sixteenth century were so entirely successful that Protestantism was crushed, and all trace of the Presbyterian Churches which had been forming disappeared. But with the growing political liberalism of recent generations an opportunity has been afforded for Protestantism to reappear, and, true to past memories, the lines on which the Protestant beginnings are being made are mostly those of Presbyterianism.

1. **Presbyterianism in Italy.**—The unification of Italy under a constitutional government in 1861 marked the opportunity for the rise of Protestantism. Up to that time the only Protestant Churches in Italy had been those

in connection with the foreign consulates, or established for the benefit of foreign commercial residents. Presbyterianism had been *in* Italy but not *of* it ; but now that religious freedom was secured it was possible for an *Italian* Protestant Church to be born. The foster-mother was ready. On the southern slopes of the Cottian Alps, in the Piedmont valleys, lingered the remnants of the old *Waldensian Church.* The greater portion of the Waldensian community had been swallowed up in the course of years by the Reformed Churches of Switzerland, but the southern or Italian branch had retained its individuality ; and, perfecting its old semi-Presbyterian constitution, had survived through frequent persecution and abiding penury. By it the opening of the gates of Italy was recognised as a call from God to go in and possess the land, and for the last fifty years this small Waldensian Church has laboured incessantly in the cause of Protestant truth. The Constitution granted to Piedmont by the Sardinian king in 1849 was its first opportunity. Churches which were established in *Turin*, *Genoa*, and elsewhere grew rapidly, as much through the arrival of Protestant refugees from the Papal Dominion as from local additions. But with the full political development of 1861 wider operations were entered on. From Turin the centre was shifted to *Florence*, where, through the help of Dr. Stewart, the revered Free Church minister of the Scots Church at Leghorn, the old Palazzo Salviati was secured as a Training College for Waldensian evangelists. Inch by inch in the early days the battle for toleration had to be fought, but now a more open field is given to the work of the evangelists, and as the result of their labours the *Waldensian Evangelical Church* in Italy possesses to-day 18,000 communicants. Alongside of the Waldensian Church is the *Free Italian Church*, or, as it is now known, *The Evangelical Church of Italy*, which in its origin was indebted to the impassioned oratory of *Father Gavazzi* and the constructive ability of *Dr. de Sanctis*, both converts from the Roman Catholic priesthood. The

Constitution of this smaller Church is also Presbyterian, though congregations are given greater independence than is usual in most Presbyterian communities. Its communicants number about 1500.

2. **Presbyterianism in Spain.**—Spanish Presbyterianism is yet more recent, its initiation being due to certain Scottish friends who, in 1852, formed the *Spanish Evangelisation Society* for the purpose of distributing the Bible through this most ignorant of all European lands. Persecutions in 1860 drove the most prominent Protestants into exile, and at Gibraltar the refugees, like the Dutch exiles at Emden, adopted a Creed and Constitution for the Reformed Church to be. The Creed was the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Constitution was Presbyterian.

By the Revolution of 1868 the door was opened for the exiles to return, with freedom to worship God as they pleased. The *Presbytery of Andalusia*, with its centre at Seville, is the result. With this there united, in 1872, a Presbyterian Church which had been formed in Madrid, through the energy of *Carrasco*, a keen Protestant trained in Lausanne. These two sections now form the *Spanish Christian Church*, with 23 congregations and 300 communicants. For its support and progress it has been greatly indebted to the Irish Presbyterian Church and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

3. **Presbyterianism in Belgium.**—After the despotic measures of Alva, Protestantism became almost extinct in the country now known as Belgium, but lately there have been some signs of a revival. Two small Protestant Churches are in existence, both organised on Presbyterian lines. The *Union of Evangelical Churches in Belgium*, with 16 congregations, receives a small endowment from the strictly impartial State; while the other, the *Missionary Christian Church of Belgium*, has some 60 congregations and 5000 communicants. From all outward signs the latter is the more active of the two, and has served herself heir to the Church of the early days by adopting as her creed the *Confessio Belgica* of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

A. *The Church of Scotland*

FOR three centuries Scotland has been the centre of Presbyterianism. In no other country did the system, inaugurated by Calvin at Geneva, find so speedy and perfect an embodiment as here. By a happy combination of circumstances, the civil checks which prevented Continental Presbyterianism from developing its full powers were not sufficiently strong in Scotland to work similar harm, and as a consequence the Scottish Church was planted on a foundation so firm and on principles so free that it may be regarded as forming the crown of European Presbyterianism. It also formed the starting-point of the wider Presbyterianism established in the lands across the seas—in the United States of America, Canada, and Australasia. Into the story of all these great churches its history enters : its heroes and martyrs, its struggles and its victories, its virtues and its defects—all are shared by them. The history of this *Mother Church of Presbyterianism* has been told in another volume of this series : here can be given only a summary of the most notable events.

1. **The Church of Knox.**—The First General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland met in 1560, and announced to the world the end of the Scottish struggle with Rome. Prudent guidance of the new system and a careful watch against the schemes of the old were required so long as Mary lived, but the real struggle was ended. Fortunately for Scotland, the man who had led the way to victory was well qualified for the equally arduous task of maintaining the position

which had been won. In *John Knox*, whom Carlyle terms "the one Scotchman to whom of all others his country and the world owe a debt," the Reformed Church possessed a leader of deep religious convictions, invincible courage, wide knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, and a varied experience of men and manners. In England, Frankfort, and Geneva, he had lived and learned. Episcopacy, Lutheranism, and Presbyterianism had all passed under his observation, and of his experience Scotland now reaped the benefit. To the Reformed Church, in consultation with others, he supplied in quick succession a *Creed*, a *Constitution*, and a *Service*, all of which were marked by a breadth of view and a freedom from extremes to which in later days the Church has longingly looked back. (1) *The Confession of Faith*, which represented the Creed, was on the usual Calvinistic lines, but with a softening of the harsher positions; while, distinguishing it from all similar documents, is the humility of its preface, where possible error is acknowledged and amendment volunteered on Scriptural refutation being forthcoming. (2) *The Constitution of the Church*, as set forth in the *First Book of Discipline*, showed a like indebtedness in its main features to Geneva, but had also its distinguishing peculiarities. *Ministers*, *Teachers*, *Elders*, and *Deacons* were recognised as the only office-bearers whose office had Scriptural sanction, but to meet the needs of the hour Knox did not hesitate to develop the spirit of the early code, even though in so doing he might seem to transgress the letter. There were but twelve Protestant ministers for the whole of Scotland—a most inadequate staff. To the Scriptural offices were therefore added those of *Superintendent* and *Reader*, the former being entrusted with the oversight and development of districts, while the latter, under his orders, maintained the ordinances of worship in outlying parts. Semi-Episcopal in their functions as the Superintendents were, the principle of Presbyterian parity was not transgressed. They remained Presbyters in subjection to the General Assembly. In the institution

of this class of office-bearers may perhaps be seen one effect of the Reformer's contact with Lutheranism. (3) By the *Book of Common Order*, last creation of his busy brain, Knox completed his provision for the Church's literary needs and supplied a semi-liturgical order of service which gave voice to the devotions of Scotsmen for eighty years. The firm establishment of the Church thus equipped was the work of the Reformer's later years, and in the face of much opposition he succeeded. He could not indeed rescue the property of the Church from the rapacity of the nobility, save in part, but in thoroughly crushing the power of Rome in Scotland and in securing the existence of the Reformed Church as a spiritual power in the land, he was completely successful.

2. **The Church of Melville.**—The triumph of Protestantism did not mean rest to Presbyterianism, for no sooner had the contest with Rome ended than there began a fierce and prolonged fight with *Prelacy*. The Church of Knox was Presbyterian, but of a broad and flexible type, and when it was proposed, for the purpose of legally drawing the revenues attached to the former bishoprics, that certain ministers should be entitled "Bishops" for mere name's sake, no serious objection was taken. No doubt the gilding of the pill deceived some. But the natural result appeared when the existence of Bishops for name's sake gave rise to a distinct Episcopal party, which aimed at the introduction of real Episcopal government in the Church. The danger to Presbyterianism was great. Episcopacy has never been so near becoming the national Church system in Scotland as it was in those early days, and in all likelihood, had it not been for the appearance of *Andrew Melville* on the scene, Episcopacy would have triumphed. This "Scottish Hildebrand," as Dean Stanley calls him, after a course of study at Paris and Geneva, where he had sat at the feet of Beza and become an ardent Presbyterian, returned to Scotland in 1574, two years after Knox's death. His scholarship and character at once gave him the leadership in the Church,

and made it an easy thing for him to impress upon her his own strong Presbyterian views. From the Greek New Testament he proved to the Assembly that the offices of Bishop and Presbyter were identical, and that of any other Bishop than the simple Presbyter Scripture knew nothing. The Assembly resolved that the Scottish Church should adhere to this position. Bishops and Superintendents were deposed from office, and "pure" Presbyterianism was established. The *Second Book of Discipline*, which was approved by the Assembly in 1578, completed the Constitution of the Church, the government being entrusted to an ascending series of councils, as continues to be the case to the present day. In thus insisting on the *divine right* of Presbytery and the unlawfulness of Episcopacy, Melville went beyond the position of Knox, and undoubtedly narrowed the spirit of the Scottish Church. To-day we have returned to Knox's standpoint, and, while maintaining that Presbytery is best, do not deny that Episcopacy may be good. But these views would not have saved Presbyterianism for Scotland. For that, Melville's dogmatism was a necessity. Against nobles who were eager for the spoils which would come to them through Episcopacy, and kings who by their "divine right" would fain have imposed an ecclesiastical system more consonant with despotic rule, only men who were equally dogmatic in their Presbyterianism could have made headway. The very narrowing of Presbyterianism proved its salvation.

3. **The Century of Struggle — Presbytery versus Episcopacy** (1584 - 1688). — The century following Melville was one of unceasing controversy with Episcopacy, in the course of which Presbytery oftener than once was overthrown. For this it had to thank the Stuart kings. *James VI. and I.* while in Scotland had lauded Presbyterianism to the skies and by the Act of 1592 had given it full civil sanction, but when called to the English throne he changed his mind and became enamoured of Episcopacy. Henceforth nothing

would satisfy him but to assimilate the Scottish Church to her southern sister; and so long as he lived he worked for this end. Melville, the arch-Presbyter, was driven into banishment, and in 1610 his "unscriptural" Bishops were imposed upon the Scottish Presbyters. But so cautious in his measures was King James, that beyond grumbling discontent little resentment was shown by the Church. It was otherwise when his successor, *Charles I.*, sought to carry matters with a high hand, and, urged on by Laud, openly asserted the royal supremacy by imposing Ecclesiastical Canons and a new Service-book upon the Scottish Church. The uproar in *St. Giles' Cathedral in* 1637, when the first attempt to use the book was made, followed by the signing of the *National Covenant*, when nobles and citizens covenanted with God to defend their religious rights, gave evidence that the spirit of Melville still lived. At one blow an *Assembly at Glasgow* (1638) cast down Episcopacy and restored to the Church her old Presbyterian system, when, fortunately for the bold Presbyters, the King's troubles with his English subjects compelled him to stifle his resentment, and the Church was left untouched. The brief period of Presbyterian supremacy which followed was signalised by the strange episode of the *Solemn League and Covenant* (1643), and by the memorable *Westminster Assembly* (1643-1648), when the Standards which have ever since ruled in the Church were framed by English Divines and Commissioners from the Church of Scotland. With the Restoration (1660) the troubles of Presbytery began anew. The young king, Charles II., having adopted the Episcopal cause as his own, a fresh consignment of Bishops was sent down to Scotland, and Presbytery was driven into the wilderness. To Scotland's shame be it said that in the cruel persecution which followed, the King's chosen agents were men of Scottish birth. For eight years Scottish Presbyterians had to experience the trials which their continental brethren knew so well. It was a crime to be a loyal Presbyterian, and, by a system of dragonnades, marked by blood and

cruelty, the royal troops sought to convince men of the divine authority of Episcopacy. It is not to be wondered at that, under such discipline, the spirit of *the Covenanters* did not grow sweet and tolerant. Heroic they were even unto death, but with man's hand so strong against them their hearts grew narrow and bitter. Austerity in life and narrowness in religion became the tests of piety; tolerance of Episcopacy, or attendance at a curate's service, were held to be marks of low religious life; mutually suspicious sects sprang up, each thinking the other was betraying the cause. Yet the Church had need of all. Without the *dour* Covenanters, the Presbyterian banner would surely have gone down in those awful days; and, on the other hand, but for the presence of the more moderate party, it is very doubtful if, when the day of deliverance came, that banner would again have been placed over the National Church of Scotland. The day came in 1688, when the last of the Stuart kings fled before an enraged nation, and William of Orange ascended the throne. Presbyterian though he was, he would not force his Church upon the people; but when the Scottish Convention declared that "Prelacy was contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, and ought to be abolished," William acceded to the request. In 1690 the long warfare came to an end, and Church Government by Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assembly was declared to be the only Government of the National Church. This was finally ratified by the Act of Security, appended to the Treaty of Union with England in 1707.

4. **Divisions within the Church.**—The year 1712 supplies the key to the divisions of Scottish Presbyterianism. It was then that the fatal Act was passed by Queen Anne's Parliament which reimposed *lay patronage* on the Church of Scotland, and thereby sowed the seed of future controversy. According to the Presbyterian ideal two and only two factors are essential for the proper settlement of a minister in a charge, viz. the *Call* by the congregation, and *Collation*, after inquiry,

by the Presbytery. The privileges of the Christian people and the well-being of the Church are thus alike conserved. By the Revolution Settlement a system had been introduced which was an approach to this ideal. Private patronage, which had been previously in force, was abolished, and the nomination of a minister entrusted to the heritors and elders. Their nominee, if approved by the congregation, was entitled to collation at the hands of the Presbytery. It was a prudent compromise, and worked reasonably well, but after being the law of the Church for over twenty years it was arbitrarily annulled by the Government, and private patronage reimposed (1712). In vain did the Assembly protest and plead that it was a breach of the Treaty of Union, which had safeguarded the Scottish Church from parliamentary interference. For the first time, but not for the last, English ignorance of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs resulted in the British Parliament's inflicting a serious blow on Scotland's Church.

The fruits of the action in due course appeared. Thanks to the good feeling of many of the patrons, who, as National Churchmen themselves, disapproved of the Act, its provisions were for a time evaded. The patrons failed to nominate to vacant charges—a contingency for which the Assembly had to provide, and in doing so it fell back on the old arrangement of 1690, giving the right of nomination to the heritors and elders. To this was due the *first Secession.* In the sight of *Ebenezer Erskine* the rights of the congregation were ignored by the Assembly's action. "What difference," he protested, "does a piece of land make between man and man in the affairs of Christ's kingdom? By this act we show respect to the man with the gold ring and gay clothing, beyond the man with the vile raiment and poor attire." From words it came to deeds. A rebuke at the bar of the Assembly led Erskine to wilder accusations, which resulted in his withdrawal from the ministry of the National Church. Three other like-minded ministers joined him, and together they formed at *Gairney*

Bridge the first *Associate Presbytery* (1733). It was the first instance of the unhappy separatist spirit which dominated the Scottish Church for the next hundred years. The *second Secession* came twenty years later. Patrons had grown more tenacious of their legal rights, and unwelcome presentees were so frequently thrust upon congregations, that, between 1740 and 1750, upwards of fifty disputed settlements had to be referred to the Assembly. Unfortunately for the Church, the Assemblies of the day were infected with a spirit of militarism. The protests of congregations were treated as acts of insubordination, and when (1752) the Presbytery of Dunfermline showed itself more sympathetic, by refusing to ordain an unwelcome presentee, the Assembly crowned its militarism by deposing from the ministry one of the defaulting Presbyters, *Thomas Gillespie.* Gillespie was a loyal churchman, but in spite of himself he was forced to become the founder of the *Relief Synod*, whose formation marked the second Secession from the Church.

5. **Moderatism.**—The Secessions, though primarily due to the working of the Patronage Act, were largely helped by a growing diversity of views within the Church. In every country in Europe at the time a rebound was felt from the intensity of religious life and narrowness of thought which had marked the previous centuries; and in the Scottish Church the rebound took the form of *Moderatism.* The extreme earnestness of the Covenanters had passed away, and in its place had sprung up a spirit of religious tolerance, which in not a few cases shaded off into easy-going indifference. Scholarship and culture were encouraged among the clergy to an extent unprecedented, so that, from a literary standpoint, the title of the "Golden Age of the Scottish Church," which has been applied to this period, is well deserved. But there is no doubt that by the growth of Moderatism the cause of the Seceders was greatly aided, and the Church correspondingly weakened. Their chapels formed a congenial home for those in whom the covenanting spirit still burned, and the inadequate efforts of

the National Church to meet the needs of a growing population helped still further to swell their numbers. By the end of the century they were a power in the land, possessing upwards of 200 congregations and nearly as many ministers.

6. **Revival in the Church.**—The new century brought new life, and revived within the Church the love of the old Evangel. Awaking to a higher sense of her calling as a national witness for Christ, the Church realised that witnessing meant working. To the brilliant coterie of litterateurs, which had brought name and fame to Scotland in the eighteenth century, there succeeded an equally brilliant band of Churchmen, of whom the most notable were Dr. Andrew Thomson, Principal Baird, Dr. Inglis, and Dr. Chalmers. Under their inspiring leadership the Church embarked on a series of schemes of Christian work, thoroughly catholic in their nature and extent. The *Education of Youth*, long neglected, regained the place in the Church's interest which it had held in the days of Knox. The claims of the "Scot abroad" were recognised by the inauguration of the *Colonial Scheme*, under which ministers were sent out to the fast-growing colonies of Canada and Australasia. In *India* a place was at last secured on the ecclesiastical establishment for Scottish chaplains, to minister to Scotland's sons—a step which had the important consequence of opening the eyes of the Church to her *missionary* duty. *Dr. Bryce* of Calcutta, the first Indian chaplain, so pressed the needs of the Hindu on the attention of the Church that in 1829 *Alexander Duff*, the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, sailed for India. Of all the new developments, however, the most important, in the light of its consequences, was the *Church Extension* movement, which is identified with the name of *Dr. Chalmers*. His eloquence and energy so roused the Church to the urgent need of providing additional church accommodation for the largely-increased population, that by 1834 there were 200 *Chapels of Ease* dotted over the country.

7. **The "Disruption."**—In the midst of this prosperity the old Patronage trouble again appeared, to work fresh harm. The revival of Church life had quickened men's sense of the defects of a system which gave no power to a congregation in the choice of its spiritual guide. By the Assembly the injustice was felt as keenly as by any, and in 1834 it passed by a majority the *Veto Act*, which debarred Presbyteries from inducting a presentee if his appointment were disapproved of by a majority of the heads of families in the congregation. This Act it was which plunged the Scottish Church into a conflict whose heat has not even yet quite died out. Disputed settlements soon occurred. At *Auchterarder*, the first of these, the nominee of the patron was vetoed by practically the whole of the congregation; and on the Presbytery refusing to proceed with his induction, he applied to the Court of Session. His application was successful, and, to the bewilderment of the Church, the Veto Act was pronounced illegal. On appeal the judgment was confirmed by the House of Lords, and it was made evident to all that a serious battle between Church and State had begun. That the Church had a grievance, and a great one, all admitted—even the State did not deny it—but in her method of redressing it the highest tribunal decided that she had acted *ultra vires*. A choice of two courses now lay before her. Either she might bend before the law and seek by constitutional means to have the law amended, or resenting the law as a grievance outweighing all the benefits of Establishment, she might resign her position as the Established Church and go out into the wilderness. One-third of the ministers and elders of the Church chose the latter course, and on 18*th May* 1843 the decisive step was taken. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Welsh, Dr. Candlish, and many others of the best of the Scottish clergy and laity, for conscience' sake—albeit, as we think, a conscience misdirected—severed their connection with the National Church and proceeded to form *The Free Church of Scotland.* It was the

third, the greatest, and let us hope the last, of the Secessions.

8. **After '43.** — The unflinching determination of the Scottish people has never been displayed to better advantage than in the conduct of the Church after the shock of '43. A grievous shock it was beyond all dispute. Out of 1203 ministers, 451 had forsaken her. In the large towns her chief pulpits were empty; of her country parishes more than one-fourth were in like condition; of her Chapels of Ease, her latest joy and pride, nigh two-thirds had deserted the mother that bore them; and her very claim to the fabrics of these last, which were burdened with a debt of £30,000, had to be vindicated in the Civil Court. Abroad, the outlook was equally discouraging. Her Indian chaplains stood true; but of all her missionaries, Indian and Jewish, only one remained steadfast. Taking their converts and the good name of the Scottish Church along with them, the others cast in their lot with the Free Church. The task of filling up the gaps at home and abroad, of remedying acknowledged defects, and of prosecuting at the same time the schemes of Christian work, whose previous success had been largely due to the energy of men no longer in her ranks, was sufficient to try the mettle of the Church to the utmost. How well she stood the trial, let the progress of the last fifty years bear witness.

9. **Recent Progress.**—The half century of her history, which has just concluded, has been marked by several striking developments. (1) *Constitutional Reforms.* After the Secession was an accomplished fact, the Church's first care was to provide a legal remedy for the evils which had wrought such harm. And very speedily this was done. Lord Aberdeen's Act of 1843 granted a "reasonable" *veto* to congregations; Sir James Graham's Act of 1844, by giving "chapel" ministers a seat in the church courts, removed another grievance; and thirty years later the last ground of complaint disappeared in the abolition of private

patronage, and the introduction of the system of election of ministers by the congregation. (2) *Home Mission work.* Thanks to Dr. Chalmers, the truth that *Home Mission work* is the first duty of a National Church had been so fixed in the Church's mind, that not for a moment did even a temporary abandonment of that duty suggest itself. Into the place of Dr. Chalmers stepped one of the greatest of the Church's sons, *Dr. James Robertson*, who, to Chalmers's ideal of supplying churches sufficient for the population, added that of providing *endowments* sufficient for the churches. So vigorously have these twin schemes been prosecuted that 600 additional churches have been built, and 384 new parishes have been endowed, at a cost to the Church of over £3,000,000. (3) *Foreign Mission work.* By the loss of her missionaries and their converts, the Church had to commence her Foreign Mission operations anew. The mission buildings at the various stations remained in her possession, but they were tenantless, and a few years had to pass before the strain at home permitted of fresh missionaries being sent out. Then the work was resumed, and has continued to receive an increasing support from the Church. From a staff of one in 1843, her workers have increased to 83 Europeans and 420 natives, while her converts number 6000. (4) *Church Services.* Accompanying these developments in the Church's work has been a steady improvement in her conduct of public worship. The severe and somewhat repellent type of service which used to be popularly identified with Presbyterianism, is fast passing away, and in its place has come a service where devotional reverence, musical sweetness, and outward seemliness combine to help the worshipper in his approaches unto God.

10. **Popularity of the Church.** — The devotion which the Church has shown to her national calling, and her readiness to embody new convictions in new methods of work for the good of the nation, have had their reward. A continuous increase in her membership, far in excess of

the increase in population, speaks of a growing affection on the part of the Scottish people. Her communicants in 1895 numbered 620,000, exceeding by 80,000 the combined membership of the other two great Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, while her hold upon the people is even greater than these figures would imply. The movement for *Disestablishment*, so keenly pressed by some, has but added to the Church's popularity. Attack has led to inquiry into her merits and her claims, with the result that the people are showing themselves the more resolved that no harm shall be done to an institution so ancient, so honourable, and so beneficial to the nation. It is well for Scottish Presbyterianism, and well for British Protestantism, that it should be so. These are not the times when a national confession of Protestant Christianity should be lightly cast aside. Never were the weighty words of Dean Stanley truer than now: "Every Episcopalian ought to be thankful for the existence of a living Christian Church, which shows that outside the pale of prelacy Christian life and Christian truth can flourish, even should it fail among the Episcopal communions."

B. *The United Presbyterian Church*

With the great Secession of '43 the divisive tendency of Scottish Presbyterianism reached its climax. Since then the forces which make for union have been in the ascendant, and of their successful working the most conspicuous evidence is *The United Presbyterian Church.*

1. **Origin of the Church.**—In the main the United Presbyterian Church has resulted from the union of the two Secession Churches of the eighteenth century. These in their isolation had pushed the divisive principle to an extreme which is humbling to Scottish Christianity. Of the two the *Secession Church* of 1733 sinned the most. In 1747 a trivial question as to the lawfulness of an oath, which was imposed on burgesses, caused a division into the *Burghers* and the *Anti-Burghers.* By

the rise of "Voluntary" views in the end of the century, and the emergence of a difference of opinion on the binding force of the Covenants, the process of fission was repeated, and four separate communities came into existence, the Old and the New Light Burghers, and the Old and New Light Anti-Burghers. Then began the reaction. In 1820 the two New Lights coalesced, forming the *United Secession Church*, to which was added in 1847 the old *Relief Church* of Gillespie. The product of this final union is the flourishing *United Presbyterian Church* of to-day, with a membership of nearly 200,000, and ministers numbering over 600.

2. **Special Features.**—As with all the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, the standards of the National Church have been adhered to, but a century and a half of separate existence has developed in the United Presbyterian Church some distinctive features.

(1) Foremost of these is the *Prominence given to Voluntaryism*. It was not always so. Neither Erskine nor Gillespie was a voluntary; but a lengthened trial of enforced voluntaryism has led their descendants to elevate this practice into a principle. The unjustifiableness of an Established Church, though not an article in the standards, is now a working principle of the majority of the ministers of the denomination.

(2) A second noteworthy feature is the *Status and Distribution of her membership*. Her members are recruited most largely from the well-to-do middle classes, and as a consequence her power is greatest where these are most numerous. In the Highlands she is scarcely represented, and as a rule in country districts throughout Scotland she is weak, but in the towns and cities of the lowlands her stately churches, vigorous ministry, and influential membership are well in evidence.

(3) Most gratifying, from a Catholic standpoint, is the third feature, her *zeal for Foreign Missions*—a feature so pronounced as to warrant the Church being called the *Missionary Church* of Scotland. Third in her membership, she is first in the number of her missionaries,

first in the number of converts, and easily first in the proportionate contributions to the mission cause of her individual members.

C. *The Free Church*

This youngest and strongest of the offshoots from the old Scottish Church enjoys the unique distinction of never having known the day of small things. The Free Church started in life full grown, possessing a numerous and able clergy, a zealous staff of missionaries, and a large and enthusiastic membership. The splendid testimony to the living power of the conscience which had been given by 470 ministers surrendering an annual income of £100,000, forsaking hearth and home, and going out into the unknown, appealed to multitudes who knew little or nothing of the cause of the sacrifice. The fact was sufficiently eloquent. Everywhere throughout Protestant Christendom the tale of the wondrous sacrifice was heard with pride. Under the skilful guidance of Dr. Candlish and Dr. Chalmers this widespread enthusiasm was at once directed into a practical channel.

1. **Perfecting her Equipment.**—After the shock of '43 the cry of the National Church had been for *men* to fill the vacant places and carry on the work; with the Free Church the cry was of necessity for *money*. Men she had in abundance, and congregations many waiting to be ministered to, but churches, manses, colleges, schools, and, in the foreign field, mission buildings, had all to be provided. For this money was an urgent necessity, and with marvellous rapidity contributions poured into the Church's treasury sufficient for all her needs. Her first care was to provide for the support of her ministers, and by the famous *Sustentation Fund* this was successfully accomplished. Every member of a congregation was requested to contribute, according to his ability, to a central fund, from which each minister should annually receive an equal dividend. Thus "each congregation should do its part in sustaining the whole,

and the whole should sustain each congregation." Suggested by Candlish and worked out by Chalmers, the scheme was in readiness in 1842, and prior to '43 had been tentatively applied, so far as to make it evident that the plan would work. Associations to the number of 647, and money in hand to the amount of £17,000, were a good augury for the future. In 1844 the fund reached £61,000, and since then, though slightly altered in its mode of working, and showing occasional variations, it has risen to an annual average of £200,000. The *Building Fund* for erecting churches and manses met with an equally generous reception. At the first Assembly £104,776 was reported to be ready for the work, and within four years 700 churches were erected. *Theological Colleges* and *Country Schools* followed in quick succession, and when in 1872 the Scottish schools passed from the control of the Churches into that of the State, it was estimated that in thirty years the Free Church had spent on education £600,000. On the *Mission Fund* a like rapid adjustment was seen. There the Free Church was strikingly fortunate in securing the adhesion of the whole mission force of the Scottish Church. Fourteen Indian missionaries and six Jewish, accompanied by their converts, went over to her side—a heavy financial burden at the time no doubt, but a most valuable accession to the Church. Nor did the Church hesitate to accept it with acclamation. Voluntary sacrifices on the part of the missionaries for the first few years made the burden easier, and secured for the Church what is now a large and efficient missionary department, prosecuting its labours in India, Syria, South Africa, and the South Sea Islands.

2. **Notable Features.**—Among the notable features of the Free Church of to-day may be mentioned three.

(1) *Her increasing Voluntaryism.*—By her origin and her standards the Church is pronouncedly anti-voluntary. Chalmers, her great leader, was a strong defender of the necessity of an Established Church, and in words that are well known he declared the principles of the Church

he founded. "Though we quit the Establishment, we go out on the Establishment principle. We quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one." But times are changed and the Free Church has changed with them. Like the earlier Secession Churches she has become increasingly enamoured of the voluntary principle, and correspondingly hostile to an Established Church. At least her Assemblies have become so, although there are good grounds for thinking that a considerable number of her members do not share in the aberration.

(2) *Uniform Distribution of her Membership.*—In this she differs from the United Presbyterian Church. The enthusiasm of 1843 was not confined to any one locality or class. Town and country, north and south, rich and poor contributed their share, and to the present day a fair distribution of Free Church members over the whole country still continues. With her 1035 churches and 341,000 communicants, she wields a great power in the land, although the comparative slowness of her growth in recent years would seem to point to a somewhat waning influence over the people. The fires of fifty years ago are dying out with the removal of the causes of the controversy, and as a consequence the Church, which was born in controversy, has lost one of the sources of her strength.

(3) *Her Literary Activity.*—This is of all others the best-known mark of the Free Church of to-day, and Scotsmen of all the churches rejoice to acknowledge its existence. It is also noteworthy that though a few years ago the most conservative of churches, she has rapidly taken up a position among the more advanced. The protesting voices of the older school, which drove from his chair the late Professor Robertson Smith, have become fewer and less powerful. To the many younger scholars and teachers who have since then come to the front, a reassuring welcome has been given. In almost every department of theological study the Free Church now possesses men whose influence is recognised throughout the Protestant world.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND

THE *Irish Presbyterian Church* is the oldest daughter of the Church of Scotland, and like many of the later offshoots from the same stem, owes her origin to Scottish colonisation. The collapse of the Irish rebellion in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, had placed at the disposal of the crown an immense stretch of forfeited territory in the North of Ireland. Through the wisdom of King James the vacant land was granted on favourable terms to British colonists, and so steady was the stream from Scotland that in a short time the whole of Ulster assumed a markedly Scottish complexion.

1. **First Introduction of Presbyterianism.**—The rapid increase in the population, however satisfactory to the civil authorities, proved a cause of great perplexity to the rulers of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the country. Their new sheep, whose reputation was often none of the best, were far too numerous for the few established shepherds, and yet so unattractive was the country that no offers of service from the more comfortably-housed clergy in England were forthcoming. Providentially for Ireland it happened that at this time Episcopacy in Scotland was enjoying one of its brief triumphs. Presbyterian ministers were being driven from their charges, and to them in their distress the tidings of Ulster's need was a veritable message from God. Across the narrow channel they went and proffered their services, where they met with a welcome from the Bishops, whose heartiness and liberal-mindedness is a standing reproof to later times. At the head of the Irish Church for

the greater part of this period was the catholic-spirited *Ussher*, in his theology as keen a Calvinist as any Scot. His bishops shared in his catholicity, and in a short time a dozen Presbyterian ministers were settled in parishes throughout the North, serving in an Episcopal Church yet suffered to retain their Presbyterian convictions. Of these *Edward Brice* was the first in order. Driven from the parish of Drymen in 1613, he crossed over and settled in Broadisland, under Bishop Echlin of Down. Following him came a goodly band, amongst whom were *Robert Blair*, professor in Glasgow University and the ablest of them all; *James Hamilton*, the nephew of Lord Claneboy, founder of the Dufferin family; *Josias Welsh*, a grandson of John Knox, whose sermons were so rousing as to gain for him the name "cock o' the conscience"; *Robert Cunningham*, *John Livingstone*, and others. All were Presbyterians who had suffered for conscience' sake, and soon the fruits of their labours appeared. The questionable reputation of the Ulster colonists passed away, and they became famed for their God-fearing, orderly manner of life.

2. **Ejection of the Presbyterians.**—The success of the Presbyterian ministers produced a change in the mind of the Bishops. To their dismay they saw their parishes fast being infected with Presbyterian ways, and, with a unanimity shared by all save the good Archbishop, they turned on the Presbyters. Echlin led the attack, and with complete success. Ussher tried his best to stay the intolerance, but when the help of *Laud*, the arch-persecutor of Presbytery, was invoked, the end was not doubtful. The Presbyterian ministers were ejected from their parishes and driven from the land. Brice died of a broken heart. The others, after an ineffectual attempt to reach America (1636), returned to Scotland, where they did good service to the Mother Church. On the now shepherdless Presbyterians of Ulster the vials of Laud's and Wentworth's wrath were poured out freely, until, by persecution, imprisonment, and fines, Presbyterianism was silenced and apparently dead.

3. **Return of Presbyterianism.**—Five years after it had been thrust out with contumely, Presbyterianism returned to bless its persecutors. In 1641 there occurred the *Irish Insurrection*, whose awful excesses sent a thrill of horror pulsing through Britain. Everywhere the native Irish had risen and massacred the Protestants with unspeakable tortures. On receipt of the tidings, Presbyterian Scotland forgot the wrongs she had herself received at the hands of those now suffering, and with urgent haste despatched to their relief a force of ten thousand men under Major-General Munro. Landing at Carrickfergus, Munro speedily quelled the rebellion, but to thoroughly quiet the country a more lengthened stay was needful. To this was due the reintroduction of Presbyterianism.

With each regiment had been sent a chaplain; and on comparative quiet being secured the chaplains were able to devote some time to the spiritual needs of the country. Other clergy there were none. The Bishops had fled and the Episcopal clergy were mostly massacred, so to the growth of Presbytery there was now no let or hindrance. Immediately the old Presbyterian leanings of the colonists showed themselves anew, which so stimulated the chaplains that, on 10*th June* 1642, a Presbytery was formed at Carrickfergus. The materials were already to hand in the Kirk-Session which existed in each regiment, with the chaplain for moderator and officers for elders. In combination these now formed the *First Presbytery* of the Irish Church. It was a small seed, which soon became a great tree. Applications for ministers poured in from the parishes, and through the Presbytery these appeals were forwarded to the Mother Church in Scotland. She did what she could, and sent for several years deputations of her leading ministers to serve for three months at a time, besides despatching occasional licentiates of her own to settle in the country. In 1660 there were 80 congregations throughout Ulster, 70 ministers, 5 presbyteries, and 100,000 communicants —a wonderful growth in twenty years!

4. **A Century of Trial.**—With the return of the Stuart kings in 1660, an abrupt check was given to the progress of the Church, and an era of persecution inaugurated which lasted for more than a century. This was the unhappy result of the steady hostility of the Episcopal party. In numbers the Episcopalians were far inferior to the Presbyterians, but their social position was higher: their bishops mustered strong in the Irish House of Lords, and the power thus given them in the making of laws they freely used for the advancement of their Church. No sooner had Charles II. ascended the throne than the loyalty of his Irish Presbyterian subjects was all forgotten. Episcopacy was re-established, High Church bishops were sent from England to occupy the vacant sees, and a systematic anti-Presbyterian campaign began. A troop of dragoons having dispersed the Synod at Ballymena, the alternative of conformity or ejection was offered to all the Presbyterian ministers. Of the seventy, sixty-one chose ejection and went out from Church and home. With characteristic Scottish fidelity the people followed their pastors, and conventicles everywhere sprang up; but only to be suppressed. A fine of £100 was the penalty imposed on any Presbyterian minister found administering the communion, and so grievous was the crime of being in Presbyterian orders, that for six years four Presbyterian ministers were confined in prison at Lifford, through the efforts of Bishop Leslie of Raphoe. That the English Government lent its countenance to such injustice was partly due to the misrepresentations of the Bishops, who pictured the Presbyterians as rebellious and disloyal. How false were such reports was shown at the heroic defence of Derry, where, as Froude says, the Presbyterians "won immortal honour for themselves, and flung over the wretched annals of their adopted country a solitary gleam of true glory."

By the impartial *William of Orange* this was duly noted, and so long as he lived the Presbyterian Church was free from any "legal" persecution. A small grant

to the ministers of £600, passed by Charles II. when in a tolerant mood but irregularly paid, was now doubled in amount, and thus was begun the *Regium Donum*, which till 1869 continued to be an annual acknowledgment by the State of the semi-established position of the Presbyterian Church. Under these more favourable conditions Presbyterianism rapidly shot forward, until in 1702, the year of King William's death, there were 9 Presbyteries, 3 sub-Synods, and 1 General Annual Synod.

5. **The Test Act.**—The death of William and the accession of Queen Anne left the Episcopal party once more free to work its will, and in 1704 it succeeded in carrying an Act most hurtful to Presbyterianism. This was the *Test Act*, according to which every person holding office under the Crown was obliged to partake of the communion in an Episcopal church within three months after entering on office. Failure so to do was followed by deprivation of office. Under this infamous enactment Presbyterians were declared unfit to serve the State, save by disloyalty to their Church. How it told on the cause throughout the North may be judged by the cases of Derry and Belfast. In Derry 10 out of 12 aldermen and 14 out of 24 burgesses lost their offices, while in Belfast 9 out of 13 shared the same fate—and all for the crime of being loyal Presbyterians. Similar expulsions taking place elsewhere, it was at last borne home to the minds of the people that Ireland was no home for Presbytery. Across the Atlantic America beckoned invitingly, and with hearts longing for freedom to worship God, the great *Exodus of Ulster Presbyterians* set in. Already many had been driven there by earlier persecutions, and had helped to lay the foundation of American Presbyterianism, but from 1729 onwards a steady stream of emigrants began to flow, amounting to 12,000 annually, and continued with like fulness for many years. To America they were a priceless gain, to Ireland an irreparable loss. For the removal of the obnoxious Act the Pres-

byterians had to wait for eighty years, when the rise of the Volunteer Movement in 1780 brought the Government to its senses, and extorted the cancelling of an enactment which had declared Presbyterians, "the right arm of Irish Protestantism, to be unfit to hold office, civil or military, above the rank of a parish constable" (Froude). By repeated increase of the *Regium Donum*, tardy amends for past neglect were made, and at the close of the century the Irish Presbyterian Church, unprivileged but at last unhindered, had a free path before her.

6. **Doctrinal Troubles.**—The century, so full of external trials, was also marked by serious internal doctrinal controversies, the result in a great measure of the closeness of touch which subsisted between Scottish and Irish Presbyterianism. Geographical proximity and their near relationship has always made this inevitable, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the bond was tightened by the prevalent practice of the Irish Presbyterian ministers receiving their training at Scottish Universities, Glasgow being the favourite *alma mater*. By their means ideas prevalent in Scotland passed over to the sister isle, and naturally enough the Moderatism of the eighteenth century was thus transmitted. To the reception it met with in Ireland and the modifications it there underwent were mainly due the two doctrinal controversies of the Church.

(1) *The New Light* movement, which originated in 1719, was a revolt on the part of some of the ministers against creed subscription. Led by the *Rev. John Abernethy* of Antrim, they maintained that sincerity of belief justified lack of orthodoxy, and denied the Church's right to impose a creed upon her ministers. The Church recognised the earnestness and worth of several of the leaders of the movement, and with rare patience sought to effect a compromise. Adopting a policy of segregation, she isolated the "New Lights" in a Presbytery by themselves, the *Presbytery of Antrim*. But the leaven spread, and in 1726 the Synod of

Dungannon found it necessary to completely separate the Presbytery from the Church. Even this failed to check the growing laxity of doctrine, and in 1741 there resulted a consequence very important to Irish Presbyterianism. This was the entrance into Ulster of representatives of the *Secession Church* of Scotland. No bias we may have for or against this Church's work in Scotland can blind us to the great service it rendered to Ireland. It saved Irish Presbyterianism from drifting into that Unitarianism which at the same period annihilated the old Presbyterianism of England. The *Rev. Isaac Patton* of Lylehill was the first Seceder minister, and in 1750, nine years after his arrival, the first *Associate Presbytery* was held at Arhilly, near Newtonlimavady. From this date, though much opposed by the Church of Ulster, and greatly injured by its own folly in taking up the quarrels of the Scots Seceders and splitting into Burgher and Anti-Burgher, the Seceder Church progressed with amazing rapidity.

(2) *The Arian Controversy*, which marked the earlier part of the present century, was another instance of the responsiveness of Ulster to Scottish movements. The rising Evangelicalism of the Mother Church infected the daughter, and as the Evangelical spirit spread, zeal for purity of doctrine returned. It was time. So indifferent had the Synod grown as to the orthodoxy of its ministers, that Arianism was common amongst them, and in more than one instance had been openly professed without rebuke. The majority, however, though indifferent, were orthodox, as were also the people. What was needed was a leader, strong, earnest, and determined, and such a man was found in *Henry Cooke*, minister of Killyleagh, one of the greatest leaders the Irish Church has had. Perceiving the canker that was eating the life out of the Church, he gave himself to the work of destroying it. It was no easy task. The apathy of the Church had to be overcome, and able opponents had to be refuted. But in the end the battle was won. At *Lurgan*, in 1829, after a struggle

of ten years, the Synod of Ulster declared it to be incompetent for any one holding Arian views to occupy an office in the Church. Seventeen ministers resigned their charges—a small number when one considers the prolonged and excited controversy which had taken place.

7. **Union with the Secession Synod.**—The vindication of the Church's orthodoxy was followed, in 1834, by an enforcement of unqualified subscription to the Confession of Faith on all her office-bearers—a step which brought the Synod of Ulster in all essentials into perfect harmony with the *Secession Synod.* The natural and seemly consequence was reached when, on 10th July 1840, the two Presbyterian Synods, after a separate existence of one hundred years, united their forces and formed the *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.* From the Secession side came 141 congregations, and from the Synod of Ulster 292. Seldom has an ecclesiastical union been so heartily consummated, and never with happier results. The isolated congregations in the South and East of Ireland, which formed the *Synod of Munster*, in turn caught the contagion, and when in 1854 they too united with the strong Church of the North, the *Irish Presbyterian Church* had gained at last the recognised position, and much of the power in the land, which but for oppression should have been hers two centuries before.

8. **Recent Progress.**—From that date the record of the Church has been one of rapid growth and steady development, alike in membership, in wealth, and in all good works. No sooner was the Union of 1840 accomplished than *Foreign Mission* work was taken up, India being the field first chosen. A mission to the Jews was added later, and under the devoted leadership of the late *Dr. Fleming Stevenson* the foreign work was steadily developed. But it has been by her labours in the *Home* country that the Irish Church has gained her brightest laurels. No longer is it necessary for her students to proceed to Scotland for their training. The *Magee College*

at Londonderry, the product of a princely legacy from the widow of a minister of the Church, and the *Assembly's College* at Belfast, supply a training as excellent as Scotland can bestow. The *Orphan Society*, one of the many agencies originated and successfully worked by the late Dr. Johnston, cares for 3000 orphan children, at an annual cost of £10,000. The *Connaught Irish Schools*, organised by the late Dr. Edgar, have educated 40,000 children of the poor, and the *Irish Mission* of Dr. Hamilton Magee strives effectually to disseminate Protestant truth throughout the land. To the general progress a rude shock was given in 1869, when, along with the disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church, there took place the abolition of the Presbyterian *Regium Donum.* But no serious injury was done. The commutation of life interests resulted in a capital fund of £587,735, which yields a yearly interest of £25,000. The *Regium Donum* had amounted yearly to £39,000, but the liberality of the Church has more than compensated for its withdrawal, the *Sustentation Fund*, voluntarily raised, bringing the income of the Church, for the payment of sustentation, up to £50,000. With this sum the Church maintains a staff of 645 ministers, whose ministry reaches nearly half a million souls. In her membership she almost equals the Episcopal Church, but in Ulster, the Presbyterian stronghold, she far exceeds it, and has been the main instrument in imparting to that northern province the religious tone which specially characterises it.

9. **Characteristic Features.**—As contrasted with the present-day Presbyterianism of Scotland, that of Ireland is distinguished by its thorough-going conservatism. The forward movements in Theology and Church Services, which in the Mother Church are accomplished facts, are in Ireland just beginning. Instrumental music in churches is being slowly introduced, and it was not until 1895 that the Assembly gave permission to congregations to add a Hymnal to their Psalm-book.

Two causes have contributed to this peculiarity. One has been the strong infusion of conservatism in theology and practice which the Church received by uniting with the Secession Synod in 1840. But almost equally important has been the ceasing of the practice of educating her ministers in Scotland. Contact with Scottish ways and thought has been thereby avoided (save in the case of the few students who still voluntarily cross the channel), and the peculiarities of the Church preserved. But though some sweetness and light may have thereby been forfeited, the rugged strength which has been maintained has been of far greater consequence. As a standing protest against Romanism, and a bracing influence on Irish Anglicanism, which through its contact with Presbyterianism has hitherto refrained from joining in the High Church Movement, the Irish Presbyterian Church is a strong tower to the Protestant cause, and as such merits and receives the admiration of every true Presbyterian.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND AND WALES

A. *The Presbyterian Church of England*

ENGLISH Presbyterianism in its present organised form is of recent origin. Little connection exists between it and the Presbyterianism which in the seventeenth century was so strongly represented in the Church of England as to have a fair prospect of becoming the ecclesiastical polity of the nation. The *Act of Uniformity*, which in 1662 drove 2000 English clergy from their livings, ended that hope, and under the chilling influences of civil persecution, social ostracism, and spiritual infidelity, Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century drooped and all but died. Isolated congregations remained throughout the country which were Presbyterian in name, but with a few bright exceptions they had adopted the Unitarian creed and the Congregational mode of government.

1. **Revival of Presbyterianism.**—It was not till the beginning of the present century that the dry bones began again to live. Increased Scottish immigration then resulted in the formation of not a few new Presbyterian congregations, while at the same period the general spread of Evangelical principles in all the Churches recalled some of the lapsed Presbyterian communities to their earlier and purer faith, and revived the hearts of those who had continued faithful. Presbyteries were formed, and in 1836 these united to form *The Presbyterian Synod of England, in connection with the Church of Scotland.* Unfortunately for the young Church, the great Secession of '43 came on apace, and, deeming it their

duty to take sides, the English Presbyterians in 1844 severed their connection with the National Scottish Church, and avowed hearty sympathy with the Free Church. A minority remained loyal, and constitute to-day the *Synod of the Scottish Church in England*, which numbers 14 ministers and 3600 communicants.

2. **Union.**—The severance from the Scottish Establishment, regrettable though it was, opened the way to a union with the numerous Presbyterian congregations throughout England, in connection with the Scottish *United Presbyterian Church;* and at Liverpool in 1876, by the consent of the U.P. Synod, this union was accomplished. Ninety-eight English congregations of the Synod joined the English Presbyterian Church and formed the *Presbyterian Church of England* of to-day. In the twenty years that have passed since then the Church has slowly but steadily developed both in home and foreign work. Her communicants have increased from 51,013 to 68,997, and are dispersed among 295 congregations, while an annual income of £230,000 is eloquent testimony to the excellence of organisation and heartiness of spirit pervading the Church. But of all the signs which point to increasing progress, none is more hopeful than the attention which the Church is bestowing on the training of her own ministry. It has long been a complaint that Scottish ministers filled too many of her pulpits, and thereby gave English Presbyterianism the name and character of an exotic; but by her Theological College, with its well-known staff—soon apparently to be transferred from London to Cambridge—she is doing her utmost to identify herself thoroughly with England and the English people.

B. *The Presbyterian Church of Wales*

1. **Origin.**—Alone of all the Presbyterian Churches of Britain, that of Wales owes nothing to Scotland. Both in her origin and development she is peculiarly Welsh. As an organised Church she is not yet a

century old, but the movement of which she was the outcome dates back to 1735, when the Church in Wales, which fully shared in the deadness of the period, was roused from her apathy by the voice of an earnest young preacher, *Howell Harris* of Trevecca, in Brecknockshire. Harris was a layman of the Church of England, and for a layman to presume to preach was then a strange heresy. To his friends he seemed beside himself, and a hasty despatch to Oxford was devised as a cure, but with no success. Returning to Trevecca, he resumed his preaching, with the result that a widespread revival took place over South Wales. Other like-minded apostles caught the flame: *Daniel Rowlands*, curate of Llangeitho, in the county of Cardigan; and *Howell Davies*, curate of Llysyfran, in Pembrokeshire. Whitefield, the great preacher who was then rousing England with his appeals, lent his aid to the movement, and, as one after another of the evangelically-disposed clergy of Wales avowed their sympathy, rapid headway was made. No breach was made with the Church of England, nor was any such desired. Like the Wesleyan movement in England, so was this of Wales a revival within the Church, and led by men devoted to the Church. The duty of receiving communion at the hands of Episcopally-ordained clergymen was distinctly enforced. *Societies* in the various parishes were, indeed, formed by those who sympathised with the movement, but they were spiritual, as contrasted with ecclesiastical, in their aims—for the growth in grace of the members, not for the forming of a new organisation. Similar movements arising in the Church to-day are welcomed as additional forces for good, but on the English Church of the eighteenth century a fatal blindness rested, and both in England and in Wales the apostles of the new life were persistently opposed. Fines and imprisonment were the penalties for frequenting conventicles; stoning and maltreating the conventiclers was winked at by the authorities; and thus slowly but surely the links of attachment to the Church of England were snapped asunder.

2. **Formation of the Church.**—In 1811 the decisive step was taken. An unusually rapid growth of the "Societies" in the opening year of the century had revealed the great need of evangelical clergy in the Principality. The Bishops either would not or could not help in supplying the need, and thus by the logic of circumstances the leaders of the movement were forced back to the Scriptural method of *Ordination by Presbyters.* Under the guidance of the *Rev. Thomas Charles* of Bala, who had been driven from the Establishment because of his pronounced Evangelicalism, the decisive resolution was adopted, and in 1811 there were ordained, by the laying on of the hands of the Presbyters, eight workers at Bala and thirteen at Llandilo. The spiritual movement within the Church had become itself a Church. The Rubicon once passed, the *Calvinistic Methodist Connection*, as the new organisation was termed, settled down to steady work. At first it was little more than a union of evangelical Christians with no ecclesiastical status, but when it proceeded to formulate a creed and constitution it was found that they were distinctly Calvinistic and Presbyterian. The "Societies" easily shaded off into *Presbyteries*, the associations of societies into two *Synods*, and in 1864 the final touch was given by the formation of a *General Assembly* for all Wales. The perfecting of the constitution has been accompanied by a steady development of all the apparatus which ministers to a Church's life and testifies to a Church's activity. Two colleges for the training of the ministry have been working for half a century in Bala and Trevecca, while Home Mission work and Foreign Missions in Assam have been steadily maintained.

3. **Present Position.** — As contrasted with the Established Church, the strength of the Welsh Presbyterian Church has lain in her peculiarly national character. Welsh in her origin, she has remained Welsh throughout her history. Her ministers are Welshmen born and bred, sons of the people, speaking their tongue and knowing their ways. It is little wonder that, with these

strong claims on the national affection, the Presbyterian Church of Wales has made such marvellous progress. Her adherents, as reported to the General Assembly in 1895, number 306,669, while her total contributions of £230,000 for the year point to a vigorous life and a hopeful future. Hitherto she has lived in isolation from the other Presbyterian Churches of Britain, but of late years there have been signs of a longing for closer fellowship with the Sister Church in England. The holding of the Welsh General Assembly in London in 1895 may perhaps be taken as evidence that a federation, if not a union, of the Churches is one of the possibilities of the future.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO pass from the Presbyterianism of Europe to that of America and the Colonies is to enter on the third stage in the extension of the Presbyterian Church. A changed atmosphere surrounds us. New circumstances create new difficulties and result in new developments. No longer do we meet with thrilling records of martyrdoms for the faith or bloody battles for religious freedom. In their place we find accounts, less stirring but no less important, of the slow building up of congregations in the midst of poverty, and the gradual formation of a Constitution, in the face of petty and harassing, but not deadly, opposition. Poetry has given place to prose. Corresponding with this change is the change in the nature of the victory. It is now the victory of a great principle as contrasted with the triumphs of great leaders. The merits of *Presbyterianism*, rather than the strong personality of prominent *Presbyters*, win the day. Not so was it on the Continent, neither was it so in Scotland. In a very real sense Calvin, Knox, and Melville were the makers of the Presbyterian churches there. But in the trans-oceanic development, though great leaders have not been wanting, their name and fame has been overshadowed by the name and fame of the churches they helped to establish.

A third notable feature in this last phase of Presbyterian expansion is a certain many-sidedness growing out of its affiliations with almost every centre of Calvinistic reform in Europe. Though the largest church bearing the Presbyterian name is of Scottish origin,

and has followed Scottish ideas and patterns, Holland, France, and Germany have contributed large contingents both of numbers and formative influences. When the time comes for the union of its different branches, American Presbyterianism will incorporate the fruits of the thought and feeling of many peoples and lands.

There are at present in the United States of America thirteen organisations of the Presbyterian and Reformed order holding to the Calvinistic system of doctrine. They may be divided into three general classes: first, those which sprang into existence independently on American soil; second, those that were planted as branches of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and continued for some time in organic connection with these churches; and, third, those which were organised as branches of the Scottish churches, and were long in affiliation with their Scottish parent churches.

Of these the first to enter the continent in order of time was the Dutch Reformed. Next came the Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterian population, which, combining with the Presbyterian element within English Puritanism that had found its way into New England, sprang into the strictly so-called Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Following, after an interval of half a century, came the German Reformed Church, and contemporaneously with this the representatives of the dissenting bodies of Scotland obtained a foothold, and later amalgamated in the United Presbyterian Assembly. In the order of influence and strength, the first place is conceded by all to that church which is known as the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. With this, therefore, we shall begin our more particular account of these bodies.

I. The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

1. Introduction of Presbyterianism into America.—If we take the period between the years

1492 and 1600 to constitute the age of exploration in America, and the period between 1600 and 1776 to constitute the age of colonisation, it will be clear that this latter period begins with the introduction of English Episcopacy into the continent. The Cavaliers were Established Church men, and they settled the Virginia colony as early as 1607. Next to Episcopacy came Independency, after an interval of about fifteen years (1620). Yet both the Episcopalian Cavaliers and the Independent Puritans brought over complete church organisations from across the waters; but to the Presbyterians of Holland belongs the honour of having first organised a Christian church on American soil. This memorable event took place in New Amsterdam in 1628, under the leadership of Jonas Michaelius. But not even this church was destined to remain independent of European connections very long. It was put into organic affiliation with the Synod of North Holland. To the Scotch and Scotch-Irish was to come the credit of planting and maintaining the Presbyterian Church of America. And yet it must not be forgotten that a certain kind and amount of preparation had been made for this work by the English Puritans, who settled New England between 1625 and 1650. There were many Presbyterians among these, and though in the main they were won over to Independency, they did not fail to leave their mark on the Congregationalism of the succeeding period. Some of them, too, successfully resisted the influence of Independency and managed to establish churches in Connecticut and Long Island upon a distinctively Presbyterian basis. That they did not achieve the organisation of a general Presbyterian Church, as distinguished from mere Presbyterian congregations, was due to the absence, on the one hand, of a large number of colonists who decidedly preferred the Presbyterian form, and on the other of an aggressive organising mind to bring together and make the most of the materials at hand. It was from Scotland and the north of Ireland that these two requisites were introduced.

2. **Emigration from Scotland and Ireland.**—To these two Presbyterian centres the return of the Stuarts, in 1660, had brought persecution, and large numbers of their residents had to seek freedom to worship God by crossing the Atlantic. In Scotland the authorities were so glad to get rid of their stubborn subjects that they aided their departure, and from 1660 to 1688 a steady stream of emigration flowed westward; not in twos and threes, but in compact bands of hundreds they went; in some cases proprietors were accompanied by their tenants, in others ministers with their flocks. And yet this emigration did not reach a definite and limited spot on the western side of the Atlantic. It was not an insignificant emigration, indeed, either in the number of emigrants it brought in, or in the strength and vigour of its influence; but, unlike the Puritan, Cavalier, and Quaker emigrations, which kept together, the Scotch-Irish scattered and covered a vast area of territory. It followed in the main a southwesterly direction from Pennsylvania and Delaware into Maryland, Western Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. In the long run the total number of emigrants and their descendants from Ulster far outnumbered their kinsmen who stayed at home. With this stream, in the course of time, the New England Presbyterian element naturally united. Men like Francis Doughty and Richard Denton, who, to maintain their Presbyterianism, had moved into the more congenial atmosphere of the Dutch settlements on Long Island and New Netherlands, naturally found themselves ecclesiastically in their own element among the Scotch and Scotch-Irish. There were also men like Matthew Hill, an English Presbyterian, who took charge of a congregation in Maryland about 1670. Thus, toward the closing years of the seventeenth century the Presbyterian element grew strong enough to suggest the feasibility of organisation. In 1682 William Traill, and in 1683 Francis Makemie, came to minister to the congregations of Scotch-Irish origin scattered through Maryland and Delaware.

3. **Formation of the First Presbytery.**—Francis Makemie, who was destined to become the founder of the great American Presbyterian Church, was a graduate of Glasgow University, and a licentiate of the Presbytery of Laggan. He was put by that Presbytery at the head of a company of emigrants to America. On his arrival he gave himself to the work of an evangelist, engaging at the same time in such secular employments as brought him an ample support and built him a comfortable estate. His travels soon made him acquainted with the true extent and spread of Presbyterianism. His keen insight revealed to him the necessity of organisation, while the intolerance of the Episcopalians, which he personally experienced shortly after his arrival,—being fined and imprisoned in New York for preaching the gospel,—only helped to whet his sense of the need of combination of forces on the part of Presbyterians. In 1699 he was called to the pastorate of the church at Snow Hill, Md. From this position he bent his energies to the work of bringing together his brethren of the same faith; and in consequence of his energetic efforts these churches were organised into a Presbytery in Philadelphia in 1705 or 1706 (the exact date remains doubtful, owing to the loss of the first page of the records). The effect of organisation soon became apparent; progress was phenomenally rapid. Presbyterians from Scotland and Ireland, as they came into the New World, were met by a living church. Instead of being scattered and absorbed by the Independents, or other Christian bodies, they joined the congregations of their own order. With some aid from the Synod of Glasgow, and with the sympathy of Principal Stirling of the University of Glasgow, the colonial church made tremendous strides forward.

4. **The Synod of Philadelphia.**—The Presbytery organised in 1705 or 1706 never calls itself by a local name. It has been rightly suggested that it was a General Presbytery, but whether general or local, it blossomed in 1716 into four Presbyteries, and, carrying out the Presbyterian idea, a higher court was established,

to unify these four, in the Synod of Philadelphia. At its organisation the Synod was made up of all the ministers, with one elder from each church. In 1724 it was found necessary to substitute the principle of delegation for this arrangement. It was ordered that each Presbytery should designate half its membership to represent it at the session of the Synod for two successive years, while the third year all should attend; but experience proved this arrangement cumbersome and undesirable, and after two years of trial the "full Synod" was restored.

5. **The Adoption of the Westminster Standards.**—The next step forward in realising the idea of Presbyterianism was the adoption, or elaboration, of an organic law or constitution. The church had been governed by the principles recognised in Scotland and Ireland, but these principles had not as yet been formally declared to be its organic law. It was simply a tacit understanding that gave them authority. The occasion for the crystallisation of this law was the entrance into the ministry of men whose orthodoxy was not vouched for, except by the fact of their being in the ministry in the old country. The experience of the Scotch and Irish churches was, no doubt, taken as a basis of action in this particular. The Scotch church, in 1690, and the Irish church, in 1698, enacted a requirement of subscription to the Westminster Standards. In the Synod of Ulster the enactment, which was at first made to apply only to candidates for licensure, was repeated, and its application widened so as to include all ministers. It was done mainly as a safeguard against certain tendencies toward Arianism, Pelagianism, and Arminianism. In the American church the Presbytery of Newcastle began to require subscription as early as 1724. The movement to make the requirement of subscription universal was initiated in this Presbytery. John Thompson, one of its members, overtured the Synod of Philadelphia to take this step in 1727. The Presbytery itself repeated the overture the following year, and, after careful debate, it was enacted, in 1729: "All ministers of this Synod, or

that shall be hereafter admitted to this Synod, shall declare their agreement in, and their approbation of, the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as being in all essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words and systems of doctrine, and do also adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the confession of our faith. . . . And in case any minister of this Synod, or any candidate for the ministry, shall have scruples with respect to any article or articles of said Confession or Catechisms, he shall at the time of making such declaration declare his sentiments to the Presbytery or the Synod, who shall, notwithstanding, admit him to the exercise of the ministry within our bounds, and to ministerial communion, if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge his scruples or mistake to be about articles not essential and necessary in doctrine, worship, or government." This has been called the Adopting Act of 1729.

But though this Adopting Act incorporates the broad principle of the recognition of scruples, providing that such scruples, if not touching the essential and necessary articles of faith, shall not stand in the way of the candidate's admission, as a matter of fact all scruples entertained at the time referred to some clauses of Chapters XX and XXIV of the Confession, treating of the power of civil magistrates in matters of religion. The discussions leading to the Adopting Act brought to the front the great leader and theologian, Jonathan Dickinson, and also the existence of a line of distinction between the New England and the Scotch and Scotch-Irish elements in the church. It pointed to the ultimate development, under the coöperating influences just named, of a new type of Presbyterianism, which, while retaining its historic connection with its original stock in Great Britain, should be more flexible and adapted to the new country and the new conditions of its environment.

6. **The Synod, from 1729 to 1741—The Great Awakening.**—During the twelve years following the

Adopting Act, another great wave of growth flooded the church. Besides accessions by immigration, this period witnessed a great influx, due to a revival of religion that has been called the "Great Awakening." This movement was simultaneous with the great Methodist revival, led by Wesley and Whitefield, in England, and related to it, but was not the outgrowth or sequel of it. It originated independently, and antedated the Methodist movement by a few years. It arose out of the "awakening" preaching of Jacob Frelinghuysen, pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church at Raritan, N. J., and spread through the whole country, finding many prominent promoters, among them Jonathan Edwards in New England, and George Whitefield, who visited the country in 1739, and held vast audiences spellbound by the magic of his oratory. Within the Presbyterian Church the exponents of this movement were the Tennents, of New Jersey. It is in connection with the ministry of the Tennents that the revival introduced certain new conditions into the church. First of all, the evangelistic style of preaching came into favour, and being somewhat different from that which had hitherto prevailed, produced some friction in the ministry. Those who adopted it developed a tendency to look down upon their brethren of the older style as inefficient, therefore lacking the blessing of God and unconverted. They denounced them as such, refusing to recognise their ministerial character, and invaded their parishes, holding services in them. Expressing the views of the newer and more aggressive men, Gilbert Tennent preached the famous sermon at Nottingham, Pa., on "An Unconverted Ministry" (1740), which agitated the church to its depths. Besides creating this line of division in the ministry, the Awakening so far increased the numbers of those needing spiritual ministration that the question of removing or modifying the educational qualifications for entrance into the pastoral office was brought forward. William Tennent, father of Gilbert, had come from Dublin in 1727, and established at Neshaminy, Pa., an

institution for the training of Presbyterian ministers, which became famous as the "Log College." Hitherto Presbyterians had required of all candidates for licensure graduation at some British university or American college, such as Harvard or Yale. It was now proposed to admit others than those possessing this qualification, especially pupils of the Log College.

7. **The Disruption of 1741.**—Upon these issues the division in sentiment daily increased until it reached a crisis in 1741. At the meeting of Synod that year the majority of the Synod agreed to a "protestation," in which they accused the party represented by the Tennents, constituted mainly of the ministers of the New Brunswick Presbytery, as subverting synodical discipline, encouraging arrogance, entertaining and passing censorious judgments on their brethren, dividing congregations against themselves, and alienating them from their established pastors. Upon the acceptance of this "protestation" by the majority, the New Brunswick Presbytery withdrew. Efforts were made, indeed, to heal the breach before it grew more serious, but they proved unavailing. The Presbytery of New Brunswick, joined by that of New York, formed the Synod of New York in 1745. Thus there were two separate churches, represented by the Synod of Philadelphia, which was called the "Old Side," or "Old Lights," and the Synod of New York, called the "New Side," or "New Lights." When the New Side withdrew from the Synod of Philadelphia, that Synod altered the terms of subscription to the Standards, making such subscription unconditional, and allowing no statement of "scruples" for Synod or Presbytery to pass upon, as was provided by the terms of the Adopting Act of 1729.

8. **The Reunion of 1758.**—From 1741 to 1758 the two Synods acted separately. The New Side was the more aggressive of the two, and grew much more rapidly. Its twenty-two ministers of 1745 became seventy-two in 1758. The causes of this growth were undoubtedly, first of all, its use of the evangelistic method,

and, secondly, the foundation of a college, enabling it to put a large number of ministers into the field. A charter was secured for such an institution in 1746, and Jonathan Dickinson was put at the head of it, and in order that he might not leave his pastorate the college was located in his parish, Elizabethtown, N. J. Upon his death, in 1747, it was removed to Newark, to be under the direction of Aaron Burr. But in 1755, endowments having been secured, and a grant of real estate from the borough of Princeton, N. J., the college as well as its president were removed to that town.

It was during this period, also, that the church awoke to the need of missionary work among the native Indians. David Brainerd established himself at the Forks of the Delaware, and in a brief ministry of less than four years started activities which issued in the conversion of a great number. His brother John succeeded him, and though with less energy, faithfully continued his labours until his death in 1781. Elihu Spencer also worked among the Indians of the Oneida tribe from 1748 to 1750; and Samson Occam, a Connecticut Mohegan, was ordained by the Presbytery of Suffolk to evangelise his own people.

The division in Presbyterianism was not destined to last long. Much of the feeling characterising the discussion that led to it was soon spent, and overtures looking to a reunion were opened as early as 1749 by the Synod of New York. The negotiations were, however, slow and prolonged, and the complete understanding that led to the reunion did not come until 1758. The terms of the reunion were that subscription should be as the Synod of Philadelphia had ordered—unconditional; that intrusion into the parishes of established pastors should be forbidden; and that candidates for the ministry should be examined in experimental religion as well as in learning and orthodoxy. The name adopted was the Synod of New York and Philadelphia.

9. **The Reunited Synod, 1758-75.**—The seventeen years following the reunion were marked only by

moderate progress. The work of the church was hindered by the political distractions and excitement of those days. Public opinion was in a state of ferment. The relation of the Colonies to the mother country was the burning question. The Presbyterians were universally in favour of a separation. The continued sovereignty of England meant to them a source of power to Episcopacy and a menace to their own freedom. Everywhere they took the lead in the movement for independence. Many of their ministers and elders were found active in the provincial conventions or legislatures, and took prominent part in bringing matters to a crisis. The most eminent of these was, without doubt, John Witherspoon, a lineal descendant of John Knox, who came over to take the presidency of Princeton College in 1768. Sent by the Provincial Congress of New Jersey to the Continental Convention, he became one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was characterised by his staunch loyalty to General Washington when others seemed ready to desert, and even assail, this leader. Nevertheless, both preceding and during the Revolutionary War the influences were adverse to church life in all its departments. Regular church work was next to impossible; the support of the ministry became very difficult; church buildings were seized and used as barracks or stables. For several years Princeton College was closed. Presbyteries and Synods were thinly attended. The evil was aggravated by the introduction of French thought, through the means of the French officers that came to serve in the Revolutionary army. The deism of Voltaire, with its frivolity, was acclimated in the country, and proved detrimental to spiritual life. Yet these conditions only tested the mettle of staunch men, and developed the heroism which perpetuated the life of the church until the war was over and the national period began.

10. **The Organisation of the General Assembly, 1789**.—When the church had sufficiently recovered from the effects of the Revolutionary War, it began to realise

the necessity of entering on a new state of organisation —the national. The movement in this direction first took the form of an effort to consolidate on a large scale the Calvinistic, or Reformed, churches into a confederation. The Synod entered into correspondence with the Dutch Reformed and the Associate Reformed Synods. A conference was held in 1785, but led to no permanent result. In the Synod's session of 1786 a plan was proposed involving the erection of a delegated General Assembly, and the subdivision of the Synod into four Synods. This was submitted to the Presbyteries, for information, with instructions that they should "report their observations in writing" to the session of 1787. The plan was adopted by the Synod acting alone in 1788. At the same time, by a new Adopting Act, the Westminster Standards were declared to be the constitution of the church, and subscription to them by office-bearers was required unconditionally. In 1789 the first General Assembly met, and the church attained its national stage of organisation.

11. **The Revival of 1800.**—Everything now pointed to a vast growth. New regions were being daily opened for immigration west of the Alleghanies, and population was pouring into them. The disturbances of the war being over, men's minds were naturally all the more susceptible to the influences of religion. A natural reaction from the low ebb of spiritual life led to a new revival in 1800, which resembled in many respects that of 1739, and swept over the country, bringing large numbers into the church. This rapid and large growth issued in two directions: first, in reopening the question of an educated ministry; and, second, in suggesting coöperation with other Christian bodies.

The question of an educated ministry emerged in the Southwest. The revival here was most profoundly felt. The need for more ministers became apparent, and the Presbytery of Transylvania and that of Cumberland licensed several young men who had not had the education prescribed by the rules of the church, and who,

possibly on that account, could not give an unqualified assent to the teachings of the Westminster Standards with respect to the doctrines of election and perseverance. The minority of the Cumberland Presbytery protested against this action. The case went to the Synod of Kentucky, and was by that body referred to a commission for settlement. The commission suspended the majority of the members of Presbytery, and disqualified all its licentiates. Instead of carrying the matter to the General Assembly for final adjudication, the Presbytery of Cumberland allowed it to go by default, and later (1810) organised itself into an independent church.

12. **The Plan of Union.**—But if the growth of these years led to this disruption on the one hand, it was the means of an effort at union on the other. It was felt that forms of evangelicalism as nearly allied as Presbyterianism and Congregationalism would be wasting strength in entering the newly settled West as rivals, or even independently. Their combined influence was needed to save the new population to evangelical religion. A Plan of Union was accordingly devised and adopted by the Congregational Association of Connecticut, and by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1801. This plan provided that churches of either denomination might call pastors from the other. The pastors thus chosen were still generally amenable to the jurisdiction of the courts of their original denomination; but in cases of dispute the appeal might be taken, according to the option of the parties, either to the Presbytery to which the minister, if a Presbyterian, might belong, to a council composed of equal numbers from each denomination, or to the Association to which the minister, if a Congregationalist, might belong. This plan, though put forth in the interests of both denominations concerned, was not satisfactory to either. As far as it affected Presbyterianism it resulted in a vast increase in membership, but in a relaxation both of doctrine and

discipline and polity. It was most felt on the latter point. A large number of ministers were enrolled as Presbyterians who had little knowledge and less sympathy with distinctively Presbyterian principles. The principle of direct control of the home mission work by the church was necessarily set aside for that of control by agencies outside the jurisdiction of the church. In the matter of doctrine, a form of Calvinism known as Hopkinsianism was at the time prevalent in New England. Many of the ministers who were allowed by the terms of the Plan of Union to take charge of Presbyterian churches were supposed to be tainted with this form of belief. Grave fears began to disturb the more conservative element in the church. On the other hand, a new school of thought developed, favouring a comprehensive and free interpretation of the Standards.

13. **The Schism of 1837-38.**—Feeling ran high, and ecclesiastical trials were instituted against Lyman Beecher and Albert Barnes. The case of Mr. Barnes was protracted from 1830 to 1836, passing from one form to another, and though decided in favour of the New-School side, led to further debates, and ultimately to the disruption of 1838. The Plan of Union was abrogated in that year, and on the assumption that this action was retroactive, the Synods and Presbyteries organised under the arrangement were exscinded. The boards of foreign missions, of domestic missions, and of education were organised, and the organisation of the Old-School church was otherwise completed in detail. The New-School church was organised in 1838, with every effort to conform to the strict ecclesiastical law. Ten hundred and ninety-three ministers, 1260 churches, and 106,000 communicant members followed with this school; while 1615 ministers, 1673 churches, and 126,000 communicants remained in the Old-School church.

14. **The Secession of the Southern Church.**—The disruption of 1838 lasted until 1870. During this interval both Old- and New-School churches pressed on

with their work. New questions emerged in the sphere of each, especially their attitude toward slavery. The importance of this issue was seen by some even before the rupture; but it became the burning question in the church only as it assumed the first place in the political field. The New-School church was prompt to take radical action on the matter, in consequence of which, in 1854, 6 Synods, 21 Presbyteries, and 15,000 communicants, living in the Southern States, seceded and formed the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church. The Old-School Assembly also, though more slowly, ultimately came to condemn slavery. Partly in consequence of this action, but more because of the anticipated division of the nation into two, and because of adherence to the principle that "each nation should contain a separate and independent church,"[1] the Presbyterian Church of the Confederate States was organised in 1861. In 1864 the United Synod joined this body, to constitute the Presbyterian Church in the United States, a title finally adopted after the collapse of the Confederate States.

15. **The Reunion of 1870.**—Soon after the secession of the Southern Presbyteries and Synods, the spirit of reunion began to work in the North. As early as 1863, a "friendly interchange of commissioners" between the Old- and New-School Assemblies was entered into. The movement thus inaugurated could not rest until, in 1869, the two Assemblies met in Pittsburg, and declared the union agreed to by the Presbyteries, and the General Assembly of the reunited church was convened to meet in Philadelphia in 1870. The reunion was effected upon the broad basis of the "Standards pure and simple." Neither party was called upon to retract any utterance or sacrifice any principle it represented. The Synods and Presbyteries were naturally reconstructed so as to avoid duplication and waste of effort, and a fund of $7,607,-

1 Address by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, to all the Churches of Jesus Christ through the Earth, etc., prepared by J. H. Thornwell, and unanimously adopted at Augusta, Ga., December, 1861.

491.91 was raised to commemorate the event, and the reunited church resumed its work with new vigour. Yet even during the schism the church had shown remarkable vitality and growth. In spite of the defection of the Southern branch, it enrolled, when reconstructed, 35 Synods, 167 Presbyteries, 4238 ministers, 4526 churches, and nearly 450,000 communicants.

16. **Intellectual Life of the Church.**—It was during the period of the division that the greatest intellectual and missionary activity was developed. Until 1837 the Presbyterian Church had many good preachers, but no scholars or theologians of towering prominence, with the exception of Jonathan Edwards. Since that period she has given Christendom men like Edward Robinson, whose "Biblical Researches in Palestine" mark an epoch in Biblical geography and exploration; J. Addison Alexander, a scholar of the first rank in everything he touched; Charles Hodge and Henry B. Smith, peers in systematic theology, not to be compared with one another, because they represent the two sides of their department,—the former the Biblical foundation and the latter the philosophical method,—but peerless outside; Robert J. Breckinridge and J. H. Thornwell, men of affairs and theological thinkers at the same time; besides Drs. Schaff and McCosh, who, though claiming American Presbyterianism only as an adopted mother, gave to it their most distinguished services. The educational system of the church has also expanded during these years; besides Princeton, twelve other colleges had been planted in the country before the schism, under Presbyterian control. To these nineteen have been added since. Of theological seminaries that at Princeton dates from 1812; Auburn was established in 1819; Western (Allegheny), in 1827; Lane, in 1829; McCormick, in 1830, at Hanover, Ind. (removed to New Albany in 1840, and to Chicago, its present home, in 1859); Danville, in 1853; Union, N. Y., was established as an independent institution in 1836; San Francisco was opened in 1871, and Omaha in 1891. Two theological institutions

have been founded for the training of German ministers—one in Dubuque (1852), and one in Newark (1869); and two for the education of ministers for the freedmen—Biddle University (1868) and Lincoln University (1871).

17. **Missionary Activity.**—During the first part of the century the church adopted the system of boards, through which it has since administered its benevolences; although as early as 1831 the Rev. J. H. Rice, of Virginia, broached the idea that "the church was a missionary society, and every member of the church is a member for life of the said society." The first board organised was that of Home Missions, in 1816. During its existence it has raised and expended about twenty million dollars. Thus, as the great country west of the Alleghanies, then west of the Mississippi, and, finally, west of the Rockies, was opened up, this board stood ready to plant Presbyterianism in it. The Board of Foreign Missions is the offspring and successor of the Western Home Missionary Society, organised by the Synod of Pittsburg in October, 1831. At that date the main work of foreign missions was still being carried on by Presbyterians in conjunction with Congregationalists, through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. When the Old- and New-School churches separated, the New School continued to work together with the Congregationalists; but the Old School adopted the Western Missionary Society, and converted it into a board of the whole church. The first report of the board, in 1838, showed 15 missionaries, 23 assistants, and $45,498 of receipts. With the strength added to the cause by the reunion, the board has raised and spent over $20,000,000, and its report for 1897 shows 708 missionaries, 1802 assistants, and $959,774.57 raised.

In addition to these two great boards others have been erected, such as the Board of Education, intended to aid young men for the ministry, in 1819; that of Publication, to distribute Christian literature and extend the Sabbath-school system of the church into destitute regions; that

of Church Erection, to aid congregations in securing suitable places of worship; that of Ministerial Relief, to provide for the aged and infirm servants of the church, and for their widows and orphans; that of Freedmen, for the support of the gospel among the destitute freedmen of the South; and that of Aid for Colleges and Academies, to assist struggling institutions in the newer regions of the land. The present strength of the church is represented in the following statistics: Synods, 32; Presbyteries, 229; ministers, 7129; churches, 7631; communicants, 960,911.

II. Other Presbyterian Churches of American Origin

1. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church.—It was not the intention of those who organised the Cumberland Presbytery, after its disciplinary dissolution by the Synod of Kentucky, to found a new denomination. They hoped to carry on Christian work independently, as a Presbytery in the Presbyterian Church, and some time in the future they thought they might be taken into connection with the church again. They were zealous, and their evangelistic methods proved effective. Within three years after the reorganisation of the Cumberland Presbytery, it was found necessary to form a Synod, and fifteen years later a General Assembly. Though originating in the movement to relax the qualification of education for entrance into the ministry, the denomination has worked around to the old position of high ideals. It has founded and maintains academies, colleges, and universities, and a theological seminary at Lebanon, Tenn. They adopted in 1814 a doctrinal platform explanatory of the Westminster Standards, toning down, and, as some think, eliminating Calvinism out of them, and in 1883 adopted a new Confession of Faith, carrying out the sentiment of the explanatory statement of 1814.

Like all the other evangelical bodies it was agitated

by the Civil War, and had to confront the question of the treatment of freedmen. A desire having been expressed among these for an independent church, such a church was organised in 1869, and has in its connection 20 Presbyteries and 15,000 communicants. The Cumberland Church itself numbers 126 Presbyteries, 1571 ministers, 2915 churches, and 175,642 communicants.

2. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.—This is the name of the church which arose, in 1861, out of the differences in the Old-School Presbyterian body as to slavery. The occasion of the separation of this branch has already been stated to have been the expectation on the part of its leaders that the Confederate States would soon be an independent nation, and the belief in the principle that each nation should have its own national church. With this was always associated in the minds of the leaders the radical difference between their own views and those of their brethren of the Northern States as to the scope and function of the church in civil and secular affairs. They held that the body of Christ is spiritual, and must not intermeddle in purely secular matters, such as they regarded the slavery question to be. When the hope of a separate nation of Confederate States was given up, the church planted itself squarely upon this idea, and has persisted in regarding the Northern branch as derelict to this fundamental conception of the body of Christ. The ante-bellum declarations on slavery it denounces as an interference in political matters, therefore as sinful. During the thirty-six years of its existence it has rigorously pushed its work in the territory naturally belonging to it. It carried with it two theological seminaries at the time of the secession: Union Seminary, at Hampden-Sidney, Va. (founded in 1824), and Columbia Seminary, in Columbia, S. C. (founded in 1828); to these it has added a third at Louisville, Ky., in 1891. Besides, it has fostered the policy of distinct schools in connection with universities, of which it now possesses one as a department of the Southwestern Presbyterian University, in Clarksville, Tenn. (founded

in 1885), and one in connection with the University of Texas, at Austin,—Austin School of Theology,—founded in 1884 by the Rev. Dr. R. L. Dabney. This church has further reverted to the principle of administering its benevolences and missionary work through committees rather than by corporate boards. Its strength is represented by the following statistics: Synods (?), Presbyteries, 75; ministers, 1393; churches, 2816; communicants, 211,694.

III. Churches of Continental Origin

1. The (Dutch) Reformed Church in America.—(1) **Origin.**—This church was an offshoot from the Reformed Church of Holland, and was introduced into the western continent as a consequence of the explorations of Hudson, under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company. The country opened up by Hudson was an inviting field for commercial enterprise, and the Company, having bought the island of Manhattan from the Indians for twenty-four dollars, renamed it New Amsterdam, and settled it with traders. It was here that, in 1628, the first strictly American church was organised, with Jonas Michaelius as its pastor; and from that year until 1664 other churches to the number of thirteen were planted in quick succession, to supply the increasing membership of the settlement. The Church of Holland very wisely, as well as in the spirit of aggressiveness and Christian liberality, encouraged the expansion of this work by sending ministers and money to it.

(2) **Struggle for Independence under English Rule.**—In 1664 the city and colony of New Amsterdam were wrested from the East India Company by the English government. The city was renamed New York, and put under British control. The Reformed Church was allowed to exist as a body of dissent, but its further extension was made illegal. Immigrants from Holland no longer found it congenial to settle here, and some that had already made their homes in the colony removed to

the Carolinas. The position of the church was reduced to a very anomalous one as an ecclesiastical organisation in connection with Holland, whose membership and ministry held allegiance to the British king. Its life now depended on its ability to prevent the establishment of the Episcopal Church in the colony. As its membership constituted the great bulk of the population, this was not a difficult undertaking, and yet, without legal action and contrary to the facts, the governor at one time declared that such establishment did exist. In 1673 the Dutch reconquered New York, but were able to hold it only for a brief year. From 1674 to the closing years of that century its efforts centred about the prevention of such legislation in the colony as might make the claim of establishment an effective act of tyranny. To put the church beyond the power of Episcopacy, a charter was sought for and secured, in 1696, for the First Church of New York from William III., and thus independence was firmly established.

(3) **Separation from Holland.**—The next step was to cut loose from the Church of Holland. Even during the period of its struggle with Episcopacy the Reformed Church had grown. Her 13 churches of 1664 had become, at the end of the seventeenth century, 34, and, in 1737, 65. But her affiliation with the Church of Holland prevented the use of the most effective means for further progress; the quickest and most healthful advance could only come by establishing an American ecclesiastical court to administer authority on local matters. As it was, there was no authority even to ordain ministers on this side of the Atlantic; and the journey across to Holland was long, tedious, expensive, and dangerous. Moreover, the bond between Holland and the colony was growing weaker, owing to the passage of the latter under English rule. These facts were forced before the attention of the Reformed churches in America, and a petition was sent to the Classis of Amsterdam, with which these churches were in affiliation, for a meeting to consider the establishment of a Coetus for the American churches.

After some delay this was granted, and, all attempts to unite the churches with the Presbyterian Church having meantime failed of their aim, the Coetus was organised in 1747.

(4) **Fuller Organisation.**—The Coetus was an association of the ministers, with little authority. It was only in subordinate and unessential matters that a decisive voice was given it. The arrangement was soon found inadequate and unsatisfactory. The full organisation of Classes and a Synod was, however, delayed, owing to some dissentions in New York as to the foundation of a college. Nevertheless, the Coetus assumed the functions of a Classis in 1754. Meanwhile, toward the end of the eighteenth century the English language began to displace the Dutch in services of worship, and the number of churches grew to about one hundred. The time seemed to have arrived for the formation of a Synod. The original Classis was divided into five Classes (New York, Albany, New Brunswick, Kingston, Hackensack), under one Provisional Synod. This was changed, in 1794, to a General Synod, and this body again was divided into two Particular Synods (Albany and New York), thus completing the organisation of the church in 1800. Two newer Particular Synods have been formed since, those of Chicago (in 1856) and of New Brunswick (in 1869), but no new principle of church life was involved in these additions.

(5) **Education.**—The Reformed Church claims the earliest theological seminary in the country. Dr. J. H. Livingston, who has had much to do in determining the thought of the church, was appointed Professor of Theology in 1784; he taught in New York and at Flatbush, Long Island. Other professors were appointed to teach in other parts of the country; but these were concentrated, in 1810, in New Brunswick. Here Rutgers College was planted at the same time, as a sequel to efforts whose origin dates back to 1756. Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., was founded in 1795, and Hope College, Holland, Mich., with the Western Theo-

logical Seminary, in 1866. The Reformed Church numbers 4 Synods, 34 Classes, 605 churches, 636 ministers, and 102,631 communicants.

(6) **The Christian Reformed Church.**—Ever since 1822 there has been in the United States an organisation allied and affiliated in general with the Reformed Church, but not recognising its jurisdiction. The original nucleus of this church consisted of five ministers, who seceded, in 1822, on account of Hopkinsian errors of doctrine and looseness of discipline. The disruption which occurred in the Church of Holland in 1837, and resulted in the formation of the Christian Reformed Church (p. 53), led to the transplanting of a branch of the seceding body into Michigan. Another secession, on the ground of the refusal of the General Synod to condemn Freemasonry, took place in 1882. The three elements have existed, since 1889, as the Christian Reformed Church, numbering: 1 Synod, 7 Classes, 123 churches, 81 ministers, and 16,740 communicants.

2. THE (GERMAN) REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.—The beginnings of any movement that deserves the name of migration of German-speaking people to America cannot be traced further back than the last quarter of the seventeenth century; and even at this date the numbers of the immigrants were rather meagre. Francis Daniel Pastorius came over, at the invitation of William Penn, with a colony, and founded Germantown. It was a quarter of a century later that the tide set in strongly, and a host numbering into the hundreds of thousands, mainly from the Palatinate, or the Rhine provinces, left their home in search of freedom on this side of the Atlantic. They settled in eastern Pennsylvania, and organised congregations in Germantown, Philadelphia, and vicinity. Between 1710 and 1727 a ministry was brought into service to take charge of those churches, partly from the Old World, and partly by the ordination of men by the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian Synods. But these efforts were scattered, and might have continued indefinitely

without adequate results, had not the spirit of organisation been infused into them by the arrival of Michael Schlatter in 1746. Schlatter was a remarkable man, and takes his place as the pioneer and founder of the German Reformed Church in America on the ground of his prompt, energetic, and effective labours. He brought together the ministers already on the ground, and established the first Coetus, or Synod, in 1747. This Coetus was put into affiliation with the Reformed Synod of Amsterdam. Schlatter's indomitable zeal enabled him to face dangers and endure severe hardships in the endeavour to organise the scattered members of the German Calvinistic bodies into congregations, to supply them with ministers, and to secure funds from Holland, England, and Scotland for the maintenance and extension of his work. The period of his ministry appears to have been a period of fraternal relations with other Christian bodies. Ecclesiastical lines were frequently overlooked. Schlatter and Henry Melchior Muhlenburg (founder of American Lutheranism) were in brotherly fellowship and coöperation with one another. The German church was under the jurisdiction of the Church of Holland. This inchoate state of ecclesiastical law further found expression in the career of one of the most prominent of the German ministers of the period—P. W. Otterbein. Though a native of Nassau, and a member for life of the Reformed German Coetus and Synod of America, Otterbein was full of the spirit of pietism found so richly in Zinzendorf and Wesley, and held, with them, to a higher unity of Christians of different denominations. His influence on the German Reformed Church was not inconsiderable. Yet he is best known as the founder of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

But the anomalous relation of the German church, acknowledging the authority of a superior court in Holland, could not abide permanently. It was given up in 1793, and the Coetus developed into the Synod of the German Reformed Church. At this time the numerical strength of this church was represented by 178 ministers

and 5000 families—the family being the unit of enrollment instead of the individual communicant. The next step forward in the perfection of the organisation of the church, after the separation from the Church of Holland, was the establishment of the Classis. The Synod saw the expediency of adopting this measure, and did so in 1819. It divided itself into eight Classes. These were to exercise jurisdiction within given bounds, and their delegates were to compose the Synod. Later the rite of ordination was relegated to them. One of them—that of Western Pennsylvania—blossomed, in 1824, into the separate Synod of Ohio. In 1863 the original, or mother Synod, and this Synod of Ohio united under a General Synod, and the organisation of the church was thus completed.

The chief weakness of the German Reformed Church has been its inability to supply an adequate number of well-equipped ministers to take charge of existing congregations, or form others out of the elements naturally belonging to it. Its ministry has always been, proportionately to the number of churches, less numerous than that of other denominations. It was not until 1825 that a theological seminary was established at Carlisle. In collegiate education, the first effort of this church was put forth in conjunction with the Lutherans. The two denominations combined in establishing Franklin College at Lancaster (1818). The Theological Seminary of Carlisle was removed to York in 1829, and in 1837 to Mercersburg. Here Marshall College was founded in 1835; but as this college was removed to Lancaster and joined with Franklin College, the seminary also was transferred there (1871). Other colleges have followed: such as Heidelberg University (1850), Ursinus College, Catawba College, Calvin College, and the German Mission House in Sheboygan, Wis.

The progress of this church has been rapid. Of the large stream of German immigration one third goes to swell her membership. Like its sister of the Dutch connection, it continued for a time to use the language

of the fatherland in its services of worship, but it has permitted the English in congregations of the third and fourth generations. Its life has been even and peaceful. A slight ripple did appear on its generally smooth surface in the Mercersburg controversy, in which Professors Schaff and Nevin were called into question; but the agitation was momentary and led to nothing serious. The statistics for 1896 show that it has 8 Synods, 55 Classes, 1000 ministers, 1663 congregations, 229,100 communicants.

IV. Churches of Scottish Dissenting Origin

The Presbyterian Church of America had been in existence for a generation, organised first under Presbytery and then under Synod, before the rift existing between establishment and dissent in Scotland made itself seen on the western side of the ocean. In 1740 Alexander Craighead was suspended from the ministry by the Presbytery of Donegal, for making the Covenants a term of communion in the church of Middle Octorara, Pa. Three years later he and his followers renewed the Covenants, and appealed to the Reformed Presbytery of Scotland to send them helpers. This Presbytery sent John Cuthbertson in 1751, but by that time Craighead had joined the Synod of New York, or "New Side," in the disruption of 1741–58. Cuthbertson was destined to labour single-handed for the next twenty years.

From another quarter, and upon other grounds, the Associate Presbytery in Scotland received a petition to send a minister, or probationer, to preach to the scattered members of the same faith in America; but they could not grant the request. The petition was repeated later, and Alexander Gellatly and Andrew Arnot were sent, in 1753, by the Anti-Burgher Synod. On their arrival they organised the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania.

In 1773 John Cuthbertson was reinforced by the arrival of two new ministers of the Reformed Presbytery, and

the Reformed Presbytery of America was organised on a distinct article of refusal to recognise allegiance to an immoral government. Thus the two forms of Scottish dissent were fully transplanted on the western hemisphere.

The Associate Presbytery was of Anti-Burgher origin. Between 1764 and 1768 several ministers of the Burgher branch of the Scottish Associate Synod came over; and as the questions between Burghers and Anti-Burghers were not relevant to American life, they joined the only Associate Presbytery in the Colonies. In 1776 this Presbytery was divided into two, each being directly related to the Synod of Scotland. In 1782 the Reformed Presbytery voted to unite with the Associate Presbyteries, and thus the Associate Reformed Church of America was founded.

But, on the other hand, a minority of the Associate Presbytery protested, and persisted in maintaining a separate existence, reinforced from Scotland; and the Reformed Presbytery of Scotland refused to recognise the union, and reconstructed its American branch (1798). Thus there were three separate bodies representing the Scottish dissenting element. The Reformed Presbytery continued quietly gaining ground until it had, in 1823, a General Synod with two subordinate Synods. The Associate Presbytery also grew steadily by immigration from Scotland, and was in affiliation with the Scottish body until 1818. The Associate Reformed Church naturally advanced more rapidly than either of the preceding. An effort to unite it with the General Assembly, made under the leadership of John M. Mason, in 1820, resulted in the absorption of only a section by that body. These three churches moved on, with slight disintegrating tendencies, only counteracted by the deeper and more widespread tendency toward union with each other, and thus finally, in 1858–59, issued in the formation of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. The distinctive principles of the United Presbyterian Church are the exclusive use of the Psalms in divine worship,

opposition to secret societies, and close communion. Until within a few years it also forbade the use of instrumental music in its services; but on this point option is now given to each congregation either to use or not to use musical instruments.

Every union has left fragments of the uniting bodies refusing to enter it, and continuing the corporate life of the original bodies. The union that led to the consolidation of the Covenanters and Seceders was no exception. But the great working body of Scottish dissent of the eighteenth century is in connection with the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church. This Assembly has a constituency of 64 Presbyteries, 812 ministers, 891 churches, and 108,828 communicants.

Of the other churches, the Associate Reformed Synod of the South holds 127 churches in 9 Presbyteries, ministered to by 93 ministers, and enrolls 10,277 communicants. Next comes the Reformed Presbyterian Church in the United States (Synod), with 12 Presbyteries, 108 churches, 107 ministers, and 9400 communicants. Third in size is the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (General Synod), with 7 Presbyteries, 33 churches, 41 ministers, and 5000 communicants. And last, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, with 1 minister, 1 church, and 37 communicants.

To complete the list of Presbyterian organisations of British origin in America, we must name finally the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, which is represented by 6 Synods, 18 Presbyteries, 105 ministers, 185 churches, and 12,000 communicants; and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States and Canada, whose 1 church is ministered to by 1 minister, and numbers 600 communicants.

General Distribution of Presbyterianism.— The distribution of the church is now wide as the States, and in her extension she has been helped rather than hindered by the existence of her numerous sections. With so vast a field to work upon, the evils of overlapping, which are so well known in Scotland, are

here comparatively unknown. Emulation between the different Presbyterian churches there is, but not rivalry. Of the six greater churches which had been mentioned, and which include 97 per cent of the Presbyterian population, no two churches minister to the same section of the people. Geographical or racial distinctions mark off their various fields of labour, a fact which makes for peace in the present time, and which, when the hour for closer union approaches, will make the final fusion more easy of accomplishment.

Alliance of the Reformed Churches

The great majority of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches are united in an organisation known as the "Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World, Holding the Presbyterian System." More than ninety national and denominational churches, found upon all five continents, are included in it. The business of the Alliance is conducted by an executive commission, composed of about one hundred and twenty ministers and elders from the constituent churches. This commission holds semi-annual meetings and is divided into two sections: the Eastern, with headquarters at London, England, and the Western (American), with headquarters at Philadelphia, Pa. The general secretary of the Alliance is Rev. Dr. George D. Mathews, and the American secretary, the Rev. Dr. William Henry Roberts. The Alliance has held six councils, viz., London, Edinburgh, Philadelphia, Belfast, Toronto, and Glasgow. The seventh council is appointed to meet at Washington, D. C., in October, 1899.

CHAPTER IX

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA

CANADA has peculiarly strong claims upon the affection of Presbyterians. Here, more successfully than in any other British colony, has Presbyterianism held its own in the teeth of opposition and discouragement; and here more completely than in any other section of the Presbyterian Church has the dream of Presbyterian Union been realised. Time is marked in the story of the Canadian Church by the unions of the various branches.

1. **Planting of Presbyterianism.**—The *first attempt* to plant Presbyterianism on Canadian soil was made at the close of the sixteenth century, when among the many French colonists who then sought for fortune in the "New France" across the Atlantic were not a few Huguenots who went in search of freedom for their faith. Under the favourable rule of Henry IV. such migration was encouraged, and so long as the traditions of his reign lasted the Huguenot colonists prospered. In their prosperity their religion shared. Traders like Chauvin and De Caen, governors like the De Monts and De la Tours, used their influence zealously for the advance of Protestantism; in some cases too zealously, as when De Caen, the acting governor of Quebec, compelled the Roman Catholic sailors to attend the Huguenot service. But it was not to be through the Huguenots that Canadian Presbyterianism was to be established. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which in 1685 worked such desolation in the home country, had a like effect upon the colonies. The Huguenot colonists were driven into exile, and Canada was handed over as a spiritual

monopoly to the Jesuits. More successful was the *Second Planting* of Presbyterianism, which took place under British auspices at the close of the eighteenth century. The seed on this occasion came from Scotland, and through all the later history of the Canadian Church the Scottish characteristics have been well in evidence. As a consequence of the territorial divisions, which until 1867 split British North America into a number of distinct provinces, each with its separate government and institutions, the story of the Canadian Church is the story of many sections until we arrive at quite recent years. But in a general survey of the field these sectional Churches may be grouped in two divisions:—the *Eastern Division*, embracing the Churches of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton Island; and the *Western Division*, comprising the Churches of Upper and Lower Canada, and all the country to the shores of the Pacific.

2. **Forming of the Church in the Eastern Provinces.**—In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht gave Nova Scotia to Britain, and thereby opened a new field for British colonisation. For a considerable period, however, the response was disappointing, and it was not until 1755, when the incessant plotting and disaffection of the French colonists compelled the British Government to deport some seven thousand of them to the southern colonies, that colonists of British birth began to be attracted. Then, to occupy the lands left vacant, colonists from the older southern colonies, from Scotland, England, Ireland, and the European Continent, arrived in shoals. The further cession, by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, of "Canada with all its dependencies" widened the field and increased the stream of immigration. In 1764 no fewer than 10,000 settlers arrived from Britain, and of these, Nova Scotia, the most easterly province, absorbed the majority. Among the settlers were many Presbyterians, the supply of whose spiritual wants became a problem to themselves and to the Home Churches. The local Government in 1758 had declared the English

Liturgy to be "the fixed form of worship for Nova Scotia," and would do nothing for Presbyterians beyond granting liberty of worship. Under these circumstances outside help became a necessity for a time, and from the older Presbyterian Churches some help arrived. The Church in New Jersey sent the *Rev. James Lyon* in 1764; in Halifax, ten years later, the *Rev. Mr. Fraser*, a Church of Scotland Army chaplain, laboured for a time; but the Churches which in those early days really grappled with the difficulties, and sent substantial and steady aid, were the *Burgher* and *Anti-Burgher Secession Churches* of Scotland. From the *Burgher Synod* came the pioneers, Daniel Cock, David Smith, and Hugh Graham, who in 1786 organised the *Presbytery of Truro.* From the *Anti-Burgher Synod* came Dr. M'Gregor, Duncan Ross, and John Brown, who in 1795 formed the second Presbytery of *Pictou.* Then the *Church of Scotland* added a few ministers to the number, and as in the New World old quarrels died out of mind, all three sections came together, uniting in 1817 to form the *Synod of Nova Scotia.*

3. **The Glasgow Colonial Society.**—Hitherto the Church of Scotland had helped only in a desultory way, although the great majority of the Presbyterian colonists were her own children, but in 1825 she awoke to a fuller sense of her duty. The *Glasgow Colonial Society*, which was then formed, with the patriotic Scot, Lord Dalhousie, as its patron, and Dr. Burns of Paisley as its zealous secretary, had for its object the "promoting the moral and religious interests of the Scottish settlers in British North America." Right well it did its work. With a limited income, seldom exceeding £500, it succeeded in sending to the colonies forty ministers of the Church of Scotland within the next ten years. In place of being as hitherto a small minority, the Church of Scotland ministers of the Eastern Provinces now found themselves a body of respectable size, and proceeded to form an organisation of their own. In 1833 the *Synod of Nova Scotia, in connection with the Church of Scotland*, accordingly came into

existence, with its three presbyteries of Halifax, Pictou, and Prince Edward Island, and rapidly increased in numbers and in power. Two years later the ministers in New Brunswick followed suit, and formed *The Synod of New Brunswick, in connection with the Church of Scotland.* Between the older Synod, which had now lost its Church of Scotland relationship, and these younger growths the best of terms existed. Approaches towards a union were even seriously made, when the troubles of '43 came on, scattering all such hopes for many a year to come.

4. **Forming of the Church in the Western Provinces.**—Simultaneously with the rise of Presbyterianism in the Eastern Provinces, a like movement was taking place in the Western, but here the proportional share taken by the various Home Churches in the work was considerably different. Ministers of the Church of Scotland were first in the field, though perhaps their priority is more truly to be ascribed to circumstances than to express intention on the Church's part. The fall of Quebec in 1759, and the subsequent close of the war, had enabled the *Rev. George Henry*, a Scots chaplain, to add to his military duties; and in 1765, in a room in the Jesuit College of the city whose capture he had witnessed, he gathered round him the first Presbyterian congregation. In 1786, at the close of the American Revolutionary War, the *Rev. John Bethune*, chaplain to the 84th regiment, did similar service at Montreal, where, with the permission of the Récollet Fathers, a Franciscan order, regular Presbyterian services were held in a Roman Catholic church. For this most unusual kindness the good Franciscans would take no money payment, but it is recorded that they received from the "Society of Presbyterians" a box of candles and two hogsheads of Spanish wine, and "were quite thankful for the same." To Mr. Bethune in 1790 succeeded another Church of Scotland minister, the *Rev. John Young*, under whose ministry was built St. Gabriel Street Church, the oldest Protestant church in the Western Provinces. But for some time no systematic

effort was made by any branch of Presbyterianism to supply the needs of the Protestants, whose numbers in Upper Canada (or Ontario) were now rapidly increasing. A few Presbyterian ministers who strayed north from the Secession Church in the States and from the Dutch and German Reformed Churches did good work, but it was not until to these were added some additional ministers from the Secession Churches in Scotland, that it was thought time to form a Presbytery. This was done in 1818, when the *Presbytery of the Canadas* took shape, to be reconstituted, in 1826, as the *United Presbytery of Upper Canada*. By that time, however, the Glasgow Colonial Society had been born, and the Western Provinces now received a large share of its attention. Additional ministers of the Church of Scotland arrived in increasing numbers, so that in 1831 there was formed the *Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada* (Church of Scotland) with 4 presbyteries and 19 ministers. Nine years later, in 1840, the two Presbyterian organisations united, by which time the Church of Scotland Synod had increased to 60 ministers, and the older but smaller body to 17. "By this step," wrote the Moderator of the Church of Scotland Synod to the Home Church, "we have brought within our pale 17 ministers, exercising a pastoral supervision over flocks that have been collectively estimated at 10,000, all professing adherence to our standards of faith and worship." It was a union partly of love and partly of policy. Scottish Presbyterianism was called upon to maintain its rights, in the face of an aggrandising English Episcopacy; and for this a solid front was most desirable.

5. **Presbytery versus Episcopacy.**—In almost every British colony where representatives of the two National Churches have met this battle has had to be fought. English Churchmen, whose only acquaintance with Presbyterianism has as a rule been derived from the Nonconforming Presbyterianism of England, have been surprised when, in the British colonies, Scottish Churchmen have asserted their position as members of

one of the National Churches of Britain, and claimed equal rights with their English brethren. In the end the justice of the Scottish claim has always had to be admitted, and, at least partially, satisfied, but in the early colonial days the fight for recognition was a hard one. In the Western Canadian Provinces it was fought on two issues. (1) *The Clergy Reserves.* By an Act of 1791, the seventh part of the unceded lands in Upper and Lower Canada was reserved "for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy." Three millions of acres were thus set aside, to which the English Churchmen considered they had an exclusive claim. Scottish Churchmen, who thought they were equally "Protestant clergy," failed to see the fairness of the English contention, and in 1817 an agitation on the subject began, which raged for over twenty years. The opinion of the home legal authorities was given in favour of the Church of Scotland's claim, but, through the unwillingness of English Church officials, no steps were taken to give effect to the decision. Public opinion, however, was strongly on the Scottish side, and ultimately bore down the opposition. In 1840, two months after the Presbyterians had all ranged themselves under the banner of the Church of Scotland, the exclusive claims of the English Church were set aside, the Reserve Lands ordered to be sold, and of the proceeds two-thirds to be allotted to the Church of England, and one-third to the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland. The division was manifestly unfair, seeing that the Presbyterians outnumbered the Episcopalians, but the principle had been admitted. (2) *Queen's College, Kingston,* which for many years has held a prominent position in Canadian education, was the outcome of a similar contest. The growth of the Presbyterian Church had made it necessary to provide for the education and training of ministers, and as the readiest means of accomplishing this, an application was made to Government, in 1832, to endow additional chairs in connection with King's College, Toronto, a Government institution. But here Episcopal opposition

was too strong, and King's College remained an English Church monopoly. Nothing daunted, the Presbyterians set themselves to supply the need without Government assistance, and so great was the enthusiasm evoked, that in 1841 Queen's College, Kingston, was opened and empowered by royal charter to confer degrees.

6. **Effects of '43 on East and West.** — For British Presbyterianism, whether of the Home or Colonial Churches, the Secession of 1843 was, without doubt, the most momentous event that had happened since 1690. Not in Scotland alone, but also, and to quite as great an extent, in the colonies did it bring grievous heartburnings, unchristian strife, and hurtful division. The national tie which binds Scotsmen together was never more touchingly shown—and be it said, never more unfortunately—than when one after another of the young Scottish Churches which were springing up across the seas took up the home quarrels, and making them their own, fought them out to the bitter end. Private patronage they knew not, no invidious line with them separated "chapel" from "parish" ministers, but they were children of the Scottish Church and had to vindicate their descent. In Canada the wordy war was fought with a keenness equalling that in Scotland, and, unfortunately for hopes of a peaceful ending, deputies arrived from the seceding party at home to encourage the division. The more moderate section of the Canadian ministers, of whom Dr. Cook of Quebec was the leader, would fain have observed a strict neutrality regarding a Scottish quarrel which did not concern them, but nothing would satisfy the party who sympathised with the Free Church save "to lift up a full and clear testimony for the truth." This meant an explicit severing of all connection with the Church of Scotland and an equally explicit alliance with the Scottish Free Church. Between views so opposite no compromise was possible, and in 1844 the inevitable result came in the rending in twain of the three Church of Scotland Synods of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Western

Provinces (Canada). Out of 116 ministers, 68 remained in connection with the Church of Scotland, 48 adopting the cause of the Free Church; but in the different Synods the proportions varied much, as the following table shows:—

	Church of Scotland.	Free Church.
Synod of Nova Scotia . . .	4	19
Synod of New Brunswick . .	10	3
Synod of Presb. Church in Canada	54	26
	68	48

In Nova Scotia the Church of Scotland had been practically wiped out, in New Brunswick left with little damage, and in the Western Provinces weakened by one-third. Disruption did not immediately add to the peace of the Churches, as Dr. Norman Macleod found when in 1845 he visited Canada. Writing home he said, "The angry spirit of Churchism, which has disturbed every fire-side in Scotland, thunders at the door of every shanty in the backwoods." But the air was cleared by the storm, and the divided Churches settled down to a period of vigorous labour.

7. **Drawing together.**—In 1845, after the war was over, there were seven leading divisions of Presbyterianism in British North America—four in the Eastern Provinces and three in the Western. These were:—

Eastern Provinces

The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia (Old Secession Church).

The Synod of Nova Scotia, adhering to Westminster Standards (Free Church).

The Synod of New Brunswick, in connection with Church of Scotland.

The Synod of New Brunswick, adhering to Westminster Standards.

Western Provinces

The Synod of Presbyterian Church of Canada, in connection with Church of Scotland.

The Synod of Free Presbyterian Church of Canada.
The Missionary Synod of Canada, in connection with Scottish Associate Synod.

For fifteen years the separate existence continued, during which period great advances were made, notably in the case of the Churches allied with the Scottish Free Church, from which came generous assistance both in men and money. Nor was the Church of Scotland backward, though in these days her own urgent need of ministers prevented her helping so much as prior to '43. But more gratifying even than the development of the separate Synods was the softening of their feelings towards one another. In their practice they were all at one: where they differed was in theory, and that on a point with which none was immediately concerned—the connection of Church and State. As the memories of '43 faded away, the hurtfulness of continued division was more openly admitted, and in 1860 there began in consequence the *succession of Unions* which has made the Canadian Church unique amongst her Presbyterian sisters. In that year the Free Church Synod of Nova Scotia (35 ministers) united with the old Secession Synod (42 ministers) and formed the *Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.* In 1861 the like Churches in the Western Provinces followed the example, when the United Presbyterian Church (59 ministers) joined with the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada (129 ministers) to form the *Canada Presbyterian Church.* In 1866 the Nova Scotia union was still further enlarged by the addition of the (Free Church) Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick. Two years later (1868) the Eastern branches of the Church of Scotland caught the happy infection, and the Synod of New Brunswick joining with the Synod of Nova Scotia (which had been reborn in 1854), there resulted the (Church of Scotland) *Synod of the Maritime Provinces.* As the outcome of all these unions there were now four compact Presbyterian Churches, two in the East and two in the West, one in each division being in connection with the Church of Scotland, while

the other represented the combined forces of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. Finally, in 1875, the longed-for goal was reached, when, with the exception of 21 ministers, 19 of whom belonged to the Church of Scotland, all four Churches united to form *The Presbyterian Church in Canada.* On the 15th June 1875 the supreme courts of the four Churches met in the great Victoria Hall in Montreal, and, after the Moderator of each had signed the articles of union, the first *General Assembly* of the Presbyterian Church in Canada was constituted, with the venerable Dr. Cook of Quebec as Moderator.

8. **Respective Contributions.** — The uniting Churches did not come empty-handed. Each added something to the common store, which materially helped to increase the efficiency of the union. From the **Church of Scotland** side came 150 *ministers* with their charges; *Queen's College*, Kingston, which had developed into a flourishing university, with the four faculties of Arts, Medicine, Law, and Theology, and was possessed of an Endowment Fund of 87,000 dollars; *Morrin College*, Quebec, which had been founded in 1860 by Dr. Joseph Morrin at a cost of 50,000 dollars, for the education in Arts and Divinity of youths aspiring to the ministry of the Church of Scotland; and a *Temporalities Fund* of 463,000 dollars, yielding an annual revenue of 32,000 dollars for the support of the ministry. This last valuable contribution was the result of the commutation in 1854 of the life interests of the Scottish clergy in the Clergy Reserves. From the side of the **Free and Secession Churches** came 473 *ministers* with their charges; *Knox Theological College*, Toronto, which had been founded in 1844 by the Free Church party to take the place of Queen's College, and, after a remarkably successful career, had been transferred in 1875 to the present stately buildings at a cost of 120,000 dollars; *Montreal Theological College*, with its endowment fund of 25,000 dollars; and, oldest of all, *Halifax Theological College*, of which the beginnings had been made in 1820 by the

original Synod of Nova Scotia. Seldom, if ever, has a Church of the size of the United Canadian Church been better equipped for work, and never has an equipment been better utilised. Rejoicing in having blotted out all past differences, she took up with enthusiasm the various schemes of her different sections, and welding them into a unity, has for the past twenty years prosecuted them with great success. All the customary activities of a living Church are hers, her foreign mission work in the South Seas, Formosa, Trinidad, China, and Central India being notably successful; but by geographical conditions she has found herself called to two special and distinctive works. These are her work among the French Canadian Roman Catholics and her care for the settlers and the Indian tribes in the great North-West.

9. **Work among the French Roman Catholics.**—Out of the 5,000,000 inhabitants of Canada 2,200,000 are Roman Catholics. Of these the great majority are massed in the province of Quebec, where the Roman Catholic Church enjoys privileges such as are granted under no other Protestant government. They are the heritage of the Treaty of Paris, and of an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed subsequently and known as the Quebec Act. These, by guaranteeing to the Roman Church the continuance of the privileges and property she then possessed, have given her the prestige and emoluments of an Established Church. Tithes and ecclesiastical dues to the amount of 10,000,000 dollars are annually levied and employed in maintaining an ecclesiastical organisation of 23 bishops and 2352 priests. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the Pope should have described Quebec as "the metropolis of the Roman Catholic religion in America." It is in truth the Rome of the Western world. To the State the existence of so large a constituency at the beck of the Roman see is a continual anxiety, but to the Protestant Churches of the country, which desire to maintain and advance the great truths of Protestantism, it constitutes an abiding summons to evangelise. The Presbyterian Church has not been

slow in responding. Prior to the union of 1875, evangelistic efforts were engaged in by the various branches of Presbyterianism, and with considerable success, but on the accomplishment of the union more systematic, and also more successful, endeavours have been made. In this field the chief labourer has been "Father" Chiniquy, originally a devoted Roman Catholic priest, but since 1862 an earnest Protestant minister. Under his inspiration and fearless advocacy, and in the face of bitter opposition, the work of evangelisation has greatly extended: Protestant schools for French Canadians have been established, Protestant Churches built, and Protestant congregations gathered together. As a rule no missions are less productive at the present day than Protestant Missions to Roman Catholics, but those of Canada present an exception. A Canadian commissioner at the Pan-Presbyterian Congress of 1892 reported:—"Fifty years ago there was not a Protestant French Canadian known on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Now in the province of Quebec there are at least twelve thousand, and twenty thousand have made their homes in the Republic to the south."

10. **Work in the North-West Territory.**—Until thirty years ago two-thirds of the great Canadian Dominion were uninhabited and unknown, except to wandering Indian tribes and the adventurous hunters of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1812, by the kind help of the Earl of Selkirk, a colony of Sutherlandshire highlanders had been planted on the banks of the Red River, south of Lake Winnipeg, and a "godly elder," Mr. James Sutherland, sent to minister to them, but that was the furthest outpost. Of the enormous fertile belt of prairie land stretching from Winnipeg to the Rocky Mountains, and containing 200,000,000 acres of fertile soil, the emigrant world was ignorant. Now the ignorance has passed away, and with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 the whole of the Great Western Territory has been laid at the feet of all who will. In response a steady

annual stream of twenty to thirty thousand immigrants has flowed westward, and is causing Canadian civilisation to extend in an unusual manner. "Settlement has not been, as in other countries, a gradual extension from sea coast or river bank, or from a few great centres. It has been *simultaneous* all over the country. Every one of the 133 stations that mark the 2000 miles of railway has been a distributing point." A new nation has been born in a decade, and by its birth has presented a peculiar problem to the Canadian Churches. Gradual extension of their borders is insufficient for the wants of the widely scattered people. What is required is an equally simultaneous supply of Christian ordinances over the whole field, and in endeavouring to supply the need the Presbyterian Church, to which one-third of the settlers belong, has done noble work. At *Winnipeg*, when the rush began, she had already a literary college, and by adding a theological department she at once arranged for the training of the men required. At the head of the whole North-West work was placed *Dr. Robertson* of Winnipeg, who has striven manfully to make provision keep pace with the growth of the settlement. Help from the Eastern Provinces has come liberally, as also from the older Churches of Scotland and Ireland, and the result is seen in a rapidly growing Presbyterian Church in the great North-West. Within eight years the communicants have risen from 1153 to 14,000, "preaching points" from 116 to 667, ministers from 28 to 141, and the Christian liberality of the territory from 15,000 to 203,000 dollars. "For this growth," says Dr. Robertson, "we thank God and take courage."

11. **Comparative Strength of Presbyterianism.**—According to the census of 1891, the numbers of the three leading Protestant denominations were :—

Methodists	839,815
Presbyterians	754,193
Episcopalians	646,050

The Presbyterian Church thus stands numerically second, but, as Dr. Robertson said to the Pan-Presbyterian Council at Toronto, "second in no other sense. In public affairs, in trade, in commerce and manufactures, in educational and professional life, her sons take first rank, and what they have they hold with a tenacious grasp and hunger for more." Presbyterianism has no healthier representative than the Canadian Church, nor any whose future is more hopeful—a happy condition of which the chief contributing cause has been the Union of 1875.

CHAPTER X

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE

AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND—SOUTH AFRICA

IN their wanderings over the world in search of fortune, the children of the Presbyterian Churches have travelled far south of the equator, and settled in three of the southern lands—Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. To these abiding-places they have been followed by their Church, which has taken root and grown with the growth of the colonies.

I. AUSTRALIA

Australia, the great island-continent of the South, which in size is only a little less than the whole of Europe, is divided into six distinct colonies, each of which in government and institutions is entirely independent of the others. Upon the Australian Churches, Presbyterian as well as others, this political separation has imposed the necessity of a similar separation in ecclesiastical affairs, and in consequence the Presbyterian Church in Australia has no fewer than six sub-divisions. Of these, however, two have an acknowledged pre-eminence, the Churches of New South Wales and Victoria, inasmuch as they possess between them four-fifths of the total number of communicants. Their history, which extends over half a century, falls naturally into three sections—(1) their origin; (2) their division after '43; and (3) their reunion and subsequent progress.

A. *The Presbyterian Church of New South Wales*

1. **Planting of the Church.**—New South Wales is the mother colony of Australia. It was here, at Botany

Bay, to the south of the modern city of Sydney, that the first colonists landed in 1788. They were a shipload of convicts, and for thirty years and more the colony continued to be purely a penal settlement, receiving its additions from the convict class. But with the arrival of Sir Thomas Brisbane as governor in 1821 a new era began. Colonists of unstained reputation and industrious habits were then induced to try their fortunes in the new country, and soon so outnumbered the older type as to entirely destroy the ill-fame which had attached to the settlement of early days. Among the colonists were many Scottish Presbyterians, but no Presbyterian minister arrived to minister to their needs until 1823, when, in response to the invitation of Sir Thomas Brisbane (himself an elder of the Scottish Church), there came out from the Presbytery of Irvine the *Rev. John Dunmore Lang*, the founder of Australian Presbyterianism. Dr. Lang was a born pioneer, a man of marvellously varied powers and indomitable energy, of which he soon gave evidence. Two years' residence and travel in the colony gave him a thorough grasp of the situation. Teachers and ministers were seen to be urgently needed, but the usual method of appealing to the Home Church by letter was too tardy for Dr. Lang. Proceeding home in person, he brought out in 1826 a supply of teachers for the instruction of the young, and, returning shortly afterwards, came back with five ministers, with whose help he formed the *Presbytery of New South Wales*. For these new arrivals he then claimed the same endowments as the Government was in the habit of giving to the ministers of the Church of England, and on Government demurring, the aid of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland was invoked, with the desired result—Scottish Presbytery and English Episcopacy being recognised as equal in the eye of the State. A fourth visit to Scotland by this indefatigable pioneer, in 1836, resulted in nineteen additional ministers being sent out. But by this time, unfortunately for the welfare of the Church, Dr. Lang's success and somewhat masterful methods had

aroused dissatisfaction in the minds of his co-presbyters. To check what they considered a dangerous dictatorship, they insisted on a strict adherence to the methods of procedure of the Church of Scotland, a course which Dr. Lang, with considerable reason, held to be cramping the growth of the Church in a young colony. Neither party would make concessions, and in 1838, followed by the majority of the newly-arrived ministers, this founder of the Church severed his connection with the Presbytery, to form the *Synod of New South Wales.* It was a most regrettable division, but fortunately, through the growing reasonableness of the Presbytery and the mediating offices of the Church at home, it came to an end in 1840, when the *Synod of Australia* resulted from the union. Upon Dr. Lang, however, the trammels of regular procedure again grew irksome, and having in the meantime become dissatisfied with the prevalent system of concurrent endowment by the State of all denominations, regardless of their several teaching, he sought freedom by separation, and in 1842 relinquished his connection with both Church and State.

2. **Effects of '43.**—At the meeting of the Synod in 1844, communications were received from the Church of Scotland and the Free Church, each requesting the support of the Synod of Australia, and the young daughter Church, just struggling into life, found herself called to consider her attitude towards the great Scottish ecclesiastical schism. Practically she was independent of both the Scottish Churches. Her own recent experience of the evils of disunion made her keenly desirous of avoiding any further division, and, in the resolutions adopted, neutrality regarding the quarrel of the Home Churches was studiously maintained. The spiritual Headship of Christ and the independence of the Australian Presbyterian Church were emphasised, but to both the contending Churches the hand of fellowship was extended. A wise and temperate policy it was, but passions were running too high at home for it to be favourably received. To the Church of Scotland the

declaration of independence seemed a mark of disloyalty, while in the Assembly of the Free Church the resolutions were ridiculed by Dr. Candlish as being of the "milk and water" order—a phrase which rankled in the Australian mind for long. The dependence of the Australian Church on the Home Churches for her ministers made these Churches masters of the situation, and accordingly, with great reluctance, she found herself compelled to take sides. In 1846 the division came. Of 22 ministers, 16 remained in the Synod, while 6 went out: three to form the *Synod of East Australia* (Free Church); one, the Rev. James Forbes, to found the *Free Presbyterian Church of Australia Felix;* and another, the Rev. W. Hamilton, to begin what ultimately became the *Mortlake Presbytery* of the Victorian Church.

3. **Reunion.**—Those were evil days for the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. Dr. Lang's secession and subsequent zealous fostering of a voluntary Church, followed by the sad division of 1846, had brought into the field three small rival Churches, and when in 1851 the colony of Victoria was separated from New South Wales, the three Church fragments were still further weakened by the disjunction of their Victoria members. But their very weakness proved a gain: so forcibly did it teach the need of union, that in 1865, after ten years of negotiations, the three became one, and gave the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales the strength which comes from unity.

4. **Recent Progress.**—For a number of years after the union the growth of the Church was by no means proportionate to the increase in the colony's population. Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining sufficient ministers from home, and that at a time when the development of the colony was causing a wide scattering of the Presbyterian community. Fifty thousand Presbyterians were dispersed over an area five times the size of Great Britain, and to meet the necessity thus created for a large increase in the ministerial staff the Church in sixteen years (1866-81) was only able to add thirteen

new charges. But since 1881 the tide has turned. A vigorous Extension Movement then begun by the Rev. J. M. Ross has doubled the strength of the Church, which now possesses 141 charges, 116 ministers, and 10,000 communicants. Nor are the Scottish Churches any longer the chief sources of her ministerial supply, although she still gladly welcomes suitable ministers from the old country; but in the well-equipped *St. Andrew's Presbyterian College*, which is affiliated with the University of Sydney, she has made good provision for training her own sons. It has been a hard fight for existence, but in the fight the needs of others have not been forgotten, as is shown by the earnest missionary efforts which the Church carries on among the Chinese immigrants, the Aborigines, and the South Sea Islanders.

B. *The Presbyterian Church of Victoria*

1. **Origin.**—The Church of Victoria, which is now by far the most powerful of the Presbyterian Churches of Australia, originated as an outpost of the Church of New South Wales. Settlers from the mother colony had migrated south to Port Philip, the early Melbourne, in 1834, and as their numbers increased, the Presbyterians amongst them bethought them of their lack of religious ordinances, and applied to the Presbytery of New South Wales to supply them with a minister. But ere their request could be granted help came from another source. The *Rev. James Clow*, a retired East Indian chaplain of the Church of Scotland, hearing of the attractions of Australia as a residence, came from Bombay in 1837, and settling in the rising township of Melbourne, began to hold services for the Presbyterians. It was a work of love which was much appreciated by his countrymen, and when, in the beginning of the following year, the minister who had been applied for came from New South Wales, he found a congregation ready to his hand. The new arrival was the *Rev. James Forbes*, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Garioch, in

Aberdeenshire, and an earnest worker. Four others soon followed, leading to the erection in 1842 of the *Presbytery of Melbourne*, under the Synod of New South Wales.

2. **Effects of '43.**—Of the ministers who cast in their lot with the Free Church, at the meeting of the Synod of New South Wales in 1846, Mr. Forbes was one; and accordingly, on his return to Melbourne, he immediately vacated his pastorate of the Scots Church, voluntarily surrendering his allowance from the State, and set himself to organise the *Free Presbyterian Church of Australia Felix*. Many of his congregation rallied round him, building for him John Knox Church, and generously supporting him till his death in 1851. In the Scots Church his place was taken by the *Rev. Irvine Hetherington*, an able Churchman, who did much to influence the later ecclesiastical developments. With the rapid growth of the colony (from a population of 177 in 1836 to 77,000 in 1851), more ministers were required, and through the good offices of the three Home Churches, notably the Free Church and United Presbyterian, these were supplied; so that in 1851, when the colony began an independent existence, there were three Presbyterian organisations in existence.

3. **Union.**—The year 1851 was an eventful one for Victoria. Gold was discovered at Ballarat, and at once the "gold fever" began to rage. From the adjacent colonies, from Britain, from America, and elsewhere immigrants arrived in thousands, all thirsting for gold. In three years the population had risen from 77,000 to 236,000, and still the stream flowed on. To the colony the unprecedented growth brought prosperity; to the Presbyterian Churches it brought wisdom. In the face of such a vast population, the sin as well as the folly of three Presbyterian Churches forming rival congregations in a few towns, and thereby lessening the strength available for the extending field, grew so evident that negotiations for union were commenced. Weary these negotiations were, seven years having to pass away before

they were completed; but at last, in 1859, the Synods surrendered their independent existence, and the *First General Assembly* of the Victorian Church was constituted, under the moderatorship of the venerable James Clow. A few Free Church ministers held aloof for a time, as did also some of the United Presbyterians, but the wise counsels of the Free Church at home in the one case, and the total abolition of state aid in 1870 in the other, did away with all scruples, and permitted of complete unity being attained. In her constitution the united Church is modelled on the old Scottish lines, but with two peculiarities. As befits a Church as yet but small, the Assembly is not a representative body, but a gathering of all the Presbyteries; and Synods are wanting. "Let there be no Synods," said Mr. Hetherington, "I am sick of the name. I have witnessed six disruptions, and each fragment, however diminutive, has called itself a Synod. Now that we have happily got together in one compact Church, let us assume the higher designation of the General Assembly."

4. **Recent Progress.**—The union has been attended with remarkable progress in almost every department of the Church's life. The old wooden, barn-like buildings formerly used for divine service have given place in all the large towns to stately churches, the Scots Church in Melbourne especially being a model of ecclesiastical architecture. A great Presbyterian institution, the *Ormond College*, named after the chief benefactor, whose gifts amounted to £85,000, has been established for the higher education of the youth, and affiliated with the University of Melbourne, while in one wing of the college is located the *Theological Hall*, whose endowment amounts to £32,000. Home Mission work and Missions to the heathen Aborigines, Chinese immigrants, and South Sea Islanders are receiving steady attention, and with good results, most notable being the apostolic work of the Church's veteran missionary, *Dr. Paton*. In numbers the Presbyterian Church, with her 210 ministers and 22,402 communicants, ranks third of the churches of

Victoria, as is the case in all the Australian colonies; but "in character, intelligence, and public influence," her sons claim that she is surpassed by none.

C. *The Federal Union of the Presbyterian Churches of Australia and Tasmania*

The remaining fifth of the Presbyterian Church membership in Australia, which numbers 6854, is distributed among the young Churches of the four other colonies—Queensland, West Australia, South Australia, and Tasmania. With these Churches it is still the day of small things and hard striving, though there can be little doubt that a like prosperity awaits them when the tide of immigration and success shall have overflowed their respective colonies. In the meantime, that the Church of Australia may fulfil her calling better in the present, and be more thoroughly ready to respond to any sudden demand in the time to come, all her branches are drawing together. Of this the most apparent sign was the formation in 1886 of a *Federal Union*, which meets as an annual Federal Assembly. No authority is possessed by the Union over the various Churches, but by bringing all into line, and securing an increased uniformity, it affords a clear omen of what is to be, and has, in addition, done valuable service in emphasising the opinion on important public questions of the 40,000 communicants whom it represents.

II. The Presbyterian Church in New Zealand

Partly through geographical conditions and partly through circumstances connected with the arrival of the early colonists, Presbyterianism in New Zealand is represented by two distinct Churches—the *Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, extending over the North Island and the northern half of the South Island; and the *Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland*, confined to the southern half of South Island.

1. **The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand,** the older, and territorially as well as ministerially the larger, but numerically the smaller, owes its beginning to the Church of Scotland. In 1840, when the colony of New Zealand was established by royal charter, 2000 emigrants sailed for the New Britain, and landed at Port Nicholson, the south point of North Island. Amongst them were many Scots, with whom had gone as spiritual leader the *Rev. Mr. M'Farlane* of Martyrs' Church, Paisley. The majority settled at Wellington, and there Mr. M'Farlane began his work, making it a centre for diligent itineration among the many smaller settlements up and down the coast, and in this manner preparing the way for the ministers who followed. Of these the majority were at first from the Church of Scotland, which from that day until the present has never withdrawn her helping hand from this part of the field. Soon, however, the other Scottish Churches and the Irish Church lent their assistance, so that in 1856 it was possible to form at *Auckland* the first *Presbytery* of the Church. Within the next six years other five were added, and now the number has grown to eight. To the Church's development the chief hindrance from the very beginning lay in the very scattered nature of her field. Presbyterians were not massed together in a compact body, as was the case in Otago, but were dispersed in a number of small groups throughout the island, too small to support a permanent minister, and often too little known to secure a visit from an itinerating one. To grapple with the difficulty, and if possible prevent her children from drifting away, the Church in 1877 resolved upon a step then as novel as it was desirable, and appointed a prominent minister as Home Mission Agent, to visit the various districts, organise congregations in the outlying localities, and generally arrange for the welfare of the scattered Presbyterians. So thoroughly did the Home Churches of Scotland and Ireland approve of the plan, that they each gave an annual grant of £150 towards the Agent's salary,

and, fortunately for the scheme's success, an admirable agent was found in the *Rev. David Bruce* of St. Andrews, Auckland. Through his exertions the Home Mission work, which is of all work the most important for a young Colonial Church, went steadily forward, and continues so to do. The Church now possesses 88 ministers, 156 congregations, and 8149 communicants.

2. **The Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland**, which is the more numerous as well as the more prosperous of the two, supplies in her origin a striking illustration of the combination of religion with practical shrewdness, which is said to be characteristic of the Scottish people. It happened that shortly after '43, when the enthusiasm and rugged determination then being shown by the Free Church laity was attracting universal attention, the New Zealand Company was on the outlook for a better type of colonists than it had hitherto procured. To the directors of the Company these Scottish Free Churchmen seemed just the stamp of men they wanted. Proposals were accordingly laid before some prominent Free Church laymen in Scotland, which embodied great inducements to good settlers; the Free Church Assembly signified its approval, and soon the scheme of establishing a model religious colony in the Scotland of the far south was fairly floated. *Otago* was secured as the scene of the experiment, and in March 1848 there arrived at *Dunedin* (or New Edinburgh, as they first named it) 236 Free Church emigrants, with the *Rev. T. Burns*, a nephew of the poet, as their minister. Within six months a humble church had been erected and the colony's progress fairly begun. Steady increase in population and prosperity marked the succeeding years, and as the Free Church at home showed a kindly care in sending out additional ministers, it became possible in 1854 to form the first *Presbytery of the Church of Otago*, with three ministers and two elders. Up to 1861 the even development of the colony, and the markedly religious character of the colonists, was well maintained, but in that year a change began. Gold was

discovered at Tuapeka, sixty miles from Dunedin, and as had happened in Australia, so now in Otago, a rush of modern life, with all its energy and restlessness and sin, invaded the colony. To the duties thrust upon her the Church responded well. Appeals for additional ministers were immediately sent home, and, until such time as help could arrive, regular visitation of the goldfields was undertaken in rotation by the colony's ministers. "Canvas churches" were set up, and everything possible done to foster good living and true religion. Since these stirring times, rapid growth in her membership, extension of her field, and additions to her wealth and institutions have been the Church's lot. To the University of Dunedin she has added three professorial chairs, besides providing a Theological Hall for the training of her own ministry. And though Otago is no longer the Presbyterian preserve which once it was, the Presbyterian Church, with her 78 ministers, 150 congregations, and 11,000 communicants, still easily holds the first place.

3. **Attempts at Union.**—The existence of these two sister Churches side by side, holding the same doctrines and ruled by the same Constitution, has repeatedly suggested the advisability of union, and for one brief year this was actually achieved. Through the efforts of Mr. Bruce of Auckland and Dr. Stuart of Dunedin, a conference of the ministers of both Churches met in Dunedin in 1861, when so unanimous was the feeling in favour of union, that Articles were framed and a Convocation of the Churches summoned to meet at Auckland in the following year. Duly the Convocation met, ratified the Articles, and constituted the first *General Assembly* of the New Zealand Church. But in ratifying the Articles a slight change had been introduced, which worked grievous harm. To the original Articles of the Dunedin Conference, which adopted the old doctrinal and historical standards of the Scottish Church, the Auckland Convocation added the words, "only in so far as they are applicable to the circumstances of this Church." A judicious change it seemed, but to the

Otago Church it appeared to open the door to innovations, and the fear was accentuated by the further action of the Assembly in recommending the adoption of a hymn-book, declaring instrumental music an open question, and sanctioning the use of manuals of service. The Church of the North became dangerous in the eyes of the Church of the South, and despite the support of men like Dr. Stuart, the leading minister of the Otago Church, the union had to be dissolved. In 1865 a "Union of Co-operation," which meant nothing, was substituted for the union of incorporation. Twice since then have renewed attempts been made, once in 1870 and again in 1881, but after four years of discussion the project had again to be abandoned. Every possible concession was made by the Church of the North, and, as Mr. Ross, the historian of the Otago Church, admits, "with rare magnanimity it agreed to every proposal that was made, and to crown all consented to allow Dunedin to be made the headquarters of the united Church." But all was in vain, and though signs are not wanting of a growing understanding, the two Churches still continue apart.

III. South Africa

1. **The Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa** owns a different genealogy, and boasts a greater age, as well as a more numerous membership, than her Australasian sisters, but it cannot be said of her that in her age her honour lies. Her best days have come last. Originating in 1652, when the earliest Dutch colonists landed at Table Bay, her ecclesiastical history for the first century and a half is almost a blank; and yet there was no lack of possibilities in that long period. A large influx of fugitive French Huguenots, in the end of the seventeenth century, brought a healthy strain into the somewhat dull ecclesiastical life, and an ample field for extension was offered by the steady immigration of Dutch settlers, which by the year 1800 had raised the popula-

tion to over 20,000. But in spite of the French infusion and increased population, there were then only 10 ministers in the whole field, these being Government chaplains sent out by the State.

2. **Century of Progress.**—In 1806 Cape Colony came under British rule, and for the Reformed Church a healthier epoch commenced. Two years prior to the British occupation there had been signs of better days, the Church being granted a Constitution which permitted an Assembly to be held, although, true to the Dutch traditions, the sanction of Government was required for the legality of the Assembly's decisions. But under the British Government the Church received greater benefits than these. Recognising the great need of additional chaplains or ministers for the increasing population, the Government made application to the Church of Scotland for supplies. Eleven ministers were accordingly sent out in 1822, and as the result of this new blood there was formed in 1824 a *Synod* or *General Assembly*, whose meetings were to be quinquennial. To the new ministers, however, who had been trained in the ways of the Church of Scotland, and were strong in their adherence to the old Scottish principle of the spiritual independence of the Church, the supervision of Government imposed by the Dutch law of 1804 proved irksome; and after agitating for some years, the obnoxious principle in 1843 was repealed, the Church, though continuing to be supported by the State, being declared to be free from State control in spiritual things. The State support continued until 1875, when it was abolished.

3. **Boer Migration.**—Prior to 1834 the white population of South Africa was confined to Cape Colony, but in that year a growing antagonism between the Boers (or Dutch farmers) and the British rulers led to a great "trek" or migration of 10,000 Boers, with all their belongings, out of the colony into the territory now known as the *Orange Free State*. In 1837 a similar "trek" took place into Natal, from which in 1842 yet another Boer "trek" crossed the Vaal river and founded

the *Transvaal Republic.* By these Boer migrations the Reformed Church has become divided into territorial sections, the largest being the *Church of Cape Colony,* which possesses 82,788 communicants and 109 ministers, while the aggregate membership amounts to 130,000. In their government and manner of life the various sections are completely at one, while one *Theological Seminary*—that at Stellenbosch—trains the ministers for all. Dutch standards and Dutch liturgies supply the creed and service of the Church, and thoroughly Dutch too is the quiet even life of the congregations. "*The* feature of Boer society," says the author of *Our South African Empire,* "is a patriarchal conservatism, in accordance with which the principles of Church and State are strictly maintained. To be a Land-drost (magistrate) or a Church elder are the objects of the Boer's earthly ambition."

4. **Scottish Presbyterianism.**—Existing in South Africa, apart from the Dutch Church and to a great extent from each other, are some twenty to thirty congregations of English-speaking Presbyterians. In their membership they are mostly composed of Scottish settlers, and for their ministers have Scottish Churchmen drawn from the various Churches in Scotland. Help in men and money has from time to time been given by the mother Churches, though not perhaps so freely as the case required, but the lack of any definite ecclesiastical connection has hitherto prevented the development of these isolated fragments. Now there are signs of better days, as a movement towards a union amongst themselves is fast approaching completion.

CHAPTER XI

THE CATHOLIC PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

ON 3rd July 1877 a notable congregation assembled in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. Representatives from all the many branches of the Presbyterian Church throughout the world had there gathered to take part in the opening service of the *First Œcumenical Council* of the Presbyterian Church. Quadrennially since then have similar councils met, on each occasion at a different centre of Protestantism—Philadelphia, Belfast, London, and Toronto—and have done for Presbyterianism in visible form what the preceding pages have sought to do in written word. They have exhibited the *place* which Presbyterianism occupies in Christendom; have emphasised the existence of a Catholic Presbyterian Church, whose branches reach to the ends of the world; have comforted the hearts and strengthened the hands of many weak and isolated churches, by the sight of the great brotherhood to which they belong; and by drawing representatives, as they have done, from many branches, each suggesting a different history and exhibiting different graces, they have brought to view the various factors in the past and in the present which make up the *power* of the Presbyterian Church.

1. **The Church's Catholicity of Range.**—What makes the Presbyterian Church of to-day unique among Protestant Churches is the catholicity of her range. Of the three great Churches of the Reformation — the Lutheran, the Anglican, and the Presbyterian,—while all have greatly grown and developed since their breach with Rome, the two former have in their progress kept strictly to national lines, their expansion having been conditioned

by the expansion of the German and English nations. Presbyterianism, on the contrary, from the days of Calvin, has refused to be limited by any national boundary line, and, becoming the ecclesiastical polity of many nations, has taken its place as a Church of Christendom, whose Catholicity is only second to that of the Church of Rome. "It is a simple historical fact of deep significance," says Professor Heron of Belfast, "that wherever the Reformation had free course, wherever it was permitted to shape itself spontaneously after Scripture, and without external interference, it assumed a Presbyterian form." Nor has the tendency or its significance now ceased. Among the young Protestant Churches of native growth to-day, which are struggling into life amid the Romanism of Southern Europe, the Mohammedanism of Western Asia, the superstitions of Brazil, or the heathenism of Japan, the same process is going on. As soon as the initial stage of Congregationalism is outgrown there begins the grouping into Presbyteries, which marks a further extension of the Catholic Presbyterian Church.

2. **The Church's Numerical Strength.**—In the foregoing survey of Presbyterianism all the leading Presbyterian Churches have found a place, but in estimating the total strength of the Church, account has to be taken of the contributions from the many minor branches which have had to be omitted from the general sketch, and which, though individually small, bulk large in combination. Of organised branches of the Presbyterian Church there are in all 89, possessing an aggregate membership of 4,823,416. When to these are added the 10,000 Presbyterians who are found in isolated congregations throughout the world, the care chiefly of the Scottish Churches, and the 55,000 communicants who have been won from heathenism by the Church's army of 1000 missionaries, the *total membership* of the Presbyterian Church stands at 4,888,416. It is a moderate estimate, and one founded on an accurate knowledge of Presbyterian ways, which considers this large communicants' roll to represent a total Presbyterian connection of 28,000,000 souls.

The Presbyterian Church is thus most probably the largest branch of Protestantism; the Anglican Church and the Methodist Church (if the two very distinct Methodist Churches of England and America, Wesleyan and Episcopal, may be counted as one) coming close behind, each with 20,000,000 adherents.

3. **The Church's Services in the Past.**—Since the days of the Reformation, the centre of Presbyterian life has shifted from the Continent of Europe to the countries peopled by the Anglo-Saxon race; but the roll-call of the great Council of the Church, including as it does the names of the older Churches of Bohemia, Hungary, Geneva, France, and Holland, acts as a timely reminder of the services rendered to humanity in the past by the Churches which then guarded the truths of Calvinism. In the stirring times which followed the outburst of the Reformation, the Presbyterian Churches, when fighting for their own existence against secular despotism and ecclesiastical tyranny, were fighting for the rights of man. Their Calvinistic Creed, emphasising as it did the equality of all men in the sight of God, and the responsibility of each man to his Maker, was first embodied in an ecclesiastical system, but soon of necessity affected men's civil relationships. Wherever ecclesiastical usages conflicted with these inborn rights, or secular power repressed the freedom of the conscience, and no redress could be obtained save by the sword, the hands most vigorous in the wielding of it were those of Calvinistic Presbyterians. In France, in Hungary, in Holland, in Scotland, and, at a later stage, in America, the same spectacle is to be seen. It is the Calvinists who are ever foremost in the battle for freedom, whether of Church or State. Nor is England any real exception, for, though Episcopacy be the Church system there now prevailing, in the days when the battle for freedom had to be fought Calvinism was the dominant creed. "Calvinists," says Canon Perry, "were the main body of the Elizabethan Bishops in doctrine, and inclined to Presbyterianism in principle." And Calvinists, too, as Froude has

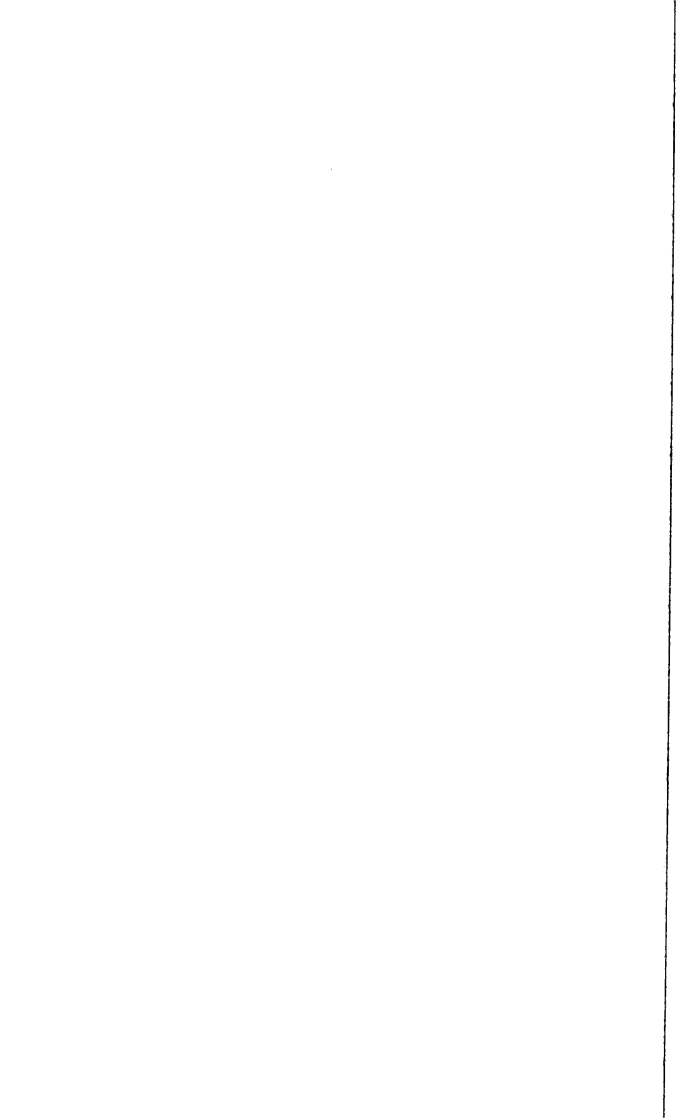
abundantly shown in his last book, *The English Seamen of the Sixteenth Century*, were the gallant sailors of the South who put to flight the great Armada of Spain. It has not been left to Presbyterians to record the services to the cause of human liberty which the kinsmen of their faith have rendered. Witnesses of other Churches have vied with each other in acknowledging their common debt. It is Froude, an Anglican, who says, "Whatever was the cause, the Calvinists were the only fighting Protestants. It was they whose faith gave them courage to stand up for the Reformation, and but for them the Reformation would have been crushed." It is Mr. Morley, an agnostic, who writes, "To omit Calvin from the forces of western evolution is to read history with one eye shut"; and who quotes with thorough approval the weighty words of Mark Pattison, again not a Presbyterian but an Anglican, "The policy of Calvin was a vigorous effort to supply what the revolutionary movement wanted—*a positive education of the individual soul.* The power thus generated was too expansive to be confined to Geneva. It went forth into all countries. From every part of Protestant Europe eager hearts flocked hither to catch something of the inspiration. This and this alone enabled the Reformation to make head against the terrible repressive forces brought to bear by Spain, the Inquisition and the Jesuits. Sparta against Persia was not such odds as Geneva against Spain. *Calvinism saved Europe.*"

4. **The Church's Fitness for the Present.**—The present century is witnessing the increasing triumph of the principles for which Calvinism contended in the past; and accordingly, if the usefulness of a Church be in any way dependent on her sympathy with the ruling ideas and institutions of the time, the Presbyterian Church should be peculiarly fitted for ministering to modern life. The two principles which are most insisted on in modern political life—the equality of all men, and the right of self-government—are two which in the Creed and Constitution of the Church find clear expression. In her Courts, from Kirk-Session to General Assembly, peer and peasant

meet upon a strict equality, and in the election of her office-bearers the Christian people have their privilege of self-government carefully preserved. She is a democratic Church, and by her rapid extension in the younger lands where the modern principles find their fullest development, she is proving herself fitted for a democratic age.

5. **The Church's Prospects for the Future.**—With a historic past rich in heroic achievement, and a present marked by world-wide extension, the future of the Presbyterian Church is bright with hope. The many unions during the last half-century, between branches of the Church once sorely estranged, may be taken as the presage of a coming time when, in every land where Presbyterianism exists, there will be but one Presbyterian Church. And if in the far future the day should come for which many are longing, when the Churches of Protestant Christendom will abandon their isolation from each other and become one, it will be found that the Presbyterian Church has not been the least active in furthering the great end. Of this present service in the cause of union two signs are very visible to-day, one without the Church and the other within. Outside the Presbyterian Church, in the other great branches of Protestantism, the leaven of Presbyterianism is working not only visibly but rapidly. It is only the repressing hand of the State in Germany that to-day prevents the Lutheran Church from adopting a Presbyterian constitution. The universal adoption by the Anglican Church of Synodal government in her Colonial branches, where in her Synods layman and cleric meet together with the Bishop as permanent Moderator; the growing desire in the already semi-Presbyterian Methodist Church for a larger infusion of laymen in the clerical oligarchy which forms that Church's highest council; the marked tendency of Congregationalism to gather its forces together in General Councils—all are approximations on the part of the sister Protestant Churches to methods which have hitherto been peculiar to Presbyterianism. Nor are signs wanting *within* the Presbyterian Church of a like tendency

on her part to break down the walls of division. The free adoption of agencies and services formerly peculiar to other Churches points in this direction, but most significant of all is the *catholicity of spirit* by which she is now pervaded. She refuses the name of Christian to none "who call upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," and unchurches no ecclesiastical organisation "where the Word of God is preached and the Sacraments duly administered." In this catholicity lies a sure token that, when the day of the reunion approaches, the Catholic Presbyterian Church will not be found wanting in any sacrifice that will hasten the answer to the prayer "that they all may be one."



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