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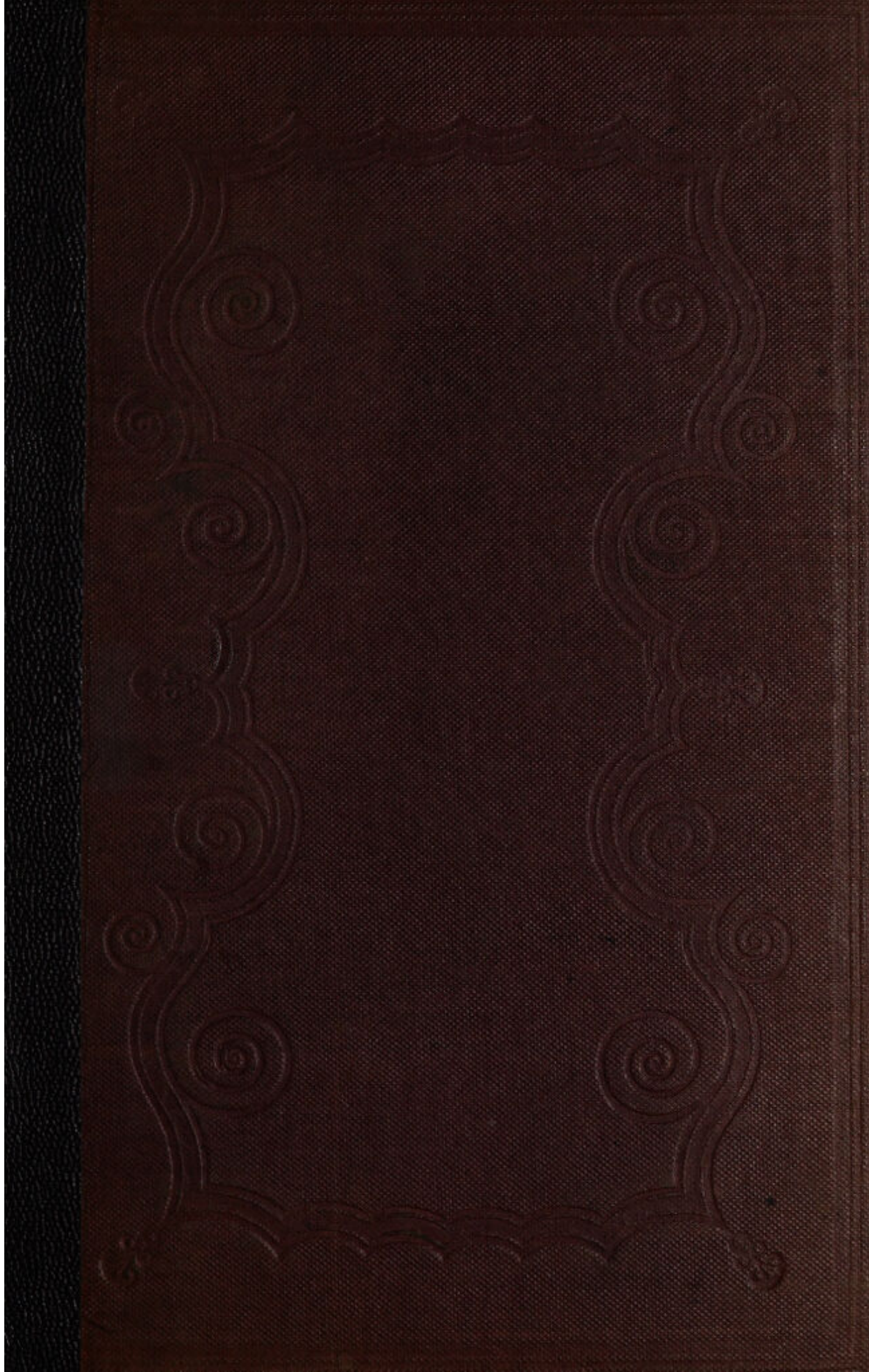
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AN
ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE
VIEW OF ALL RELIGIONS.

BY JOSIAH CONDER.

VIEW OF ALL RELIGIONS
BY A. A. A. A. A.

BY A. A. A. A. A.

LONDON :
R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD-STREET-HILL.

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James Fair -

AN
ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE
VIEW OF ALL RELIGIONS

NOW EXTANT AMONG MANKIND :

WITH THEIR INTERNAL

DIVERSITIES OF CREED AND PROFESSION.

BY JOSIAH CONDER,

AUTHOR OF

"THE MODERN TRAVELLER," ETC. ETC.

"For though there be that are called gods to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him."—1 COR. viii. 5, 6.

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1838.

Manuscript

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ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE

VIEW OF ALL RELIGIONS

FOR EXAMINATION

IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD AND LONDON



BY J. G. ...

The following is a list of the works which have been consulted in the preparation of this volume. It is not intended to be a complete bibliography, but only to indicate the sources from which the materials have been derived.

LONDON: J. G. ...

PREFACE.

SOME explanation is due to my friends, with regard to the length of time that has elapsed since this work was first announced as in preparation for the press. The plan was drawn up, and the first two chapters were written, several years ago; and as my original intention was to exhibit little more than a classified synopsis of the generic divisions and specific subdivisions of the Religious World, agreeably to the principles laid down in the introductory chapter, I had imagined that this might be comprised within the limits of a very small volume, without its being more meagre of information than Evans's "Sketch of all Religions." That volume has had the singular good fortune to obtain extensive circulation on the credit of its attractive title, without the slightest portion of literary merit, or any other intrinsic recommendation; and its success amply proves that a well-written work upon the same subject was a desideratum. It is remarkable that English literature, rich as it is in every department, but more especially in

theology, should not have abounded with works of this description. "The Religious World Displayed," by the Rev. Robert Adam, in two vols. 8vo., published several years ago, is a very respectable performance, and I have occasionally consulted it: it is not for me, therefore, to speak of its defects, among which want of candour cannot be included. The "Dictionary of All Religions," jumbles together under one alphabet sects and creeds, of all ages, extant and non-existent, without the smallest attention to their mutual relation or their proportionate importance. Besides these, the only recent work of the kind is the "Book of the Denominations," which has passed through an edition since my work was nearly completed for the press. This volume treats only of the denominations of Christendom.

There would still appear to be ample room, therefore, for the present work, which embraces a wider range. In filling up the original outline of my plan, I have found it necessary to go more into detail than I had intended, till the volume has expanded to a size much exceeding my original calculations. I have studied compression, however, to the utmost; and flatter myself that a larger portion of information upon the topics embraced will be found condensed within this volume, than has hitherto been brought into the same compass.

The most difficult, or at least the most delicate part of my task has been, to preserve that impartiality which may reasonably be looked for in an account of Religious Opinions, without affecting an irreligious neutrality,

or compromising my own most sacred convictions of truth. To conceal my opinions would have been fruitless hypocrisy ; and I can only hope that I have not suffered them to betray me into any defect of candour or violation of charity. I have not attempted to treat of the Roman-catholic tenets in the character of a Romanist, or of Mohammedism in that of a Mussulman ; nor have I scrupled to speak of sects as sects, or of heresies as heresies. The Searcher of Hearts knows, however, that my earnest desire and steady aim have been, to vindicate the catholicity of Christ's Church,—to harmonize the creed of its true members, rather than to exasperate our mutual dissensions,—to show that the religious differences among Christians chiefly arise from causes extrinsic to the common Rule and supreme Arbiter of Faith,—and to lead to the practical conclusion, that, as Christianity is demonstrably the only true religion, so no one needs despair, with the Bible in his hand, of ascertaining for himself, under its various disguises, the genuine lineaments of *true* Christianity.

WATFORD FIELD HOUSE,
March 21, 1838.

in recommending the two great existing religions of
truth. To counsel my people would have been
fruitless; and I can only hope that I have
not suffered them to betray me into any direct or
indirect violation of duty. I have not attempted
to treat of the Roman Catholic Church in the
most ideal or of the Protestantism in that of
a dispassionate and levelled to speak of facts
as they are, but as they are. The Standard of
Truth knows, however, that my object here and
elsewhere has been to indicate the pathology of
Christ's Church, to harmonize the trend of the true
mission, rather than to expound our national dis-
sentiments. So that the religious differences
among Christians chiefly arise from causes extrinsic
to the common life and supreme Article of Faith,—
and to lead to the practical conclusion that as Chris-
tians are essentially the only true religion, so we
are made deeper with the Bible in the hand of
necessitating for himself under its various dignities,
the genuine elements of true Christianity.

W. B. B. B. B. B.
March 21, 1852.

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AN ANALYTICAL VIEW OF ALL RELIGIONS.

CHAPTER I.

What is a Religion?—How many Religions are there?—Which is the true Religion?—Which is the true Church?

"It is a great fault," remarks Jeremy Taylor, "that men will call the several sects of Christians by the name of several religions."* Widely and essentially as Christians may differ among themselves, that religion which they profess in common, is one. That there can be but one true religion, almost all persons will admit; and few in this country will dispute that Christianity is that only true religion: but in what the marks of its truth consist, distinguishing it from all false religions, and what constitutes its oneness, amid all the diversities of opinion which divide the Christian world, are points respecting which much error and confusion of ideas prevail. Nothing has tended to perpetuate this confusion, and to increase this perplexity, more than the catalogues of sects and heresies, and the dictionaries of creeds and denominations, which affect to give a view of the religious world, but which, by erecting every trivial difference, every transitory form of fanaticism, and every insignificant division,

* "Liberty of Prophesying," § xvi.

All who acknowledge the divine authority of the Bible, may be considered as so far holding the true religion. Thus, the religion of the Jews, who believe in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, is in itself true; but, inasmuch as they do not understand their own Scriptures, they cannot be said truly to hold it; and, inasmuch as theirs is not the religion of the whole Bible, it is negatively untrue, as all denial of the truth amounts to, or involves, falsehood.

All who acknowledge the authority of the whole Bible, may claim to be classed with the holders of the true religion, and are accordingly, in common language, spoken of as Christians. Nothing more can be meant, when we speak of Christian nations, or even of Christian churches, than that they are bodies composed of such as professedly acknowledge the Christian religion to be the only true one, and the Holy Scriptures to be the depository of that religion. But, whether the individual holds that religion truly, or not, such expressions leave undetermined. A man may be a Christian in his religion, without being religiously Christian; without being truly of the religion which he recognises as true. Those persons who deny the essential doctrines of the Christian system, cannot be regarded as individually entitled to the name of Christians, in the higher sense: still, they may be spoken of as forming a Christian sect, inasmuch as they professedly acknowledge the authority of the Christian Scriptures.

We may seem, however, to have gained little by ascertaining that the only true religion is contained in the Bible, when so many different and widely varying systems of faith and practice present themselves, each claiming to be the religion of the Bible. The question, Which is the true religion? seems but to return under a slight modification—Which is the true Bible religion? Or, if it be wrong to call the several sects of Christians by the name of several religions, WHICH IS THE TRUE CHURCH?

In order to meet this inquiry, it will be necessary to determine how many distinct societies or congregations there are, laying claim to this character, and how they are to be

discriminated. Now, as all Christian churches agree in acknowledging the Bible to be true and of divine authority, their differences must originate in different expositions of the rule and matter of their common belief. And such we find to be, in fact, the ground upon which each church takes its stand. Without defining what a church is, or ought to be, we may take as the basis of a secondary division of the Christian world, the authorised symbols and confessions of faith of the various ecclesiastical communions. As, then, we have said, that there are only so many religions as there are revelations, real or pretended, so we may lay it down, that there are only so many forms of the one true religion, as there are churches holding separate authorized public confessions, ostensibly comprising the doctrines contained in the Bible.

According to this principle of classification, the grand subdivisions of the Christian world may be thus enumerated:—

I. The Latin or Roman-catholic Church; the accredited faith of which is embodied in the symbol of Pope Pius IV. and the Catechism of the Council of Trent.

II. The Eastern or Orthodox Greek Church; the creed of which is defined in the symbol entitled, "The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Greek Church" (1642).

III. The Anti-Byzantine Eastern Churches of Armenia, Syria, Egypt, and Chaldea.

IV. The Protestant Lutheran Churches, holding the Confession of Augsburg (1530).

V. The Protestant Churches holding the Gallic, Helvetic, and Belgic Confessions.

VI. The Protestant Episcopal Churches holding the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church.

VII. The Protestant Churches adhering to the Westminster and Savoy Confessions.

The above comprise all the principal churches or communions; the sub-sects of Protestantism classing under one or other of the four last divisions, with two remarkable, but, in point of numbers, inconsiderable exceptions; viz. the followers of Barclay and Penn, and the followers of Socinus,

and their descendants, the modern Unitarians. These, as coming properly under the denomination of *sects*, may be, for the present, set aside from consideration.

Taking the word *sect* in its primary sense, *i. e.* a body of persons following some particular master, heathen philosophy as well as christian theology exhibits its sectarian varieties, which are not considered as involving any difference of religion. Thus, the followers or sectators of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno, were severally distinguished as the Academic, the Peripatetic, the Epicurean, and the Stoic sects. In like manner within the Romish church, before the rise of Protestantism, the Scotists and the Thomists of the scholastic philosophy, and the monks of various orders, formed distinct sects, without any schism of that unity which was held to be essential to the church itself. The term *sect* is now generally used in a contemptuous sense, and applied to smaller and what are deemed schismatical communities; but it is evident, that whole nations and national churches may be comprised under this designation. Thus the Lutherans, as the followers of Luther, must be regarded as a Protestant sect; although the Lutheran faith is the established religion of several of the German states. The established church of Scotland may be said to consist of the sect of Knox, its venerated founder. The church of England was long divided between the Calvinistic and Arminian sects; and although these denominations are now regarded as opprobrious, the diversities of sentiment which they originally denoted, remain. A sect, then, is properly a school, whether of divinity or of philosophy; not a separate religious communion, since the same communion may comprise several sects. It is not till a sect becomes a separate ecclesiastical body, having its own peculiar symbols and organization, like the Wesleyans and the Quakers, that it claims to be recognised as a church or society. The great body of English nonconformists, though subdivided into different denominations, (as differing on the subject of baptism, and in the form of their religious discipline,) are not, strictly speaking, distinct theological sects, since they are the followers of no particular founder or leader, and, for the most part, substan-

tially adhere to the doctrines of the Westminster Confession. On the other hand, the Arians, the Socinians, the Arminians, the Antinomians, &c. are sects or schools, common to several communions, established and non-established. Our present inquiry relates to the characteristics and pretensions of rival churches or communions, acknowledging the Bible as their common rule of faith, but holding different expositions of the Christian doctrine. The various theological sects or schools of divinity will require to be treated of in a subsequent stage of the inquiry.

Confining, then, our attention, for the present, to these seven principal modifications of the Christian faith,—the Latin or Romish, the Byzantine, the Anti-Byzantine, the Lutheran, the Reformed or Calvinist, the Anglican, and the Scottish or Nonconformist churches,—we propose, in the ensuing Chapters, to exhibit, first, the points of general agreement between their respective creeds and formularies, and then their specific points of difference.

Although there can be but one true religion, it does not follow that there can be but one true church, unless the several churches are all at mutual variance upon points confessedly essential. That is a true church, which truly holds the religion of the Bible; for the truth of a church consists in its fidelity to the inspired doctrine. If every church were unfaithful,—were there no true church, the religion of the Bible would be not the less true, and its intrinsic authority would remain unshaken: God would be true, according to the apostolic reasoning, “though every man were false.”* The appeal lies from every church to the Divine Oracles.

There is, indeed, a sense in which there can be but one true church, because the church of Christ is but one, its unity being a mark of its truth. “One Lord, one faith, one baptism.”† But, of that one true church catholic, these several churches claim only to be a part,—with the exception of the Latin church, which arrogates to itself the exclusive title of Catholic, as comprehending in its pale all true believers.

* Rom. iii. 4.

† Eph. iv. 5.

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contemplation, partly of action; we must define the church, which is a religious society, by such differences as do properly explain the essence of such things; that is to say, by the object or matter whereabout the contemplations or actions of the church are properly conversant. For so all knowledges and all virtues are defined. Whereupon, because the *only object* which separateth ours from other religions is JESUS CHRIST, in whom none but the church doth believe, and whom none but the church doth worship, we find that, accordingly, the apostles do everywhere distinguish hereby the church from infidels and from Jews; accounting them which '*call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ*' to be his church. If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make only for the happier and better being of the church of God, either in deed, or in men's opinions and conceits. This is the error of all Popish definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the church by that which the church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the rest are."* This, the error of all Popish definitions, an error unhappily countenanced by some Protestant controvertists, is not, however, universally maintained even by Romish divines, since a learned writer among them has held this language: "For there is to be considered, as to the church, the head and the body. From the head, there is no departure but by doctrine disagreeable to Christ, the head. From the body, there is no departure by diversity of rites and opinions, but only by the defect of charity."†

It is not of the church mystical or spiritual, however, that we have now to treat, but of churches considered as bodies or societies of men, distinguished by their respective tenets and forms of polity. That which broadly distinguishes them as

* Hooker's "Eccl. Pol." book v. § 68. Elsewhere the learned Author thus describes the church catholic: "The church, being a supernatural society, doth differ from natural societies in this; that the persons unto whom we associate ourselves in the one, are men, simply considered as men; but they to whom we be joined in the other, are God, angels, and *holy men*."

† Cassander "*de Officio pii ac publicæ Tranquillitatis vere amantis Viri*." Cited by Howe in his sermon "Concerning Union among Protestants."

Christian churches from Mohammedan or pagan institutions, is, their agreement in holding the Bible to be the word of God and the foundation of religion. But they do *not* agree in holding the Bible to be the *only* and sufficient rule of faith. This is the distinguishing and fundamental tenet of Protestantism. As the Christian religion differs from the Jewish, in being the religion of *the whole Bible*, or of both the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures; so, the Protestant form of Christianity differs from the Romish, in being the religion of *the Bible only*, whereas part of the Romish faith is avowedly derived from a distinct authority, and professes to be of a supplemental character. In addition, therefore, to the differences of religious opinion arising from various exposition or interpretation of the common and supreme rule of faith, the Christian world is divided by the introduction of doctrines not derived from the Christian Scriptures, and resting on the decisions of human authority, of which the church claims to be the depository in matters of faith. It is quite obvious, that the latter class of differences among Christians is not fairly attributable to the religion of the Bible.

With regard to the matter of faith, there are, of necessity, certain points upon which all who hold the Bible to be true, must be agreed; and an eminent Roman-catholic civilian has exhibited, in the following articles, the common faith of all professed Christians.

1. That there is but one God, the Creator, of infinite perfection.
2. That He rules and directs all things by his providence.
3. That it is our duty to love Him with all our hearts.
4. That it is our duty to repent of the sins we commit.
5. That God pardons the truly penitent.
6. That there is a future state of rewards and punishments, where all mankind shall be judged according to their works.
7. That God sent his Son into the world to be its Saviour, the author of eternal salvation to all who obey him.
8. That Jesus Christ, the Messiah, taught, wrought miracles, suffered, died, and rose again, as is related in the four Gospels.

9. That he will hereafter make a second appearance on the earth, raise all mankind from the dead, judge the world in righteousness, bestow eternal life on the virtuous, and punish the workers of iniquity.*

Of these nine articles, the first six are common to the Jewish and the Christian faith, and are, indeed, recognised in the Koran. The mission, prophetic authority, and re-appearance of Jesus Christ, are also articles of belief among the Mohammedans, whose faith is, so far, less antichristian than the Jewish, and approaches to that of the Unitarian sect among Christians. The only article, therefore, which is exclusively Christian, as being peculiar to the faith derived from the Christian Scriptures, is that which recognises the Divine character of Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the author of our salvation. In the following chapters will be seen the varied exposition given by different churches, of this cardinal article of the common faith, and the nature of the additions superinduced upon the Christian doctrine.

Butler's "Confessions of Faith," p. 199.

CHAPTER II.

Points of agreement between the Latin, Greek, and Protestant Churches.—The Apostles' Creed.—The Nicene.—The Athanasian.—Points of difference between the Western and Eastern Churches.—Derivation of the rites and institutions of the Romish Church from those of Paganism.—Evidence the basis of faith.

ALL the more ancient churches, Latin, Greek, and Oriental, as well as the Anglican and other Protestant national churches, have received among their formularies the ancient symbol commonly called THE APOSTLES' CREED; but with some variation. The clause respecting our Lord's descent into hell, is not found in the ancient copies, and is considered to be, by some writers, an unauthorized addition. "This article," says Bishop Burnet, "is mentioned by no writer before Ruffin, who, in the beginning of the fifth century, does indeed speak of it; but he tells us, that it was neither in the symbol of the Roman nor of the Oriental churches, and that he found it in the symbol of his own church at Aquileia. None of the fathers in the first ages, neither Irenæus, Tertullian, nor Origen, in the short abstracts that they give us of the Christian faith, mention any thing like this; and in all that great variety of creeds that was proposed by the many councils that met in the fourth century, this is not in any one of them, except in that which was agreed to at Arimini, and was pretended, though falsely, to have been made at Sirmium: in that, it is set down in a Greek word that does exactly answer to Ruffin's *Inferna*, *Kαταθόνεια*; and it stood there instead of 'buried.' When it was put in the creed that carries Athanasius's name, though made in the sixth or seventh century, the word was changed to *Ἀδης*, or *Hell*; but yet it seems to have been understood to signify Christ's burial, there being no other word put for it in that creed. Afterwards, it was put into the symbol of the Western church: that was done at first in the words in which Ruffin had expressed it,

as appears by some ancient copies of creeds which were published by the great Primate Usher." *

With respect to the Creed itself, all Protestant writers of authority † concede, that it has no pretensions to be considered as the production of the apostolic age, or even of any very early antiquity; but the grounds upon which this and the other two Creeds are retained in the Anglican church, are thus stated by the same prelate: "Neither this nor the other creeds have any authority upon their own account. Great respect is indeed due to things of such antiquity, and that have been so long in the church; but, after all, we receive those creeds, not for their own sakes, or for the sakes of those who prepared them, but for the sake of the doctrine that is contained in them; because we believe that the doctrine which they declare is contained in the Scriptures." ‡

The Nicene Creed is so named as having been published in its original form by the Council of Nice, A. D. 325; but the clauses declaratory of belief in the divinity of the Holy Spirit, were added by the second of the general councils, convened at Constantinople by the Emperor Theodosius, A. D. 381. The words *Filioque* ("and from the Son") were not, however, inserted at that time, but were first added by the Western church, and are rejected by the Greek church, which adheres to the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan edition of the creed. The *Filioque* clause, which has occasioned such fierce and bitter contention between the two churches, was not generally inserted in the Latin creed till subsequently to A. D. 830. Mr. Butler affirms, indeed, that it is recited in the first council of Bracara, A. D. 411, and in the third council of Toledo, A. D. 589. It is admitted to have originated with the churches of Spain in the fifth century, and thence to have spread itself over all the West. §

* Bp. Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles. Art. 3.

† See Barrow on the Creed, Works, vol. i. p. 444. Bishop Pearson on the Creed, vol. ii. p. 341. Lord King's "Crit. Hist. of the Apostles' Creed," p. 24. Mosheim's "Eccl. Hist." vol. i. part ii. c. 3.

‡ Burnet on Art. 8.

§ Butler's "Confessions of Faith," p. 2. Mosheim, Cent. ix. ii. 3. § 18. Burnet on Art. 8.

The design of the Nicene Creed was, to terminate by authority the Arian controversy. Yet, all the Arian bishops present subscribed to it, except two; and Osius, the senior bishop, "with whose hand the Nicene Creed itself was set down and framed for the whole Christian world to subscribe unto," subsequently, "with the same hand, ratified the Arian confession." * Thus the decision failed altogether of producing the intended effect. Peace and unity were not restored to the churches; but to the unhappy precedent of introducing force and authority into the church and the affairs of religion, set by this famous council of Nice, may be chiefly ascribed the ruin of the Christian interest in the East.

* The third creed, erroneously ascribed to Athanasius, is affirmed to have been privately drawn up about the middle of the fourth century; but it was not received into the public formularies of the Western church till a much later period. It was never sanctioned by any general council;† was never received by the Oriental churches; and is rejected by all the Protestant churches except the Anglican. According to Hooker, it was "first exhibited under Julius, Bishop of Rome, (A.D. 337,) and afterwards, as we may probably gather, sent to the Emperor Jovinian for his more full information concerning that truth which Arianism so mightily did impugn." Bishop Burnet, however, rejects this improbable story, remarking, that this creed "was never heard of before the eighth century; and then it was given out as the creed of Athanasius, or as a representation of his doctrine, and so it grew to be received by the Western church; perhaps the more early, because it went under so great a name, in ages that were not critical enough to judge of what was genuine and what was spurious." ‡

* Hooker, B. v. § 42. Lardner's Works, vol. iv. p. 63.

† The first council which sanctioned it was the Lateran, held in 1123.

‡ Burnet on Art. 8. That Athanasius could not be its author, is also admitted by Mr. Butler. It has been attributed to Vigilius Tapsensis, an African bishop. But Waterland contends, that Hilary, Bishop of Arles, composed it about A. D. 430, for the use of the Gallican clergy. It did not obtain general consent even in France, however, till about A. D. 850; and was not received at Rome till about A. D. 1014.

The agreement of the Western, Eastern, and other ancient churches may, so far as relates to the symbol called "The Apostles' Creed," be regarded as nearly complete. With respect to the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed, they disagree only in reference to one clause. In receiving the third creed, the Roman and Anglican churches agree, but differ from the Eastern churches and almost all Protestant communions, by whom it is rejected.

The Latin and the Greek churches agree further, in recognising the authority of the first seven general councils;* an authority coming down to nearly the close of the eighth century. The Protestant churches are unanimous in rejecting the authority of these councils; and the Twenty-first Article of the church of England declares, that such councils may err, and sometimes have erred; and that "things ordained by them as necessary to salvation," have therefore "neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture." Yet, it has been represented as "the peculiar genius of the Anglo-Catholic church," in distinction from other Protestant communions, in determining the sense of the Bible, to defer to "the judgement of primitive and catholic antiquity."† In the general form of their ecclesiastical polity, in their hierarchical construction, and in their monastic orders, the Western and Eastern churches closely resemble each other; and the Anglican differs from them in these respects, only in rejecting the monastic institutions and clerical celibacy, which were abolished at the Reformation. Further, the Western and Eastern churches are nearly in accordance with each other, and at variance with all Protestant churches, in holding the doctrines and practices of—1. Transubstantiation — 2. Invocation of the Virgin and the Saints — 3. Image-worship — 4. Sacerdotal Absolution, and the efficacy *ex opere operato* of the Sacraments.

* Viz. 1. Nice (I), A.D. 325. 2. Constantinople (I), 381. 3. Ephesus, 431. 4. Chalcedon, 451. 5. Constantinople (II), 553. 6. Constantinople (III), 680. 7. Nice (II), 787.

† Le Bas' "Life of Jewel," p. 257.

The leading articles upon which the Western and Eastern churches are at variance, are the following:—

I. AS TO THE INTERPOLATED CLAUSE (*Filioque*) IN THE ARTICLE OF THE NICENE CREED, RELATING TO THE HOLY SPIRIT. The Greek church adheres to the letter of the expression, John xv. 26, "Which proceedeth from the Father." The opinion of each church on this point, termed by theologians, "*the procession of the Holy Spirit*," is anathematized by the other.*

II. AS TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE LATER GENERAL COUNCILS. The synod of Constantinople, held A.D. 869, the eighth of the general councils, is the last assembly of the East that is recognised by the Roman or Western church. This and the subsequent western councils are, on the other hand, rejected by the Greek church.

III. AS TO THE NUMBER OF THE SACRAMENTS. The Greek church does not give this name to confirmation and extreme unction. Nevertheless, the chrism or baptismal unction answers in some measure to the former; and the holy oil (*εὐχέλαιον*) is administered to the sick, by not fewer than three priests; and both are reckoned among the seven mysteries of the Eastern church. But a distinction is made by the Greek clergy between their four sacraments and the three lesser mysteries.

IV. AS TO ALLOWING THE ELEMENTS OF BOTH KINDS TO BE RECEIVED BY THE LAITY IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE

* The absurdity of raising a metaphysical controversy on so inscrutable a point, and the common mistake of both parties in overlooking the real import of the texts on which they rested their dogmas, are mildly but forcibly exposed by Dr. J. P. Smith, in a note to his valuable discourse on "The Personality and Divinity of the Holy Spirit." "I presume not to advance any opinion upon the doctrine which received from some of the Christian fathers and the metaphysical divines of the middle ages, the name of the *procession*, or *spiration*, of the Holy Spirit; for two reasons. 1. Because the passages of Scripture on which the supposed authority is rested for the use of these terms, (viz. John xv. 26, xx. 22; 1 Cor. ii. 12; Gal. iv. 6,) appear to refer solely to the communication of the influences of the Holy Spirit to men. 2. Because, in the absence of a clear spiritual warrant for the use of the expressions in any other sense than that just mentioned, they become merely terms without any correspondent (however imperfect) ideas."

EUCCHARIST. This is the practice of the Greek church; but in the Roman church, the cup is withheld from the laity, on the ground that the consecrated wafer is really the blood as well as the body of Christ.

V. AS TO THE USE OF LEAVENED OR UNLEAVENED BREAD IN THE EUCCHARIST. The Greeks use leavened bread formed into a loaf. The wafer eaten by the Latins is unleavened. Trivial as this ground of difference may seem, it formed, together with the *Filioque* clause and the dispute respecting supremacy, a main ground of the schism between the Eastern and Western churches.

VI. AS TO THE TIME OF KEEPING THE PASCHAL FESTIVAL OR EASTER. The Asiatic churches have always observed it on the day on which the Jews celebrated the Passover; and three days after, they commemorate the resurrection. The Western churches celebrate it on the eve of the anniversary of the resurrection; and the Council of Nice ordained that Easter-day should always be the Sunday after the Passover. Disputes upon this trivial point broke out as early as the second century; and the question still excites bitter contention between Greek and Latin.

VII. AS TO THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY. This doctrine, which forms so prominent an article of the Tridentine Creed, was condemned by the second Council of Constantinople, and is rejected by the Eastern church; although the Greeks pray for the dead.

VIII. AS TO THE LAWFULNESS OF ADORING THE GRAVEN IMAGES OF SAINTS. The Greek church at present allows only of the use of paintings in the churches for the purpose of worship. Images were first abolished by the Greek Emperor Leo III., who succeeded to the purple A.D. 717. In this attempt at reformation, he was violently opposed by Pope Gregory II., who stirred up the Latins to revolt against him, and instigated Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, to resist his authority. The iconoclastic zeal prevailed in the Greek church during the eighth and part of the ninth centuries; till, during the minority of Michael III., the use of images in worship was restored by the Empress Mother,

Theodora. The statue of the Virgin was formally installed with great pomp by Johannes Zemises, in the metropolitan church, about A.D. 970, and was honoured as the palladium of the State : it appears also on the coins of that Emperor. All statues and sculptured representations are now, however, excluded from the Greek churches ; but their place is abundantly supplied by the substitution of paint and canvass for wood and stone. The difference between the practice of the two churches on this point, is therefore merely circumstantial.

IX. ON THE MODE OF MAKING THE SIGN OF THE CROSS. The form observed in the Greek church, is, to move the hand from the right shoulder to the left, in repeating the words, *And of the Holy Ghost*. In the Roman church, the hand is moved from the breast to the left shoulder, and thence to the right.

X. AS TO THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY. In the Greek church, the bishops only are prohibited from marrying : the secular priests may be married at the time of ordination, but must not marry afterwards.

XI. AS TO THE USE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES BY THE LAITY. This is sanctioned by the practice of the Greek church, but is expressly discountenanced by the church of Rome.

XII. AS TO THE SUPREMACY AND INFALLIBILITY OF THE BISHOP OF ROME. Before the seat of the Roman empire was transferred to Byzantium or Constantinople, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, had each its patriarch ; and three other dioceses had each its independent primate. The province of Asia was under the jurisdiction of the primate of Ephesus ; Thrace under that of the primate of Heraclea ; Pontus under the primate of Cæsarea. These three primacies were subsequently merged in the patriarchate of Constantinople ; and the title of patriarch was also conferred upon the bishop of Jerusalem. Disputes among the several patriarchs and primates upon the point of precedency, arose at a very early period. Cyprian, primate of Carthage, about the middle of the third century, distinguished himself by resisting the

claims of the Roman bishop to supremacy of rank. A bitter warfare was long maintained by the rival patriarchs of Byzantium and Alexandria, which ultimately led to the separation of the Egyptian or Coptic church from the Eastern, in the sixth century. The Bishop of Constantinople presided in the second general council, held in that metropolis, in which the church of Rome was not represented; and by the twenty-eighth canon of the Synod of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, he was permitted to enjoy an equal rank with the Roman bishop. Against these alleged encroachments, no small resistance was made by the head of the Latin church; but the Emperors of the East were strenuous in asserting the privileges of the new metropolis, and confirmed, by their preponderating authority, all the pretensions of its bishop. The final schism between the Greek and Latin churches dates from the middle of the ninth century. Photius (or Phocas) had been raised to the patriarchate of Constantinople in the year 858, by the Emperor Michael III., in the place of Ignatius, whom that prince drove from his see into exile. Pope Nicholas I. took part with the exiled patriarch, condemned the election as invalid and unwarrantable, and excommunicated Photius. The latter, a high-spirited prelate, and the most learned man of his age, upon this, assembled a council at Constantinople, and in his turn, excommunicated the Pope. Thenceforward, the patriarch of Constantinople, or "New Rome," assumed the title of Œcumenical Patriarch. Two unsuccessful attempts were made by the Emperor Michael Palæologus, in the thirteenth century, to re-unite the two churches; and the council of Florence endeavoured, in 1442, to heal the breach; but the mutual sacrifices required were alike unpalatable to the Roman and the Constantinopolitan prelate. The Greeks are still, therefore, looked upon by the Latin church as schismatics, with the exception of those who, having been proselyted to the Romish communion, are distinguished as Greek Catholics. The infallibility of the Pope is of course altogether disclaimed by the Eastern church; nor is any similar claim put forward on behalf of its own supreme head.

Of these twelve points of difference between the Western

and Eastern churches, four only, viz., the fourth, the seventh, the tenth, and the eleventh, relating to the communion in both kinds, the doctrine of purgatory, the celibacy of the clergy, and the free use of the Scriptures, can be deemed of practical importance. The first point is a pure logomachy. The distinction between the tenets of the two churches respecting the number of the sacraments, which is the third, is little more than nominal. The distinction between image-worship and picture-worship, which forms the eighth, is immaterial: the actual character of the idolatrous superstition inseparable from the practices which each church allows, is the same in both. The fifth, sixth, and ninth points are absurdly trivial. The second and the last are important only in their consequences, not relating immediately to any theological doctrine.

Even with regard to the Sacraments, Purgatory, and Celibacy, as the modern Greeks hold Transubstantiation, pray for the dead, and do not deem it lawful for bishops to marry, their doctrines approach very nearly to those of the Romish faith, and are, at all events, very far removed from Protestantism. Thus, the only very material difference between the two churches, seems to resolve itself into the clearer recognition, by the Greek church, of the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith, in allowing of the circulation and perusal of the Scriptures, and the more liberal principles of religious toleration which it sanctions.

On the other hand, in many of the institutions and observances common to the Latin and the Oriental churches, a very close resemblance and affinity may be detected to those of the ancient Pagan ritual and superstition which they have displaced. One of the main sources of the corruptions brought into the Christian church, has been the avowed policy of adapting its institutions to the prejudices of the vulgar. Among the most striking coincidences, or rather proofs of derivation from heathen origin, are the following:—

I. *The worship and invocation of Saints.* The saints of the Roman calendar, in their number, their titles and specific attributes, their supposed local presence and influence, and in the reverence paid to their temples and images, are not

so much the successors to the old local divinities, as the gods of heathen Rome slightly disguised under a new nomenclature. Particular spots, especially hills and fountains, are sacred to them; and their images are employed, precisely as were the *lares*, *dii tutelares*, and *cubiculares*, as guardians of the house or couch, or as charms and amulets. The place and purpose of the *Terminus*, as a boundary, are now occupied by the more seemly emblem of the Cross.*

II. *The Divine honours more especially paid to the Madonna or Virgin Mary.* These, as practised more particularly by the Italians, almost to the exclusion of the worship of our Lord, are in remarkable conformity to the worship of Cybele and of Isis; the same titles and epithets being applied to the Virgin as were anciently given to the "Queen of Heaven." The feast of the Blessed Virgin in the calendar, familiarly known as Lady-day, was formerly dedicated to Cybele. In various other instances, the Virgin has succeeded to the Mother of the Gods, or to Venus, in the superstition of the modern Romans.

III. *The adoration of Relics.* These also were anciently the objects of superstitious reverence in pagan worship. In the Eleusinian mysteries, there was, in particular, an exposition of relics. The custom of kissing them, as well as of showing the same mark of homage to the images of saints, is also of heathen origin. In fact, the festivals of the modern saints closely correspond, not only in time, but in the ceremonies observed, to those of the old deities.

IV. *The ecclesiastical edifices.* The modern churches of Italy and Sicily have, in many instances, been formed out of heathen temples; in other cases, founded upon the same site: and in all cases, the points of similarity are numerous, both in the details of their construction and in their furniture. The *aquaminarium*, or vessel of holy water, at the doors, the lighting up of lamps or tapers, the paintings and statues, the numerous altars, censers, and tripods, and the votive offerings, were all borrowed from the temples of Paganism.† The

* See "Mod. Traveller," vol. xviii. p. 162. Blunt's "Vestiges," p. 125.

† See Middleton's "Letter from Rome," pp. 318—336.

relative situation of the image and altar in the old temples and the modern churches, is also the same. The altar was placed in front of the statue of the god, so much below him as to allow him to receive the full benefit of the odour of the offering; and in precisely the same manner is a figure of our Saviour, of the Virgin, or of some saint fixed above the altar at which the priest performs mass; during the celebration of which, the incense is from time to time made to rise like an exhalation towards the object of worship. The multiplicity of altars is a striking feature of resemblance. "Was there ever a temple in the world not strictly heathenish," asks Dr. Middleton, "in which there were several altars all smoking with incense within one view, and at one and the same time? And since there never was an example of it, but what was paganish, before the times of Popery, how is it possible that it could be derived to them from any other source?"* "Many altars under the same roof," it has been justly remarked, "indicate many objects of worship; and the polytheism of the church of Rome is manifested by the first view of the interior of their cathedrals."† The paint and apparel lavished by the Italians on the figures of their saints, the necklaces, rings, and pendants with which they are adorned, and the practice of drawing curtains before these figures, correspond precisely to the practices of the ancient Pagans.

V. *The sacrifice of the Mass.* Almost all the religious services and ceremonies of the Italians and other Roman Catholic nations are also, to a remarkable extent, borrowed from the ancient Pagans. "The first and most important of the religious services of the Romans was sacrifice: the first and most important of the religious services of their posterity is the mass, which is also a sacrifice, and is accordingly termed *sacrificio della messa*. The victim which was the subject of the former, was called *Hostia*: the wafer which is the subject of the latter, is called *Ostia* also (in English, the host). Before the commencement of high mass (*messa cantata*), the

* Middleton's "Letter from Rome," p. 246.

† Douglas's "Errors regarding Religion," pp. 80, 81.

priest, standing in front of the altar, takes in his hand the *aspersorio*, and sprinkles the holy water with which it is filled towards the congregation: after this, he proceeds to the performance of the rite. Such, too, was the ceremony which accompanied a sacrifice among the old Romans. In the high mass, and in other offices of his church, the priest employs such modulations of voice as amount to a simple chant. This was also the case in the services of the ancients: hence that frequent application of the word *cantare* to the ministers of the pagan worship. The use of small bells, which are so frequently rung during the performance of mass, is not without its claim to antiquity. The sounding brass, in some shape or other, was struck in the sacred rites of the *Dea Syria* and in those of Hecate. The *sistrum* shaken by the priests in the service of the goddess Isis, was no doubt intended to have the same effect. . . . The boy who now ministers at the altar in the churches of Italy, has the same dress and the same office" (as in the ancient services), "with this exception only, that he must be prepared to supply books and censers instead of oblations and chaplets. The costume of the present clergy, indeed, exhibits a striking resemblance to that of some of the sacerdotal orders of old Rome."*

VI. *The doctrine of Purgatory.* This distinguishing doctrine of the Romish faith bears a close affinity to a tenet of the Platonic philosophy, which was familiar to the Romans, and of which a distinct exposition is to be found in the *Æneid*.† Masses for the dead now answer the same purpose as the

* Blunt's "Vestiges," pp. 113—116; 111, 112.

† See *Æneid*, vi. 735. "The emanative system," Mr. Douglas remarks, "which spread so widely over the ancient world, and deduced all being from the one original fountain, is visible both in several of the writings of the Fathers, and also in the pretended explanation of the mystery of the Trinity, which the church of Rome authorizes. But it is most conspicuous in the doctrine of purgatory, which is derived from the same source. Upon this system, all beings are part of the Supreme Being, destined to return like drops into that ocean from which they have been separated for a time; and that return can only be delayed by the stains they contract from the pollution of matter. These stains are worn out by the action of fire and by the power of pain, till, freed from every impurity, they joyfully reascend to their parent existence. It is impossible to find the doctrine of purgatory in the Bible, but it is very easy to find it in Virgil's *Æneid*."—*Douglas's "Errors regarding Religion,"* p. 94.

ancient *parentalia*, (offerings made at the sepulchres to the shades of the departed,) from which they are doubtless derived. Both are sacrifices of prayer and incense, made at the altar for the souls of the dead; and which are more or less costly, according to the wealth or poverty of the deceased. The advantage expected from masses is, a more speedy delivery from the pains of purgatory. And what was the supposed advantage of the ancient rites of sepulture? A more speedy deliverance from the misery of wandering on the wrong side of the Styx. Again, there is an annual service (on the 2d of November) called the *Festa dei morti*, when certain rites of purification are performed for all departed souls. This ceremony scarcely differs, except in the season of its celebration, from the *feralia* of the ancient Romans, solemnized on the 21st of February; the name of which month is derived from the word (*februare*, to purify) which was applied to this rite.*

VII. *The Miracles of the Church.* Not only have the rites and idolatry of ancient Rome been retained by the Romish church, but even the miracles of Paganism have been perpetuated, in many instances, with scarcely any alteration, but with a considerable increase of celebrity and reputation. The miracle of frankincense melting without fire, for instance, which Horace laughs at, is still kept up in the same parts of Italy, in the pretended melting of St. Januarius's blood at Naples.† And in many other instances, the "lying wonder" is to be traced to the days of heathenism.

VIII. *The Priesthood itself.* In its sacerdotal hierarchy, the Romish church has closely copied the institutions of Pagan Rome. "The sovereign pontiff," remarks Dr. Middleton, "instead of deriving his succession from St. Peter, may, with more reason and a much better plea, style himself the successor of the *pontifex maximus*, or chief-priest of old Rome, whose authority and dignity were the greatest in the Republic, and who was looked upon as the arbiter or judge of all things,

* Blunt's "Vestiges," pp. 185—189. See Ovid. *Fast.* ii. 33.

† Douglas's "Errors," &c. p. 88.

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sent mendicant orders, are primarily derived from the priests of Isis and Serapis. Those priests, like the mendicant monks, were bound by vows of temperance and abstinence; were supported by the charity of the public; were accustomed to go their daily rounds, begging with the *sistrum* in their hands; had recourse to the same stratagems, in order to maintain their credit with the vulgar; and even their costume was in most respects precisely that of the monkish orders. The chief difference is, that the dress of the former was linen, while that of the latter is woollen. But the loose cloak and cowl, the sandal, and the tonsure, of the Franciscan, are all copied from the servants of Isis and Serapis.* The parallel might be pursued into further details; but this brief enumeration of the more striking points of conformity between the modern and the pagan superstitions, will sufficiently illustrate the true source of most of the corruptions by which every thing but the name of Christianity has been well nigh obliterated in the churches of Italy, Sicily, Spain and Portugal, Greece and Russia, as well as in more eastern countries; where, to use the words of Bishop Stillingfleet, "Christianity has become nothing else but reformed Paganism, as to its divine worship."†

"It was at Rome," says the great infidel Historian of Christianity, "when musing amid the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, (now the church of the Franciscan friars,) that the idea of writing the Decline and Fall of the city first started to my mind." To a man destitute of the sound religious knowledge which is inseparable from true piety, who identified the Christian religion with the borrowed institutions of a corrupt church, the suggested contrast between the fallen majesty of

* Blunt. pp. 127—137. In the chamber of the young Apollo, in the Vatican, is a bas-relief, representing a priest of Isis, clad in the very costume of a Franciscan. St. Jerome, reprobating the absurd practice of the tonsure, refers to it as an acknowledged imitation of those pagan priests. "It is clear," he says, "that we ought not to be seen with our heads shaven, like the priests and worshippers of Isis and Serapis." Cited by Bingham. (vi. c. 4.) See also Middleton's "Letter," pp. 247, 379.

† See Stillingfleet. "Defence of the Charge of Idolatry against the Romanists."

classic heathenism and the extant mummary of the intrusive faith, could not but be altogether to the disadvantage of the latter. Viewing the revolution effected by the propagation of the gospel simply as the enthronement of the papal power on the ruins of the Augustan empire, little might seem to have been gained, as regards the state of society, by the change of dynasty and of ritual that had consigned the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to the bare-footed monks of St. Francis; and, accordingly, the scarcely disguised object of the Historian is to show, that that revolution was a baleful one for the happiness of mankind. The truth of Christianity is staked upon its being possible, and indeed easy to show, that the religion of the Bible has nothing in common with that anti-christian superstition which, in fulfilment of inspired prediction, has usurped its name; a superstition which was less the effect of priestcraft than its cause, for human nature is the author of its own delusions. The corruption of the Christian faith was but the relapse of society into a masked Paganism, which, in all ages and all countries, is the natural religion of the mass of mankind. It has always, however, been one distinctive feature of superstition, that it allows of an esoteric and a vulgar creed; presenting to those who soar above the implicit credulity of the priest-led multitude the philosophy of its fables, which gratifies the pride of reason without making any demand upon the faith. Hence, a decent scepticism has always afforded shelter from the grossness of idolatry, to men of letters and science, from the days of Socrates down to the time of Julian; and not less so within the pale of nominal Christianity. A mystical deism or a grosser infidelity has at all times extensively prevailed, as an esoteric creed, among the higher orders of the hierophants of that church which, by teaching and exacting submission to doctrines not merely without evidence, but at variance with it, shuts up her votaries to the alternative of an implicit reliance upon her own authority, or a pathless scepticism.

It is a characteristic of the Christian religion, that, while it makes its demand upon our faith, on the ground of Divine authority, it offers as the basis of that faith rational and

sufficient evidence.* But, when political authority is employed to determine what is truth, or to decree what shall be received as true, the ground of obedience is changed, and an obligation which cannot bind the conscience is substituted for the genuine evidence which alone can command a rational faith. Belief, as an exercise of religious obedience, must rest upon reasons to which human authority can add nothing;—must be enforced by religious obligations which human laws cannot strengthen. The authority of councils and conclaves is purely a political authority. Whether their decrees were or were not in accordance with the facts and doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, the Christian faith was removed from its proper basis of evidence by the very means employed to terminate disputation and to extinguish doubt. It was not as *truth*, but as *law*, that the doctrines embodied in such decisions required to be assented to on the authority of the tribunal which promulgated them,—an authority which compelled submission, but which could not produce or warrant faith.

The authority of testimony is the authority of evidence. The authority of Scripture, that of Divine testimony, is the highest evidence, and the only sufficient evidence of revealed truth. The definitions of creeds and synodical decisions do not partake of the character of evidence, nor can they add any thing to the strength or clearness of the scriptural testimony. Not having the authority of evidence, by which alone truth can be enforced, they must derive their binding power from the will of the ruling and ordaining authorities, enforced by political sanctions. But, as bad laws and good laws are equally binding, if ordained by the supreme and lawful authority, so, the same rule that requires truth to be received in submission to ecclesiastical decisions or political edicts, makes it imperative to receive error and falsehood, if predicated by the same authorities. Accordingly, general councils of equal authority have decreed, as the matter of belief, what is now acknowledged to be pernicious error. It is

* Bp. Butler has shewn, in his "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion," that this circumstance constitutes a main part of religious probation. Part II. c. 6.

not their having erred, however, which can make the authority they claimed to determine and enforce religious truth, legitimate or otherwise. If the first council of Nice had authority to issue the Nicene Creed as the rule of faith, the council of Trent had as good authority to issue the Creed which is received as the test and standard of Catholic orthodoxy by the Roman church. There is no escape from this inference, but by denying to either, or to any ecclesiastical judicature or tribunal, the slightest degree of that species of moral authority—the authority of evidence—of which alone truth is susceptible. It is from the confounding of the opposite kinds of authority which rule in the distinct provinces of morals and political law,—from the attempt to amalgamate things so distinct as evidence and power,—that have proceeded all the misguided and abortive efforts to propagate and uphold the Christian faith by pains and penalties. Historical records and ecclesiastical documents may establish *facts*: political authorities may institute *laws*: but religious truth admits of no other law or proof than the Divine authority and the inspired testimony. The Scriptures, therefore, are, to a true believer, the only rule and law of faith. Men who have not religious faith, or whose faith, if sincere, is unenlightened by sound scriptural knowledge, unable to discriminate the true evidence from the false, are glad to find themselves taken by the hand, though it is by a blind guide, who conducts them to a resting-place in the maze of scepticism, which they mistake for the goal of their inquiries. Welcome is the proffered authority of the church to one who wishes to repose upon a creed, and has not found rest at the feet of the Great Teacher. The experimental evidence of Christian truth is the highest reason of faith to the heart; but, where this is not discerned or possessed, the rule of faith itself becomes involved in so much apparent uncertainty, that a credulous surrender to human authority seems preferable to bewildering doubt. Hence it is that we find individuals passing over from uninformed scepticism to the extreme of implicit faith; and the Romish church numbers such converts among her most zealous and bigoted votaries.

CHAPTER III.

Subdivisions of the Eastern church.—Symbolic books of the Greek church.—Present condition, internal government, and numerical extent of the orthodox Greek church.—Anti-Byzantine churches.—Syrian church.—Coptic church.—Abyssinian church.—Nestorian church.—Indo-Syrian church.—Armenian church.

THAT great division of Christendom generally comprehended under the denomination of the Eastern Church, in contradistinction from the Western Church, is now divided into many communions :—

I. The Constantinopolitan (Byzantine) or orthodox Greek church, comprising all who acknowledge the supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople, styled the Œcumenical Patriarch.

II. The Russian Greek church, which was formed into a fifth patriarchate by the council of Moscow, A.D. 1588 ; was declared independent of any foreign jurisdiction in the following century ; and, on the abolition of the high office of patriarch by Peter the Great, in 1700, was constituted a National Church, having for its head the Russian Emperor. It is now governed by a council established at St. Petersburg in 1721, called the Holy Legislative Synod.

III. The Anti-Byzantine or Monophysite churches, which have renounced communion both with the Constantinopolitan church and the church of Rome ; differing from them in doctrine as well as in ritual ; namely :—

- i. The Syrian Jacobite church, acknowledging the supremacy of the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch.
- ii. The Coptic or Alexandrian church, acknowledging as its head the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria.
- iii. The Abyssinian or Ethiopic church, which, as acknowledging the supremacy of the patriarch of Alexandria, may be considered as a branch of the Coptic.

- iv. The Nestorian Chaldean church, the head of which is the patriarch of Babylon, resident at Mousul.
- v. The Indo-Syrian church, under the metropolitan of Malabar, who acknowledges, however, the supremacy of the patriarch of Antioch.
- vi. The Armenian church, the proper head of which is the Catholicos of Etchmiazin: those of Sis and Aghtamar have also independent jurisdiction.

IV. The Greek and other Eastern Christians, who acknowledge the supremacy of the see of Rome, and are in communion with the Latin church. They are distinguished as Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics (or papal Armenians), Syrian Catholics (or Maronites), Nestorian Catholics, &c.

SECTION I.

THE ORTHODOX GREEK CHURCH.

In point of doctrine, the Constantinopolitan Greek church and the Russian Greek church are essentially agreed, their separation being purely political. To the Russian or Muscovite church, the mother church of Constantinople is indebted, indeed, for the symbolic book which, together with the canons of the first seven Œcumenical Councils, now forms the only authorized standard of its doctrines. Numerous confessions of faith had been put forth, but none of them possessing any recognised authority, when, in 1621, the learned and excellent Cyril Lucar, then Patriarch of Constantinople, drew up, in the name of the Oriental church, his famous Confession, comprising eighteen short chapters and articles, and remarkable for its close approximation to the doctrines of the Reformed Protestant churches, in the rejection of purgatory, transubstantiation, the apocryphal books of the Greek canon, and the five spurious sacraments.* The publication of this

* This Confession was first written in Latin, and, being delivered to C. Vander Haga, the Dutch ambassador at the Porte, was published by him in 1629. It was afterwards translated into Greek, and enlarged by the addition of copious scriptural authorities. An edition appeared at Rome in 1632, which has a censure

document excited, however, the most violent opposition, which was fostered by the Jesuits, seconded by the influence of the French ambassador at the Porte, and led to the deposition and martyrdom of the patriarch, who was strangled by the Ottoman Government in 1638. In avowed opposition to Cyril's Confession, Peter Mogislaus, metropolitan of Kiev, in the Ukraine, convened a synod, and put forth a Confession or Catechism, in the Russian language, primarily for the use of his own diocese. This was, however, revised, approved, and confirmed, in 1643, by Parthenius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the three other Greek patriarchs, nine bishops, and others, who decreed that "it faithfully followed the doctrine of the church of Christ, and agreed with the holy canons." Having been translated into Latin and Greek, it was then published under the title of "The Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church." It appears to have been further confirmed by a council held at Jerusalem in 1672, by which the doctrines of Cyril were condemned. In 1696, it was published by the last Russian patriarch; and in 1772, at the command of Peter the Great, by the Holy Synod.* This Confession is said to be not much regarded even in the Russian church. Its original adoption appears to have been the result of faction and intrigue; and it was indebted for a considerable share of the credit it obtained, to an opulent Constantinopolitan Greek, named Panagiota, interpreter to the Porte, who published it at his own expense for gratuitous distribution. Be this as it may, it must be regarded as the most authentic exposition of the doctrines of the orthodox

upon it, in modern Greek, entitled, "The Condemnation of the Confession of the Calvinists, as it was set forth in the name of Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople." It seems to have been attempted to discredit its authenticity. Two editions of the Greek and Latin were published in Geneva; the latter in 1633. It appears in the "*Corpus Confessionum*;" is given by Hottinger in his "*Analecta Hist. Analogica*;" and was published (in Greek and French) with the Letters, &c. of Cyril, in 1 vol. 4to. Amsterdam, 1718. *Adam's "Religious World Displayed,"* vol. i. p. 183.

* It was printed in Holland, in Greek and Latin, in 1662, with a recommendatory letter from Nectarius, patriarch of Jerusalem. Again, at Leipsic, in 1695, with a preface by Laur. Normannus, a Swede; and in 1751, at Breslau, with an historical account of it by Professor Hoffman of Wittemberg.

Greek church which we possess, since it has received the sanction of the highest ecclesiastical authorities.

Like the Latin church, the Greek church recognises two sources of doctrine, the Holy Scriptures and Tradition; comprehending under the latter all the doctrines approved by the first seven General Councils, as well as those contained in the writings of the Greek fathers, especially St. Chrysostom, whose name is still held in high veneration among the better informed clergy. The doctor who holds the highest rank, however, as an expositor of the Christian doctrine, in the Greek church, is John of Damascus, who flourished in the eighth century; styled by Mosheim, "the Thomas Aquinas and Lombard of the Greeks."* He composed a complete body of the Christian doctrine in a scientific method, under the title of "Four Books concerning the Orthodox Faith;" which was received among the Greeks with the highest applause and admiration, and at length came to be acknowledged by them as the only rule of Divine truth. In another work, entitled, "Sacred Parallels," he also collected with great care and industry, the opinions of the ancient doctors concerning various points of the Christian religion.

The chief points upon which the Greek church differs from the Latin, as well as those tenets which they hold in common, have been specified in the preceding chapter. To the former may be added, that the Greeks consider the Septuagint as the authentic version of the Old Testament, attaching to it the same reverence and deference which the Latins, with less reason, pay to the Latin Vulgate; and they consequently receive as canonical all the apocryphal books comprised in the Greek canon. They also ascribe a high authority to the Eighty-five Apostolical Constitutions. They commence their ecclesiastical year on the 1st of September, in this respect agreeing nearly with the Jewish calendar; and they differ from the Western church in their sacred chronology, reckoning 5500 years from the Creation to the Birth of our Saviour.

The rites and ceremonies of the Greek church are exceedingly numerous, trivial, and burdensome: the daily services

* Mosheim, Part II. c. 3. § 6.

are eight in number, and, if performed at length, would occupy twelve or fourteen hours. In parochial churches, these services are now reduced to three. The Service-books, answering to the Missal, Breviary, and Martyrology of the Latins, with the Psalter, &c., occupy more than twenty folio volumes. In all the services, except in the Communion, prayers and adorations are offered to the Virgin, (styled the *Panagia*, all-holy,) or to some of the multitudinous saints of the Greek Calendar, almost as often as to the Deity. Every day in the year is consecrated to some saint; frequently to more than one; and every day of the week is appropriated, in the church service, to some peculiar object of adoration. Sunday is dedicated to the Resurrection; Monday, to the Angels; Tuesday, to St. John Baptist; Wednesday, to the Virgin Mary and the Cross; Thursday, to the Apostles; Friday, to the Passion of Christ; and Saturday, to the Saints and Martyrs. The Greeks are remarkable for the austerity with which they observe their fasts. Of these, there are four in the year: the first begins in November, comprehending the forty days previous to Christmas; the second corresponds to our Lent; the third, called the Lent of St. Peter, commences the week after Pentecost, and ends on the feast of St. Peter (June 29); and the fourth, the Lent of the Mother of God, begins on the 1st of August, and ends on the 15th, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

Generally speaking, the Greek church is as deeply sunk in idolatrous error as the Romish, and exhibits, perhaps, even more of the imbecility of superstition, combined with a more barbarous ignorance. Among the causes which have tended to perpetuate this ignorance, the most obvious are, the destitution of the Holy Scriptures, and the performance of Divine worship in a language not understood by the people. The ancient Greek, the language of the church service, is as much a dead language as the Latin, and scarcely less unintelligible to the modern Greeks, than it is to the Slavonian population of Russia. Yet it has been, till of late, the only language taught in the schools of Greece; and the natural consequence has been, that by far the larger portion of the

Levantine population have been for ages in a state of semi-barbarism.*

In some respects, however, the Greek church presents a more hopeful state than that which bears the yoke of Popery. It has never resisted the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, for which the highest veneration is entertained; and the recent introduction of the Bible into Greek schools, is a most important step towards the diffusion of religious knowledge in the East. The clergy and members of the Greek church exhibit also, for the most part, a far more tolerant spirit towards Protestants, are more open to conviction upon points of faith, and more willing to abide by an appeal to the inspired records as the Rule of faith.† In this respect an important change is taking place in the public mind. It is observable also, that many of the errors and corruptions common to the Latin and Greek churches are, in the latter, of comparatively recent introduction, and may be traced to the influence of Romish teachers. Transubstantiation, for instance, in the gross sense of the Romanists, is not the doctrine of its ancient liturgies; and the term is supposed to have been first sanctioned by Gabriel Severus, metropolitan of Philadelphia, in the sixteenth century, who had resided a long time at Venice.‡ The Latins have always discovered a strong solicitude to make all the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church coincide, so far as possible, with those of their own; and the ignorance of the Greeks, as well as their political depression, has given a great advantage to the more learned Romanists, in their attempts to bring over the priests and patriarchs of the Eastern church to a closer conformity to their own creed. But, in proportion as the political influence of the

* Hitherto, the absurd mode of teaching children to read by means of obsolete languages, has been universal in the Levant. The Greek child has been condemned to labour upon the ancient Greek, the Armenian upon the ancient Armenian, the Turk upon Arabic, the Jew upon Hebrew.

† The Rev. Mr. Hartley, late Protestant missionary in the Mediterranean, declares, that he never found any difficulty in convincing the Greeks of the impropriety of worshipping saints and pictures, when he had previously adopted a conciliatory line of conduct. He was permitted to preach in various Greek churches at Egina, Hydra, and in the Morea.—See “*Researches in Greece*,” &c. 8vo. 1831.

‡ Adam's Relig. World, vol. i. p. 173.

Romish church has declined, and the Easterns have come into contact with enlightened Protestants, they have shown a disposition favourable to a closer approximation to the purer doctrines of the Reformed faith. In disowning the pretended supremacy and infallibility of the Roman pontiff, they consider themselves as in some measure making common cause with the Protestants. But, what is more important, the circumstance of their acknowledging no living depository of Tradition, nor any binding authority in matters of faith posterior to the first seven Councils, together with their reverence for the Greek Scriptures, leaves open the way for their return to a more Scriptural faith.

The supreme head of the orthodox Greek church is the patriarch of Constantinople, whose usual title, when he subscribes any letter or missive, is, "By the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, the New Rome, and Œcumenical Patriarch." He is elected by the votes of the neighbouring bishops and optimates; but, as the *barât* of the Sultan is necessary to give validity to the election, and to enable the newly chosen patriarch to exercise his spiritual functions, the appointment rests, in fact, with the Mohammedan Government, to whom a fee or tribute is paid as the price of institution, varying from 20,000 to 30,000 dollars, or even more.* The office is consequently procured by bribery and intrigue; and is sometimes retained only by a fresh sacrifice to the cupidity of the Porte. The right of consecrating the new patriarch is claimed by the archbishop of Heraclea, that city having been the metropolis of the Thracian diocese, before Byzantium became the seat of empire. The Constantinopolitan patriarch claims the privilege of nominating to the other three patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; and, after their election by the clergy and optimates of their respective patriarchates, of con-

* Cyril Lucar states, that the Sultan, disregarding the election, "*confirmat illum qui plus dederit.*" When a higher bidder appears, the patriarch elect is often deposed or banished. "In the space of two years that I stayed at Constantinople," says M. Grelot, "two different patriarchs gave for the patriarchate, the one 50,000, the other 60,000 crowns."

firming the election ; but the imperial *barât* is still necessary to enable them to exercise their functions. Each of the four patriarchs is held to be supreme and independent within his own jurisdiction ; the superior rank of the Œcumenical Patriarch is, however, acknowledged by the others, and his authority, in so far that nothing important can be undertaken in the regulation of spiritual affairs without his concurrence. In fact, the episcopal dominions of the other three patriarchs are extremely poor and inconsiderable : those of Antioch and Jerusalem reside chiefly at Constantinople, as they enjoy very slender and precarious revenues, and are dependent, in great measure, on the bounty of their superior. The power of the supreme patriarch is maintained, on the one hand, by the authority of the Ottoman Government, and, on the other, by his having the prerogative of excommunicating disobedient members of the Greek church ; a sentence which is regarded with the greatest terror. The influence of this patriarch with the Porte has generally been very extensive, so far as his own nation is concerned ; giving him a power little short of absolute over all the subjects of his jurisdiction. With the permission of the Sultan, he administers justice, and takes cognizance of civil causes, among the members of his own communion. His jurisdiction nominally extends over Thrace and the other countries now comprised in European Turkey, including Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as Greece and the Greek Islands, and the greater part of Asia Minor.*

The patriarch of Alexandria, who, as the second in rank, administers the affairs of the see of Constantinople when vacant, resides generally at Cairo, and claims to exercise his spiritual authority in Egypt, Nubia, Libya, and part of Arabia. But his actual authority is confined within very narrow limits, since all the Coptic bishops acknowledge as

* Among the bishops who assisted in the monthly synod, composed of the heads of the church resident in Constantinople, in 1817, were, (Dallaway states,) those of Heraclea, Adrianople, Thessalonica, and Turnebo in Thrace ; Nicæa, Nicomedia, Chalcedon, and Cyzicus, in Bithynia ; Ephesus, in Ionia ; Cæsarea, in Cappadocia ; and Amasia, in Pontus. In Candia alone (the ancient Crete), there are twelve bishops, the chief of whom assumes the title of Archbishop of Gortynia, and resides in the capital.

their chief the Anti-Byzantine or Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria. The few who are still faithful to the orthodox Greek church, are found chiefly in the villages or the capital of Lower Egypt.

The patriarch of Antioch, whose principal residence is Damascus, has two rivals, who assume the same title and dignity; the one as the head of the Syrian-Jacobite or Monophysite church, the other as the chief of the Maronites or Syrian-Catholics, who hold communion with the church of Rome. Besides these, the Pope creates at Rome a titular patriarch of Antioch *in partibus*; so that the see of Antioch has nominally, at the present day, four patriarchs, neither of whom is resident there. Syria, Mesopotamia, and Cilicia are comprised in this patriarchate.

That of Jerusalem, the smallest and poorest of the four, is limited to Palestine, the country beyond Jordan, Idumea, and part of Arabia; but, as Jerusalem is the resort of Christians of every sect, who have their respective bishops and rulers, this patriarchate is little more than titular.

The title of patriarch is moreover conferred upon the Armenian archbishops resident at Constantinople and Jerusalem,* who are the acknowledged secular heads of their nation in the Ottoman dominions, although they do not possess the spiritual prerogatives of the three Armenian primates of Etchmiazin, Sis, and Aghtamar. The Bulgarians acknowledge a patriarch, who, though of the Greek church, owes his dignity to the See of Rome. The original seat of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Bulgarian province was Sophia, on the Isca; from which it was transferred, in the ninth century, to Lychnidus or Achrida; and thence, towards the close of the twelfth century, to Ternovo, (or Turnebo,) the capital of the second Bulgarian kingdom. It seems doubtful, whether we are to rank the Bulgarians with Byzantine Greeks or with Greek Catholics: at all events, the Bulgarian patriarch does not rank with those of the Greek church.

* The Armenian *catholicos* of Sis is the recognised spiritual head of the Armenian church in Turkey; yet he is compelled to regard the Constantinopolitan patriarch as his political superior, though ecclesiastically subordinate.

Excluding the Bulgarian Greeks and the members of the Russian Greek church, the orthodox Eastern or Byzantine church would seem to be very nearly reduced to the limits of Roumelia, Greece, Anatolia, Wallachia, and Moldavia. Of the population included within its pale, it is not easy to form a correct estimate; but we are inclined to think that 3,000,000 would be a full allowance for the subjects of the Œcumenical Patriarch, who claims to be the universal bishop of the Eastern World! Including, however, the Russian church, which numbers about 47,000,000 within its pale, the Greek church may boast of her 50,000,000, while the several Anti-Byzantine communions may, perhaps, comprise as many as 4,000,000 more; forming, altogether, nearly half as many, probably, as now recognise the supremacy of the head of the Latin church.*

Some further details, illustrative of the present state of the Greek church, will come before us in giving an account of the church of Russia. But we shall now proceed to take a view of the more ancient churches which have renounced the communion of the Eastern church, and maintain, under their respective patriarchs, ecclesiastical independence. These are comprehended, as to doctrine and worship, under the following four divisions:—

- i. Jacobite Syrians, or Syrian Monophysites.
- ii. African Monophysites: Copts and Abyssinians.
- iii. Nestorians.
- iv. Armenians.

SECTION II.

SYRIAN, COPTIC, AND ABYSSINIAN CHURCHES.

The denomination *Monophysites* had its origin in the disputes concerning the person of Our Lord, which, springing

* Malte Brun estimates the Roman Catholics throughout the world at 116,000,000, the Greeks at 70,000,000, the Protestants at 42,000,000.

up in the fourth, had reached their height by the middle of the fifth century. The word is compounded of *μόνος*, single, and *φύσις*, nature; and denotes the belief, that, in the person of Christ, the Divine and the human nature are so united as to be one. For nearly five hundred years, the Christian church was agitated with furious party contests relating ostensibly to points of metaphysical theology, and originating in attempts to explain with precision the mode of the Divine subsistence, and of the union of the Divine and human natures in the "WORD" who "was made flesh." The four grand heresies with which the Catholic faith had to combat, are thus summarily exhibited by the learned Author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity."

"Four principal heresies there are, which have, in those things, withstood the truth: Arians, by bending themselves against the deity of Christ; Apollinarians, by maiming and misinterpreting that which belongeth to his human nature; Nestorians, by rending Christ asunder, and dividing him into two persons; the followers of Eutyches, by confounding in his person those natures which they should distinguish. Against these, there have been four most famous ancient general councils: the Council of Nice, to define against Arians;* against Apollinarians, the Council of Constantinople;† the Council of Ephesus against Nestorians;‡ against Eutychians, the Chalcedon Council.§ In four words, *ἀληθῶς, τελῶς, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀσυγχύτως*, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly*: the first, applied to his being God; and the second, to his being man; the third, to his being of both, One; and the fourth, to his still continuing in that One, both; we may fully, by way of abridgement, comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the foresaid heresies."||

According to this classification of opinions, the Monophysites, who reject the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, by which Eutyches was condemned, must be ranked among

* A. D. 325.

† A. D. 381.

‡ A. D. 431.

§ A. D. 451.

|| "Eccl. Polity," book v. § 54.

his followers. Yet, they professed to reject his doctrine with vehement zeal. Must we then ascribe their professed rejection of it to the wish to escape from the odium attaching to an unpopular heresy? Or did the Monophysite theory originate in an attempt to steer a middle course between the opinions of Nestorius and Eutyches? The terms used by the Monophysite doctors are indeed stated to be more than equivocal,—contradictory. But the same imputation is often cast upon orthodox sentiments; and the proposition that, in Christ, “the two natures are united without confusion or mixture,” which is given by Mosheim as the Monophysite creed,* closely approximates to Hooker’s definition of the true faith. It appears not improbable that, under the common appellation and stigma of Monophysites, two very different classes were confounded; those who were really sectators of Eutyches, whether avowed or disguised, and those who, while refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, held substantially a rational and pure faith.

This, at least, is certain; that the famous decree of the Emperor Zeno, styled the *Henoticon*, issued in the year 482, and drawn up by the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, was intended to be an irenical or healing measure, and had for its object to reconcile the different parties in the profession of one faith. Acacius, the Byzantine patriarch, had succeeded in persuading the Emperor, that the opposition raised against the Council of Chalcedon, was not carried on against the decrees of that council, but against the assembly itself.† The manner in which the papal and imperial legates had forcibly overborne the majority of oriental bishops in that synod, and compelled the Alexandrian patriarch, Dioscorus, to descend from his throne to the rank of a criminal, furnished evidently the real ground of the sanguinary contests between the imperialists and the Alexandrian insurgents,‡ which for thirty

* See Mosheim, Part I. Sect. iii. § 13.

† Mosheim, Part II. ch. v. § 18.

‡ “After the disgrace and exile of Dioscorus, the Egyptians still regretted their spiritual father, and detested the usurpation of his successor, who was introduced by the fathers of Chalcedon. The throne of Proterius was supported by a

years distracted and desolated the Eastern church. As the *Henoticon* tacitly set aside the authority of the Chalcedonian synod, it was so far a concession to the Egyptians. "Yet," remarks Gibbon, (and his suspicious testimony is not in this instance questionable,) "the smallest blemish has not been descried by the jealous and even jaundiced eyes of our orthodox schoolmen; and it accurately represents the catholic faith of the Incarnation, without adopting or disclaiming the peculiar terms or tenets of the hostile sects. A solemn anathema is pronounced against Nestorius and Eutyches; against all heretics by whom Christ is divided, or confounded, or reduced to a phantom. Without defining the number or the article of the word *nature*, the pure system of St. Cyril, the faith of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, is respectfully confirmed; but, instead of bowing at the name of the fourth council, the subject is dismissed by the censure of all contrary doctrines, *if* any such have been taught either elsewhere or at Chalcedon. Under this ambiguous expression, the friends and the enemies of the last synod might unite in a silent embrace. The most reasonable Christians acquiesced in this mode of toleration; but their reason was feeble and inconstant, and their obedience was despised as timid and servile by the vehement spirit of their brethren."*

The *Henoticon* was subscribed by the three patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria; and though a considerable body of Eutychian zealots formed themselves into a new and hostile faction, they soon split into subdivisions,† and sank into insignificance. Had it not been for the Latins, the pacific and enlightened policy of Acacius, supported by the Emperor, would probably have been crowned with the happiest results. But the Roman pontiff, Felix II., indignant at a measure which reflected upon the honour and authority

guard of 2,000 soldiers; he waged a five years' war against the people of Alexandria; and on the first intelligence of the death of (the Emperor) Marcian, he became the victim of their zeal."—*Gibbon*, c. xlvii.

* *Gibbon*, c. xlvii. Mosheim asserts, that, in this decree of union, no particular mention is made of the Council of Chalcedon.

† Under the assumed denominations of *Accephali*, *Anthropomorphites*, *Barsanuphites*, &c.—*Mosheim*, Part II. c. 5, § 20.

of "the most holy Council of Chalcedon," and still more enraged at the open denial of his own supremacy, assembled an Italian council of sixty-seven bishops, in which he condemned, deposed, and excommunicated Acacius, as a perfidious enemy to the truth. The Byzantine patriarch, supported by the Emperor, and almost all the Eastern bishops, received the impotent sentence with contempt, anathematized in his turn the Latin pope, and ordered his name to be struck out of the diptychs or sacred registers. Such was the origin of that general schism which for thirty-four years divided the Eastern and Western churches. A rebellion at Constantinople, produced by the machinations of the Romish party, and protected by a barbarian army of Huns and Bulgarians, re-established the authority of the Council of Chalcedon and the supremacy of the Pope. The names of Acacius and three other Byzantine pontiffs, who had dared oppose the pretensions of the Latin bishop, as well as that of Peter Gnapheus, the Syrian patriarch, were erased from the registers, and branded with infamy. The Emperor Justin, the uncle and predecessor of Justinian, who was invested with the degraded purple in the year 518, "replanted the orthodox standard in the East" by a furious persecution.* Severus, the patriarch of Antioch, who had asserted the Monophysite faith in the terms of the *Henoticon*, was driven into exile; and by the policy of Justinian, the obsequious instrument of the Roman pontiff, the ecclesiastical thrones of the East were filled with Catholic bishops devoted to his interest.† The followers of Severus were compelled to shelter their proscribed heads in convents or in caverns; but they cherished their faith in secret, till, in the person of Jacob Albardai, or Jacobus Baradæus, bishop of Edessa, the scattered members of the Syrian church found

* Both Mosheim and Gibbon have suffered themselves to be biassed by Romish authorities in the colouring they give to these transactions.

† Gibbon, ch. xl. xlvii. In the persecution of the Monophysites, fifty-four bishops are said to have been "swept from their thrones, and eight hundred ecclesiastics cast into prison." An obscure story is told of a previous massacre of three hundred and fifty monks under the walls of Apamea by "the tyrant of Syria;" but the circumstances and the provocation are left unexplained. Severus is represented, we apprehend improperly, as the founder of the Monophysite sect.

a new head and leader, by whom the doctrine and discipline of Severus were secretly established in the dominions of Justinian. It is from him that the Asiatic Monophysites take the name of Jacobites; although some of their own body have affected, probably through ignorance, to deduce their name and pedigree from the Apostle James. All the patriarchs of the Jacobites have assumed the name of Ignatius.

From this rapid sketch of the origin of the Anti-Byzantine churches of Syria, it will be seen, that political causes had far more share in producing the ecclesiastical schism, than any theological differences. National antipathies tended to inflame the dispute which the exorbitant pretensions or intrigues of the Roman pontiff occasioned, between Italian and Greek, between Thracian and Egyptian, between Byzantine and Syrian. The denomination *Melchites* (royalists), applied by the Jacobites to the Catholic imperialists, and that of *Mardaites* (rebels), bestowed upon the heretical Syrians, prove that both parties regarded the contest as mainly a struggle, on the one hand for ecclesiastical independence, on the other for a usurped domination. The metaphysical watchword was a mere shibboleth. The subjects of the rival patriarchates adhered to their national teachers and leaders, and clung to their obscure faith, because it was persecuted. Such is the history of all religious wars.

"Both the Asiatic and the African Monophysites of the present times," Mosheim remarks, "are, generally speaking, so deeply sunk in ignorance, that their attachment to the doctrine by which they are distinguished from other Christian societies, is founded on their own obstinacy, and on the authority of their ancestors, rather than on any other circumstance; nor do they even pretend to appeal, in its behalf, to reason and argument." How should it be otherwise in the almost total destitution of the means of religious instruction? It is absurd, however, to characterise them as heretics, because they have pertinaciously refused to embrace the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon and the communion of the church of Rome. Their inflexible, though unintelligent constancy to the creed received from their fathers, has some-

thing in it to command respect. The use of the Syriac as the sacred tongue in the churches of the Jacobites, to the exclusion of either the Greek or the Latin, has doubtless contributed to perpetuate the ecclesiastical separation, and to keep alive a national feeling. The Jacobite Syrians are now chiefly found in Mesopotamia and on the banks of the Tigris; but their patriarch, whose principal residence is at a monastery near Merdin, not unfrequently visits Aleppo and Amida, where many wealthy Jacobite merchants and industrious mechanics are found. His title is, Patriarch of Antioch, although Merdin may be considered as his episcopal seat. Another Jacobite prelate, styled the *Maphrian* (primate) of the East, in dignity inferior only to the patriarch, resides in a monastery near Mousul, contesting with the Nestorian patriarch of that city, the supremacy of the eastern province. The present numbers of the Jacobite Syrians, according to Gibbon, are vaguely estimated at between fifty and eighty thousand souls; "the remnant of a populous church which has gradually decreased under the oppression of twelve centuries." *

The Syrian Christians known under the name of Maronites, who exist as a distinct nation in a mountainous canton of Lebanon called the Kesrouan, are, like the Chaldeans of Diarbekir, a branch of the Romish church, having been united to its communion, according to William of Tyre, in the year 1182. The Chaldeans are a separation from the Nestorian branch, as the Maronites are from the Jacobite

* "Yet," adds the Historian, "in that long period, some strangers of merit have been converted to the Monophysite faith; and a Jew was the father of Abulpharagius, primate of the East, so truly eminent both in his life and death. In his life, he was an elegant writer of the Syriac and Arabic tongues, a poet, physician, and historian, a subtle philosopher and a moderate divine. In his death, his funeral was attended by his rival, the Nestorian patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes, and mingled their tears over the grave of an enemy."—*Gibbon*, ch. xlvii. Abulpharagius (known also under the name of Gregory Bar-Hebræus) himself declares the controversy between the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians to be merely a dispute about words. La Croze and Asseman sanction this opinion, which is true so far as doctrines were concerned; but something else was at issue originally.

branch of the Syrian patriarchate ; and both may be comprehended under the name of Papal Syrians. While acknowledging the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, the Maronite clergy have continued to elect a head who assumes the title of *batrák* (patriarch) of Antioch ; and their priests, like those of the Chaldeans and Papal Greeks, are allowed to marry before ordination, but not afterwards. They also have the church-service in Syriac ; and the communion is partaken of in both kinds.*

The Maronites are supposed to derive their national appellation from John Maro, or John the Maronite, a learned monk of the famous monastery of St. Maro, at Hamah on the Orontes ;† who, in the ecclesiastical contests of the seventh century, distinguished himself as the leader of a portion of the Mardaites or Syrian insurgents. "An army of Greeks invaded Syria ; the monastery of St. Maron was destroyed with fire ; the bravest chieftains were betrayed and murdered ; and twelve thousand of his followers were transplanted to the distant frontiers of Armenia and Thrace. Yet the humble nation of the Maronites has survived the empire of Constantinople."‡ Driven from the plains, the refugees under John Maro, their bishop, established themselves in the fastnesses of Lebanon, which had become the asylum of those who fled from imperial persecution,§ where they subsequently became so strong as not only to defy their Byzantine persecutors, but to arrest the conquering arms of the Arabs ; and they have ever since maintained, amid the

* The permission to the Papal Greeks and Syrians to retain their ancient service-books, seems to be connected with the strange notion, (referred to by Bishop Burnet, on Art. XXIV.,) that, as the superscription on Our Lord's cross was expressed in Greek, Syriac, and Latin, those languages only were to continue in use.

† "A name," says Gibbon, speaking of the Maronites, "which has been insensibly transferred from a hermit to a monastery, from a monastery to a nation." The St. Maro, by whom or in whose honour the monastery was founded, lived at the beginning of the fifth century, and is mentioned by Chrysostom and Theodoret.

‡ Gibbon.

§ Cedrenus, an historian of the Lower Empire, states, that "in the eighth year of Constantine Pogonatus (A. D. 676), the Mardaites, having collected together, took possession of Mount Libanus, which thenceforth became the asylum of vagabonds, slaves, and all sorts of people."

political vicissitudes of twelve centuries, their religious freedom and substantial independence. A census taken in 1784, made the number of men capable of bearing arms amount to 35,000, which supposes a population of at least 105,000 souls. According to recent authorities, they are supposed to amount to about 120,000, including all classes. Within the narrow limits of their territory, there are reckoned no fewer than two hundred monasteries and nunneries. Their rule is that of St. Anthony. The dress of the monks is a coarse stuff of brown wool; their diet is the same as that of the common peasantry, except that they never taste meat. Much of their time is occupied in cultivating their vine and mulberry plantations; for the whole nation are husbandmen. A female convent is generally found adjacent to one for men; yet scandals are very rare. The women themselves lead a very laborious life. The vernacular language is the Arabic.

The Papal Court, when it adopted the Maronites, gave them a college at Rome, to which they have the liberty of sending several young persons to be educated gratuitously. But, the education given in this school being purely monastic, the pupils carry home little besides a knowledge of Italian, which is of no use to them, and a smattering of technical theology. Formerly, the Jesuits had two missionaries at Antoura in Syria; and the mission was afterwards taken up by the Lazarists. In 1810, Burckhardt found there a solitary Lazarist, who was the Pope's legate for the affairs of the Eastern church. The Franciscans of the Terra Santa establishment had also a convent in the neighbourhood. Near the village of Eden is a convent which has a printing-press, where prayer-books in the Syriac are printed.* This language is understood by some of the Maronites; and they write the Arabic in the Syriac character. Almost every village in the Kesrouan has its school; in which, however, nothing is taught but reading, writing, and the catechism; and the only books used are the Psalter, and some theological disputations of a

* There is also an Arabic printing-press at the convent of Mar Hanna Shouair, the chief establishment of the Greek-Catholics of Lebanon, from which have issued a number of publications during the last hundred years.

subtile and unedifying description. The most solid advantage which the Maronites have derived from the art of writing being so general an acquirement, is, that it has enabled them to get into their hands all the situations of writers, inspectors, and *kiayas*, both among the Druses, their neighbours and allies, and the Turks of the maritime towns.

Of the peculiar dogma which constituted the Maronite heresy, no trace of course would remain after their admission to the Romish communion. According to Gibbon, "in the style of the Oriental Christians, the Monothelites of every age are described under the appellation of Maronites;" owing, it may be assumed, to the reception given to that doctrine, when first put forth, by the Syrian patriarch, and its having probably been maintained by Maro, in opposition to the decision of the sixth general Council. The tenet of the Monothelites,* was, that, in the person of Christ, the Divine and human natures were distinct, but that there was a complete unity or singleness of *will*. This opinion was first propounded by an edict of the Emperor Heraclius, in 630; which was received without hesitation by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and confirmed by a provincial council assembled by the Egyptian primate. This new modification of the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon was proposed with a view to heal the Eutychian schism;† and it had for a time the desired effect, great numbers of the Egyptian, Syrian, and Armenian Monophysites being induced to return into the bosom of the Greek church. Pope Honorius gave his sanction to the new doctrine. But this harmony was not of long continuance. His successors in the Roman See, disregarding his infallibility, denounced the Monothelite doctrine as an impious heresy, and thundered the most dreadful anathemas against all who countenanced it. After a prolonged and obstinate contest between the Latin and Byzantine factions,

* From *μόνος*, single, and *θέλω*, to will.

† The Monothelites disclaimed all connexion with the Eutychians and Monophysites; but it is certain, that the opinion (which, according to Mosheim, admitted of considerable latitude of explanation) was regarded by many of those who opposed the Chalcedonian decree as a concession; and that it was put forth as an irenical compromise.

the sixth General Council was summoned at Constantinople in 680 by Constantine Pogonatus, at the instigation of the Roman pontiff, Agatho, by which the Monothelites, and Pope Honorius himself,* were condemned in presence of the Roman legates.

The African Monophysites are subdivided into Copts and Abyssinians.

The early history of the Egyptian Church is but a repetition of that of the Syrian Jacobites. The episcopal warfare between the rival patriarchs of Alexandria and Byzantium, commenced by Theophilus, the bitter enemy of Chrysostom, was renewed by his nephew Cyril, the not less malignant opponent of Nestorius. Ephesus was the scene of a scandalous and nefarious contest between the Syrian and Egyptian factions, by whom Nestorius and Cyril were in turn anathematized and degraded. The Emperor Theodosius at length dissolved the mock council, and Cyril made his escape to his episcopal fortress. Ultimately, the enemies of Nestorius prevailed, and the Byzantine pontiff was unable to avert, by a voluntary abdication, the sentence of banishment to the Libyan oasis, and the brand of heresy. Cyril was succeeded on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt by Dioscorus, the champion of the Eutychian heresy against Flavian the Byzantine pontiff, whose condemnation he succeeded in obtaining from the second synod of Ephesus. "It is said," remarks Gibbon, "that the patriarch of Alexandria reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled his brother of Constantinople; and it is certain, that the victim, before he could reach the place of his exile, expired, on the third day, of the wounds and bruises which he had received at Ephesus." By the council of Chalcedon, Dioscorus, as already mentioned, was deposed and exiled; but the turbulent Alexandrians refused to acknowledge his successor, whom they at length besieged in his cathedral, and murdered in the baptistry. In the disorders which ensued, thousands are said to have perished.

* Bishop Burnet adduces this incontestable fact as evidence that the Primitive Church did not acknowledge the claim of Infallibility. See Burnet on Art. XIX. If general Councils cannot err, this Pope must have been a heretic.

In the reign of Justinian, Alexandria was again the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the partisans of two contending candidates for the primacy; Gaian, the favourite of the people, and Theodosius, the nominee of the Empress Theodora. The final victory of the latter was owing to the flames with which the lieutenant of Justinian wasted the third capital of the Roman world. Theodosius, however, was speedily removed to make way for Paul of Tanis, (A. D. 538,) who was succeeded (A. D. 551) by Apollinaris. The appointment of the latter was resisted by the turbulent Alexandrians; and his inauguration was celebrated by a general massacre of the schismatics. Two succeeding patriarchs (Eulogius and John the Eleemosynary) laboured by more worthy means to convert or to conciliate those who still resisted the creed of Pope Leo, and the decisions of Chalcedon; the former by his writings, the latter by his bounty. At length, the churches of Alexandria were delivered to the Catholics; the religion of the Monophysites was proscribed in Egypt; and a law was revived, which excluded the natives from the honours and emoluments of the State.

In the mean time, however, in the monasteries of the Thebais, a perpetual succession of rival or schismatical patriarchs rose from the ashes of the deposed Theodosius; and the Monophysite Churches of Syria and Egypt became united under the name of Jacobites. The faith which has been confined to a narrow section of the Syrian Church, diffused itself over the mass of the Coptic nation, who almost unanimously rejected the decrees of the Synod of Chalcedon. Together with the creed of the Greeks, whom they stigmatized as Melchites, they abjured their manners and their language, and renounced all allegiance to the Emperor, whose orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the presence of a military force. It seemed that the conflict of zeal and persecution had rekindled some sparks of national spirit in the remnant of a degenerate nation, whose ancient wisdom and power ascend beyond the records of history. When the arms of the Persian Chosroes had depopulated the land, the Jacobites enjoyed under his reign a short and precarious

respite ; but the victory of Heraclius renewed and aggravated the persecution, and their patriarch, Benjamin, again escaped from Alexandria to the desert.

At length, the hour of revenge, if not of deliverance, arrived. Another vial was yet to be poured out upon this devoted land ; and the Byzantine yoke was not exchanged for a more galling one by the oppressed natives, when they assisted the Saracen invaders to expel their orthodox oppressors. They had nothing to lose, and they might hope to secure something, by that last resource of the slave,—a change of masters. Perfidy could not be charged on a measure which had self-defence for its plea, which violated no compact, no alliance, and which originated less in an ecclesiastical schism than in national animosity. Memphis was first taken by the general of Omar, not till after a spirited resistance. Alexandria surrendered some time afterwards, and being given up to pillage, its *third* library perished by the hands of the illiterate Moslem. The city of Alexander, the capital of the Ptolemies, the see of Athanasius, was consigned to the darkness and desolation so amply merited by its crimes. That which now bears the name of Christianity in Egypt, is but the sightless and hideous mummy of a Christian Church. The orthodox Greeks and the Monophysite Copts, though still retaining their ancient distinctions, are alike slumbering the sleep of death amid the shades of the grossest ignorance. Twenty thousand Coptic families, of whom 1500 reside in Cairo, and a few of the other Christian communions, estimated altogether at a population of 100,000 native Christians, compose the insignificant remains of the once famous patriarchate of Alexandria ; —“ a race of illiterate beggars,” (to use the contemptuous yet too appropriate language of Gibbon in reference to the Copts,) “ whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation.”*

* The number of the Copts is stated on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Jowett, who received his information from the chief secretary to the Pasha for the Copts. Malte Brun estimates them at 30,000 families, or 200,000 souls. M. Mengin reckons them to amount to at least 160,000. Some estimates have carried their numbers to nearly half a million. See *Modern Traveller*, vol. v. (Egypt) pp. 115—119.

The Copts claim to be regarded as the remains of a nation, however, rather than of a church, except that, as in the case of the Armenians, the nation and its church have become identified. The greater part of what is termed church history, is, in fact, the narrative of political struggles and revolutions, disguised under an ecclesiastical nomenclature. The Christian pontiffs were as really secular princes as the Mohammedan khalifs; they adopted a similar state, governed by the same policy, and waged war upon their opponents on similar pretexts, and with the same weapons. The Jacobite schism between the churches of Constantinople and Alexandria, finds its precise counterpart in the Mohammedan schism between the partisans of Ali and those of Moawiyah, which is perpetuated to the present hour by the orthodox moslems of Turkey and the sectaries of Persia. In our own day, we have seen the supremacy of the Ottoman sovereign of Constantinople set at defiance by his more powerful Egyptian vassal; precisely as, fifteen centuries ago, the Catholic emperor was defied by the Alexandrian primate. Why is Religion to bear the blame of contests which she had no share in originating, and which her laws so peremptorily forbid? "If," said Our Lord, "my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight."* Could that church be his kingdom, the prelates and rulers of which were warlike combatants, in no respect distinguishable from the potentates and warriors of this world, but in their titular designations?

With regard even to the first four General Councils, the truth of history compels us to admit, that they had for their real object, not the suppression of any heresy, so much as the ruin and disgrace of some powerful ecclesiastical leader, and the overthrow of a rival faction. Thus, in the Council of Nice, the banishment of Arius was the temporary triumph of Athanasius over his not less virtuous rival. The Council of Constantinople is rendered infamous by the conduct of the same adverse faction towards the pious and accomplished Gregory Nazianzen. The cause of Apollinaris, condemned by

* John xviii. 36.

that council, was avenged by the Alexandrian primate, Cyril, in that of Ephesus, where the Byzantine pontiff became at length the victim of the scandalous intrigues and daring stratagems of the successor of Athanasius. The second synod of Ephesus, which intervened between the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, is not reckoned among general councils. It was there that Dioscorus, the Egyptian primate, at the head of a band of armed partisans, attacked and beat Flavian, the Byzantine pontiff. At Chalcedon, the Egyptians saw in turn their tyrant disgraced, and their prelates made to succumb to the foreign influence of the papal and imperial ministers who "moderated the thirteen sessions" of that Council. The faith of Egypt, in the language of ecclesiastical historians, was then made to yield to the theology of Leo, the Roman pontiff. In other words, the ascendancy of the Roman party in the imperial court led to the overthrow of the Egyptian faction, and produced that inveterate feud between the two nations, the Byzantine Greeks and the Egyptian Greeks or Copts, which has been perpetuated through nearly fourteen centuries.

The Copts of the present day share with the Jews the internal trade of Egypt, as general shopkeepers, brokers, agents, and farmers of the customs. Their own language, though still used in their church service, is understood by few even of their priests, and may be considered as absolutely a dead language. Throughout the kingdom of the Ptolemies, Arabic has succeeded to Greek as the ordinary vernacular medium of intercourse; while the Italian, the language of commerce in the Levant, is much used by Copts as well as by Franks. They are chiefly found in Upper Egypt, where they enjoy peculiar privileges.* Many of them have been proselyted by the zealous propagandists of the Latin Church to the Romish communion. Four Roman Catholic establishments still exist in Upper Egypt,† all under the Propaganda College at Cairo, which is again under that at Rome. In

* See *Mod. Trav.* vol. vi. pp. 55, 56, 79.

† At Djorjeh, Ikhmim, Farshout, and Tahta. That at Negadi, the most ancient, has been abandoned. See *Mod. Trav.* vol. vi. pp. 52, 56, 60, 79.

some places, the Catholic Copts are reckoned at about a third of the Christian population, the whole of whom are in a state of the most deplorable ignorance. The Copts circumcise their children before baptism; a custom which some authorities state to have prevailed only since the twelfth century. It seems uncertain, therefore, whether it has been adopted from the Mohammedans, or transmitted as a Judaical rite. The Coptic Patriarch, whose jurisdiction extends over Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, resides at Cairo, but takes his title from Alexandria. Next to him in rank is the titular Coptic Patriarch of Jerusalem, who also resides at Cairo, but visits Palestine every Easter. The Patriarch of Alexandria has under him eleven or twelve bishops, besides the *Abuna* or primate of the Abyssinians, whom he nominates and consecrates. The *Kumus*, or *Hegumenus*, is a dignitary ranking after the bishop, and resembling in office the archdeacon of the western churches. The rest of the clergy, whether secular or regular, belong to the three orders of St. Anthony, St. Paul, and St. Macarius, each having their monasteries. There are also nunneries, which are properly hospitals, and few enter them but widows reduced to beggary.

The Abyssinian branch of the Coptic Church dates from the middle of the fourth century, when Frumentius, son of a Tyrian merchant, was consecrated bishop of Axuma by the Patriarch Athanasius. From him the Abyssinians count their *Abunas*; and Simeon, who held this office A.D. 1613, when Ludolph wrote his History of Ethiopia, was the ninetieth primate. He must, according to a special canon of the Church, be a foreigner, and has been generally chosen from one of the Coptic monasteries of Egypt.* He is consequently unacquainted, in general, with either the ecclesiastical language of the Abyssinian Church, (the Ethiopic,) or the vernacular dialects. He is the only bishop of the Ethiopic

* "Seven bishops once composed the Ethiopic Synod: had their number amounted to ten, they might have elected an independent primate. But . . . the increase was denied. The episcopal office has been gradually confined to the *abuna*; and the character of a stranger appears more venerable in the eyes of the people, less dangerous in those of the monarch."—*Gibbon*, ch. xlvii.

Church. Next to him, as in the Coptic Church, rank the *hegumenuses*, or archdeacons; besides whom there is an innumerable train of clergy, secular and regular. The priests are, indeed, said to form a twentieth part of the Christian population, and hold the people in blind subjection. The two principal orders of monks are those of *Debra Libanos*, and those of *Abba Eustateos*, who are violently opposed to each other, being at variance alike in their theological tenets and in their political interests. The Eustathian monks are represented as holding doctrines respecting the person of Christ approaching to Socinianism.

The two principal documents from which we derive our knowledge of the Creed held by the Ethiopic Church, are, "The Confession of the Abyssinian Emperor Claudius, A. D. 1555," (given by Ludolf,) and a recent work, entitled, "Instructions of Mark, Patriarch of Alexandria, addressed to the Abyssinian Churches, on Points of Religion controverted in Abyssinia," written A.D. 1801.* From these and other authorities it appears, that the Abyssinians receive the Holy Scriptures as the perfect and only rule of faith and practice; but recognise the authority of the first three General Councils, using the Nicene Creed without the *Filio-que* clause:—that they observe both the Jewish and the Christian Sabbaths:—that they circumcise their children, both male and female, eight days after their birth; not, however, professedly, as an observance of the Mosaic laws, or a religious rite, but only as a national custom:—that they baptize their male children at forty days old, and females not till the eightieth day, except in cases where there is danger of death; using the trine immersion and the holy oil:—that the sacrament of the Eucharist is administered in both kinds, every Sunday, leavened bread being used, except on certain days of humiliation:—that they observe four lents, which are not, however, very rigid:—that, with the Greeks, they venerate the painted effigies of saints, but abhor all images in relievo, except the

* This work is dated in "the 1525th year of the Pure Martyrs," referring to the persecution under Dioclesian, A. D. 276. While "subtilizing and refining above what is written," on the points at issue, it exhibits but little knowledge of the leading doctrines of the Gospel, and is totally deficient in sound practical instruction.

Cross:—and that, at their festivals, they practise a sacred dance to the sound of cymbals and kettle-drums, in imitation of David's rejoicing before the Ark.

The most remarkable feature of the Ethiopic Church is the strong resemblance which many of their religious usages bear to the Jewish ceremonies; taken in connexion with the statement, that they boast of a Jewish extraction. Their Emperor Claudius, in the introduction to his Confession, styles himself and his fathers, "kings of Israel." The churches, which are built in the usual form of those in the East, have also, in imitation of the temple of Jerusalem, a sanctuary and an outer court. When they enter them, they leave their shoes at the threshold, which is likewise the practice of the Copts; and there are no seats, a sort of crutches being provided to assist the aged and infirm to stand.

In explanation of the Jewish tincture in the Abyssinian customs and rites, it may be observed, that the Church of Alexandria comprised, in the first ages, a very large proportion of Jewish Christians; and to this source may be traced most of the peculiarities of the Egyptian Church, as also, perhaps, much of the national jealousy and animosity manifested against the Byzantine Greeks. In the *Therapeutæ*, or Essenians of Lake Mareotis, a sect of Jewish ascetics, the Christian monks and hermits of the Thebaid had their prototypes and models; and to the learned Jews of Alexandria is ascribed the attempt to blend the Mosaic faith with the Platonic philosophy, from which resulted, as the product of the same false science and disputatious spirit, the spurious Christianity of the metaphysical schools of theology. Numbers of Egyptian Jews and Christians have at different periods fled from persecution, or been exiled to Ethiopia. Herodotus mentions an emigration from Egypt into Ethiopia, consisting of 240,000 males, about B. C. 620, which is conjectured to have consisted of Jewish exiles. It is more certain, that, prior to the Christian era, Yemen, or Southern Arabia, received colonies of fugitive Jews, who were afterwards joined by multitudes of their countrymen during the wars of Titus and Hadrian; and these Ethiopic Jews appear to have spread,

as exiles or emigrants, into Abyssinia. A colony of this description still exists.

According to the Arabian annals, in the fifth century, a Jewish dynasty reigned in Yemen (Arabia Felix), the last of whom, Zu Nowauss, was a fierce persecutor of the Christians. The Benni Thâleb, who resided in the town of Nedjeraun, had embraced the religion of Christ at the preaching of a Syrian Christian, named Akeimoun. In consequence, it is alleged, of their having slain some Jews, Zu Nowauss invaded their territory, and, having taken their city, massacred 6000 of the Christians of Nedjeraun, by throwing them into a trench filled with burning faggots and other combustibles. For this act of atrocious cruelty, he and his associates are anathematized in the Koran. A report of these cruelties being conveyed to the Christian Emperor of the East, Anastasius I., he is stated to have instigated the Nejaush (sultan) of Abyssinia to undertake the invasion of Yemen. Accordingly he sent a powerful army; and Zu Nowauss, fleeing before his invaders, is said to have spurred his horse into the sea, and perished. The government of Yemen was then assumed by one of the Abyssinian generals,* and remained subject to Abyssinia till, towards the close of the sixth century, it was conquered by the arms of the Persian sovereign, Nousheerwan.

Of the close connexion between Abyssinia and Yemen, (the Seba and Sheba of the Hebrew Scriptures,) additional proof is afforded by a remarkable monument found at Axum, the metropolis of Abyssinia, bearing a Greek inscription; from which it appears, that, about A. D. 330, in the reign of the Emperor Constantius, the sovereign of Axum styled himself the King of the Axomites, the Homerites (or Hamyarites of Arabia), the Ethiopians, the Sabeans of Zeyla, Tiamo, the Boja country, &c. The inscription commemorates the dedication of two votive statues to the god Mars, in gratitude for a victory over the insurgent Bojas; indicating that, at that time, the Abyssinian monarch was a heathen, and that the

* Caleb Nejash, who reigned about A. D. 552, and was contemporary with the Emperor Justin, "was celebrated for a successful incursion into Arabia against the Homerites; and, on his return, sent his crown to Jerusalem."—*Salt*.

Greek language had become familiar as either the court or the learned language of the kingdom. This dynasty was, probably, of foreign origin, and connected with the Syro-Macedonian conquests. In the reign of this very king, or shortly afterwards, the Christian faith appears to have been first planted in Abyssinia, by the preaching of Frumentius; although it is probable that Christianity had made some progress among the natives before they received a bishop from the Alexandrian patriarch; and tradition ascribes the introduction of the Gospel to the prime minister of Queen Candace, mentioned in the eighth chapter of the Book of Acts, who was manifestly a Jew. Ever since the middle of the fourth century, however, the Ethiopic Church has been dependent upon that of Alexandria.

In the fifteenth century, the discoveries of the Portuguese having opened a passage into the country, some abortive attempts were made to bring the Abyssinians under the papal yoke. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Jesuits renewed the mission to Abyssinia under more favourable auspices. They succeeded in gaining over the sultan (Segued), who created Alfonso Mendez patriarch of the Abyssinians; and not only swore allegiance to the Roman pontiff, in 1626, but compelled his subjects to embrace the doctrine and ritual of the Latin Church. "But the new patriarch," says Mosheim, "by his intemperate zeal, imprudence, and arrogance, ruined the cause in which he had embarked, and occasioned the total subversion of the Roman pontiff's authority and jurisdiction, which seemed to have been established upon solid foundations. He began his ministry with the most inconsiderate acts of violence and despotism. Following the spirit of the Spanish Inquisition, he employed formidable threatenings and cruel tortures to convert the Abyssinians; the greatest part of whom, together with their priests and ministers, held the religion of their ancestors in the highest veneration, and were willing to part with their lives and fortunes, rather than forsake it. He also ordered those to be rebaptized who, in compliance with the orders of the emperor, had embraced the faith of Rome; as if their

former religion had been nothing more than a system of Paganism. This, the Abyssinian clergy looked upon as a shocking insult to the religious discipline of their ancestors; as even more provoking than the violence and barbarities practised against those who refused to submit to the papal yoke. Nor did the insolent patriarch rest satisfied with these arbitrary and despotic proceedings in the Church: he excited tumults and factions in the State, and, with an unparalleled spirit of rebellion and arrogance, encroached upon the prerogatives of the throne, and attempted to give law to the emperor himself. Hence arose civil commotions, conspiracies, and seditions, which excited in a little time the indignation of the emperor, and the hatred of the people against the Jesuits; and produced at length, in 1631, a public declaration from the throne, by which the Abyssinian monarch annulled the orders he had formerly given in favour of popery, and left his subjects at liberty, either to persevere in the doctrine of their ancestors, or to embrace the faith of Rome. This rational declaration was mild and indulgent toward the Jesuits, considering the treatment which their insolence and presumption had so justly deserved; but, in the following reign, much severer measures were employed against them. Basilides or Facilidas, the son of Segued, who succeeded his father in 1632, thought it expedient to free his dominions from these troublesome and despotic guests; and accordingly, in 1634, he banished from his territories the patriarch Mendez, with all the Jesuits and Europeans who belonged to his retinue, and treated the Roman Catholic missionaries with excessive severity. From this period, the very name of Rome, its religion, and its pontiff, were objects of the highest aversion among the Abyssinians, who guarded their frontiers with the greatest vigilance and the strictest attention, lest any Jesuit or Romish missionary should steal into their territories in disguise, and excite new tumults and commotions in the kingdom. The Roman pontiffs indeed made more than one attempt to recover the authority they had lost by the ill-success and misconduct of the Jesuits. They began by sending two Capuchin monks to repair their loss; but these unfortunate wretches were no

sooner discovered, than they were stoned to death. They afterwards employed more artful and clandestine methods of reviving the missions, and had recourse to the influence and intercession of Louis XIV. to procure admission for their emissaries into the Abyssinian empire; but, as far as we have learned, neither the pontiffs nor their votaries have yet been able to calm the resentment of that exasperated nation, or to conquer its reluctance against the worship and jurisdiction of the Church of Rome."*

Wearied of their fruitless dependence upon the Coptic patriarch, the Abyssinians have of late years shown a disposition to look to foreign churches (in particular to the Armenian) for a supply of religious instructors; and the circulation of the New Testament in the vernacular dialect, the Amharic, printed under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, has in some measure opened the way for the labours of the European missionaries of a purer faith. For many years the attention of the Church Missionary Society had been directed towards this ancient Christian community, when at length, in 1826, a mission to Abyssinia was undertaken. The Rev. Samuel Gobat and the Rev. Christian Kugler were sent into Egypt for the purpose of making themselves acquainted with the Amharic; and on the 28th of December, 1829, they entered Abyssinia. Mr. Kugler died at Adowah, on December 29th of the following year, from the effects of the bursting of a gun. Mr. Gobat had succeeded, in the mean time, in penetrating to Gondar, the capital of Amhara; and after various adventures, returned in safety to Cairo in February, 1833. From the journal of this devoted missionary, we derive the following additional information as to the actual opinions and religious state of the Abyssinian Christians at the present time.

"The Christians of Abyssinia are at present divided into three parties, so inimical to each other, that they curse one another, and will no longer partake of the Sacrament together. It is one single point of theology that disunites them;—the unceasing dispute concerning the unction of Jesus Christ.

* Mosheim, Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. I. § 17.

One party is of opinion, that when it is said that Jesus Christ was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is meant, that the Godhead was united with the human nature of Jesus Christ; and that, in all the passages of the Bible where the Holy Spirit is represented as having been given to Jesus Christ, the name Holy Spirit only signifies the Divinity of Christ, who had no need of the assistance of the Holy Spirit, whom he could not receive, having always possessed him. This party, found chiefly in Tigré, is the most exasperated one. Their doctrine was that of the last Coptic *abuna*. The second opinion is, that when it is said that Jesus Christ was anointed with the Holy Spirit, it is signified merely that the Holy Spirit accomplished the union of the Godhead with the human nature in the person of Christ. This party is principally to be found in the provinces of Gojam and Lasta. The third opinion, predominating in all the other provinces of Abyssinia, even in Shoa,* is, that Jesus Christ, as man, though united to the Godhead from the moment of his conception, received the Holy Ghost in the human part of his nature in the same manner as we receive him; *viz.* as a gift of the Father; in order that he might be able to accomplish, as man, the work of our redemption.† It appears that these differences of opinion are founded upon the different views they have adopted of the two natures of Jesus Christ, although, according to the letter, they are all Monophysites. They hold, as all the other sects of the East do, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only. If we except the differences of opinion concerning the unction of Jesus Christ, they all have nearly the same superstition."‡

The importance attached to this disputed point of metaphysical theology,—the fierce jangling about unintelligible propositions, in the absence of all regard for practical religion,—strikingly indicates the mental imbecility which has been

* Now an independent principality.

† On this account, the unction of Christ is called by the doctors of this school a *third birth*. Mr. Isenberg, Mr. Gobat's present colleague, found himself in like manner assailed by all who spoke to him on religious subjects, both clergy and laity, with the question,—what he thought on the *Three Births of Christ*.—Miss. Reg. 1834, p. 60.

‡ Gobat's Abyssinia, pp. 342, 343.

induced by ignorance and superstition; presenting to us, in the nineteenth century, a living picture of the state of things throughout the Christian Church in the fourth and fifth. Very few among the people imagine that religion is any thing more than *opus operatum*, and a system of outward observances. The Abyssinians, Mr. Gobat says, consider fasting as the essence of religion. All the prescribed fasts take up nine months of the year; but only a few monks observe them all. The fasts of 56 days before Easter, and of 16 days before the Assumption of the Virgin in August, as well as the fasts of Wednesday and Friday in every week, are deemed indispensable. There is scarcely any confession made, upon which the priest does not enjoin a fast, more or less long and rigorous, as a penance; but this may be dispensed with on the payment of money.* The Abyssinians fear excommunication nearly as much as death.

The priests receive the Lord's Supper every day; others every Sunday, if they choose; but scarcely any but aged persons *and children*, besides monks and priests, attend the communion. "As soon as an infant has been baptized, he is dressed with a new dress; they put a blue ribbon round his neck, as a sign that he is a Christian; and then the communion is administered to him." Children continue to partake of the Eucharist till the age of ten or twelve. Between the ages of fourteen and forty, few communicate, owing to the irregularity of their lives, confession being deemed a pre-requisite. "The communion service consists in reading some chapters from the Gospels, and in chanting some prayers; the whole being performed in an unknown tongue. They call the consecration of the bread and wine, *Melawat* (a change).† The wine is the juice of dried grapes with water."

* A criminal who, to avoid punishment from the civil power, sought refuge in the monastery of Waldeba, was ordered to fast a whole year, and to repeat the whole of the Psalms two hundred times during that time. Having no inclination to fast so long, the guilty man offered them money, which was accepted; and the priests immediately engaged fifty boys to fast and to repeat the Psalms in his presence, that he might not pay his money for nothing.—*Gobat*, p. 348.

† Transubstantiation appears not to be universally believed in, but something approaching to it.

When a man perceives himself to be dying, he sends for a priest to hear his confession, and to give him absolution. Several persons, and even priests, confessed to Mr. Gobat, that they had committed gross sins which they had never confessed through fear of the penance they should have been obliged to perform, and that they reserved the confession of such offences for their last illness. The priest always gives absolution to a dying person, but, if possible, he will take money, either engaging to fast himself, or to procure another proxy to fast for the deceased. Sometimes the priest will impose a fast upon all the relatives of the person departed. A young woman was charged by the priest to fast seven years because her father had died suddenly without confessing. The priests attend at the interment of a person, in numbers proportioned to the fortune of the deceased, in order to offer prayers for his soul, and to pronounce the absolution. Much eating and drinking goes forward on such occasions, to which the priests are invited; and they almost always kill one or more oxen, according to their means; which is a kind of sacrifice. The Abyssinians believe that almost all men go to hell at their death, (having no distinct idea of a *separate* purgatory,) and that, from time to time, the archangel Michael descends into the place of torment, to deliver some of the souls imprisoned, and introduce them into paradise; either for the sake of some good works done by them on earth, or for the prayers and meritorious works of their relatives and the priests, of which fasting is the most efficacious.

“Several Jewish customs have been preserved in Abyssinia: for example, circumcision, ceremonial uncleanness, and the abstaining from every kind of meat prohibited in the law of Moses; though there are several who eat the wild boar, under the pretext that they are sick. They have still some kind of sacrifices: among others, there is a kind of atoning sacrifice which they call *Boza* (Redemption); but it is offered only for the sick: it consists in considering an animal as substituted for the sick person, and in carrying it, at least in many instances, three times round his bed, after which it is killed.*

* A similar solemnity is used in sacrifices and heave-offerings among Jews,

Sometimes they take an egg, pass it three times round the head of the patient, and then cast it down before his bed. They have also an ark or chest in every church, for which they have the highest veneration: in fact, they literally adore it, and its presence constitutes the holiness of the church. . . . Idolatry has made but too much progress in Abyssinia. They are not indeed at a loss for sophisms; saying, that they do not prostrate themselves before images to worship them, but in order to honour the saints, the names of which the images bear, and that the honour paid to the saints is only a natural way of serving God. Every one admits, that the ignorant adore the images themselves; but no one will acknowledge himself to be a worshipper of images. The saints being supposed to have each a particular power, it is but natural that the Abyssinians should call by turns upon those who can render them the particular assistance they stand in need of; but, like the Papists, they say, that it is not of the saints they ask assistance; they pray them only to recommend them to God. Idolatry destroys the fear of God. Thus, at Debra Damot, the monks will scarcely do any thing when asked to do it in the name of God; but, when asked in the name of Abuna Aragawi, the patron of the monastery, they do every thing." In like manner, a person may be in vain adjured by God to help another; but, when adjured by a saint, he dares not refuse, for fear of exposing himself to the enmity of the saint. Mr. Gobat sums up this catalogue of errors by affirming that, as might be naturally concluded, the Abyssinians have no idea of the most salutary doctrines of Christianity; such as justification by faith, the work of grace, and the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of the children of God: hence their morals are very corrupt.*

The priests, who are in a state of wretched ignorance, are Moslem, and Pagan nations. It is customary also, among Mohammedans as well as Jews, to waive presents of money or jewels thrice round the head of the person to whom they are offered, as betrothings, marriages, &c., under the notion, that this rite averts misfortune.

* Gobat, pp. 350—352. The Mohammedans of Abyssinia, however, are in every point of morality decidedly below the Christians.

looked upon with so much contempt, that those who are better instructed, Mr. Gobat says, would be ashamed to be made priests. The exceptions to their general ignorance and licentiousness are very few. The visit paid by this excellent missionary, his conversations with the natives, his mode of referring all questions to the decision of Scripture, and above all, the copies of the Scriptures which he distributed, cannot but have produced a beneficial impression. The priests, however, are (as in the Syrian churches) the least hopeful and most prejudiced portion of the community; and little progress seems to be looked for by the missionaries, till time shall have been afforded for educating some young men of talent for the service of the Gospel in their native country.*

SECTION III.

THE NESTORIAN CHURCH.

That part of the ancient Syrian church which adheres to the Nestorian doctrine, owes its foundation as a distinct sect to the zeal and labours of the famous Bar Sumas, bishop of Nisibis, in the fifth century. From the theological school which he established in that city, issued those Nestorian doctors who, between the fifth and the tenth centuries, spread their tenets through Syria, Arabia, Egypt, India, Tatar, and China. In the year 498, the new sect had acquired sufficient ascendancy to obtain the appointment of a successor to the catholic chair of Seleucia; originally, but then no longer dependent on the patriarchate of Antioch; and from that time, the Nestorians assumed the attitude of the dominant sect of Persia. They had been favoured by Feroze (Peroses), from political motives; and although they did not receive from all the monarchs of the Sassanian dynasty such decided protection, being occasionally persecuted, yet, even under the religious intolerance of Nousheerwan, their patriarch was the acknowledged head of all the Christians in the empire. Under the Arabian khalifs, though exposed, in common with all who

* Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 61.

professed the Christian faith, to excessive exactions and repeated persecutions, they were admitted to many offices of trust, and had the precedence of every other Christian community. Their ecclesiastical institutions were distinguished, according to Gibbon, "by a liberal principle of reason, or at least of policy. The austerity of the cloister was relaxed and gradually forgotten; houses of charity were endowed for the education of orphans and foundlings; and the law of celibacy, so forcibly recommended to the Greeks and Latins, was disregarded by the Persian clergy. To this standard of natural and religious freedom, myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the Eastern empire. The narrow bigotry of Justinian was punished by the emigration of his most industrious subjects: they transported into Persia the arts both of peace and war; and those who deserved the favour, were promoted in the service of a discerning monarch. The arms of Nushirvan, and his fiercer grandson, were assisted with advice, and money, and troops by the desperate sectaries who still lurked in their native cities of the East; their zeal was rewarded with the gift of the catholic churches; but when those cities and churches were recovered by Heraclius, their open profession of treason and heresy compelled them to seek a refuge in the realm of their foreign ally . . . In his last treaty, Justinian introduced some conditions which tended to enlarge and fortify the toleration of Christianity in Persia . . . In the sixth century, according to the report of a Nestorian traveller (Cosmas), Christianity was successfully preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites: the barbaric churches, from the Gulf of Persia to the Caspian Sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The pepper-coast of Malabar and the isles of the ocean, Socotora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians; and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions derived their ordination from the Catholic of Babylon.* In a subse-

* The title of *Catholicos* of Babylon was assumed by the archbishop of Seleucia as head of the Nestorian church.

quent age, the zeal of the Nestorians overleaped the limits which had confined the ambition and curiosity both of the Greeks and Persians. The missionaries of Balkh and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga. They exposed a metaphysical creed to those illiterate shepherds: to those sanguinary warriors they recommended humanity and repose. Yet, a khan, whose power they vainly magnified, is said to have received at their hands the rites of baptism, and even of ordination; and the fame of *Prester* or *Presbyter* John has long amused the credulity of Europe* In their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered China by the port of Canton and the northern residence of Sigan.† Under the reign of the Caliphs, the Nestorian church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions. Twenty-five metropolitans or archbishops composed their hierarchy. Those remote branches are long since withered; and the old patriarchal trunk is now divided by the *Elijahs* of Mousul,—the representatives, almost in lineal descent, of the genuine and primitive succession,—the *Josephs* of Amida, who are reconciled to the church of Rome,—and the *Simeons* of Van or Ormia, whose revolt at the head of forty thousand families was promoted in the six-

* According to Mosheim, Unkh Khan, surnamed Presbyter, was a Nestorian priest who invaded Cathay about the end of the eleventh century; and it was his immediate successor who was deposed by Chingis Khan towards the end of the following century. Although the house of Chingis rose upon the ruins of that of Prester John, it was brought, by intermarriages with it, under the influence of its religion. Some of the descendants of Chingis openly declared themselves Christians; all were for several ages partial to Christianity; and the branch which invaded Persia, showed peculiar respect to the head of the Nestorian church.

† Or Si-ngan-fu, the capital of the province of Shensi, where a monument, found in 1625, is said to record the introduction of Christianity by the Nestorians in the seventh or eighth century. Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, describing the city of Chan-ghian-fu, in the province of Man-ji, says: "There are in this city two churches of Nestorian Christians, which were built in 1274, when his Majesty appointed a Nestorian named Mar Sachir, to the government of it for three years. By him these churches were established where there had not been any before, and they still subsist."—*Marsden's Marco Polo*, c. lxv.

teenth century by the Sophies (Sefis) of Persia. The number of three hundred thousand is allowed for the whole body of the Nestorians, who, under the name of Chaldeans or Assyrians, are confounded with the most learned or the most powerful nation of eastern antiquity."*

The original seat of the Nestorian patriarchs was at Seleucia, which, as the capital of the Syro-Macedonian kings, succeeded to the honours of Babylon. Ctesiphon subsequently became their residence; and when Bagdad, in 766, was made the capital of the khalifate, they removed thither. The destruction of the court of the Abassides, (A. D. 1258,) whose favour they had cultivated, broke the tie which connected them with that city; and thenceforward, their residence seems to have been continually varying, till the patriarch Elias, in 1559, fixed his seat at Mousul, in which vicinity his successors have ever since resided. A Mar Elias now represents, at El Koosh, the ancient patriarchs of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

The schisms in the Nestorian church have originated in the intrigues of the papal missionaries. The few Nestorians who lived in Cyprus were gained over to the Romish church as early as A. D. 1445. In 1599, the Syrian churches of the Malabar coast, which owe their foundation to Nestorian colonists, or missionaries,† were compelled by the Portuguese of Goa to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope; but the churches in the interior refused to submit to the yoke, and maintained their independence. During the seventeenth century, Capuchin and Carmelite monks overran Mesopotamia from Diarbekir to Bussorah, labouring, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, to proselyte the Christians of the Eastern communions to the papacy. In 1681, Mar Yousuf, the Nestorian metropolitan of Amida in Diarbekir, having quarrelled with his patriarch, transferred his allegiance to the see of Rome, and was consecrated by the Pope patriarch of the Chaldeans.

* Gibbon, ch. 47.

† *Mar Thomè* is considered by the Nestorians as the first who introduced Christianity into Malabar in the fifth or sixth century, and as their first bishop and founder, from whom they derive the name of St. Thomè Christians. They are supposed to have been originally a colony of Syrian refugees.—See p. 76.

This was the origin of the sect distinguished by the name of the Chaldean Christians, composed of converts to the Romish faith from the Nestorian and Jacobite churches, united in one body, and dignified by the name of the Chaldean Church. This is only another designation for the Papal Syrians. A Mar Yousuf still occupies the see of Amida, as patriarch of the Chaldeans, and is acknowledged by seven bishops as the head of their church.*

A more serious defection than that of the see of Diarbekir took place in the sixteenth century. At that time, the patriarchate had for nearly a century been hereditary in the same family; and the incumbents refused to raise any but their own relatives to the metropolitan dignity. The consequence was, that, on the death of the old patriarch in 1551, only one metropolitan survived in the church; and he, as brother's son to the late patriarch, laid claim to the catholical chair as his inheritance. Unwilling any longer to tolerate this system of hereditary ecclesiastical aristocracy, an assembly of the clergy and laity met in the city of Mousul, and elected another prelate named Sulaka to the patriarchate. But the difficulty was, how to manage his consecration, which required the presence of three or four metropolitans. It was at length determined, under these circumstances, to send the patriarch elect to Rome, where, having given in a satisfactory confession of his faith, he was consecrated by Pope Julius III., and was proclaimed patriarch in April 1553, assuming the title of Mar Yohanna (Lord John). Only his immediate successor received consecration at Rome, where he subscribed to the decrees of the Council of Trent; and there are no traces of any correspondence between this see and the Pope, later than 1653. The fourth in succession from Sulaka was Simeon, archbishop of Jeloo, Sert, and Salmas; whose successors have assumed the title of *Mar Shimón* (Lord Simon), fixing their

* The following is believed to be a complete list of the present Chaldean bishops: Mar Basilius at Diarbekir; Mar Michael at Sert; Mar Ignatius at Mardin; Mar Lorentius at Ain Kawa, near Bagdad; Mar Yohanna and Mar Yousuf at El Koosh; Mar Yohanna at Khosrova, near Dilman, who is the bishop of all who are on the eastern side of the Kourdish mountains.

residence in the mountains of Koordistan to the west of Oormiah.

The authority of this schismatical patriarch (for as such he is regarded) has never been acknowledged, however, by the bulk of the Nestorian communion. Mousul has continued to be the seat of the orthodox Nestorian pontiff, whose spiritual dominion extends over great part of Asia, comprehending within its circuit the Arabian Nestorians. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Mar Elias II. discovered a desire to bring about a union between his church and that of Rome; and, with this view, sent two private embassies to the Pope in 1607 and 1610. Mar Elias III., also, in 1657, addressed a letter to the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, in which he intimated his readiness to unite with the Latin church, on condition that the Nestorians were allowed a place of worship in that city, and that no attempts should be made to alter either their doctrine or their discipline. These terms appear not to have been acceptable; and latterly, the patriarchs of Mousul have manifested no disposition to enter into communion with the church of Rome. Of all the Eastern churches, the Nestorian has been the most successful in avoiding many of those superstitious opinions and practices that have infected the Greek and Latin churches.

The most recent and authentic account which we possess of the present state of the Nestorians, is afforded by the researches of two learned American missionaries, who travelled through Armenia in 1830, and who, in their journey to Oormiah, visited part of the flock of Mar Shimon. From their report we gather the following interesting particulars.

The present Mar Shimon resides at Kochannes, about an hour from Joolamark, the capital of the Hakary country, in the heart of the mountains of Koordistan. The patriarchate, like the episcopal office, is hereditary from uncle to nephew. The diet of the patriarch is more strictly guarded than even that of the bishops; for not only is the future patriarch forbidden to taste meat from his birth, but his mother also is allowed to eat none while her infant derives from her his nutriment. The Nestorians who inhabit this mountainous

region, are called *Ashiret*, i. e. free from tribute: they are not only independent, but exact tribute from the Koords who live among them. The temporal power is in the hands of the several *meleks* or chiefs, who are ostensibly elected for life by the inhabitants of the district, but the office is generally hereditary in the same family. All acknowledge the authority of the patriarch; but his power is simply ecclesiastical. The mountains barely afford sustenance to the inhabitants, (estimated at fifty thousand families,) and they are all miserably poor. Besides the independent Nestorians of the Hakary country, the province of the patriarch includes some other districts in the same mountains subject to the Koords; and his authority is now acknowledged by the Nestorians of Oormiah and some districts under the Persian Government, who formerly adhered to Mar Elias of El Koosh. These are supposed to amount to 14,054 families, or about 70,000 souls. Altogether, therefore, the Nestorians who acknowledge Mar Shimon as their spiritual head, may be estimated at about 320,000 souls.*

The Nestorian hierarchy comprises nine orders, which are enumerated as follows, beginning from the lowest grade: 1. The *karooya* (reader), who lights the candles and performs other menial services in the church. 2. The *hoopo-dyakono* (sub-deacon), who sweeps the church, and, like the *karooya*, performs similar menial offices. 3. The *shemmasha* (deacon), who assists the priest in celebrating the eucharist, but does not read the gospel on that occasion. 4. The *kasheesha* (priest), who says mass, but cannot ordain. 5. The *arkidyakono* (archdeacon). As a priest cannot say mass without a deacon, so a bishop cannot perform an ordination nor consecrate a church without an archdeacon. To these five grades marriage is allowable, not only before ordination, but on their losing their wives; but, by a second marriage, they become for ever ineligible to the office of bishop. 6. The *khalfa* or *episkopa* (bishop), whose prerogative it is to ordain the five

* See the details in Smith's Researches, pp. 375, 376. Oormiah, including Tergaver and Mergaver, mountainous districts of the province inhabited by Koords, contains four thousand families.

inferior grades, and to consecrate churches. He must have passed through all the gradations, but he may be admitted to the first four successively in one day, and on another day to the fifth and sixth. Sometimes the office of bishop is conferred upon lads, and even children. 7. The *matràn* or *metrapoleeta* (metropolitan), who receives from the inferior bishops a visit of homage three times a year. 8. The *kato-leeka* (catholicos or primate). 9. The *patriarka*. The last two, however, are not distinct orders or offices, but differ only in degree of dignity, and are, in fact, almost synonymous. To the patriarch or catholicos it belongs exclusively, to ordain bishops and metropolitans. Oil is used only in the ordination of the patriarch. There are some fraternities of monks who, while they profess monasticism, are forbidden to marry; but they are at liberty to throw up their fellowships, and take to themselves wives on condition of leaving their convents. The income of the secular clergy is exceedingly small, derived chiefly from fees and their own labour: that of the bishop arises from a small poll-tax, and a fee for every wedding.

The vernacular language of the Nestorians and Chaldeans is a vulgar Syriac, in roughness of sound exceeding even the Armenian, and the same that is spoken by the Jacobite Christians of Mesopotamia. Their church books exhibit the original language of which it is a corruption, and they are in pure Syriac. The character in which they are written is peculiar, but resembles the Estangelo; and some of their oldest books are fine specimens of that ancient Syriac alphabet. They have none but manuscript books. The vulgar dialect does not differ very widely from the ancient language; but the latter is not now understood without the instructions of a master, and the church service is consequently not intelligible to the common people. The priest generally explains the lesson of the day, and perhaps some other part of the service, in the vulgar tongue.

The ancient Nestorian books treat of seven sacraments; but most of these have confessedly fallen into disuse, and the enumeration of them varies. The following list was furnished by a Nestorian bishop. *Maamoodeeta* (baptism); *korbana*

(eucharist); *siam eedat kahna* or *kahenoota* (ordination); *siam eedat oomara* (consecration of churches); *boorakha* (marriage); *kodashat khmeera* or *khmeera kodeesha* (the consecrated leaven);* and *kodashat korna* or *korna kodeesha* (consecrated oil).† Another Nestorian bishop, on being asked to enumerate their seven sacraments, repeated without hesitation, baptism, the eucharist, ordination, and matrimony; then, after a pause, added, burial, the sacred leaven, and confession. Yet it was admitted that auricular confession has long been abolished, and with it, of course, sacerdotal absolution. Of extreme unction and confirmation they have no knowledge. Baptism itself is negligently attended to. It is performed only in churches. Water is poured three times upon the head of the child, after it has been thrice immersed up to the chin. A single drop of oil is then put on its forehead. The bread used in the eucharist is made in the form of small, round, thick cakes, with a cross stamped upon them. It is both kneaded and baked in the church at the time of the celebration of the sacrament, a small oven being provided for the purpose. After consecration, the elements are believed to be transubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. All who are admitted to full communion partake first of the bread, and then of the wine; and there is no distinction in this respect between the clergy and the laity, if the latter are deemed pure and worthy enough to receive both kinds: to those who are not pure, and to children who have not yet learned their prayers, only bread is given. The eucharist is celebrated only on Sundays, the festivals, and frequently during Lent; and there appears to be no idea connected with it similar to the mass or daily sacrifice of the Latins.

Another remarkable peculiarity of the Nestorian church is the catholicity of its communion. "We admit," said the bishop of Jamalava to the American missionaries, "all the *twelve* Christian sects‡ to our communion, if they will come;

* The sacred leaven is renewed every Holy Thursday.

† Used in the ordination of patriarchs and the coronation of kings.

‡ This expression appears to have been connected with the strange notion, that the twelve apostles divided the earth between them, and established twelve

but none of them admit us to theirs." He affirmed also, that the Nestorians have full liberty to attend the communion of any other sect. While they are strongly prejudiced against the Roman Catholics, they have a great reverence for the see of Rome, and for the bishop of Rome as the representative of the Head of the Apostles, but do not acknowledge the personal authority of the Pope.

In common with all the Oriental Christians, the Nestorians attach a mysterious efficacy to the sign of the Cross, and lay considerable stress on the mode of making it, which is, in fact, the shibboleth of the Oriental churches: they perform it in the same manner as the Greeks. They admit neither images nor pictures into their churches, referring to the Second Commandment as prohibiting such idolatrous worship; they pray, however, to the saints, regarding them as mediators, and venerating their relics. They honour the Virgin as Mother of Christ, believing in her perpetual virginity, but not attributing to her the objectionable epithet, "Mother of God." They say prayers for the dead; supposing that, between death and the judgement, prayer may avail for the unpardoned; but the gross fictions of the Papal purgatory are not received by them.

The fasts of the Nestorian church are numerous,* and some of them rigid. For all religious purposes, they consider the day as beginning at sunset. Thus, in observing a fast day, they cease to eat meat from the time of evening prayer till the same hour on the day following; and all labour is suspended from evening prayers, or sunset, on Saturday, till day-light, or morning prayers, on Monday. They generally abstain from labour on all festivals; but the Lord's Day is deemed more sacred than any other. In addition to the more usual ecclesiastical fasts, preceding the festivals, they observe

orthodox sects, with different usages and rites. Their own apostles, the bishop said, were St. Thomas from among the twelve, and St. Addai (Thaddeus) and St. Mari from the seventy-two!

* *Viz.* every Wednesday and Friday; 25 days before Christmas; three days before the feast of the Cross, which occurs twelve days after Christmas; 50 days before Easter; 50 days before Pentecost; (but this last is optional, and not generally regarded;) 15 days before Lady-day; 3 before St. John's Day, and 3 before St. George's.

a remarkable fast of three days, named after the prophet Jonah, during which they remain in the church from morning to night, weeping, praying, and fasting; and this is followed by no festival.

The creed of the modern Nestorians, according to the authority of the bishop already referred to, recognises that Our Lord is perfect God and perfect man, the two natures being united in one person (*knooma*); or, as explained by the bishop of Ada, the two persons, human and divine, being so united as to have become one. The Holy Spirit is acknowledged to have proceeded from the Father only.

The Nestorians call themselves, and are known among their neighbours of other sects, by the name of *Nusrany* (Nazarene), which is the word commonly used in Arabic to designate all Christians. Sometimes they add to this generic appellation, the distinctive term *Siriany*, which is equivalent to calling themselves Syrian Christians. Their countrymen of the Monophysite church, they denominate *Yakóby* (Jacobites). The singular belief appears to prevail among the Nestorians, that, as a nation, they are descended from the ten tribes of Israel; yet, they do not practise circumcision, regarding it as a Mohammedan rite. The era still in use among the Nestorians, is the Seleucidan, B. C. 311. Their Easter and many of their festivals correspond to those of the Armenian Calendar; but others fall on different days. They observe Christmas on the 25th of December.

Of all the native Christians of Western Asia, the Nestorians are the best armed with rational arguments against the Papists; and their frequent and generally correct citations from Scripture (although they have no printed copies of any part of the Bible)* struck the American missionaries with admiration. With the exception of a rare reference to the Apostolical Canons, no appeal was made to the authority of either councils or fathers; and they seemed to feel the force of a citation from the Scriptures as an ultimate standard. Their extreme

* The Psalter, the Gospels, and the Epistles, in separate volumes, and divided into lessons, are possessed by every church; a few copies of the Pentateuch exist, but no entire copy of the Bible in the Nestorian character is known to be extant.

liberality towards other sects, their ideas of open communion, and their rejection of auricular confession, (that police system of the other ancient churches,) combined with their reverence for the Scriptures, seem to mark them out as the most hopeful subjects of religious instruction; while their history and present position on the confines of Christendom, render them the most interesting remnant of the Syrian church.

SECTION IV.

THE SYRO-INDIAN CHURCHES.

The Indian branch of the Syrian church which still exists in Travancore and Cochin, is said to acknowledge as its head the patriarch of Antioch. The origin of this interesting colony is involved in some obscurity;* but that they had formerly bishops of the Nestorian communion, appears unquestionable, although, according to Dr. Buchanan, they no longer adhere to the Nestorian creed. In a written communication to Colonel Macaulay, the English resident at Travancore in 1806, the metropolitan of Malabar gave the following statement of their faith: "We believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance; One in Three and Three in One: the Father generator, the Son generated, and the Holy Ghost proceeding. None is before or

* "The Indian missionary, St. Thomas," says Gibbon, "an apostle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant, was famous as early as the time of Jerom." As Jerom died in A.D. 420, the church planted by this St. Thomas must have existed in India prior to the era of the Nestorian school; and Johannes, a bishop from India, was present at the first Council of Nice in 325. The arrival of a Syrian colony is likely, however, to have been posterior to the first introduction of Christianity into this part of India from Alexandria, by means of the Egyptian trade with Musiris (Mangaloor) and Neleynda (Nelisuram). But the Christians of Malabar are clearly descended from a *Syrian* colony; and it is probable that Nestorian refugees, fleeing from persecution, may have followed in the track of commercial enterprise. About A.D. 880, Alfred the Great, hearing that the Christians in India were in distress, despatched an ecclesiastical envoy to convey his alms, and to open an intercourse with those churches.

after the other; in majesty, honour, might, and power co-equal; Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity." The metropolitan then proceeds to disclaim the several errors of Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius, Manes, Manianus, Julianus, Nestorius, and the Chalcedonians; concluding with the profession of belief, "That, in the appointed time, through the disposition of the Father and the Holy Ghost, the Son appeared on earth for the salvation of mankind; that he was born of the Virgin Mary, through the means of the Holy Ghost, and was incarnate God and man." From this representation it would appear that the present creed of this church is neither Nestorian nor Eutychian, but assimilated to that of the Western churches. The liturgy is that which was formerly used in the churches of the patriarchate of Antioch. The ceremonies resemble those of the Greek church. No sculptured images are admitted, except crucifixes; but paintings are seen in all the churches, in which the Virgin is always the chief personage. Much incense is used in the churches; we are not told for what purpose. The church service is in Syriac, which is not understood by the people; but a portion of the New Testament is now generally read in the Malayalim, the vernacular tongue of these Indo-Syrians, from copies printed in England. In every church, and in many of the private houses, there are manuscripts in the ancient Syriac.

The Syrian Christians formerly enjoyed political ascendancy in Malabar. When Vasco de Gama reached India in 1503, he was shown the sceptre of the last Christian king of Malayala. The Portuguese missionaries were surprised to find upwards of a hundred Christian churches on the coast of Malabar. When they acquired sufficient power to light the fires of persecution, they compelled the native Christians on the sea-coast to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope; but the churches in the interior refused to yield to Rome, and, under the protection of the native princes, maintained their ecclesiastical independence. Speaking of the latter, Dr. Buchanan says: "They are respected very highly by the Nairs," (the military caste of Malabar,) "and are admitted to rank next to them by the Rajahs of Travancore and Cochin."

In a paper recently communicated by Captain Swinton to the Royal Asiatic Society, it is stated, that the Christians of St. Thomè are still divided into those who adhere to their primitive tenets, called Syrian Christians of Malayala, and those who have adopted the ordinances of the Papal See, and are called Syro-Roman Catholics. Of the former class there are 57 churches or congregations, comprehending about 13,500 families, or 70,000 individuals; of the latter, there are 97 churches, the congregations belonging to which amount to 90,000 persons; besides which, there is a large number of converts obtained from other tribes, making a total of 150,000 persons. The conduct of the Syrian Christians, as subjects and citizens, is of a far higher character than that of their Syro-Roman brethren.

Through the exertions of Colonel Monro, late Resident at Travancore, a college, with a printing-press, has been established at Cottyam (or Cottayam) in Travancore; and the Church Missionary Society have two or three missionaries stationed there, with a view to obtain such influence with the leading ecclesiastics of the Syrian church as may tend to the introduction of a genuine reformation in that ancient body. Little progress, however, has hitherto been made in this work; and one of the missionaries avows his opinion, that, if ever a reformation is effected, it will begin among the laity, not among the priests, who are likely to offer very strong opposition. Their prejudices against every thing that is what they call English, or whatever savours of the West, is inveterate; and the answer to all remonstrances respecting the objectionable character of their idolatrous and superstitious practices,—their prayers to the Virgin, image-worship, mass for the dead, service in an unknown tongue, is the same: "It is the custom of the Syrians."*

* Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 460; *Ib.* 1836, p. 547.

SECTION V.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

The Armenian church dates its foundation from the beginning of the fourth century, when, according to the native annals, Tiridates the Great, with a large portion of his subjects, received baptism from St. Gregory, surnamed Loosavorich, or the Enlightener. This personage, to whom tradition ascribes royal descent, is stated to have been instructed in the Christian doctrine at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and to have been consecrated bishop or apostle of Armenia, about the year 312, by Leontius, bishop of that city, who signed the decree of the Council of Nice. At first, he met with fierce opposition and persecution. Near the site of Artaxata, the ancient capital, a convent takes its name from the deep pit or cavern,* in which, according to a local tradition of high antiquity, Gregory was confined for fourteen years by King Tiridates, in the midst of serpents, and in the endurance of multiplied torments; from which the conversion of the king, by means of his sanctity and miraculous powers, alone released him. It is, however, remarkable, that, as to the existence of this supposed reviver of Christianity in Armenia, the ancient Greek ecclesiastical historians, from Eusebius to Evagrius, maintain a total silence.† And even Moses Chorenensis, the great Armenian historian, gives but a very brief account of him. Heathenism re-appeared in spite of his pious labours; and an entire century elapsed, before Sahag the Great, and Mesrob, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, gave to the national faith a permanent form and distinct character.

* Khor-Viráb, in Erivan. The Armenians regard the place with the most superstitious veneration; and it is hardly less an object of pilgrimage than Echmiadzin, the ecclesiastical metropolis.—*Smith's Researches in Armenia*, p. 273.

† Sozomen reports a tradition, that Tiridates, king of Armenia, was converted by a vision, became a very zealous Christian, and ordered all his subjects to believe in Christ; but says nothing of Gregory.

Long before the days of Gregory the Enlightener, the faith of Christ must have penetrated to the recesses of Armenia, from Edessa and Ctesiphon on the one hand, and from the cities of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Cilicia on the other. The Christian civilization of this part of the Parthian empire was primarily Greek; and the Armenian language appears to have been first written in the Greek character. When that character became proscribed by the Persian conquerors of the Sassanian race, Mesrob (about A.D. 406) invented the Armenian alphabet. The Armenian version of the Bible, the oldest book extant in that language, was translated from the Septuagint. The Armenian church was originally considered as a branch of the Syrian patriarchate, under the primate of the Pontine Cæsarea; and two native Syrians had successively been raised to its patriarchal chair previously to the great schism which dates from the Council of Chalcedon. The Armenian bishops had unanimously assented to the decrees of the councils of Nice and Ephesus; but, under the influence, it is supposed, of the learned Syrian monk, Bar Sumas, bishop of Nisibis, they formally rejected, in the synod held at Vagharshabad, A. D. 491, the Chalcedonian decrees: at the same time, with more impartiality than consistency, they anathematized Eutyches. Upon the ground of this decision, the Armenian church lies under the stigma of heresy with both Greeks and Latins. The Georgian church* was represented in the synod of Vagharshabad by its *Catholics* and a number of bishops; but, within a century afterwards (A.D. 580), in spite of the remonstrances of the head of the Armenian church, the rejected decrees of Chalcedon were adopted by the Georgian ecclesiastics, who have ever since formed a part of the orthodox Greek church.

Political events, however, more than ecclesiastical differences, appear to have separated the Armenians from the Byzantine church. As the Roman empire declined before the Persian, Armenia, abandoned by its Christian allies, in

* According to the legends of the Georgian church, that nation was converted to the Christian faith about A.D. 320, by the preaching of Ninna, a Grecian virgin, who holds the first rank in the calendar of their saints.

vain implored succours from Constantinople; and after an ineffectual struggle for independence, the greater part was reduced to a province of Persia. Elisæus, a disciple of Mesrob, who flourished in the fifth century, has furnished an account of the religious wars occasioned by the attempt of Yezdejird II., to suppress the Christian religion, and to compel his Armenian subjects to embrace the doctrine of Zoroaster.* These persecutions, or rather civil wars, appear to have been continued till after the death of Yezdejird in A.D. 457, and great numbers of the Christians of Armenia fled their country. The Magian superstition, blended with the Christian creed, or substituted for it, maintained itself in Armenia long after the Sassanian dynasty had fallen before the sword of the Arabian khalifs, and was not eradicated so late as the middle of the twelfth century.

Under their Mohammedan masters, the political condition of the Armenians was by no means improved in their own country. But in the thirteenth century, a new Armenian kingdom rose amid the craggy rocks of Mount Taurus, which gradually extended its boundaries to the southern coast, including the whole of Cilicia, but was finally overthrown, towards the close of the fourteenth century, by the Mamlooks of Egypt.

The ruin of Armenia Proper is to be ascribed to the barbarous policy of Shah Abbas, in the seventeenth century, who forcibly transplanted thousands of Armenian families to different parts of Persia, and transformed fertile provinces into artificial deserts, in order to place an unpeopled wilderness between his dominions and those of his Ottoman rivals. The greater part of the Armenian nation are now found scattered over the East, as far as the Ganges and the islands of the Indian Archipelago; they are numerous in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey; and have latterly been encouraged to seek the protection, and to hail the conquests of Russia,

* "History of Vartan and of the Battle of the Armenians. Translated by C. F. Neumann." 4to. 1830. The fatal battle in which Vartan and upwards of one thousand Christian patriots fell, was fought, June 2, 451. Elisæus was still living, when, in the reign of Feroze, the father of the celebrated Nousheerwan, Bar Sumas began to propagate in Persia the Nestorian doctrine, about 475.

which have been pushed to the foot of Ararat. The two Persian provinces of Erivan and Nakhchevan, watered by the Aras, now form the Russian province of Armenia, while that of Karabaugh includes the fertile mesopotamia of the Koor and the Aras; and into these provinces, the tide of emigration is flowing so fast from Turkish Armenia, as to threaten to leave that portion of the country without a Christian population.

The present spiritual head of the native Armenian church is the *Catholicos* resident at Echmiadzin, near Erivan. His jurisdiction has never been universally acknowledged, however, by the Armenians in Turkey; and since the *Catholicos* has become a subject of Russia, the Turkish Armenians have been forced to renounce all communication with him. The Armenian church within the Russian dominions, like the Russian church itself, is subordinate to the Emperor. When a bishopric becomes vacant, the synod of Echmiadzin sends the names of two or three candidates to the Emperor, who selects one for the office.* The *Catholicos* of Sis in Armenia Minor, was, indeed, formerly acknowledged as the true spiritual head of the nation; till, in 1441, an assembly of seven hundred of the clergy assigned the supremacy to the see of Echmiadzin, the possession of the hand of St. Gregory being supposed to give that convent paramount claims. The Cilician primate still governs a small branch of the Armenian church in full communion with the rest, according to a treaty of peace and amity signed by the incumbents of the two sees, A.D. 1651: he maintains independent jurisdiction within his diocese, and is looked upon as the spiritual head of the Armenian church in Turkey. As neither the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople, nor that of Jerusalem, ventures to ordain bishops or to consecrate the holy oil, (two functions

* The following were the diocesans subject to Russia in 1831; the bishops of Bessarabia, Astrakhan, Tiflis, Akhaltsikhe, Erivan, Datev, Kantsasar, Shamakhy, Sheky (suffragan to Tiflis), and Tateos Arakeal.—*Smith's Researches*, p. 302. The following article of intelligence has been copied into the London papers:—"On the 6th of March (1837) the Armeno-Georgian Synod was solemnly opened in the ancient monastery of Etchmiadzin. The Patriarch John presided. The *Northern Bee* reports that Mussulman deputies were present on the occasion."

peculiar to a *Catholicos*;) they are considered merely as bishops invested with secular pre-eminence, but dependent upon the Echmiadzin primate. "For that blundering inversion of the relative rank of ecclesiastical titles, which has created patriarchs inferior to a *Catholicos*, who was himself originally dependent upon a mere primate, the Church is indebted to moslem ignorance or heedlessness."* The *Catholicos* of Sis is, in spiritual rank, above the Constantinopolitan patriarch, whom he nevertheless is compelled to regard as his secular superior, paying through him his annual tribute to the Sultan, and receiving through him the *firmauns* for which he has occasion. Only for his election, he is not dependent, nor, in his spiritual functions, subordinate.

Besides these two Armenian metropolitans, there is a third *Catholicos* resident at Aghtamar, an island in Lake Van, who likewise maintains independent jurisdiction within the narrow limits of his diocese. The convent of Aghtamar had acquired some celebrity from having been at one time the residence of the Armenian *Catholicos* during the reign of the Pakradian princes; when, on the removal of the seat of the primacy to Mount Amanus, its bishop, in 1114, renounced his subjection to the successors of St. Gregory, and, supported by five other prelates, assumed the title and functions of a *Catholicos*. Excommunication was consequently denounced against him as a schismatic; but the ban was removed after the lapse of 180 years; and the *Catholicos* of Aghtamar continues to

* "Smith's Researches," p. 296. The term *Catholicos*, used as a title, occurs early in ecclesiastical history, and was originally connected with the word *episcopos*, to designate a bishop who presided over a whole region. The metropolitan of Persia, and the archbishop of Seleucia, first bore the title, acknowledging still their dependence upon the see of Antioch. In imitation of them, probably, the heads of the Armenian and Georgian churches afterwards assumed it. The Armenian *Catholicos* was always consecrated by the primate of Cesarea prior to A.D. 366, when Narses the Great was declared by the king, nobles, and bishops, sovereign and independent *Catholicos* of the nation. Mohammed II., after taking Constantinople in 1453, induced many Armenians to settle in that capital; and removing thither the Armenian bishop of Broussa, gave him authority over all the Armenians in his dominions with the title of Patriarch. The patriarchate of Jerusalem, which originated as early as 1311, owed its commencement much in the same way to the Sultan of Egypt. But these titular patriarchates are not recognised as conferring spiritual supremacy.

exercise his functions at the present day in full communion with the other branches of the Armenian church. His diocese, however, scarcely extends beyond the island in which he resides, although some districts in the Kourdish mountains are said to acknowledge his supremacy.*

There is yet a fourth archbishop, usually resident at the convent of Kantsasar, in the province of Karabaugh, who has sometimes been called a fourth *Catholicos* of the Armenians; but his more proper title is, "*Catholicos* of the Aghovans" (Alovans or Albanians). The Christian doctrine is traditionally reported to have been first preached to the Albanians of the Caspian by a grandson of St. Gregory Loosavorich (the Enlightener); and he is supposed to have founded the see which has been fixed, at different periods, at Ganjeh, Bardaah, and Kantsasar. The Albanian clergy took part with the Armenian church in rejecting the Chalcedonian decrees; and there appears to have subsisted, uniformly, a good understanding between the primates of the two nations. The Albanians have ceased to exist as a distinct people in this part, although their name was preserved, till recently, in connexion with the see of Kantsasar. But the Russians have now reduced its occupant to complete dependence upon Echmiadzin; and the *Catholicos* of the Aghovans (or Alovans) is no longer any thing more than a simple Armenian archbishop. During the winter, he resides at Shoosha, the capital of the Karabaugh.†

The Papal Armenians form a very considerable body, although they are not now numerous to the east of Tokât and Trebisonde. They owe their existence as a sect to the Jesuit missions, of which Erzeroum was the head-quarters for

* Smith, pp. 11, 351. "Saint-Martin is mistaken in affirming that he is of the Greek faith."

† Smith's Researches, pp. 181, 182. "We hear little or nothing of the Aghovans in this region since the invasion of Timoor; of whom tradition asserts, that he transported numbers to Kandahar, where their descendants are now called Afghans. The nomadic tribes of Karabaugh are said to have, even now, a corresponding tradition, that the Afghans and they have exchanged countries." In the mission library at Malta, there is a history of the exploits of Nadir Shah, written in Armeno-Turkish by an Armenian who accompanied him to Delhi, in which the Afghans are always called Aghovans. It is certain, however, that a people of that name existed at Kandahar some centuries before the time of Timoor.

Turkish Armenia. There, in 1688, the papal missionaries established themselves under the protection of the French ambassador, and the Armenian bishop was among their first converts. Some other Armenian ecclesiastics succeeded, however, in raising a persecution, which issued in the banishment of the Jesuits; but the ambassador's influence restored them to the field of their labours; and early in the last century they had extended their operations so widely that the mission was divided into two branches. The city of Kars was one of their stations, at which they numbered many converts; but now there is not a papist in the whole pashalik. At Tiflis in Georgia, there still exists a small establishment of Capuchin missionaries, comprising a comfortable convent and a congregation of about 600 souls. The mission consisted, in 1830, of four members, besides one stationed at Akhaltsikhe, and one at Kotais, where also there are Papal congregations; and they have another station at Gori. In Mingrelia, their only mission is extinct; as well as those formerly established at Shamakhy in Shirwan, at Abaran in Nakhchevan, and at Erivan. No papal Armenians are now found in those provinces. Their number in Erzeroom, when it capitulated to the Russians, is stated at from 400 to 645 houses; but they had no church, and had latterly been confounded with the other Armenians. They all deserted the town with the Russian army. A few have since reassembled there, or are scattered over the neighbouring villages, but they have but few priests. At Angora, they formerly amounted to many thousands, while those of the Oriental communion were only a few hundreds. At Smyrna, out of 8000 Armenians, between 2000 and 3000 are said to be of the Romish communion: they have no church of their own, and attend worship at the Latin chapels, as at Constantinople. In the latter city they were estimated, in 1828, at 27,000, most of them resident at Pera and Galata, where they enjoyed the countenance of the Franks, whom they prefer to their own countrymen. Owing to the part taken by the Persian Armenians in the war between Russia and Persia, the Sultan, when anticipating a rupture with the

same Christian power, deemed it necessary to remind the Armenian patriarch that he must be held responsible for the good conduct of his nation. He replied, that, for all who belonged to his flock, he could answer, but not for those who did not acknowledge his authority. All the papal Armenians were consequently banished the capital and its suburbs; and the persecution of their priests extended to Angora and Bayazeed. They have since, however, been allowed to return, and are now one of the established Christian sects of the Ottoman empire.*

The intercourse between the Armenians and the Romish church commenced at the period of the Crusades; and many of the peculiar resemblances existing between the two churches are attributable to Romish influence and intrigues in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The third Cilician *Catholicos* received a staff of office from the Pope; and in 1197, a formal union was concluded between the two churches, the object of which was to obtain the concurrence of the Pope in the coronation of Leo, the Armenian king. This same Leo afterwards quarrelled with the Latins, and drove them from his dominions; but his successors were firm partisans of the Papacy, and some exerted their influence even to persecution, to induce their subjects to conform in all things to its rites and doctrines. Since the destruction of the Cilician kingdom, the connexion has been more or less kept up between the two churches by means of the papal missionaries. Attempts have also been made, at different periods, to bring about a reunion between the Armenian and the Greek church; and in 1173, a reconciliation was temporarily effected with the general consent of the Armenian nation. National animosity, however, inflamed by the arro-

* "Like the Christians in other parts of Turkey who have embraced the faith of Rome," says Mr. Smith, "they are more respectable for wealth and intelligence than their countrymen; owing, doubtless, to their connexion with Europeans. For it is a well known part of the policy of papal missionaries, to *denationalize* their converts, by substituting attachment to Rome and her children for patriotic partialities. With the papal Greeks of the Archipelago, it has been carried so far, that many who are of genuine Greek descent, consider it an insult to be called Greeks."—*Smith*, p. 20.

gant pretensions of the Greeks, prevented its being permanent, notwithstanding the trivial nature of their ecclesiastical differences;* and it has been remarked, that, during the recent revolution in Turkey, none of the Armenians discovered the slightest sympathy or common feeling with their Christian brethren, the Greeks.

The Armenians do not use the Apostles' Creed in their ritual, but have one peculiar to their church, recited in the daily morning service. Of the Nicene Creed, they have a version varying in some respects from the received formula.† The Athanasian, they have not received. They acknowledge Seven Sacraments, although apparently making a distinction between Baptism and the Eucharist, which they deem necessary for salvation, and the other five. Confirmation, indeed, seems confounded with the chrism used in baptism; and Extreme Unction is never administered at the hour of death; so that, in practice, five only are observed. They believe in Transubstantiation as fully as the papal church, and perform the sacrifice of the Mass with similar ceremonies. Confession is an indispensable preparation for communion, and is now practised only immediately before it; but, though mass is performed almost every day, it is not customary for the laity to communicate oftener than twice a year, *viz.* at Christmas and Easter, and confession, therefore, is not a frequent practice. The prescribed form of confession is a horrible and indecent catalogue of sins and gross immoralities, adapted to corrupt the minds of young persons: happily, the greater part is veiled from the common people under a dead language. The priests claim the power of plenary absolution. The doctrine

* "The specification of their refusal to acknowledge the Council of Chalcedon, to put water in the wine and leaven in the bread of the eucharist, to celebrate the nativity of Christ on the 25th of December, to eat fish, oil, wine, eggs, or butter, in their fasts, and to commune on Holy Thursday, *as the points at issue*, shows that, in other respects, they either did not differ from their Greek neighbours, or were willing to conform to them."—*Smith*, p. 432. A small clan of Armenians who retain their connexion with the orthodox Greek church, exists at Agn, on the western bank of the Euphrates; and individuals of this clan are found among the wealthiest bankers of Constantinople.—*Ibid.* p. 418.

† *Smith's Researches*, p. 285. For the Armenian Creed, which is long, minute, and scholastic, see *Ibid.* p. 106.

of Purgatory is not acknowledged under that name, but it is held substantially by the Armenians, prayers and masses being said continually for the dead. Such prayers are found in nearly all the offices of the church: the daily service is full of them;* and they are frequently said, and incense burned, over the graves of the deceased, particularly on Saturday evening, which is the special season for remembering the dead in prayers and alms.† Mass is said for the souls of the departed on the day of burial, on the seventh, the fifteenth, and the fortieth days, and at the end of the first year. Alms also are given by the surviving relatives to the poor in the

* The following are specimens. "God, giver of pardons, forgive ours that sleep, and comfort them in thy royal pavilion of rest." "Through the entreaties of the Holy Cross, the silent intercessor, and of the Mother of God, and of John the forerunner, and of St. Stephen the protomartyr, and of St. Loosavorich the patriarch of Armenia, and of the holy apostles, and of all the martyrs; O merciful Lord, have compassion upon the spirits of our dead." The place in which the departed spirits are, who "need the prayers of the church," is called by the Armenians, *gayan* (mansion); but by others, says a native authority, it is called *kavarán*, place of penance, or *makrarán*, place of purification.—*Smith's Researches*, pp. 96, 97. Speaking elsewhere of the place of departed spirits into which Our Lord descended, Mr. Smith says: "The Greek *hades*, or our old term *limbo*, would better express its more proper Armenian name, *tjokhk*."—P. 423.

† Dr. Walsh, in describing the Armenians of Constantinople, speaks of the patriarchal simplicity of their domestic manners, and adds, "Nor does the attachment of families cease with their lives, for long after death they endeavour to hold a visionary communication with their departed parents and children." In the Armenian cemetery, which occupies several hundred acres, on a hill that overlooks the Bosphorus, whole Armenian families, of two or three generations together, are often to be seen sitting round the tombs, and holding visionary communications with their deceased friends. According to their belief, the souls of the dead pass into a place called *Gayank*, which is not a purgatory, for they suffer neither pain nor pleasure, but retain a perfect consciousness of the past. From this state they may be delivered by the alms and prayers of the living, which the pious Armenians give liberally for their friends. Easter Monday is the great day on which they assemble for this purpose; but every Sunday, and frequently week days, are devoted to this object. The priest who accompanies them, first proceeds to the tombs, and reads the prayers for the dead, in which he is joined by the family. They then separate into groupes, or, singly sitting down by favourite graves, call its inhabitants about them, and, by the help of a strong imagination, really seem to converse with them. This pious and pensive duty being performed to their dead friends, they retire to some pleasant spot near the place, where provisions had been previously brought, and cheerfully enjoy the society of the living. "These family visits to the mansions of the departed are a favourite enjoyment of this people. I have frequently," says Dr. Walsh, "joined these groupes without being considered as an intruder."—*Walsh's Constantinople*, vol. ii. pp. 422, 423.

name of the deceased person, in the hope that its merit will be credited to them. The efficacy of this species of charity is supposed to be so great as to procure pardon for both the living and the dead.

Besides gifts of money and other modes of charity common to Papists, the Armenians have one that is peculiar to themselves, which partakes of the nature of a sacrifice, and appears to have originated in that system of accommodation to heathen prejudices, which has been the fertile source of most of the papal corruptions. The victim may be an ox, or a sheep, or any clean beast or fowl. "The priests, having brought it to the door of the church, and placed salt before the altar, read the Scripture lessons for such occasions, and pray, mentioning the name of the person deceased, and entreating the forgiveness of his sins. Then they give the salt to the animal, and slay it. A portion belongs to the priest; other portions are distributed to the poor; and of the remainder, a feast is made for the friends. None may remain till the morrow. These sacrifices are not regarded as propitiatory, like those of the Jews, (for the Armenians hold that they were abolished by the death of Christ,) but as a meritorious charity to the needy. They have always, at least in modern times, a special reference to the dead, and are generally, though not necessarily, made on the day that a mass is said for the same object. The other most common occasions are the great festivals of the saints, and what are called the Lord's festivals. At Easter especially, one or more is always sacrificed, the whole congregation frequently contributing to the expense, and then dividing the victim or victims among them. But even this is in memory of the dead. Its origin, we are told, on the authority of the Catholikos Isaac the Great, was as follows. When the nation embraced Christianity under the preaching of St. Gregory Loosavorich, the converted pagan priests came to him, and begged that he would provide for them some means of support, as the sacrifices on which they formerly lived were now abolished. He accordingly ordered, that a tenth of the produce of the fields should be theirs, and that the people, instead of their former offerings to idols, should now make

sacrifices to God in the name of the dead as a charity to the hungry."*

Among the most prominent superstitions of the Armenians, are their fasts, and their adoration of the Cross. Every Wednesday and Friday, as in other Oriental churches, are fast-days; besides which, they have fasts of a week or more preceding nine of their great festivals; so that, out of the 365 days of the year, 156 are fast days; that is, vigils.† On those days, unlike the Papists, the Armenians abstain from fish and white meats; they are even stricter than the Greeks in their stricter days, for they make no exception of snails, shell-fish, or the spawn of fish. In a word, no animal food of any kind is allowed; and even olive oil, oil of sesame, wine, and distilled liquors, are prohibited on these days; but the fondness for the latter has broken down the barrier. Their adoration of the Cross is avowed in the very term which, in an Armenian's vocabulary, is synonymous with Christian; *viz.* *Khachabashd*, Cross-adorers. To the original Cross upon which our Saviour suffered, they attribute a mediatorial virtue. "In imitation of it, many crosses are made of metal and other materials, to be used in churches and elsewhere. To consecrate them, they are washed in water and wine, in imitation of the water and the blood that flowed from our Saviour's side, and anointed with *meirón* (consecrated oil) in token of the Spirit that descended and rested upon him;‡ suitable passages are read from the Psalms, the Prophets, the Epistles, and the Gospels; and then the Priest prays, that 'God may give to this Cross the power of that to which he was himself nailed, so that it may cast out devils, may heal the diseases of men, and appease the wrath that descends from heaven on account of our sins;—to remain upon it himself always as upon his original cross, and make it his temple and throne, and the weapon of his power, so that our worship before it may be offered, not to created matter, but to Him the only

* Smith's Researches, p. 99.

† See a list of these vigils (called *bahk*) in "Smith's Researches," pp. 86, 87.

‡ Here seems an evident allusion to 1 John v. 6, according to an ancient interpretation of the passage.

invisible God.' After a cross has undergone this ceremony, it may be set up towards the East, as an object of worship and prayer; while to treat an unconsecrated one thus would be deemed idolatry and a downright breach of the second commandment. For, by the act of consecration, Christ is inseparably united to it, and it becomes his 'throne,' his 'chariot,' and his 'weapon' for the conquest of Satan; so that, though it is honoured on these accounts, the worship is not given to it, but to Him who is on it. The bodily eye sees the material cross; but the spiritual eye sees the Divine power that is united with it."* This is but the doctrine of Transubstantiation in a varied form; a doctrine which forms the very basis of sacerdotal power, since it invests the priest with the mysterious prerogative of *creating* the object of worship. A similar juggle is an essential part of every species of idolatrous worship.

In making the sign of the Cross, which forms a very principal feature of their religion, the Armenians agree with the Romanists as to the mode observed, and differ from the Greeks. The rule is, to carry the hand first to the forehead, then to the bottom of the breast, next above the left breast, and lastly, above the right breast; whereas the Greeks perversely put the hand upon the right breast before the left!†

Image-worship, as among the Greeks, is confined to painted effigies, sculptured representations not being admitted. The images of saints are not considered as entitled to the same worship as the Cross, because, according to a high Armenian authority, "the saints are not every where present to dwell in their images as Christ in his." But they are "honoured and revered, tapers being burned before them, votive offerings suspended, and prayer offered, especially on the

* Smith, pp. 87, 88.

† The Greeks, however, "show a superior Trinitarian orthodoxy by making it with three fingers; while the Jacobites, Copts, and Abyssinians give an offensive prominence to their monophysitism by making it with one!" During the recital of the Creed, the Armenian priest "holds his hands open at the height of his breast, with the palms downward and the forefingers in contact; this being the sign of the Christian faith, as placing the forefingers alone in contact is of the Mohammedan faith."—Smith, pp. 89, 106.

festivals of the saints they represent; and the saints themselves are regarded as mediators and intercessors with God, agreeably to the superstition of the Romish church. The mediation of Christ is completely set aside, no trace of the Scriptural doctrine being found in the Armenian ritual.* Many prayers are addressed directly to Our Lord, but in these the merits of the Virgin are pleaded; while in others, the holy Mother of Christ and all the saints are invoked as intercessors with the Father.

The doctrine of the Armenian Creed respecting the person of Christ, is, that "God the Word became perfect man, one person, and one united nature; God became man without change and without variation." The Nestorian doctrine, making a *personal* separation between the two natures, and the Eutychian confusion of them, the Armenian orthodoxy professedly rejects. Yet, in its formularies, the Monophysite addition to the *Trisagion*, "Who was crucified for us," is still retained. The Armenians hold with tenacious verbal preciseness, the eternal generation of the Son, and the eternal procession of the Spirit; adhering to the favourite dogma of the Greeks, in opposition to the Latins, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only. But their only idea of faith is that of an unintelligent, formal assent to the dogmas of the Creed.† Of the doctrine of Justification by faith, they have no knowledge; to any internal regeneration, as necessary to admission to heaven, they are equally strangers; they

* "Other mediators are adopted so entirely to the exclusion of the only Mediator between God and man, that, aided even by Bishop Dionysius, I have been unable to find a trace of the intercession of Christ. Instead of his name, we hear, on the saints' days, the following:—'Through the intercession of the holy Mother of God, and of John the Baptist, and of St. Stephen the protomartyr, and of St. Gregory Loosavorich; through the memory and prayer of the saints this day commemorated; and for the sake of thy precious Cross, O Lord, accept our entreaties, and make us live.' To the Virgin, petitions like the following are directly addressed:—'O holy Mother of God, thee do we supplicate; intercede with Christ to save his people whom he has bought with his own blood.' Many prayers are indeed directly addressed to the Son, but by what arguments are they supported? Take the following:—'O gracious Lord, for the sake of thy holy, immaculate, and virgin Mother, and of thy precious Cross, accept our prayer, and make us live.'"—*Smith*, pp. 107, 108.

† *Smith's Researches*, pp. 419, 421.

appear to have entirely lost every notion of the sanctifying influence of the Spirit of God; and in their practical ideas of the economy of salvation, the Third Person in the Trinity has no place. The Armenian language is believed not to contain a distinct exhibition of the doctrine of Divine Grace out of the Scriptures, all its theology being purely and frigidly scholastic. Reliance for salvation is built entirely upon the efficacy of the Sacraments, which are found, however, utterly ineffectual to impart either peace to the conscience or purity to the heart and life. In short, although the creed is Christian, the religion is not Christian; or, in other words, the Christian confession has survived the Christian faith. The artificial embankments remain, by which it was intended to keep the national belief within orthodox limits, but the living stream has deserted the channel.

The picture which is drawn of the moral condition of this nominally Christian nation, from recent observation, is melancholy in the extreme. The convents, instead of being asylums of learning, or retreats from the passions that agitate the world, are described to be "the very centres of the most unprincipled ambition, of the darkest intrigue, and of the bitterest dissension." Under the veil of celibacy is covered every species of unchastity. Of this, so thoroughly aware are the common people, that no man would put confidence in the continence of a *vartabed* (monk). So infamous a reputation has Echmiadzin, the metropolitan seat of the patriarch, that parents are reluctant to send their sons thither; and this is assigned as the reason of its having no school. Instead of contributing to enlighten their nation by schools or by the publication of books, the monks seem not aware that those which are to be found in their libraries were designed to be read.* The character of the bishops is no better; and their

* Under such circumstances, it is satisfactory to learn that the monachism of Armenia is on the decline. A new convent is not to be seen; and in every province, the ruins of old ones are numerous. In Karabaugh, three only are inhabited, and five have gone to decay. In Erivan, which, in Chardin's time, contained twenty-three monasteries and five nunneries, there are now but ten monasteries, and the only nunneries are believed to be two small establishments at Tiflis and Shoosha.

income is derived chiefly from exorbitant fees and the most disgraceful simony. Their influence over the minds of the common people is very great; but the respect yielded to them is the effect of fear, rather than of esteem. With them is lodged the tremendous power of excommunication, which is believed both to shut the gates of heaven effectually against all who incur its anathemas, and to bring along with it the severest temporal judgements upon their persons and property. The morals of the people are such as might be expected under the double yoke of Turkish oppression and ecclesiastical bondage. Lying is so common as to form almost a part of their nature, and mutual confidence hardly exists. The kindred vice of profaneness, in all its varieties, is equally prevalent among the Christian, as well as the Mussulman population. The condition of the women is not less degraded than in Mohammedan countries. In many places, parents even sell their daughters for the most criminal purposes; and the priests have been known to share in the gain. A strong prejudice exists against female education; and even as to education for their boys, the common people show little anxiety. The average number of adults who can read, is estimated at little more than two in a hundred. In Persian Armenia, there are no schools of any kind; and only fourteen native Armenian schools were ascertained to exist throughout the whole region over which the inquiries of the intelligent travellers extended, to whom we are indebted for these details. Few books, in fact, are accessible; and a new one is a phenomenon. Not a newspaper in the Armenian language exists. The Scriptures and sacred books are in a dead language; for the vernacular Armenian is in the usual state of an unwritten language, deformed by provincial dialects, and all so corrupt, that the uneducated, it is believed, can no where understand even the general meaning of books in the ancient tongue.* It is a remarkable feature of the whole region of Armenia, that every sect and nation

* These numerous variations are comprehended in two dialects; that of Constantinople, spoken throughout Asia Minor and the pashalik of Erzeroum, which has borrowed not only many terms, but also forms of construction from the Turkish; and that of Ararat, which is nearer to the ancient language.

inhabiting it, Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Turks, Persians, and Koords, address the Almighty in an unknown tongue.

Upon the whole, the Armenian Christians closely resemble, in their spiritual condition, those of the Greek church, with this difference; that piety is still more rare, and there exists no spirit of inquiry. But, on the other hand, absolute infidelity is not met with; and as the Armenian church does not imitate the exclusiveness of the Romish, its members are taught to regard Christians of other communions as holding indeed to doctrines and rites inferior to theirs, but still as members of the Catholic Church of Christ. The Scriptures are recognised as of binding and paramount authority; and an appeal to them, in argument, is generally final.

According to the latest and most exact returns to which we have access, the Armenian nation does not now number more than about 1,700,000 souls, who, previously to recent territorial changes, were thus distributed:—in the Russian provinces, 42,000; in Turkey, 1,500,000; in Persia, 70,000; in India, 40,000; in the Austrian dominions and other parts of Europe, 10,000. The Armenians within the Russian empire are now a much larger proportion. According to Dr. Walsh, chaplain to the British embassy to the Porte, there were computed to be resident in Constantinople and the adjacent villages, a few years ago, 200,000 Armenians, of whom about 4000 belonged to the papal communion.* All the Armenians of the Levant are compelled to learn Turkish and

* A letter from Mr. Benjamin Barker, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, dated Smyrna, April 1836, gives the following interesting particulars of the Armenians at Constantinople, many of whom are stated to have become decidedly pious: "A priest of that nation denounced another, a friend of the missionaries, to the patriarch, for holding heretical opinions: on which, it was determined that a Committee of Clergymen should examine him. A trial in consequence took place; and when the accused had made a confession of his faith, he was judged to be very orthodox in all his principles, and most honourably acquitted; while his accuser was himself deemed an heretic, if he did not profess similar doctrines. After the examination, a bishop addressed him, and said, 'Be of good cheer; and be not afraid; for there are hundreds more who hold the same principles as yourself.'—The accused is one of those who go under the denomination of Evangelists, whose rule of faith is the Gospel."

Italian, or French, as a medium of communication with their Ottoman masters and with the Franks; and they often understand these languages better than their own. Many Armenians can read and write both Turkish and French, who are unable to translate their own books. Though fond of religious works, Dr. Walsh says, they have little taste for general literature. Their patriarch gave his sanction to the new edition of the New Testament in Armenian, printed at Constantinople by Mr. Leeves, the agent of the Bible Society; and the Armenian Bibles have been purchased with avidity.* A printing-press has been attached to the Patriarchate since the year 1697; at which, during a hundred and twenty-five years, only fifty-two works had been printed, up to 1823, but of each of these several editions. Forty-seven were religious works; *viz.* commentaries on the Bible, sermons, prayer-books, lives of saints, hymns, psalters, and a panegyric on the angels. The five not on sacred subjects were, an Armenian Grammar, a History of Etchmiadzin, a Treatise on Good Behaviour, a Tract on Precious Stones, and a Romance of the City of Brass. An Armenian Almanack is published annually at Constantinople. At the convent of San Lazaro at Venice, there is also a press which has issued a number of books in Armenian. In 1812, Johannes Eleazar, a distinguished Armenian, a Russian privy-councillor, and Grand Knight of the Order of Jerusalem, died and bequeathed funds for the foundation, at Moscow, of an extensive and magnificent college for Armenian youth, which has since been erected with the sanction and aid of the Russian Government, whose policy has been, for the last fifty years, to treat the Armenian refugees with favour and encouragement.

* The first edition of the Armenian Bible was published at Amsterdam in 1666; the second, at Venice; the third, in 1705, at Constantinople; the fourth, at Venice; the fifth, at St. Petersburg, in 1817, under the auspices of the Armenian patriarch, at the expense of the Russian Bible Society; the sixth, at the Serampore press, near Calcutta.

CHAPTER IV.

Ecclesiastical relation of Russia to the Greek Church.—History of the Russian Church.—Numbers and political condition of the clergy.—Ecclesiastical orders.—Superstitious ritual.—State of education and national morals.—Remains of ancient heathen usages.—Rites of burial, and absolution of the dead.—Rites attending Baptism.—Slavonic ritual.—Household rites.—Russian sects.—Proselytes to the Romish Communion.—Comparison between the doctrines of the Greek and Roman Churches.

RUSSIA stands in a relation to the Eastern church, strikingly analogous to that in which Austria (which is but the German empire under another name) stands to Western Christendom. Both are, in their origin, barbarian powers, which were first brought into contact with the empires of the West and the East by hostile invasion and conquest. Both, under similar circumstances, adopted a corrupted form of the Christian faith, and thus became transformed into protectors and patrons of their adopted church. It was in the year 801, that the Pope placed on the head of Charlemagne a golden diadem, in the name of the senate and people of Rome, and saluted him by the title of Emperor; but the first German Emperor who assumed that title, was Otho I., A. D. 962. The Muscovites had, by repeated inroads, made themselves formidable at Constantinople, when, in 935, the Czarina submitted to baptism. The era of Christianity in Russia, however, is the marriage of Vladimir, her grandson, to the sister of the Greek Emperor, in 988, of which the conversion of the barbarian prince was the condition, and the national submission to Christian rites, the result. The imperial crown of the East was never transferred to the Czar, as that of the West was to the German Cæsar. Nevertheless, the parallel holds good thus far; that, as the holy Roman empire acknowledges the German potentate as its head, and nominally exists only in the Austrian power,

so, the Christian empire of the East, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, may be considered as surviving, at least ecclesiastically, in the Russian, which dates from about that period its nascent greatness.* The Patriarch of Constantinople at first extended his supremacy over the Russians, and appointed the metropolitan; but this could not be allowed to continue, after the seat of the patriarchate had fallen under the dominion of the Mussulmans. In 1589, in a council held at Moscow, the Constantinopolitan pontiff was induced to place at the head of the Russian Church and nation, an independent Patriarch, in the person of the metropolitan of Moscow; and from that time till the reign of Peter the Great, the patriarchal throne was filled by a succession of pontifical rulers, whose dignity and authority commanded even the homage of the Czar. On Palm Sunday, when the Patriarch rode in procession through the city, the Czar himself led the ass or horse upon which he was seated, walking by his side. When the Czar partook of the Eucharist in the cathedral, he stood before the Metropolitan, wearing the habit of a deacon. On the feast of All Saints, the Patriarch dined with the Czar; and the latter stood at the table, and served him. Even Peter himself, in his youth, is said to have performed these humiliating ceremonies; but his aspiring spirit revolted against the monstrous assumption of ecclesiastical superiority,

* "It is remarkable," says Dr. Pinkerton, "how much the state of the modern Greeks, under the Turkish yoke, resembled that of the Russians, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and part of the fifteenth centuries, under that of the Tartars; and that, though delivered into the hands of their enemies, both were still preserved as distinct nations, and remained steadfast in the Christian profession, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Tartars and Turks to gain them over to Islamism. Such have been the signal chastisements which the Lord has sent upon the Eastern church, to deliver over first one half of it, and then the other, to the enemies of the Cross; the Russians to suffer bondage for nearly three centuries under the successors of Jingsis Khan; and the Greeks for nearly four hundred years under the Ottomans." *Pinkerton's Russia*, p. 236. It affords no vindication of the ambitious policy of Russia, that it has been the instrument of retributive judgments upon the Turkish and Tatar nations; any more than it justified the barbarous inroads of the Asiatic hordes, that they were the predicted ministers of the Divine displeasure against apostate Christendom. But the fact is not the less remarkable, as corresponding to the inspired denunciation: "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword."

and he resolved to abolish the rival dignity. Hadrian, the tenth and last patriarch, died in 1700. His successor in the metropolitan chair of Kazan, presided, as exarch, over the affairs of the Church, until a synod, consisting of twelve ecclesiastical dignitaries, was substituted for the patriarchal government.

Prior to this great revolution in the ecclesiastical government of Russia, the bishops were absolute in their respective dioceses; and the power of the hierarchy had attained a height which rivalled the loftiest aspirations of the Romish priesthood. The concessions obtained for the clergy, by Leontius, the second metropolitan, from the royal convert Vladimir, divested the sovereign of a great part of his own rights. Not content with granting to the clergy throughout his dominions, the tithe of every kind of grain, cattle, fish, wild beasts, &c.; also of commerce, and the revenues of courts of justice; he assigned to their jurisdiction, contracts of marriage, divorces, the adjudication of all differences between man and wife, and the cognizance of almost every kind of moral transgression, including non-observance of the fasts, heresy, witchcraft, evil-speaking, and the evil eye. The measures and weights of the empire were also placed under episcopal superintendence, as well as all hospitals and monasteries, midwives, physicians, and usurers. These royal concessions were enforced with the following terrific denunciation: "Whosoever shall break any of these ordinances, to him it shall be accounted for sin, and he shall not obtain forgiveness of the same from the Lord God, but he shall inherit wrath and woe: and to my own judges and courts, I command, and witness before Christ the Lord and before all His saints, and in the presence of all the people, that ye wrong not the bishops of their holy revenues, and taxes, and ecclesiastical rights; and that the civil courts shall give nine parts of the revenue to the Tzar, and the tenth part to the holy Church, to our father the bishop, and to all the bishops throughout all the land of Russia, where the sacred thrones of the bishops are erected. And whosoever shall break these laws, which I have ordained according to the regulations of the holy Apostles and Fathers,

and first orthodox Christian emperors; and whosoever of my children, or my children's children, their princes and nobles, shall condemn or break these laws, or any of the cities or districts, or judges of courts,—whoever shall dare to condemn or infringe these holy statutes and laws, and the revenues of the church and bishops, or to take them from them, let them be accursed in this world and in the next, by the holy Apostles, and by the seven General Councils of the holy fathers; for, in His holy Gospel, the Lord says to all such, ‘Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.’ Whosoever shall despise or disannul this holy ordinance of the Apostles and Fathers, shall bring down the wrath of God upon himself: and wrath pardoneth not, and the curse is in this world and in the next; for in the Gospel it is written, that with the curse all such are sent away from the presence of the Lord God, into eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels.”

Nor was this considered enough by the clergy of those times; for the son of Vladimir, Jaroslaff, not only confirmed, but augmented these privileges, by the following edict.

“Behold, I the great prince, Jaroslaff Vladimirovitch, according to the grants made by my father to Hilarion, Metropolitan of Kief and all Russia, I have ordained, according to the Greek *Nomokanon*, that these rights (of the church) are not liable to be judged of by the prince or his nobles; and I have given to the metropolitan, the bishops, and priests and deacons, liberty in all my cities: take not from them, nor from their children, either taxes or customs, or interest: and he who dares to infringe these ecclesiastical rights, he shall stand with me at the last day before the judgement-seat of Almighty God, and upon him shall rest the curse of the 318 holy fathers of Nice, and of all the saints, Amen.”

The Russian clergy, thus freed from all civil burthens and richly endowed by their first Christian rulers, continued to enjoy these extraordinary privileges during the whole period of the Tatar yoke; for every new Khan usually confirmed them by a renewal of the ancient acts; and it was customary for the Metropolitan of all Russia, as first dignitary in the

church, to repair to the Tatar horde, and there, by rich presents, to secure for himself and his brethren the distinguished advantages granted by Vladimir and his successors.

“ That the Russian clergy had very great power and influence in political affairs also, is evident,” remarks Dr. Pinkerton, (to whom we are indebted for these historical details,) “ from many parts of Russian history; and also from the fact, that no business of importance was ever decided without their consent, or undertaken till blessed by them. Hence the ancient formula usual in all documents of state: ‘ *And according to the benediction of our Father, the Metropolitan (or afterwards of the Patriarch) of Moscow and all Russia.*’ But it was not merely by the Grand-dukes and Tzars that the clergy were enriched and privileged beyond every other class of their subjects: the same causes which operated in the Western church to exalt and enrich the prelates of the court of Rome,—the ignorance and superstition of the people,—became a source of immense wealth and power to the Russian clergy also. ‘ For,’ says the Russian historian, Boltin, in endeavouring to account for their extraordinary wealth, ‘ the ecclesiastics had it in their power to assure the people, that what they bestowed upon the monasteries would be returned to them a hundred-fold in the world to come; that, by taking on the black veil at the hour of death, they would cover the sins of an evil life, &c. &c. Not to mention a number of other deceptions, such as visions, apparitions, false miracles, which of themselves were sufficient to transform the treasures of the opulent into habitations for such as had vowed a renunciation of all worldly possessions. Aged men and women, possessed of great riches and great sins, but poor in judgement and virtuous deeds, in the hope of obtaining eternal life and imperishable treasures, put on, at the approach of death, the black robe, and left their temporal and corruptible possessions to the monasteries; and thus depriving their children and relatives of the inheritance which naturally belonged to them, they enriched those who had vowed to live in poverty, in opposition to every principle of justice and right feeling.’

“ Many of the Russian sovereigns had the same opinion

with their subjects, on these points: they not only added to the property of the monks, but actually became monks themselves. Even the most enlightened Tzars, who saw the great evils which arose from this unnatural state of things, felt themselves unable to stem the torrent of clerical influence, or even to attempt it.

“The Grand-dukes Joan Vassillivitch III. and IV., having been the means of delivering the nation from the thralldom of the Tatars, attempted to set bounds to the encroachments of the clergy; for, by an edict, they made it unlawful to sell villages and lands to the monasteries and bishops without the special permission of the Crown; evidently wishing thereby to preserve the remnant of public property from being added to the overgrown possessions of the clergy. But the before-mentioned Tzar, in order (as Tatischeff supposes) to get a council of the Russian clergy assembled in Moscow, in 1681, to give their benediction to his sixth marriage, returned all the villages which had been taken from the Church by the statutes of 1557, and granted them still greater facilities in procuring more.

“In this manner, notwithstanding the interdict of the Patriarch Philaret, and of Tzar Alexie Michaelovitch, against transferring villages to the monasteries, the custom continued, until the monasteries of Russia, at the end of the fifteenth century, were possessed of about one million of slaves, with extensive landed property on which they resided, not to mention their immense riches in moveables.* In the plenitude of this power and opulence, the Russian monks appeared in the same unfavourable light as many of this class of men in the Latin church placed in similar circumstances. In some of the monasteries, the monks and nuns lived together; and in Pleskoff, their daring immodesty went so far, that, according to Boltin, they bathed together in the same baths.

“Among the changes which Peter the Great wrought in Russia, was not merely that of correcting the shameful abuses and irregularities among the monks and clergy; he also de-

* In 1677, the Tschudoff monastery possessed 3026 families of peasants; that of Troitza, near Moscow, 20,131 families, or about 60,000 male peasants alone.

prived them of nearly all their rich endowments. Having abolished the patriarchate, and established the Holy Legislative Synod in its stead, on the 18th of September, 1724, he erected the second department of the synod, under the name of *Kammer Kolegia*. To this court was committed the management of the villages belonging to the patriarch, bishops, monasteries, and cathedrals. And out of the moneys which remained after paying the capitation-taxes for the peasants, they appointed the necessary sum for the support of servants, invalids, poor, orphans, and monks, and for divine service; also for the support of the bishops, the monasteries, &c. &c. From that period to the present time, the Russian clergy have been kept in a degree of poverty as inconsistent with their important station and office in society, as was their former state of overgrown riches and luxury. Tatischeff, the historian, says, that Peter the Great established this court for the preservation and right appropriation of the property of the church; because it had not been applied exclusively to the purposes for which it was originally bequeathed, but frequently to enrich the relatives of the higher clergy, and to support a degree of luxury altogether unbecoming the sacred profession.

“ But it was left for the Empress Catherine II. to annihilate the power of the clergy, and to complete their impoverishment, which had been so effectually begun by Peter: for she appropriated the whole of the immoveable property of the church and clergy to the use of the Crown, appointing stipends in exchange to the monasteries and their rulers.”*

Thus has the Eastern church been spoiled by the Civil Power; but she has not repented, in her poverty, of the corruptions which were introduced in the time of her wealth. She who sat as a queen, is now reduced to vassalage and mendicancy, but still she is unreclaimed from her apostasy. The chain she forged for others, now fetters her own hands; but, though in bonds, she still affects to rule in the name of the Tzar, instead of the Patriarch, the spiritual despotism being merged in the imperial prerogatives. Such is in brief the history of ecclesiastical power. Its foundations are laid in a

* Pinkerton's Russia, pp. 233—240.

usurpation, or voluntary surrender, first of the rights of the Christian laity, and next of the conscience itself, to the lords of God's heritage, who are thus raised to the rank of vicarious mediators, the teacher being converted into the priest. To maintain and perpetuate the sacerdotal authority, recourse is had to the dark magic of spiritual power, and the terrible engine of excommunication is employed to overawe the contumacious offender. By means of this ghostly authority, the Church has succeeded in possessing herself of the wealth of provinces, and in giving laws to kingdoms. Monarchs have yielded "their power and strength to the beast," and the emperor has been the servant of the pontiff. At length, the spell is dissolved; the cheat is detected; and the Civil Ruler assumes and vindicates his supremacy. But, unhappily, it now becomes his turn to make use of the Church as his tool, and to employ the spiritual power before which he was wont to tremble, as an instrument of government. Entering as by right upon the usurpations of the hierarchy, he assumes the twofold prerogative of Cæsar and Pontiff,—of Sultan and Khalif. A happy change for the nation, since the secular Head of the Church can afford to relax the severity of the ecclesiastical rule; and the Synod, or even the Star-chamber, is more merciful than the Inquisition. Nevertheless, there it still exists, that direful despotism which erects its throne in the very temple of God. The State has made the Church disgorge its ill-gotten wealth, but it still holds it in compact for the purpose of depriving Christian men of the liberty with which Christ has made them free. Education, the spread of knowledge, the spirit of inquiry, free commerce, religious toleration, are viewed as so many elements of political danger, so many forms of rebellion. Slowly but surely the popular mind will awake; and when the shorn head of the giant regains its locks, it will snap the cords that bind it, and pull down destruction upon its tyrants and betrayers. Happy for the country in which a timely accommodation can be come to between the powers that be and the powers that must be; between prerogative and opinion—arbitrary rule and insurgent mind. "Pure and undefiled Religion" is the only mediatrix

who will be found able to prevent or soften the impending collision; and where she is proscribed, sooner or later we may expect to see the very framework of society rent with the fury of political commotion.

The number of the Russian clergy of all ranks is about 215,000; and the sum allowed for their support by Government is only about two millions of roubles (80,000*l.*). They are consequently dependent, in great measure, upon the free-will offerings of the people for their support, their chief income being derived from fees and perquisites. With the exception, indeed, of about twenty-six churches in Moscow, and twenty in St. Petersburg, which afford adequate stipends, the whole body of the secular priesthood in Russia have but a scanty subsistence for their wives and children. Many of the village clergy cultivate their fields with their own hands, and have no time to think of improving their minds by study. The ecclesiastical duties of the parochial clergy are moreover extremely laborious. The church-service, which must be performed thrice a day, is excessively long; and the ceremonies observed at baptism, marriage, burial, visiting the sick, &c., are numerous and tedious. The regular clergy are few in proportion to the labour that devolves upon them, of teaching and superintending the spiritual schools, overlooking the monasteries, and discharging the episcopal functions. Nor would they seem to be much more liberally provided for. An archimandrite, even of a monastery of the first class, has not a regular income of more than 1000 roubles (40*l.*). And the whole revenue of the senior metropolitan of the Russian Church does not, Dr. Pinkerton states, amount to 600*l.* per annum;—"a small sum, indeed, to keep up his coach and six and domestic establishment."

Such is the impoverished condition of the Russian Church. The clergy are still, however, in possession of many peculiar privileges; being exempt from all taxes, from providing recruits and quartering soldiers, from every kind of civil burden, and from liability to corporal punishment. They are allowed to purchase lands, but not slaves. The Emperor Paul, in 1797, renewed the usage, introduced by Peter the Great,

of conferring on the clergy the same chivalric marks of distinction as are bestowed upon the military and civil servants of the Crown; and these honours, which are not less anxiously coveted by all ranks of the clergy in the present day, than by soldiers and statesmen, have become a powerful instrument for securing their subservience to the Crown. "A bishop," says Dr. Pinkerton, "is little thought of now, unless decorated with the star and ribbon of some order of knighthood, which are worn by him when he officiates, above his pontifical robes, and add not a little to his importance in the eyes of the multitude. The lower degrees of the same order are bestowed upon the more distinguished of the secular clergy."

There are three ranks of episcopacy in the Russian Church; bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans. When not officiating in their mitres, a high-crowned cap covered with white crape, with a veil of the same stuff attached to it hanging down on the shoulders, is the distinguishing mark of a metropolitan: the archbishops and bishops wear a black cap of the same form and material. These three degrees of prelates are without distinction entitled, when spoken of, *Archire* (Ἀρχιερεῖς): when addressed, it is by the style of "Eminent Lord" (*Preosviascheneische Vladiko*), and, to an archbishop or metropolitan, "Most high and eminent Lord" (*Viesokopreosviascheneischie Vladiko*). The bishops officiate and preach in the cathedrals on all the principal festivals, and some of them on other days also: in the absence of the bishop, an archimandrite or some subordinate ecclesiastic conducts the service. The secular or parochial clergy* form a kind of distinct tribe, like the ancient Levites, since none but the sons of the clergy are educated for the church; and the instances are few and rare, of any person entering the sacred profession from the other classes of society. The regular order of clergy,† on the contrary, who rank above the seculars, while consisting for the most part of sons of priests, not unfrequently receive accessions to their numbers from among

* Called *Bieloe Duhovenstoe*, White Clergy: they consist of *protoires*, priests, and deacons.

† Called *Tschornoe Duhovenstoe*, Black Clergy.

the nobles and other classes; and all the higher stations in the church are filled up from their ranks. The secular clergy are all obliged to wear long beards, their hair floating upon their shoulders. Their wide-flowing robes of Oriental costume are usually made of light-coloured silks or stuffs. A broad-brimmed hat and a staff complete their equipment, which gives them in the eyes of the people a reverend appearance and character, this clerical attire being vulgarly deemed the manner in which Our Lord and his Apostles were arrayed.

“Let any one,” remarks Dr. Pinkerton, “on his first arrival in St. Petersburg, enter the church of St. Nicholas, for instance, on a holiday, in the time of service, and, placing himself in a corner, calmly contemplate the scene before him: he might easily be led to the conclusion, that the Russians are to be counted among the most ignorant and superstitious of nations. The splendour of the building with its gaudy decorations; the sumptuous dresses of the clergy, composed of bright-coloured brocades, covered with embroidery and bespangled with gems; the vocal music; the odours of incense ascending before the sacred pictures, from the golden censer waving in the hand of the officiating priest; the great number of pictures covering the walls, overlaid with gold and silver plates in the form of robes, studded with pearls and precious stones, before which some hundreds of wax-lights and lamps of different sizes are burning; the people of all classes standing and worshipping; (for none sit there;) some turning to their respective tutelary saints, and prostrating themselves before them in various acts of humiliation, others bargaining for tapers at the stalls where they are sold in the church, then lighting them, and, with many crossings and ceremonies, placing them before their favourite pictures, as an offering and a symbol of the sincerity of their devotion:—having beheld these, let him turn his attention from the almost confounding splendour and stupifying effects of this crowded scene, more minutely to contemplate its parts, and mark the peculiar dresses, and looks, and attitudes of individuals; he will see much to excite his feelings of compassion and sympathy:—here, the aged sire of fourscore, devoutly crossing and

slowly prostrating himself before the picture of his tutelary saint, his legs and arms trembling beneath him, ere his forehead and hoary locks reach the pavement : (what must it cost such a feeble old man to perform this most fatiguing act of his devotion, perhaps forty or fifty times in a morning !) there, the devout mother with her babe in her arms, teaching its infant hand to make the figure of the cross, by touching, with the thumb and first two fingers united, first its forehead, then its breast, next the right shoulder, and afterwards the left, and to lisp the *Gospodi Pomilui*; and when the priest brings out the crucifix at the end of the service, to bestow the benediction, behold ! she presses forward in the crowd, and devoutly embraces the feet of the image of the suffering Saviour, and the infant follows her example On beholding this and similar scenes, without any further knowledge of the service, people, and principles of the Greek church, the traveller must at once come to the conclusion, that the Eastern church is, in all respects, as corrupt in doctrine, and as superstitious in practice, as the church of Rome. On obtaining better information, however, he finds this a hasty conclusion, as it regards doctrine, and not borne out by facts ; for the church that permits every one of its members to read the Holy Scriptures in a language which he understands, and acknowledges this Word as the highest tribunal in matters of faith on earth, is still possessed of the best reformer of all superstition. A reformation will no doubt take place with the increase of learning and scriptural knowledge, both in Russia and in Greece." *

Prior to the time of Peter the Great, education was absolutely confined to the clergy and a few of the nobles; and notwithstanding the public schools since established, if we except the clergy, the nobility, and the first two guilds of the merchants, not one in five hundred of all the rest of the population of native Russians can yet read. The number of seminaries and inferior schools, all of which are under the superintendence of the six universities,† is supposed to be

* Pinkerton's Russia, pp. 55—57.

† At Moscow, St. Petersburg, Dorpat, Wilna, Kazan, and Harkoff.

about 2500, containing, probably, 125,000 scholars, being, to the Muscovite population, as 1 to 360.*

"Many of the darker shades in the character of the lower orders," Dr. Pinkerton says, "are such as might naturally be expected from the disadvantageous circumstances in which they are placed. To expect from an ignorant slave the deportment and conduct of a freeman, is to look for figs from thorns, and grapes from thistles In their current conversation, the dictates of religion and the edicts of the Tzar seem to be considered by them as proceeding from the same source. Implicit obedience to God and to the Emperor is deemed one and the same thing among the Russian people."† The Russian peasant is a serf or vassal; the Russian workman is a slave; the Russian soldier is a machine; the Russian noble is more than half a barbarian. Of the mercantile class, we may form an estimate from the singular fact mentioned by the same authority, that no language with which the writer was acquainted has such a variety of most expressive terms for circumvention and cunning. The general principle upon which the merchants act in the bazaars, is, that the article is worth what it will bring; and they will consequently demand three or four times its real value, if, by dint of oaths and imprecations, they think they can impose upon the inexperienced customer.‡ The state of jurisprudence corresponds to the standard of mercantile morality, the administration of justice being little better than a system of cheating and bribery. Few of the public functionaries, either in the civil, the judicial, or the commercial departments, receive from the Crown one-third of what is required for their maintenance; they are consequently under the strongest temptation to enrich themselves by illicit means; and the want of publicity in all legal proceedings, every thing being kept secret till the issue is determined, favours the grossest abuses.

* In Prussia, the average proportion of children who enter the public schools is about 42.404 in every 100.

† Pinkerton, pp. 328, 331.

‡ A native merchant, with whom Dr. Pinkerton remonstrated upon the sinfulness of this system of deception and perjury, replied with a smile, "Sir, you seem to have been reading sacred history."

The remains of the ancient heathenism are still to be detected in many of the customs prevalent among the Russian people. In Spring, (about Whitsuntide,) the ancient Saturnalian rites in honour of Tora, (who appears to answer to the Krishna of the Hindoo Pantheon,) are still observed, although with more decency than formerly; and on St. John's eve, the festival in honour of Vesta is still to be traced in the custom of making large fires, which they designate *kupalnitzi* (baths), and round which the youth of both sexes dance and play, singing songs, and springing through the fire. At Christmas, the customs of their heathen ancestors at the great festival called *Kaliada*, answering exactly to the Roman Saturnalia, are transferred to the Feast of the Nativity, termed *Sviatki*. "On the eve of this festival, before the appearing of the moon and stars, the women, young and old, fasting, used to assemble in the streets, and invoke *Kaliada** in hymns. This heathen rite of invoking the powers of heaven, like the ancient Egyptians on the same festival, is, in substance, still continued among the people, especially in Little Russia. On the eve of the festival of Christmas, they fast till the stars are seen; and, on the luminaries of the night making their appearance, they call upon *Kaliada* in songs. This continues for three nights, and then the Saturnalia (or *Sviatki*) begin; during which the youths of all ranks, in almost every house, are masked, and unite in dancing and play, or in evening parties, at which many tricks and gambols are played off.... In almost every hut in Little Russia, on Christmas eve, they place a large earthen pot, filled with boiled wheat or barley, before the domestic altar, or pictures of the saints; and in another earthen pot they put dried apples, pears, plums, cherries, and raisins, which are also placed before the images. During the whole week of the festivity, the family, after dinner and supper, partake of part of this prepared food. In the evening of Christmas-day, companies of both sexes go from house to house, and chant their rural songs under the windows, serenading the inmates of the cottage, who usually give

* Some have taken this Slavonian deity, Dr. Pinkerton says, for the Roman Janus. He is more probably the Indian Saturn, Maha Kali.

them a small gratuity in return. This is called *Kaliadavat*; and all the days of this festivity are still known among the common people by the name of *Kaliadi*.*

"The Russians are accustomed to bathe themselves after the Feast of Epiphany, notwithstanding the frost and snow, even at the risk of their lives. Though now styled 'the Benediction of the Water,' this is, no doubt, a kind of purifying rite, in imitation of the offerings of purification customary among the Egyptians after the impurities of the Saturnalia. There are still many other superstitious practices resorted to during the *Sviatki*, in universal repute among the villagers. For instance; they take a sitting hen from her eggs, and bring her into the midst of the cottage circle, and, laying a certain number of grains of wheat or some other corn before her, divine their fortunes thereby. What is this but the *alectromancy* of the ancient Greeks? Dropping the white of an egg into pure spring water, they also divine from its colour and the form it takes: this is the *hydromancy* of the Greeks."†

Many heathen usages are also preserved in the numerous ceremonies attending the burial of the dead. "As soon as a Russian dies, the corpse is immediately washed with lukewarm water; the members of the body are all placed in their natural position, the eyelids and lips carefully closed, his best wearing apparel is put on, and the body is placed upon a bier, in an empty room among the rich, and below the sacred pictures in the huts of the poor. The Psalms are read over it night and day, until it is removed to the church on the day of interment, accompanied by the clergy, carrying pictures of the saints in their hands, and by the nearest friends, and a chorus of singers, who chant psalms as the procession moves slowly along the streets.‡ At the church, the burial-service (some parts of which are most pathetic and beautiful) is read over the body,

* Pinkerton's Russia, pp. 202, 203.

† *Ibid.* 203, 204.

‡ "It is still the practice among all ranks, but especially of the lower, to weep and make loud lamentations over their dead, uttering unconnected sentences in their praise. During the funeral procession, their excess of grief frequently discovers itself in this way. But to hire mourners for the express purpose of

after which the relatives and friends embrace the corpse, and, asking forgiveness, (as they express themselves,) take their last farewell. During the whole ceremony and service, the countenance is uncovered, and the head decorated with a crown made of gilt paper, or some more costly material, according to the condition of the deceased. At the shutting of the coffin, that which has been ridiculously styled the *passport*, after being read over the corpse by the officiating priest, is put into the hand of the deceased. . . . Most probably this usage was substituted by the Greeks for the heathen custom of putting into the mouth of the deceased a small piece of money called *obolus* (the sixth part of a drachm), for the purpose of paying Charon for a passage over the Styx."

The following is a literal translation of the Slavonian formula now in use on this occasion, as a prayer of absolution to be read over the body of the deceased:—

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, by His divine grace, and by his gift and power given to His holy Disciples and Apostles to bind and loose the sins of men, said unto them, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained; and whatsoever ye shall bind and loose on earth, shall be bound and loosed in heaven.' And from them upon us lineally descended, may this (through me the humble) be accomplished, and this my spiritual son N.N. be absolved from all sins that a man commits against God in word or deed or thought, by all his senses, willingly or unwillingly, wittingly or unwittingly. And if he be under the curse or excommunication of a bishop or priest, or have brought upon himself the curse of his father or mother, or fallen under his own curse, or have broken his oath, or committed any other sin by which a man is bound, but of all of which he has with a contrite heart repented, may he be absolved from all these sins and bonds! And on account of the weakness of nature, may they be cast into oblivion and all forgiven him, for the sake of *His* love to man, and through

acting a part on such occasions, is not usual in Great Russia; and in Little Russia, this mode of publicly expressing grief is nearly done away with."—*Pinkerton's Russia*, p. 208.

the prayers of our most holy and blessed Queen, mother of God, and immaculate Virgin Mary, the holy, glorious, and ever-to-be praised Apostles, and all saints. Amen!"

"Price 20 *kopiks*."*

The customs and ceremonies attendant on the birth and baptism of infants, are marked by the same admixture of ancient superstition. "In consequence," says Dr. Pinkerton, "of the strong attachment to the Mosaic law of purification, a very strange custom is to be found among the more ignorant of the peasantry; which not even the arm of the ecclesiastical power, during the last hundred years, has been sufficiently strong to extirpate. In districts of the country where a priest is not readily obtained to read the prayers of purification, a messenger is sent to him at a distance; and he reads them, in his own house, over the bonnet of the messenger, naming the persons who are to be purified. On the conclusion of the ceremony, the messenger carefully closes his bonnet, returns with its imaginary sacred contents, and shakes them over the woman, her infant, and attendants."

The dread of the influence of the evil-eye, and of other species of witchery, is still prevalent among the Russian peasantry. If an infant is suspected of being *zaglazen*, *i. e.* under the enchantment of the evil-eye, one method of counter-acting the charm is, to drop a piece of cold charcoal into a pot of water, and to wash the child with this water over the threshold, the nurse all the while repeating certain prayers against all satanic influences.

The prayers, exorcisms, and ordinances which accompany baptism, are long and complicated. In Great Russia, the trine immersion is practised, the child being dipped first in the name of the Father, secondly in that of the Son, and thirdly in that of the Holy Ghost. In Little Russia, it is customary to baptize by pouring; and this in like manner is repeated in the name of each person of the Godhead.† A singular part of the baptismal ceremony consists in cutting off

* Pinkerton, pp. 206, 207.

† The practice of baptism by affusion, Dr. Pinkerton supposes to have been adopted from the Roman Catholics; but even in Great Russia, it is held to be

some of the hair of the infant in the form of a cross, enveloping it in wax, and throwing it into the font, or sticking it up in a part of the church. This is called *Postrigania*, "the shearing of the child," and answers to the Pagan custom of cutting off the hair of the child when it received its name in its seventh year. After baptism, the priest hangs upon the neck of the child a small cross, about an inch in length, of gold, silver, or some inferior metal, which is worn through life next to the skin; a custom which dates from the reign of Vladimir I., when the Russians submitted to the rite in great multitudes, and those who had been baptized wore this badge to distinguish them. Not satisfied with this symbol as a means of protection against supernatural influence, the common people attach to the string which suspends the cross, amulets made of incense, which are also worn to the last moment of life: these are called, *hzanilnaia*, *preservative*. The chrism, though a distinct mystery, is always administered immediately after baptism. The priest anoints the baptized person with the holy ointment, composed of twenty different ingredients, and episcopally consecrated;* making with it the sign of the cross on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, hands, and feet, repeating at each sign these words,—“The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost.”

Prostration and making the sign of the cross, are as much practised among the Greeks as among the Latins. The Russian, Dr. Pinkerton says, always crosses himself before and after meat, when about to begin any business of importance, as setting out on a journey, on crossing a river, on passing a church, and on hearing thunder or seeing a flash of lightning. A Russian proverb says: “If the thunder roll not, the *mujik* (peasant) will not cross himself.” On every such occasion, the Russian devoutly uncovers his head, bows, and crosses himself, repeating a short prayer. The people

valid. When a priest cannot be obtained, lay baptism is permitted; and they on no account whatever rebaptize. Sponsors are required, called *Vozpriemniki*, Receivers.

* This holy oil or ointment is consecrated with great ceremony once a year, at Moscow, by a bishop, on the Thursday of Passion Week; also, at Kiev, for Little Russia.

also prostrate themselves very frequently during prayer, whether in public or in private.

The Russian church-service is in the Slavonic tongue, and occupies upwards of twenty volumes folio. Twelve of these, one for every month, contain the special services and hymns for the festivals of the saints, which are more in number, in the Russian Calendar, than the days of the year. These twelve volumes are called the *Menæon* (Μηνναῖον), uniting the character of the Missal and Breviary of the Romish church. Two volumes, called the *Octoëchoi* (Ὀκτωῆχοι) from being divided into eight tones or voices, contain hymns for every day in the week, which are introduced into the service. The *Fast Triods* contain, in two volumes, particular services for the four great fasts. The Psalter; the Book of Prayer, containing the ordinary daily prayers for the priest and deacon at the vespers, matins, and communion service; the Four Gospels; the Book of Offices; and the Book of Regulations; each form a volume. The daily service begins in the evening, as among the Jews; the vespers are at sunset; the matins, between four and five in the morning; and the liturgy or communion service, between nine and ten. The greater part of the service consists of psalms and hymns, which, according to the regulations, ought to be *sung*, but are now mostly read; and owing to its extreme length, it is hurried over so as to be quite unintelligible by the congregation, to whom the ancient Slavonic is almost a dead language.* A great deal of incense is burned during the service; and scarcely any rite or ordinance is performed, whether by day or by night, without lighted candles or lamps. These, in many of the churches, are kept constantly burning before pictures of the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saint to whom the church is dedicated.†

Wax candles are also burned before the image of the patron saint of the family in private houses; and when a Russian enters an apartment, he crosses himself three times

* The present Slavonic Version of the Scriptures, made from the Greek, has remained in use for 800 years: though imperfectly understood, it is still daily read in their churches and families.

† Pinkerton, pp. 209—211.

before the household saint previously to addressing any of the family. The favourite saints are, St. Nicholas, St. John the Baptist, St. Sergius, and St. Alexander Newski. The Virgin appears to enjoy a higher pre-eminence in the ritual of the church than in the popular regard, which she only shares with the household and patron saints: some pictures of the Virgin, however, enjoy a degree of honour scarcely inferior to that which is paid to the image of our Lady of Loreto and other wonder-working images among the Romanists. Thus, at Pleskof, a very ancient sacred picture, called "The Virgin of Pestschera" (the Virgin of the Cave)—described by Dr. Pinkerton as "a black, ugly female portrait, decked out with gold and gems"—is deemed the palladium of the cathedral; and once a year, it is carried round the outer wall of the city in solemn procession, amid loud psalmody and the ringing of bells, attended by the whole clergy, and the principal inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes; when the lower orders of the priesthood may be seen among the crowd, pleading for alms in the name of "the Queen of Heaven."*

Dr. Pinkerton seems unwilling to believe that prayers are offered directly to the saints; but he represents it to be the general custom of the Russians, "never to pray unless they have a crucifix, or a picture of the Saviour, of the Virgin, or of some saint of the Calendar before them." "Before undertaking a journey, it is customary for the rich merchants, and many among the nobles, to go to church, and to have a special service for imploring the Divine blessing: the Emperor does the same. Others invite the priest, with his deacon and psalmodists, to their own houses, where prayers are offered up, in the midst of the domestic circle, before the image† of the tutelary saint of the family, domestics, children, and friends attending. At the commencement of a battle, it is the custom of the Russian soldiers, not merely to offer up prayers for mercy and deliverance, but also, when circumstances admit, to receive absolution and the holy sacrament."‡

* Pinkerton, p. 30.

† Called *Obraz*: it is a "sacred picture," not carved.

‡ Pinkerton, p. 298.

Upon the whole, Dr. Pinkerton considers the Russian character as "marked by a strong sense of religion, though united, through ignorance, with much superstition. Such of the people as can read, are exceedingly attached to the Scriptures and other religious books; and I know not," he adds, "to what other cause than to a 'zeal for God,' (not, indeed, according to knowledge,) we can attribute the great variety of sects found among them, some of which are far more superstitious than the mother church."* The standard of morality, however, is higher among the sectaries, than among the generality of their countrymen. Many of the most wealthy and eminent merchants of Moscow, St. Petersburg, Vladimir, and other towns, belong to the *Raskolniki*, or dissenters from the national church of Russia.† Under this general appellation are included various sects, who form two distinct classes; the *Popoftschini*, or such as admit priests from the national church, and the *Bezpopoftschini*, or such as have priests of their own ordination, or none. The principal sects are the following:—

POPOFTSCHINI.

1. The *Starobredsi*, or Old Ceremonialists, the first churches of which were formed at Staradubofsk and Vetka.
2. The *Diakonoftschini*; so called from the Deacon Alexander, their founder.
3. The *Perimazanoftschini*, or Re-anointers; so called because they re-anoint with the holy chrism those who unite with them; in almost all other respects agreeing with the Old Ceremonialists; as do,
4. The *Epefanoftschini*, whose founder was a monk of Kiev.
5. The *Tschernaboltsi*, who refuse to take an oath, or to pray for the Emperor according to the form prescribed by the holy synod; they think it wrong to shave the beard, and believe the end of the world to be at hand.

BEZPOPOFTSCHINI.

1. The *Pomoryani*, who baptize their proselytes, and advocate monastic habits.

* Pinkerton, p. 333.

† Ib. p. 165.

2. The *Theodosiani*,—nearly agreeing with the Pomoryani, but more inveterate against the national church.
3. The *Philipoftschini*, distinguished by the severity of their fasts: they are few in number.
4. The *Netovtschini*; a very ignorant sect.
5. The *Pastushkoltoglasia*: their founder was a shepherd.
6. The *Novojentzi*, who favour marriage.
7. The *Samskrechtschentsi*, or self-baptizers.
8. The *Tschuvstviniki*, who seek to unite all sects.
9. The *Ikonobortsi*, or rejecters of images.
10. The *Seleznevtshini*, who hold Jewish principles.
11. The *Duchobortzi* (Wrestlers with the Spirit); called also, *Molochani* (Milk-eaters in the time of the fasts),* and *Duchovnie Christiani* (Spiritual Christians); who, in several of their notions, closely resemble the English Quakers.
12. The *Martinists*, whose notions are similar to those of the Swedenborgians.

To these must be added, the proselytes from the Greek to the Romish church, who are known by the name of *Uniats*, and who are very numerous in the Polish provinces.

In addition to these, Dr. Pinkerton states, there are probably thirty smaller sects in Russia, whose peculiar sentiments and usages have never been thoroughly inquired into. It is evident, however, that, of the sects above enumerated, many differ only in name, or are the same sect under different names. And the difference between the national church and the greater part of them, (especially the *Popoftschini*), does not relate to the great articles of faith; for they acknowledge the Nicene Creed as the symbol of their belief, and do not widely differ in their notions on other points. The contest between the greater part of the *Raskolniks* and the church from which they dissent, is not, for instance, whether pictures should be used in divine worship, but whether old or new ones should be used;—not whether upwards of twenty

* During the four great fasts, flesh, eggs, butter, and milk are all prohibited. "The ancient Russians, like the present *Raskolniks*, abstained from veal, hare, doves, cray-fish, and every animal which had died in its blood."

volumes folio, containing their church-service, teach doctrines agreeable to the word of God, but whether they should hold the old manuscript copies of them to be genuine, or receive those which have been corrected according to the Greek original, and printed by order of Tzar Alexie Michaelovitch, in pursuance of the decision of the Council of Moscow, held in 1654, at which the Tzar presided, and which was attended by Nikon, five metropolitans, five archbishops, eleven archimandrites, and thirteen priests. It was to no purpose that these Russian fathers attempted to convince the Old Ceremonialists, that the Slavonic copies which they possessed were not originals, and consequently could not be standards by which to try other translations. All arguments were answered by one position:—‘According to these books our fathers believed and are saved; and through the same belief we hope to be where they now are.’ Thus, the great schism which took place in the Russian church, in the end of the seventeenth century, was founded on ignorance and misunderstanding, and arose, in a great measure, from the incautious way in which the ecclesiastical reform at that time was made.* But the *Raskolniks* of the present day have laid aside many of the absurd and ignorant opinions which distinguished their ancestors; and, indeed, the greater part of the Old Ceremonialists are better versed in the Holy Scriptures than their neighbours belonging to the national church. I have met with many of them who could, with great readiness, quote Scripture in support of their opinions; and though their forefathers were such enemies to printed copies of the Scriptures, yet I have more than once found a printed folio Bible in the hut of a Raskolnik; and the translation of the New Testament into the modern Russ has also been well received by them The persecutions to which they have at different times been subjected, have made them shy and cautious in declaring these opinions; and, *as they are not allowed to publish any thing in their own defence*, it is very difficult to obtain correct

* According to the Russian annals, however, there existed schismatics in the church 200 years before, under the name of *Strigolniki*.

information respecting either the peculiar sentiments or probable numbers of the different sects which have separated from the Russian church; for all that has been published on these subjects, comes from their opponents. Many of them also conceal their opinions and the party to which they belong, on account of the general odium which is still attached to the name of Raskolnik.* Some of the sects included in this general name, have renounced both the old and the new books and pictures, and have formed a creed for themselves from the word of God. After the various unsuccessful attempts which had been made by Government to bring the Raskolniks again into the bosom of the church, Catherine II., in 1785, published an *ukaz*, granting them permission to use the old manuscript books, and inviting them to receive regularly ordained priests from the mother church. This proposal has been embraced by many of them; and all open persecution of them, since that time, has been interdicted by the Government; so that the Old Ceremonialists have now their own churches and priests. But most of the other sects meet in private, not being countenanced by the Government." †

Of these, the most remarkable is the community called the *Duchobortzi*, which, according to Dr. Pinkerton, is numerous in Russia, but with considerable internal diversity. A colony of this sect, consisting of 2500 souls, collected from every part of the empire by order of the Emperor, are settled in eight villages on the river Molochnia and the Sea of Azov. Their neat and clean dress, comfortable-looking huts, and industrious habits, their numerous flocks, and extensive, well-cultivated fields, strikingly distinguish them from the common

* "The severe persecutions to which the different sects of Raskolniks have been subjected, have caused them, like the Protestants of France, to take refuge in the most southern provinces and borders of the empire; and especially among the Poles, Little Russians, and Don Kozacks; where they enjoy greater freedom than in the interior, and whence, in the time of persecution, they can more easily escape into a foreign land. Yet, notwithstanding all the severities of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, (which, however, so far as I can learn, never amounted to capital punishment, but exile, stripes, confiscation of property, imprisonment, &c. have all been employed,) they still abound in almost every province."—*Pinkerton*, p. 165.

† *Ibid.* pp. 190, 191.

Russian peasantry. Their manners are very shy and reserved; and the persecution to which they have been exposed, is probably the reason of their not being very communicative when questioned respecting their tenets.* In their rejection of the external ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as well as in their notions of an inward light, or an immediate inspiration, they closely resemble the English Quakers. Their elders are chosen from among themselves, and ordained to their office by the laying on of the hands of the whole church with prayer. In public worship they use no books but the Bible; their ritual consists of extemporary prayer and a familiar exposition of the Scriptures; and their rejection of the use of images, invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, and other corruptions of the Greek church, entitles them to rank among Protestant sects.

All who are known under the name of *Molochani*, are not, however, equally pure in doctrine and practice. The great body are stated to entertain superstitious ideas in connexion with "the kiss of charity," which they look upon as one of their most sacred rites. On saluting each other, they bow themselves to the ground in a kind of mutual devotional respect to each other as temples of the Holy Ghost and having

* A very interesting document is given by Dr. Pinkerton, which shows that their distrust is not altogether groundless. The military governor of Cherson had recommended their expulsion on the ground of certain calumnious allegations against their principles. In consequence of this, and also of petitions from the Duchobortzi praying for protection from oppression, the late Emperor Alexander addressed a rescript to the Governor (dated December 9, 1816), forbidding their being any further molested. Their colonization is stated to have taken place by his own imperial order in 1802; "partly on account of the miseries which they had suffered, and partly with the view of protecting them from the improper and fruitless severities used against them on account of their peculiar religious opinions." All the measures of severity exhausted upon them during the thirty years preceding 1801, instead of rooting out the sect, had but increased their numbers." "The secession of this people from the orthodox Græco-Russian church is certainly," remarks his Imperial Majesty, "on their side an error grounded on certain false opinions respecting real worship and the spirit of Christianity. This proceeds from a want of cultivation; for they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. But is it proper for an enlightened Christian Government to attempt to bring back the strayed sheep into the bosom of the church by severe and oppressive means?" The whole Rescript reflects the highest honour upon the enlightened piety of their Imperial protector.

the image of God in their souls. In some provinces, they have been found denying the last judgement, saying, that the second advent of Christ is already past. Many of them reject the written word of God, saying, that they have the word of God in themselves; which seems to be a notion connected with the peculiar salutation of each other above mentioned. Dr. Pinkerton expresses his belief that many of them are Deists. Such diversities and extravagances of opinion, (not greater, indeed, than the portraiture of Quakerism exhibits,) would naturally spring up within a sect originally holding sound and scriptural principles, in the absence of an educated ministry, and dependent chiefly on oral instruction; more especially when the Bible is not in the hands of the people, or is not referred to as the ultimate test of religious impressions, and the only rule of faith and practice.*

Whatever ignorance or enthusiasm may prevail among the *Molochani*, it is evident, that individuals are to be found, whose views of religious truth, being derived purely from the Scriptures, are, upon all the essential doctrines of Christianity, alike clear, sound, and simple. Even some of the Duchobortzi, who hold the Quaker doctrine of the inward word, have discovered a considerable aptness in defending their opinions by citations from the sacred volume. The following was given by one of them, in his examination by an Archimandrite, as his view of the true church:—"There is but one Pastor, Jesus Christ, who laid down his life for his sheep; and one church, holy, apostolical, spiritual, invisible, of which it is said: Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; in which no worship is paid to any material object; where those only are teachers who live virtuous lives; where the word of God is obeyed in the heart, on which it descends like dew upon the fleece, and out of which it flows as from a spring in the moun-

* Very few of those whom Dr. Pinkerton visited in the colony on the Molochnia, appeared to be able to read. They have no schools, nor did he see a book among them. To his offer to supply them with the Bible, they replied, that what was in the Bible was in them also.—*Pinkerton*, pp. 166, 168. This is pure Quakerism, or rather, mystical deism.

tains."* From the circulation of the Scriptures among these and the other sects, the happiest results might be anticipated.

Of the numbers belonging to these several sects, scattered as they are over every province, and particularly numerous in the principal commercial towns, and in the southern parts of the empire, it is difficult to form any precise estimate; but Dr. Pinkerton supposes them to amount, on a moderate calculation, to more than two millions. "One of the most remarkable distinctions between the Eastern and the Western churches," he observes, "is the tolerant spirit of the former."† It is not very easy to reconcile this assertion with the severe persecution to which some of the Russian sects have been exposed; and the imperfect toleration which they now enjoy, is upon condition of their not attempting to proselyte any to their own opinions; while the liberty of the press, even in self-defence, appears to be wholly denied them. The Protestants in many Roman Catholic states, enjoy quite as much religious liberty as this amounts to.

The *Uniates*, or proselytes from the Greek to the Romish church, are most numerous in the provinces which formerly belonged to Poland. In this work of proselyting to the Papal communion, the Jesuits have been particularly zealous and successful; more especially among the Slavonic tribes originally belonging to the Greek church in the Austrian empire.‡ The prelates of Little Russia, in 1595, seceded from the Eastern patriarchate in a body, and joined the Romish church, on certain conditions, through resentment of an act of undue severity on the part of the patriarch of Constantinople; and these dioceses retain, to the present day, their *Uniat* prelates. In many of the towns are found both Græco-Russian and Roman-catholic churches and monasteries. The inroads

* Pinkerton, p. 180.

† Taken as a body, the Russian clergy are indeed tolerant in their principles towards other confessions, especially Protestants; but no member of the Greek church is permitted to join any other Christian communion; and in case of inter-marriage, the children must all be baptized into the dominant faith.

‡ "Of two millions of Servians, all originally Greek Christians, one half have, by various means, since they fell under the dominion of Austria, been brought over to the church of Rome."—Pinkerton, p. 83.

which the Jesuits were discovered to have made in the Russian church, led to an imperial order, a few years ago, that no children should be admitted into their schools, but those belonging to their own communion. To counteract their insidious zeal, and to reclaim some who had been seduced from the fold of the national church, Philaret, archbishop of Moscow,* drew up a Comparison between the Doctrines of the Greek and Romish Churches, which, as coming from the pen of so distinguished a dignitary, must be regarded as an important Declaration of Faith, and one that approaches much nearer to the faith of the Reformed churches than could have been anticipated. With this interesting document, premising that its enlightened sentiments cannot be received as those of the general body of the national clergy, or even, we fear, of any considerable number of them, we shall close our view of the Russian church.

COMPARISON OF THE DIFFERENCES IN THE DOCTRINES OF FAITH BETWIXT THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES.

"SOURCE OF THE DOCTRINES OF FAITH.

"DOCTRINE OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

I.

"The only pure and all-sufficient source of the doctrines of faith is the revealed word of God, contained now in the Holy Scriptures. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

II.

"The Holy Scriptures are contained in the 39 canonical books of the Old, and 27 of the New Testament, which serve as a rule of faith; but the 3d and 4th books of Esdras, the books of

"DOCTRINE OF THE WESTERN CHURCH.

I.

"Holy Scripture is not an adequate source of saving doctrine; for, in Christianity, there is much necessary to be known which is not in the Scriptures; as, for instance, that the Feast of Easter should be kept on a Sunday, &c.

II.

"The works of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, Baruch, and two books of Maccabees, like the other books contained in the Bible, are canonical;

* One of the most distinguished pupils of his celebrated predecessor in the metropolitan see, Platon; whose System of Divinity is still taught in the spiritual schools.

Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, Baruch, and the three books of Maccabees, together with certain other additions to several of the books of the Old Testament, though respected by the church for their antiquity and the sound doctrine found in them, are only esteemed by her to be apocryphal; that is, books the divine origin of which is hid from our faith, or is subject to doubt: because the Old Testament church and Christian churches never acknowledged them to be canonical.

III.

"Every thing necessary to salvation is stated in the Holy Scriptures with such clearness, that every one reading it with a sincere desire to be enlightened, can understand it. Psal. cxix. 105; 2 Cor. iv. 3.

IV.

"The most authentic texts of the Holy Scripture are contained principally in the Hebrew and Greek originals; for all translations receive their credibility from the originals.

V.

"Every one has not only a right, but it is his bounden duty, to read the Holy Scriptures in a language which he understands, and edify himself thereby. Psal. i. 2; Col. iii. 16. And the most of the apostolical Epistles were written to the people, and not to the clerical order alone.

VI.

"Holy Scripture, being the word of God himself, is the only supreme judge of controversies, and the decider of misunderstandings in matters of faith. Heb. iv. 12.

because the church acknowledges them to be such.

III.

"Holy Scripture is so unintelligible, that it is impossible to understand it without an interpreter; for many passages of it admit of various interpretations, &c.

IV.

"Sacred Scripture, in its original tongues, is adulterated; and the Latin translation of it, known by the name of the Vulgate, is the most authentic; because from ancient times it has been received by the Romish church, and established by the Council of Trent.

V.

"The laity ought not to read the Holy Scriptures in their native tongues; because, in reading, they may fall into error. [However, in the present day, many of the Romanists do not strictly attend to this rule.]

VI.

"The pope of Rome is the supreme and infallible judge of controversies, and decider of misunderstandings in matters of faith; because he inherits all the privileges of the High Priest of the Old Testament, and of the Apostle Peter, for whom Jesus Christ himself prays, *that his faith might not fail.*

VII.

"The decisions of Councils are to be tried by the Holy Scriptures, so that no Council whatever can set up an article of faith which cannot be proved from the Holy Scriptures. This rule was always held by the ancient church.

VII.

"Councils have an equal degree of exemption from error with the Holy Scriptures; for in them Jesus Christ is present. Matt. xviii. 20.

VIII.

"The traditions of the church are to be tried by the Holy Scriptures; and traditions respecting articles of faith, which are not to be found in them, ought not to be received: for the Holy Scriptures, in many places, forbid the adding of any thing whatsoever to the doctrines contained in them. Prov. xxx. 56; Gal. i. 8, 9; Acts xxii. 18.

VIII.

"Unwritten traditions ought to be received with the same reverence as the written word of God; and may contain articles of faith necessary to salvation. 2 Thess. ii. 15.

" OF GOD.

IX.

"The Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father. John xv. 26.

IX.

"The Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son. John xvi. 15.

[*Remark.* The words of Jesus Christ, 'All things that the Father hath are mine,' are of the same import with the following: 'All mine are thine and thine are mine.' John xvii. 10. Most evidently they refer to the general attributes and operations of the Godhead, but not to the special attributes of each hypostasis of the Holy Trinity. The words, 'He shall take of mine,' when compared with the following, 'And shall show it unto you,' signify that the Holy Spirit would instruct believers in the same truths that had been revealed to them in Jesus Christ; therefore these words do not prove the procession of the Holy Ghost. The words, 'I will send,' also, do not relate to the eternal procession of the Holy Ghost; because to send cannot signify to give beginning of being. But, in contrast with this, the inserted words, 'Which proceedeth from the Father,' so clearly point out the eternal beginning of the hypostasis of the Holy Ghost, that no doubt is left upon it. And by the second General Council, held in Constantinople in 381, against Macedonius, these very words are used in the symbol of faith, in order to express the article respecting the Holy Spirit: *viz.* 'And in the Holy Ghost, the life-giving Lord, which proceedeth from the Father.' And thus also we read in the Creed of the Romish church up to the ninth century. . . . Nevertheless the popes took the new dogma under their protection; and thus it became a principal barrier betwixt the Western and Eastern churches."]

" ON THE CORRUPTION OF HUMAN NATURE.

X.

"Man, in his natural corrupt state, has liberty in the choice of natural, civil, and moral good; but, for spiritual and saving operations, he has no free-will and power. Gen. viii. 21; John

X.

"Man, after the Fall, still retains so much natural power, that he can perform saving works, cooperate with grace, and, in a certain sense, merit it. For, when God gives to us command-

viii. 34. [*Remark.* The law is proclaimed to man, in order that he might know through it his own weakness, and unconditionally give himself up to grace. Gal. iii. 24.]

XI.

"Evil desires, or the first efforts of the will to sin, is a sin meriting God's wrath. In the viith chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, evil desires are repeatedly denominated sin; and among other things it is proved, that it is forbidden by the law: 'Thou shalt not covet.'

ments, this naturally supposes that we are able to fulfil them.

XI.

"Evil desire is not sin: it only begets sin. James i. 15.

"CONCERNING A MEDIATOR.

XII.

"The sufferings and death of Jesus Christ are an abundant satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. Eph. v. 25—27.

XII.

"Though Jesus Christ has satisfied the justice of God for our sins, yet we ought to merit an interest in this satisfaction, by making satisfaction ourselves; because we ought to be conformed to his image. Rom. viii. 29.

XIII.

"Grace justifies through the power of the merits of Jesus Christ, which a man receives by living faith: good works are the fruits of faith and grace, and therefore they do not constitute in man any kind of personal merit. Rom. iii. 23—28; Luke xvii. 10. To this subject also belong the whole Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians.

XIII.

"Grace and faith only lay the beginning of the work of justification: a man acquires perfect justification and eternal life by his own merits, which are his good works. James ii. 21, 22.

"CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS.

XIV.

"All Christians ought to communicate in the body and blood of Jesus Christ, under the symbols of bread and wine. 1 Cor. x. 16; Matt. xxvi. 27.— [*Remark.* The first inventors of the communion in one kind were the Manicheans, whom Pope Gelasius, in the end of the fifth century, condemned by an interdict. But, in the beginning of the fifteenth, the Council of Florence, which the Roman church reckons the seventeenth General Council, interdicted the communion in both kinds.]

XIV.

"The priests only ought to communicate in the eucharist in the two symbols of bread and wine; and the people in the one symbol of bread, because the strength of the sacrament is as well to be found in the one symbol as in both: and in order the more conveniently to partake of it, the church abridges it into one symbol.

XV.

"The clerical office is consistent with the married state; that is, he who has

XV.

"Priests ought to be unmarried. Tit. i. 8.

entered honourably into the married state may be a priest. Thus Paul writes to Titus: 'Ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee: if any be blameless, the husband of one wife.'

[*Remark.* Though the Eastern church has made it a rule, that those who are entrusted with the higher degrees of spiritual power shall be unencumbered with the duties of the married state and of a family, in order that they might completely and unreservedly devote themselves to the service of the church;—because 'he that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord,' &c. 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33;—nevertheless, she does not reckon celibacy absolutely necessary for all the ministers of the church; because Christ himself has placed the restriction as only belonging to some. Matt. xix. 11, 12."]

"CONCERNING THE CHURCH.

XVI.

"Jesus Christ is the only Head of the church. Eph. i. 22, 23. [The church cannot have two heads; and as in no sense whatever it is ever termed the body of the bishop of Rome, but the body of Christ, therefore in no sense whatever can the bishop of Rome have any right to call himself its Head.]

XVII.

"The spiritual power has under its charge matters relative to faith; and is subject to the genuine law of God's word, and the united councils of the church. For the spiritual power has in its hands the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the right to bind and to loose on earth what ought to be bound or loosed in heaven. Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18. Those who use the keys of the spiritual power are subject to the decisions of the church, which is bound to try the spirits whether they be of God. 1 John iv. 1.

"CONCERNING A FUTURE STATE.

XVIII.

"The condition of a man's soul after death is fixed by his internal state; and there is no such thing as purgatory, in which souls have to pass through fiery torments in order to prepare them for blessedness. John v. 24. There is no need of any other kind of purification, when 'the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.'

XVI.

"Jesus Christ is the invisible, and the pope of Rome the visible Head of the church. Matt. xvi. 18. These words refer to the bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter.

XVII.

"The pope of Rome has the supreme power in all matters, spiritual and temporal, as the vicegerent of Jesus Christ.

XVIII.

"Betwixt heaven and hell there is purgatory, into which those who die in pardonable sins fall, and in which they are purified by fire, in order afterwards to enter bliss. 1 Cor. iii. 15.

XIX.

"Though the spiritual power has a right to absolve from sin, on repentance being manifested; though such absolution may and ought to be asked for the dead as well as the living, because God can hear prayers equally for the living and the dead, being 'not the God of the dead, but of the living,' Matt. xxii. 32; nevertheless, no one has the power to deliver sinners from torments by the application of the works of supererogation of Jesus Christ and of the saints; because the merits of Jesus Christ are not under the control of man; and works of supererogation in the saints are impossible, as they themselves are only saved by grace."

XIX.

"The dignitaries of the church have power to redeem people from the torments of purgatory, by means of indulgencies or dispensations; which are a deliverance of sinners from merited punishment, by the application to them of the works of supererogation of Jesus Christ and his favourites."*

* Pinkerton's Russia, pp. 39—54. The reader will find, on comparing these differences of doctrine with the leading articles of variance between the Western and Eastern churches, as stated at pp. 16—19, that the archbishop makes no reference to some of the original grounds of the schism; passing over the subjects of articles 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, and 9. On the subject of prayer for the dead, see pp. 88, 89, 112, 144—147.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATIN CHURCH, OR THE PAPACY.

History of the Tridentine Council.—Creed of Pius IV.—Six points of fundamental variance between the church of Rome and the Reformed churches.—Points upon which there exists internal discordance in the Romish church.—Four marks of the True Church not found in the Papacy.—*Appendix* on the Jansenists of Holland.

THE church of Rome, or Latin church, boasts of a pontifical succession uninterrupted from the time of St. Peter, and claims for its traditions the highest ecclesiastical antiquity; but the Romish creed, as at present settled and defined, is not yet three centuries old, being not quite so ancient as Protestantism. The symbol of Pope Pius IV., to which every Roman Catholic is required to give his assent, bears date thirty-four years later than the Confession of Augsburg, the earliest symbol of the Reformed Faith. The doctrines of Romanism, indeed, and the doctrines held by Protestants, are of course much older than the creeds and canons by which they are respectively defined. Long before the Council of Trent gave the finishing hand to the work of settling the faith of the Roman church, and fixed what was before doubtful, the second Nicene Council (787) had sanctioned the worship of images; a Lateran Council (A. D. 1215), transubstantiation and auricular confession; a Florentine Council, purgatory and the Papal supremacy; while the liturgies and offices of the church sanctioned and compelled the adoration of the Virgin, invocation of the saints, and the worship of the Host or Consecrated Wafer. But, by the Council of Trent, these and other dogmas were riveted upon the Church of Rome. In direct opposition to the doctrines of the Reformation, the

articles which had been controverted and impugned, were deliberately re-promulgated not only as binding upon every member of the church, but as necessary to be believed in order to salvation; an anathema being pronounced upon all who, on any one point, refused to submit to the decrees and canons of that convocation.

The Council of Trent had its origin in the loud call for a reformation of the church, which had made itself heard in the papal world long before Luther denounced the venal indulgences issued by Pope Leo X. in 1517. His successor in the pontificate, Adrian VI., evinced some desire to reform his court; but his design was opposed by Cardinal Soderini, who urged, that to reform the church would be to canonize the cause of Luther, which it behoved the head of the church to unite with the princes of the empire in endeavouring to extirpate. Adrian accordingly sent his legate to the Diet of Nuremburg, then sitting, (in 1522,) who endeavoured to compromise matters by making the suppression of Lutherism the condition of the reformation of the papal court. This proposal produced the list of grievances, presented in the name of the assembled princes, known under the title of *Centum Gravamina*. Adrian, though chiefly intent upon crushing Luther and his doctrine, was, for the attainment of his object, willing to make great sacrifices; but his death, shortly afterwards, put a termination to all hopes and fears respecting the result of his personal endeavours.*

In the mean time, the Reformation lost no ground; and the importunate demands for a reform of some kind within the Church, compelled the new Pope, Paul III., after summoning a council to meet at Mantua, (to which he cited the excommunicated King of England,) to issue a commission for the purpose of examining into the abuses of the Papal court. The commissioners were Cardinals Contarino, Sadoletto, Carafa (afterwards Paul IV.), and Polo (Pole). Their report

* Mendham's *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, pp. 4—6. The authenticity of this *Century of Grievances*, Mr. Mendham shows to be indisputable; and it presents a revolting and damnatory view of the abuses and abominations which at that time prevailed throughout the jurisdiction of the Papal see.

was printed at Rome, in the year ensuing, 1538;* but when Paul III. was preparing to take the matter of the report into consideration, he was dissuaded from it by his Cardinals, who urged, that it was not the proper time, as such an act would afford occasion of triumph to the Lutherans. The council summoned to meet at Mantua, was, after two prorogations, appointed to assemble at Vicenza, but was again suspended; and at length, after various abortive negotiations, the Pope issued a bull, summoning the council to meet at Trent on the 15th of March, 1545. The council was not actually opened till Sunday, Dec. 13, of that year. It was continued from time to time during eighteen years, and was at length terminated, with indecorous precipitation, on the 4th of Dec. 1563.† On that day were promulgated the decrees of Indulgences, of Choice of Food, of an Index of Books, and of a Catechism. The proceedings of the council were confirmed by the Pope in consistory, Jan. 1564; and in the same year was issued, in the form of a bull, the creed which embodies the theological decisions comprised in its decrees.

"In what concerns faith or morals," says Mr. Charles Butler, "the decrees of the council have been received without any restriction by every Roman-catholic kingdom. All its decrees have been received by the Empire, Portugal, the Venetians, and the Duke of Savoy, without an *express* limitation. They have been received by the Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Sicilians, with a caution as to such points of discipline as might be derogatory to their respective sove-

* "*Consilium Delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum Prælatorum de emendanda Ecclesia, S. D. N. D. Paulo Tertio ipso jubente conscriptum et exhibitum Anno MDXXXVIII.*" This penitential and self-condemnatory document was afterwards placed by Carafa, one of its authors, when raised to the pontificate, in the Index of prohibited books.

† Cardinal Morone had urged the necessity of terminating the council, in consideration of possible events, which might render all its labours null; referring to the illness of the Pope, and the resolution adopted by the French King and Parliament to summon a *national* council, if this did not finish its proceedings. Extended as were the statutes of the preceding session, they were far exceeded by those of the concluding one, (the XXVth,) in which various important subjects were hastily disposed of, and thrown into the form of enactments binding on the universal church.

reignities. But the council was never published in France. No attempt was made to introduce it into England."*

The distinction made by the highest Roman-catholic authorities between the decrees of councils defining articles of faith, and those which regard discipline and matters of civil polity, is one of great historical importance, as well as very material in relation to the Romish controversy. A great portion of the decrees enacted by the Council of Trent were of the latter description, and have never been generally received.† It has also been maintained, that "not all things which are even absolutely and simply affirmed in councils are decrees of faith," but only those, the denial of which is adjudged to be heresy, and anathematized.‡ The distinction between the legislative acts and the dogmatical decisions of the Church, must be admitted to be not less valid or allowable, than that which is made by Protestant Episcopalians between their own articles of faith and the canons and constitutions still unrepealed, although for the most part fallen into desuetude. Many tenets are popularly charged upon Roman Catholics, (such as the infallibility of the Pope, his authority over temporal sovereigns, and his dispensing power, as well as the invalidity of any contracts with heretics,) which, though maintained by some Popish doctors, have never been generally received as articles of faith, and rest upon no acknowledged authority. In France more especially, the doctrine of Papal infallibility has always been unpopular; and the Gallican clergy have, in rejecting that dogma, carefully discriminated between the authority of the church of Rome and the ambitious pretensions of the court of Rome and the Papal conclave.§ A convenient distinction is also insisted upon by

* Butler's Confessions of Faith, p. 8.

† For instance, the council decreed, that the field in which a duel was fought should be forfeited by the owner; an abortive enactment which never took effect even in Spain or in Belgium. By France, these decrees of discipline were rejected altogether.

‡ Doyle on the Catholic Claims, pp. 104—109.

§ For an account of the contests between the French nation and the Roman pontiff, see Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. Cent. xvii. Sect. i. Ch. I. The Gallican doctors hold, that a council is superior to the Pope; while the Italians, on the contrary, hold that the Pope, their own grand dignitary, is superior to a council. See p. 158.

Romish divines, between articles which, having been decided on by the church, are of Catholic *faith*, and those which the church has allowed to remain matters of *opinion*. It is, with regard to the former alone, that any semblance of unity of doctrine exists within the Roman pale.

With respect, however, to the points embraced by the articles of the symbol of Pius IV., the accredited standard of belief to the entire Papal communion, there is no room for doubt or mistake in determining what are the received and essential doctrines of the Romish faith. That creed is as follows:*

“ I, *N. N.*, believe and profess with a firm faith all and every one of the articles contained in the Symbol of Faith which is used in the Holy Roman Church: *viz.*

“ 1—12. I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, and born of the Father before all ages; God of God, Light of Light, True God of the True God; begotten, not made; consubstantial to the Father; by whom all things were made; who for us men and our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man; was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; suffered for us, and was buried; and the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven; sits at the right hand of the Father; and is to come again with glory, to judge the living and the dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end: And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son; who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified; who spoke by the prophets. And I believe one holy catholic and apostolic church; I

* This creed, however, it has been observed, though founded on the decisions of the Tridentine Council, rests simply on the authority of its framer, never having received the ratification of any general council. Yet it is received throughout the Roman-catholic church. A high degree of authority attaches also to the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or *Catechismus Romanus*, which is eulogized for its erudition and elegance of style. Mr. Butler would fain rank with the Symbolic Books of the Roman-catholic Church, Bossuet's specious Exposition of the Catholic doctrine. See Butler's Confessions, pp. 11—15.

confess one baptism for the remission of sins; and I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

“ 13. I most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church.

“ 14. I also admit the Holy Scriptures according to that sense which our holy mother the Church has held, and does hold; to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; nor will I take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

“ 15. I also profess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one; *viz.* Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation, and Order cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. I also receive and admit the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church, used in the solemn administration of the said sacraments.

“ 16. I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent, concerning Original Sin and Justification.

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

“ 18. And I also confess that under either kind *alone*, Christ, whole and entire, and a true sacrament, is received.

“ 19. I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that

the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

"20. Likewise, that the saints, reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invoked; and that they offer prayers to God for us; and that their relics are to be had in veneration.

"21. I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, of the Mother of God, ever Virgin, and also of the other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration are to be given to them.

"22. I also affirm, that the power of Indulgences was left by Christ to the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to the Christian people.

"23. I acknowledge the Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church for the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.

"24. I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent: and I condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the Church has condemned, rejected, and anathematized.

"I, the same *N. N.*, promise, vow, and swear through God's help, to hold and confess most constantly, to my last breath, this true Catholic faith, entire and inviolable, which at present I willingly profess and truly hold, and out of which none can be saved; and that I will take care, in as far as I can, that the same shall be held, taught, and professed by those who are under me, or of whom I shall have charge by my office. So help me God and these gospels of God. Amen."

Thus it will be seen that, in addition to the Twelve Articles of the Nicene Creed, the Tridentine Creed imposes upon every member of the Romish church, on pain of eternal perdition, a creed embracing the following points: 1. The

authority of ecclesiastical traditions and observances, and of the Church, as the judge and interpreter of Scripture. 2. That there are seven sacraments, and that they confer grace. 3. Original sin and justification, as defined by the Romanists. 4. The Mass and Transubstantiation. 5. Purgatory. 6. Invocation of saints and veneration of their relics. 7. Veneration of images. 8. The power of Indulgences. 9. The supremacy of the Pope. 10. The binding nature of all the sacred canons, and especially all decrees and decisions of the Council of Trent.

Besides these distinguishing positive doctrines of the Romish or Tridentine Creed, there are points of actual and fundamental variance between the church of Rome and the Reformed churches, to which not less importance must be attached. The principal of these respect,—

- I. The Canon of the sacred Scriptures.
- II. The Language of the Liturgy.
- III. Prayers for the Dead.
- IV. Auricular Confession.
- V. The Celibacy of the Clergy.
- VI. The Province and Prerogatives of the Civil Magistrate.

In order to have a clear view of the entire Papal system, and more especially of the Catholic faith in that modified and plausible shape in which it is held and professed by the well-educated portion of the community in Protestant countries, it will be necessary to examine more particularly the nature and grounds of the Romish opinions on each of these points.

I. THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE.—The Council of Trent confirmed the decision of some previous councils,* by which the books of the Apocrypha were declared to belong to the Canon of the Old Testament. Although these books had been inserted by Jerom in the Vulgate Latin, it was notorious that he did not regard them as canonical; and in the Council, there was a division of opinion, some of the fathers proposing to distinguish the canonical from the apocryphal books in a manner similar to the method adopted by the Anglican

* Contrary to that of the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 364, which by an express canon sanctioned the catalogue of the sacred books as received by Protestants.

church;* but the contrary determination prevailed; and at the fourth session, a decree was passed, in which, after enumerating all the books commonly found in the Vulgate, the following denunciation is fulminated against those who shall impugn the decision: "Whosoever shall not receive as sacred and canonical all these books, and every part of them, as they are commonly read in the Catholic church, and are contained in the old Vulgate Latin edition, or shall knowingly and deliberately despise the aforesaid traditions, let him be accursed."

In the same decree, the Vulgate Latin Version, notwithstanding that the want of a correct and standard impression of that version was acknowledged, is declared to be divine and authentic in every part, and is constituted the ultimate authoritative standard, in preference, and virtually to the exclusion, of the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. The decree moreover attributes to "Holy Mother Church" (*Sancta Mater Ecclesia*) the exclusive right to judge of the meaning and interpretation of sacred writ, denouncing penal severities against all who, confiding in their own judgement, should dare to interpret the Scriptures in a sense contrary to that held by the Church or the unanimous consent of the Fathers. This decree was especially levelled against the Lutherans. It was urged that, unless the Vulgate were declared to be of equal authority with the original Scriptures, immense advantage would be yielded to the heretics, who would be sure to urge that the translation was incorrect; nor would the inquisitors be able to execute their office without the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. All translations from the original Scriptures are consequently discountenanced by the church of Rome, as derogatory to the Latin Version; and the unrestricted perusal of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongues has been repeatedly condemned and forbidden in papal bulls and by high Catholic authorities. The

* "Although the Councils of Florence and Trent have inserted these books in their Canon of the Old Testament, Catholic theologians do not scruple to draw a marked line of distinction between them and the books that were ever acknowledged as canonical. They make a distinct class of the former, and denominate them *deutero-canonical*, thus limiting them to a sort of second-rate species of inspiration."—*O' Croly's Inquiry*, p. 36.

fourth rule of the Congregation of the Index contains the following direction:—"It is, on this point, referred to the judgement of the bishops or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by *Catholic authors*, to those persons whose faith and piety they apprehend will be augmented, and not injured by it; and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary." This restriction is thus explained and defended in the "Declaration of the Catholic Bishops, the Vicars Apostolic, and their coadjutors in Britain:"—"When the reading and the circulation of the Scriptures are urged and recommended as the entire rule of faith, as the sole means by which men are to be brought to the certain and specific knowledge of the doctrines, precepts, and institutions of Christ; and when the Scriptures so read and circulated are left to the interpretation and judgement of every individual; then, such reading, circulation, and interpretation are forbidden by the Catholic church, because the Catholic church knows that the circulation of the Scriptures, and the interpretation of them by each one's private judgement, was not the means ordained by Christ for the communication of the true knowledge of his law to all nations. She knows that Christianity was established in many countries before one book of the New Testament was written; that it was not by means of the Scriptures that the Apostles and their successors converted nations or any one nation to the unity of the Christian faith; that the unauthorized reading and circulation of the Scriptures, and the interpretation of them by private judgement, are calculated to lead men to contradictory doctrines on the primary articles of Christian belief,—to inconsistent forms of worship, which cannot be all constituent parts of the uniform and sublime system of Christianity,—to error and fanaticism in religion, and to seditions and the greatest disorders in states and kingdoms."*

* Declaration, p. 8.

In conformity to these views, Pope Pius VII., in 1816, condemned the British and Foreign Bible Society as "a most crafty device, by which the very foundations of religion are undermined." And Leo XII., in 1824, referring to the same institution, says, that it "strolls with effrontery throughout the world, contemning the traditions of the holy Fathers, and, contrary to the well-known decree of the Council of Trent, labours with all its might, and by every means, to translate, or rather to pervert the Holy Bible into the vulgar language of every nation; from which proceeding it is greatly to be feared, that what is ascertained to have happened in some passages, may also occur with regard to others; to wit, that, by a perverse interpretation, the Gospel of Christ be turned into a human gospel, or, what is still worse, the gospel of the devil."

It must not be concealed, however, that these views of the danger attending the unrestricted circulation and perusal of the Scriptures are not confined to members of the Romish church. The British and Foreign Bible Society has been opposed by several Protestant prelates, and generally by the High-church party, on very similar grounds; nor was it assailed with less bitterness and rancour, on its first formation, by divines of this party, than by Pope Pius himself. It must also be borne in mind, that the church of England, according to high authority, arrogates precisely the same right to judge of the meaning and interpretation of sacred writ, as is attributed to "Holy Mother Church" by the Tridentine decree;—that it equally denies the right of private judgement in interpreting the Scriptures;—and that it claims for the Public English Version of the Bible an authority very nearly approaching to that which the Romish church attributes to the Vulgate. Retaining the apocryphal books, not as canonical, or as a competent authority to establish any doctrine, the church of England has yet tenaciously adhered to their being used in the public service, as proper to be read "for example of life and instruction of manners;" and they continue to be printed by both Universities, and issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, (although rejected by the

Bible Society,) as an integral part of the sacred volume. The main difference between the Romish and the Anglican churches upon this point is this; that the distinction made by Jerom between the canonical and the apocryphal books of the Old Testament is adhered to by the latter; and that, conformably to this decision, the apocryphal books, instead of being intermingled with the others, as in the Vulgate (and the Septuagint), and in the Douay and Rhemish English translations, are arranged by themselves.

II. THE LANGUAGE OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.—The propriety of celebrating Mass in the vulgar tongue, was a point raised in the discussions of the Council relative to that subject; and the custom prevailing in Dalmatia was adduced in its favour; where, after the Gospel was read in Latin, it was again read in the Dalmatian dialect for the instruction of the people. But it was ultimately agreed to prohibit the celebration of Mass in any other language than the Latin. The reasons assigned for this prohibition by an apologist for the acts of the Council,* are:—1. The difficulty of procuring thoroughly accurate translations, so as to preserve the true sense of the Church; 2. The inconvenience that would arise from priests being able to officiate only in one country; 3. The importance of preventing the mysteries of the faith from becoming the subject of common conversation and discourse, lest contempt or heresy should be promoted. The author of “A Papist Misrepresented and Represented,” † thus defends the practice of his church in this respect. “He (the Catholic) is commanded to assist at the church service, and to hear Mass; and in this he is instructed, not so much to understand the words, as to know what is done. For, the Mass being a sacrifice, wherein is daily commemorated the death and passion of Christ by an oblation, made by the priest, of the body and blood of the immaculate Lamb under the symbols of bread and wine, according to his own institution; it is not so much the business of the congregation present to employ their ears in attending to the words, as their hearts

* Cardinal Pallavicino.

† Rev. John Gother. Republished by Dr. Challoner.

in contemplation of the divine mysteries, by raising up fervent affections of love, thanksgiving, sorrow for sins, resolutions of amendment; for, that thus having their hearts and intention united with the priest's, they may be partakers of his prayers and of the sacrifice he is then offering; than which he believes nothing is more acceptable to God, or beneficial to true believers. And for the raising of these affections in his soul, and filling his heart with love and devotion, he thinks, in this case, there is little need of words: a true faith, without these, is all-sufficient It nothing therefore concerns his devotion, that the Mass is said in Latin. If the Church has ordered it thus, to preserve unity, as in faith, so in the external worship of God, and to prevent the alterations and changes which it would be exposed to, if in the vulgar language, and for other good reasons; what is that to him? He should receive but little advantage if it were in his mother tongue. For, *besides that the greater part is said in so low a voice that it is not possible he should hear it, the words do not belong to him, but to the priest's office only:* his obligation is, to accompany the priest in prayer and spirit, to be a joint offerer with him, to contemplate the mysteries there represented, and to excite in his soul devotions according to the exigency of every passage; according to the directions he finds in his English prayer-books, of which there are a great variety extant, set forth for the help of the ignorant; by which they are taught the meaning of every part and ceremony of the Mass, and how to apply their devotions accordingly."*

Protestants will agree, that the people would receive but

* Gother's *Papist Misrepresented*, &c. pp. 54—58. There is nothing new in this strange argument for conducting the public service in an unknown tongue. John Christoferson, bishop of Chichester in 1557, holds similar language: "When they (the people) come to church, and heare the priestes who sayeth common prayer for all the whole multitude, albeit they understand them not, yet, if they be occupied in godly prayer themselves, it is sufficient for them . . . Yea and experience hath playnly taught us, that it is much better for them not to understand the common service of the church than to understand it, because that when they heare other prayinge in a lowde voyce in the language that they understande, they are letted from prayer themselfe, and so come to such a slackness and negligence in prayinge, that they, at lengthe, in manner praye not at alle."—*Lewis's Hist. of Translations*. Pref.

little advantage from the pantomimic ceremonies of the Mass, even if the service were performed in the vulgar tongue; and there may be good reason, therefore, for throwing over such "mysteries" the decent veil of a learned language. The use of the Latin has served to conceal from the vulgar the absurdities of the ritual. It is remarkable, however, that the decree of the Council of Trent does not absolutely prohibit the celebrating of Mass in any other language, but simply declares, that, "although the Mass comprises abundant instruction for those who believe, it has not been deemed expedient by the Fathers that it should be every where celebrated in the vernacular tongue. Wherefore," it is added, "lest the sheep of Christ hunger, and the children ask bread, and there be none to break it to them, through the universal retention of a custom which has been approved by the holy Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches, the holy Council commands all priests having cure of souls, to intersperse in the celebration of the Mass, either personally or by others, explanations of what has been read, and frequently to expound the mystery of this most holy sacrifice, especially on Sundays and feast-days." In the Canons subjoined to this decree, an anathema is pronounced against all persons who should call in question the wisdom of this monstrous decision: "Whosoever shall affirm, that the practice of the Roman church in uttering with a low voice part of the canon * and the words of consecration, is to be condemned; or, *that the Mass should be celebrated in the vernacular language only*; or that water is not to be mixed in the cup with wine, when the sacrifice is offered, because it is contrary to Christ's institution; *let him be accursed.*"

Had the Council insisted upon the uniform adoption of the Latin language in the public service, it would have involved

* The canon of the Mass is "the most sacred and solemn part of this divine service; which is read with a low voice, as well to express the silence of Christ in his passion, and his hiding at that time his glory and his divinity, as to signify the vast importance of that common cause of all mankind, which the priest is then representing as it were in secret to the ear of God, and the reverence and awe with which both priest and people ought to assist at these tremendous mysteries." *Garden of the Soul*, p. 83. The whole service of the Romish Mass may be termed *theatric*.

the inconvenient absurdity of forbidding to the Greek, Syrian, and Armenian churches within the Romish pale the use of their respective rituals. The decree is therefore worded so as to prohibit only the celebration of the Mass in a language understood by the common people. The church of Rome has endeavoured, indeed, to make the Latin the universal ecclesiastical language throughout Christendom; but to insist upon this, were fatal to its pretension to catholicity.* To term it the *Latin* church, is tantamount to saying that it is not the Catholic church, which comprises all nations, and kindred, and people, and tongues. The distinguishing miracle which attested the Divine authority of the Christian doctrine, and which opened the way for its universal propagation, was that by which all the foreigners collected at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, heard the Apostles speak in their several vernacular tongues the wonderful works of God. The false church would reverse the miracle, requiring men of every country to worship in one language, and that a language which they do not understand. Yet, St. Paul expressly condemns the praying in the church in an unknown tongue: "Else, when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" (1 Cor. xiv. 16.) The practice of the Romish church stands in direct contradiction to the Apostle's reasoning throughout that chapter; and is repugnant alike to the understanding and to the spirit of Christian worship.

III. PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.—The decree of the Council respecting the Mass, declares it to be a propitiatory sacrifice, which is "properly offered, not only for the sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of living believers, but also for the dead in Christ, who are not yet thoroughly purified." And the third canon subjoined to it is to the fol-

* This is not strictly the place to show the prejudicial influence which the ascendancy of the Latin language, and the substitution of an imperfect and obscure version for the sacred codex, have exerted upon Biblical literature and theology. The inquiry is, however, a very interesting one; and the reader may be referred, for a few hints upon the subject, to a review of Bloomfield's Greek Testament, &c.—*Eclectic Rev. Third Series*, vol. viii. pp. 467—469.

lowing effect: "Whosoever shall affirm that the sacrifice of the Mass is only a service of prayer and thanksgiving, or a bare commemoration of the sacrifice made on the Cross, and not a propitiatory offering, or that it only benefits him who receives it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities: let him be accursed." Accordingly, a solemn office for the dead forms part of the service of the church, and is usually recited once a month, and in Lent once a week. On the feast of All Souls, extraordinary masses are said for the relief of departed souls. This practice is closely connected with a belief in the doctrine of Purgatory, both being borrowed from the superstitions of ancient Paganism.

Prayers for the dead are, however, practised in communions where the Romish doctrine of Purgatory is not formally acknowledged as an article of faith; and, strange to say, they have even been defended by some Protestant divines of the high-church school.* The antiquity of the practice is, indeed, undeniable; but, instead of its being originally connected with the notion of a purgatorial fire, it appears that the prayers for the departed were, in ancient times, offered as an act of church communion proper to be held with the saints in heaven.† Thus they seem to have partaken of the character of thanksgiving and affectionate commemoration, rather than of intercession; being offered "for those who are

* Mr. Wix adduces, as *Protestant* authorities in defence of this practice, Collier the Nonjuror, Thorndike, Bishops Montagu, Cosin, Bramhall, and Forbes, Drs. Grabe, Hickes, Hammond, Sherlock, Dodwell, and Brett. The last-mentioned is supposed by Dr. Hawkins to have converted Dr. Sam. Johnson to the belief in the lawfulness of prayer for the dead. We know not whether to these we ought to add the authority of the present Bishop Law, who publicly called upon his congregation to pray for the soul of the deceased Princess Charlotte in the following terms:—"We commend, too, as far as we may, and as it becometh us, into thy hands, the soul of her who is departed. We pray, we humbly pray, that she be received into the mansions of the blessed." Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Chester, Nov. 23, 1817. p. 20.

† In early times, the communion was celebrated on every occasion of public worship. Immediately preceding this part of the service, there was a roll read, in which the names of the eminent characters of all the churches were registered. Then followed the prayers for the departed; and the service terminated in the

at rest in the faith, their forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and for every spirit perfected in the faith." In like manner, in the communion service of the Anglican church, at the close of the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's church militant here on earth," is introduced a most appropriate and impressive reference to the spirits of the just, which may be termed in this sense a prayer for (that is, relating to) the dead: "And we also bless thy holy name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom." Prayers for the relief or release of departed souls were, when first introduced, a gross departure from the spirit and intention of these commemorative prayers; and they must have arisen from the accommodation of Christian rites to heathen notions, which was so fertile a source of corruptions and abuses. The doctrine of Purgatory was a still later invention, and was wholly unknown in the church for the first six centuries.*

The authority which is usually regarded as the stronghold of the Roman-catholic divines, upon this doctrine, is a passage in the second book of Maccabees, adduced by Bellarmine. (2 Macc. xii. 46.) "It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from sins." But, as this Apocryphal book cannot have any weight with Protestants, other passages from the canonical Scriptures have been pressed into the service; namely, 1 Cor. xv. 29, (strangely interpreted as "the baptism of penance;") 1 John v. 16; Matt. v. 26; xii. 32; Mark ix. 49; and 1 Cor. iii. 15. The latter text, which relates to preachers of the Gospel, is misapplied to the purgatorial fire. As explained by a sounder exegesis, these passages afford no countenance to the doctrine; but the Protestant requires

celebration of the Lord's Supper. No oblations for the dead could be received for such as were called the *ἄδεκτοι* and *ἀκοινωνήτοι*; that is, non-communicants; which shows that the prayers were made for those supposed to be in a state of happiness.—*Burnet on Art. XXII.*

* See Archbishop Usher's Answer to the Jesuit's Challenge, p. 163, &c.

to be provided with the true interpretation of these somewhat difficult texts, in order to be armed against the specious glosses of the Romish casuists.*

IV. AURICULAR CONFESSION.—In the decree of the Council of Trent respecting Penance, (passed at the fourteenth session,) the practice of confession to the priest is vindicated and enjoined in the following terms: “And now, with regard to the practice of confessing secretly to the priest alone; although Christ has not prohibited any one from publicly confessing his crimes, as a punishment for his offences, and for his own humiliation, as well as for an example to others, and for the edification of the offended church; nevertheless, such public confession, especially of secret sins, is not enjoined by any divine command, nor has it been expressly provided for by any human law. Therefore, seeing that *Sacramental Confession*, as it has been practised by Holy Church from the beginning,† and is still practised, was at all times recommended by the manifest and unanimous consent of the holiest and most ancient fathers, the groundless calumny of those persons is clearly refuted, who presume to teach, that such confession is opposed to divine commands, and that it is a human invention, first introduced by the Council of Lateran. (A.D. 1215.) Whereas the church assembled in the Council of Lateran did not decree that Christians should confess, which was well known to be necessary and instituted by divine command, but only that the duty of Confession should be fulfilled at least once a year by all persons who have attained to years of discretion. For which reason the salutary custom of confessing at the sacred and most acceptable season of Lent has been observed by the whole church, with very great benefit to the souls of believers; which custom the holy council highly approves and adopts, as pious and deserving to be retained.

* Burnet, in his Exposition of Art. XXII., has refuted the argument drawn from most of these texts, as well as stated the scripture proofs of the Protestant doctrine.

† Archbishop Usher shows that the practice of secret confession was unknown before the Decian persecution, A.D. 250. Public penance was not abolished till the fifth century.—See *Burnet on Art. XXV.*

“ Respecting the *minister of this sacrament*, the holy council declares, that all those opinions are false and utterly opposed to the truth of the gospel, which mischievously extend the power of the keys to all men whatsoever besides bishops and priests; supposing that those words of Our Lord, ‘ Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed also in heaven,’ (Matt. xviii. 18,) and, ‘ Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained,’ (John xx. 23,) were spoken indifferently and promiscuously to all believers in Christ, (to the denial of the institution of this sacrament,) so that every one has the power of forgiving sins, public sins by reproof, if the offender shall acquiesce therein, and secret sins by voluntary confession, to whomsoever made. The council further teaches, that even those priests who are living in mortal sin, exercise the function of forgiving sins, as the ministers of Christ, by the power of the Holy Spirit conferred upon them in ordination; and that those who contend that wicked priests have not this power, hold very erroneous sentiments. Again; though the priest’s absolution is the dispensation of a benefit which belongs to another, yet it is not to be considered as merely a ministry, whether to publish the Gospel, or to declare the remission of sins, but as of the nature of a *judicial act*, in which sentence is pronounced by him as a judge; and therefore the penitent ought not to flatter himself on account of his faith, so as that, though he should have no contrition, and though the priest should not intend to act seriously, and really to absolve him, he should suppose that he is nevertheless truly absolved before God on the ground of his faith only. For faith without penance cannot procure remission of sins; nor would any one, unless extremely negligent of his own salvation, be satisfied with a priest who absolved him jestingly, but would carefully seek for one who should be serious in the performance of his office.”

Agreeably to this exposition of the Romish doctrine, the canons annexed to this decree denounce anathema against whosoever shall controvert any of these dogmas. Whosoever

shall affirm, that penance is not truly and properly a sacrament; or, that the words above cited from John xx. are not to be understood of the power of forgiving and retaining sins in the sacrament of penance, but shall restrict them to the authority of preaching the Gospel;—whosoever shall deny that sacramental confession was instituted by divine command, or that it is necessary to salvation; or shall affirm that the practice of secretly confessing to the priest alone is foreign to the institution and command of Christ, and is a human invention; or that the priest's sacramental absolution is not a judicial act, but only a ministry; or that priests living in mortal sin have not the power of binding and loosing; or that priests are not the only ministers of absolution; in each and every case of affirmation or denial here specified, and in various other cases also stated, the canons issue the awful fiat—"Let him be accursed" (*anathema sit*).

This doctrine of Sacramental Confession is not without reason regarded as the main pillar of the despotic power exercised by the Romish priesthood. It is this requirement which renders sacerdotal absolution so tremendous an engine of ghostly power. "A priest in the chair of confession," says Mr. O'Croly, "is the most arbitrary of judges. He acts without check or control. His admonitions, his commands, his decisions, his casuistry, are not the necessary result of fixed principles or acknowledged maxims, but of his own particular qualities or dispositions; of his caprice, of his ignorance, of his prejudices, of his perversity, of his profligacy." "There are some good confessors, no doubt, learned, religious, discreet men, who endeavour to inspire their penitents with a hatred of vice and a love of virtue. If all confessors were of this description," this writer (at the time still a Romanist) contends, that "Confession would be a wholesome practice;" in which admission no sound Protestant will concur. "But," adds Mr. O'Croly, "this is not the case. The confessional becomes the medium of numberless abuses in the hands of the ignorant, the inexperienced, and the profligate. The knowledge of vice is conveyed by indelicate interrogatories; and the profligate priest makes the

confessional subservient to the gratification of his unruly appetites."*

In England, and other countries where the state of manners partakes of the general refinement produced by education and scriptural knowledge, the evil tendency of auricular confession is not so apparent. It is in Popish countries, and among the lower classes, that its grossest abuses are found to prevail. But where it does not pollute, it enslaves. "Let those who in England are trying every method of disguising the Roman-catholic doctrines," says Mr. Blanco White, "show me a single pious book of common reputation in the Roman-catholic church, which does not make *unlimited obedience to a confessor* the safest and most perfect way to salvation." "The Roman church makes the confession of every sin by thought, word, or deed, necessary to receive absolution from a priest; and teaches that, without absolution, when there is a possibility of obtaining it, God will not grant remission of sins. The most sincere repentance, according to the Romanists, is not sufficient to save a sinner without confession and absolution, where there is a possibility of applying to a priest. On the other hand, they assert, that even imperfect repentance, a sorrow arising from the fear of hell, which they call *attrition*, will save a sinner who confesses and receives absolution.†

* O'Croly's Inquiry, pp. 151—153. "The crime, *solicitatio mulieris in tribunali*," it is added, "is not of such rare occurrence, and would be very common, but for the dread of detection." The fact, that the Popes have, on two occasions, been obliged to enact the most severe laws against confessors who should attempt the seduction of their female penitents, proves the notoriety of the crime. In Spain, according to the testimony of Mr. Blanco White, the danger of *direct* seduction from the priest was greatly lessened by the formidable powers of the Inquisition. "The strictest delicacy, however," he adds, "is, I believe, inadequate fully to oppose the demoralizing tendency of auricular confession. Without the slightest responsibility, and, not unfrequently, in the conscientious discharge of what he believes his duty, the confessor conveys to the female mind the first foul breath which dims its virgin purity. He undoubtedly has a right to interrogate upon subjects which are justly deemed awkward even for maternal confidence; and it would require more than common simplicity to suppose that a discretionary power of this nature, left in the hands of thousands of men beset with more than common temptations to abuse it, will generally be exercised with proper caution." —White's Poor Man's Preservative against Popery. See also p. 157, note.

† This is denied by Gother and Romanists of his stamp, but has been maintained by higher authorities.

"The evident object of doctrines so inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the Scriptures, is, no doubt, that of making the priesthood absolute masters of the people's consciences. They must, some time or other, (every Roman Catholic is, indeed, bound to confess at least once a year, under sentence of excommunication,) entrust a priest with the inmost secrets of their hearts; and this, under the impression, that, if any one sin is suppressed from a sense of shame, absolution makes them guilty of sacrilege. The effects of this bondage, the reluctance which young people especially have to overcome, and the frequency of their making up their minds to garble confession, in spite of their belief that they increase the number and guilt of their sins by silence, are evils which none but a Roman-catholic priest can be perfectly acquainted with."*

The practice of private confession is said to be falling into general neglect in the cities and towns of Ireland, except at the point of death. It is then, however, that the doctrine of sacerdotal absolution invests the priest with the most dangerous influence; and wherever this doctrine is maintained, sacramental confession, under some modification or other, naturally and almost necessarily connects itself with it. Thus, in the Anglican church, the office for the Visitation of the Sick directs, that, prior to absolution, the sick person shall be "moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter: after which confession, the priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it, after this sort." Here follows the form of absolution, taken from the Roman service. The English Canons, established in 1603, are silent on the subject of confession; but Archbishop Laud, in pursuance of his design to assimilate the rites of the Anglican church to the Romish ritual, contrived to have the following direction introduced into the Irish Canons, compiled in the year 1634, which are

* "White's Preservative." The author of this valuable tract was formerly chaplain to the King of Spain in the Royal Chapel of Seville. For similar testimonies, the reader may be referred to "O'Croly's Inquiry," pp. 151—155. See also, "Spiritual Despotism," p. 207, *note*.

still in force in the Established Church of Ireland. The 19th Canon directs, that "the minister of every parish shall, the afternoon before the said administration (of the communion), give warning, by the tolling of the bell, or otherwise, to the intent that, if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the special ministry of reconciliation, he may afford it to those that need it. And to this end, the people are often to be exhorted to enter into a special examination of the state of their own souls; and that, finding themselves either extreme dull or much troubled in mind, they do resort unto God's ministers, to receive from them, as well advice and counsel for the quickening of their dead hearts, and the subduing of those corruptions whereunto they have been subject, as the benefit of absolution likewise, for the quieting of their consciences, by the power of the keys which Christ hath committed to his ministers for that purpose." Of this objectionable and insidious enactment, both Archbishop Laud and Wentworth (Earl of Strafford) expressed their high approbation. The Scottish Canons, however, drawn up under the same auspices, more plainly inculcate the practice here obscurely recommended. Canon 9, chap. 18: "Albeit sacramental confession and absolution have been in some places very much abused; yet, if any of the people be grieved in mind for any delict or offence committed, and, for the unburdening of his conscience, confess the same to the bishop or presbyter; they shall, as they are bound, minister to the person so confessing, all spiritual consolations out of the word of God; and shall not deny him the benefit of absolution, after the manner which is prescribed in the Visitation of the Sick, if the party show himself truly penitent, and humbly desire to be absolved. And he shall not make known or reveal what hath been opened to him in confession, to any person whatsoever; except the crime be such as, by the laws of the realm, his own life may be called in question for concealing the same." *

This language differs in no material respect from that

* Reid's Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, vol. i. pp. 213, 214, *note*.

which is employed by Gother, Challoner, and other modern Romanists, in apologizing for the Popish doctrine of Confession. The texts of Scripture upon which they chiefly rest their proof, John xx. 22; Matt. xviii. 18, &c.; are also employed by Anglican divines to uphold the doctrine of priestly absolution. In addition to these, the Rhemish Testament presses James v. 16 into the service of the Romish church, by a note to the following effect: "Confess your sins one to another; *i. e.* to the priests of the church, of whom the apostle speaks in the 14th verse." But this gloss is so obviously forced, that it is not often made use of in controversy with Protestants.*

It will not be denied, that individuals whose consciences are burdened with guilt, or who are under religious concern, do well to unbosom themselves to a Christian pastor or other experienced and pious friend, whose advice, instruction, and prayers may contribute to their relief and consolation. But this spontaneous act of confidence in a religious instructor, is as different as possible from the submission to a confessor, exacted by the Romish church. Auricular confession is compulsory, not voluntary; it is inquisitorial, not discretional on the part of the penitent; and the priest, at whose feet he kneels, sits in the confessional as a judge, to determine authoritatively upon his case, and to pronounce sentence, and to prescribe due penance accordingly. "In the minister of God who sits in the tribunal of penance as his legitimate judge, he venerates the power and person of Our Lord Jesus Christ; for, in the administration of this, as in that of the other sacraments, the priest represents the character, and discharges the functions of Jesus Christ." Such is the language of the Catechism,† which places beyond all question the nature of

* It is not referred to in the "Papist Misrepresented," nor in an older work entitled "The Catholic Scripturist," in which Numb. v. 6—8, is cited in support of Confession and Penance. Burnet notices it with the other texts in his Exposition of Art. XXV.

† The following is the usual form of confession: "I confess to Almighty God, to blessed Mary ever Virgin, to blessed Michael the Archangel, to blessed John Baptist, to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to all the saints, that I have

the irresponsible and despotic power over the consciences of men, claimed by the Romish priesthood. This is not the place to show its utter contrariety to the doctrines and institutes of the New Testament. To the system of sacerdotal mediation and sacramental justification of which it forms a consistent part, Protestants oppose the plain and unequivocal declarations of the Holy Scripture: "There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." 1 Tim. ii. 5. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Acts xvi. 31. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Rom. x. 9. "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." Rom. v. 1.

V. CLERICAL CELIBACY. The twenty-fourth decree of the Tridentine Council related to Matrimony; and its doctrines are, as usual, guarded by anathemas against all who should contravene them. The 9th Canon denounces anathema against whosoever shall affirm, that persons in holy orders, or regulars, who have made a solemn profession of chastity, may contract marriage, and that the marriage is valid. The 10th is as follows: "Whosoever shall affirm, that the conjugal state is to be preferred to a life of virginity or celibacy, and that it is not better and more conducive to happiness to remain in virginity or celibacy than to be married, *let him be accursed.*"

The law of clerical celibacy, as it now exists in the Romish church, is admitted, however, to be a mere ecclesiastical law, founded upon the principle of expediency, and not of primitive antiquity. The sixth of the so called Apostolical Constitutions runs thus: "Let not a bishop or priest

sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed, through my fault, through my most grievous fault. Therefore, I beseech the blessed Mary ever Virgin, the blessed Michael the Archangel, the blessed John Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints, to pray to the Lord our God for me. May Almighty God have mercy on me, and forgive me my sins, and bring me to everlasting life. Amen. May the Almighty and merciful Lord grant me pardon, absolution, and remission of all my sins. Amen."—*Garden of the Soul*, p. 28.

put away his wife." It was by degrees that the popes succeeded in imposing this "austere discipline" upon the clergy of the Western churches. In the Eastern churches, it has never been submitted to. From the perpetual renewal of the canons against married priests and such as lived in concubinage, it would appear that celibacy was not much relished, and that the efforts of episcopal authority to enforce it, were for a long period unavailing. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the canons prescribing its observance had begun to be generally disregarded; and it was reserved for the infamous Hildebrand, who ascended the papal throne, in 1073, under the title of Gregory VII., to revive the law of clerical celibacy in its utmost severity, leaving no alternative to the married priests but either to discard their wives or to surrender their benefices. To preserve and augment the opulence of the church, and to render the clergy more absolutely devoted to the interests of the order and the policy of the papal court, were unquestionably the objects which the Roman pontiffs had in view, in imposing this odious yoke upon a reluctant clergy. The thirty-third canon of the Council of Agde, in the year 506, which prohibits those bishops who have neither sons nor grandsons, from appointing any other heir than the church, and the decree of the Council of Seville, to the same effect, afford indubitable evidence of this solicitude to augment the wealth of the church. The thirty-first canon of the fourth Council of Lateran, in 1215, betrays the same policy in the wish to preclude a practice by which it was likely to be diminished. But the recorded opinion of Cardinal Pio di Carpi, given in a consistory held Dec. 10, 1561, puts beyond all doubt, that, in enforcing clerical celibacy, the popes were governed by a persuasion of its being requisite for the confirmation of their power and the preservation of their wealth.*

* This subject is elaborately discussed in "Letters on the Constrained Celibacy of the Clergy of the Church of Rome, addressed to an Irish Divine of that Church, by his Friend, a Layman of the Church of England." 8vo. London. 1816. "I really, my friend," remarks the author, "cannot fail to experience a very great degree of amazement, when I find your divines maintaining that, on the one hand, it is heresy, damnable heresy, to hold that a state of celibacy,

But, whatever motives may have dictated the encouragement and enforcement of this pernicious law, its effect has been at once to produce the most atrocious dissoluteness of manners, and to engender, by a very natural result in certain minds, a rancorous fanaticism. Involuntary celibates are proverbially prone to the gratification of malevolent passions. The ancient religious celibacy was the result of individual choice, governed in most cases by a peculiarity of temperament, by motives of a prudential kind, sometimes by disgust and disappointment, or was adopted under strong religious excitement. In such cases, no violence was done to human nature; and, as a philosophic writer remarks, "before spiritual despotism came in to avail itself of the usage, and to stretch the anomaly beyond its natural limits, the ill consequences would not be extreme. But how immensely different is the state of things, and how must the mischief be aggravated, when the law and custom of celibacy, having come to constitute an essential and permanent element of the social and political system of a country, not merely takes up the little band of *cœlibes* by destination of nature, but is every day applied, by priestly or paternal tyranny, to temperaments of all kinds, and, with a blind cruelty, is made to include those very instances upon which it will not fail to inflict the worst imaginable injuries." "The practice of auricular confession would entail a thousand evils and dangers upon the parties concerned, even apart from the unnatural condition to which one of these parties has been reduced. But what must we think of auricular confession, when he into whose prurient ear it is poured, lives under the irritation of a vow of virginity! It is hard not to suppose that the Romish church, in constituting her hierarchy, had willingly kept in view the purpose of rendering her clergy the fit instruments of whatever atrocity her occasions might demand them to

admired and inculcated, in early times, chiefly by heathens and heretics, is not better and more blessed than that state which God confessedly ordained; and, on the other, that it is not heresy to maintain that a priest addicted to adultery, incest, sodomy, or other mortal sins of concupiscence, is a true representative of the Holy Ghost!"—p. 284.

perpetrate; and so had brought to bear upon their hearts every possible power of corruption. Not content with cashiering them of all sanatory domestic influences, she has, by the practice of confession, made the full stream of human crime and corruption to pass, foul and infectious, through their bosoms.*

The reader may be curious to know by what show of argument the Romanists defend a law so directly at variance with the directions of the New Testament and the primitive practice, as well as so injurious to the interests of society. St. Paul directs that a bishop should be "the husband of one wife," which, whether understood as forbidding polygamy, or, as Chrysostom explains it, intended to forbid second marriage to a bishop, lest, in an age when divorce was so prevalent, the pastors of the church might subject themselves to scandal by practising it,—on either supposition clearly recognises the expediency of their being married; and the ensuing directions refer to them as heads of families. Again, the apostolic denunciation of the heretical teachers who should forbid to marry, (1 Tim. iv. 3,) points so directly to this law of the Romish church, (which she has borrowed from the *Encratitæ*, Montanists, and other ancient sectarists,) that it requires no small ingenuity to parry the force of the text in question. The usual answer given is, that St. Paul referred to those ancient heretics, not to the Papists; which is little to the purpose, since the object of the apostle is to condemn the doctrine, not the individuals who should maintain it. Another mode of escaping from the argument is this: "We do not," say the Romanists, "absolutely forbid to marry, because we forbid it only to those persons who wittingly and willingly have either vowed virginity when they might have married, if they pleased, or who wittingly and willingly undertook holy

* "Fanaticism," pp. 185, 186, 206. The strong language employed by the Writer is amply supported by the testimonies referred to in his Notes. When the Rev. Mr. Townsend visited Spain in the year 1786, he conversed freely with several Inquisitors, who assured him, that, so long as celibacy was enforced on the priesthood, the Inquisition was necessary as a safeguard of public morals, being the only effectual check upon the abuses of the confessional! See, for further evidence, *O'Croly's Inquiry*, ch. xxxi.

orders, to which state they knew none were admitted, but such as would voluntarily and freely profess virginity. For the church, now abounding with very sufficient choice of worthy persons, who will voluntarily make such vows, and undertake freely such a profession, will admit no others to holy orders, because she is taught * that these are the fittest. With us, therefore, there is no man or woman who might not have married, if they would. We only forbid breaking of vows to such as voluntarily make them." This argument can impose only upon those who are entirely ignorant of notorious facts. The early age at which youth are devoted to the service of the Romish church, without respect either to their choice or to personal aptitude to submit to the condition imposed, completely negatives the assertion, that the church admits none but such as freely undertake such a profession. But, by imposing such a vow as a condition of the ministry, she in effect destroys all option; and to say that she forbids only the breaking of vows, those vows being compulsive, is a wretched subterfuge. The very argument tacitly concedes the sinfulness of rendering that vow involuntary; and the necessary consequences of the law attest its iniquitous character. The church of Rome, in forbidding marriage to all the ministers of religion, symbolizes with the heretics against whom the apostolic denunciation was levelled, as contravening the ordinance of God.† It is impossible to condemn the one, and to vindicate the other.

VI. THE PROVINCE AND PREROGATIVES OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.—The extent of the royal prerogatives has always formed a subject of dispute between the Romish church and the crowned heads of Europe. Within the church itself, indeed, widely different tenets have been maintained respecting the temporal power and ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope, by Cisalpine and Transalpine divines; by the canonists on the one hand, and the curialists, or partisans of

* The texts cited as teaching this are: 1 Cor. vii. 32, &c.; 2 Tim. ii. 4; Matt. xix. 12; Rev. xiv. 4.

† "*Nam rerum liberarum prohibitio, sive generalis sit, sive specialis, semper est tyrannis diabolica.*" Calvin on 1 Tim. iv. 3.

the court of Rome, on the other. The Council of Trent abstained from attempting to define the nature, extent, and limits of the papal jurisdiction; but the compilers of the Catechism thus speak of the pontiff: "Sitting in that chair in which Peter, the prince of the apostles, sat to the close of life, the Catholic church recognises in his person the most exalted degree of dignity and the full amplitude of jurisdiction; a dignity and jurisdiction not based on synodal or other human constitutions, but emanating from no less an authority than God himself. As the successor of St. Peter, and the true and legitimate vicar of Jesus Christ, he therefore presides over the universal church, the father and governor of all the faithful, of bishops also, and of all other prelates, be their station, rank, or power what they may." In virtue of this universal headship, to the Pope every ecclesiastical cause may be brought as the last resort.

These pretensions have not, however, been recognised even by all Catholic sovereigns. All the Austrian prelates are nominated by the Emperor; and although the papal confirmation is afterwards accepted, it is not deemed absolutely necessary. By the *Placitum Regium*, no papal edicts or rescripts are allowed to have any force or operation without the express consent of the Government; and no persons are suffered to apply to his Holiness for any purpose without the Emperor's permission. In the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, no bulls, rescripts, or dispensations are effective without the royal assent; and in the appointment of bishops, the court exercises a paramount authority. In Tuscany and Sardinia, the royal prerogative has in like manner virtually superseded the papal claims.* In the year 1682, the Gallican clergy united in a formal declaration against the temporal authority

* Mosheim by Maclaine and Coote, vol. vi. pp. 332, 333. The Pragmatic Sanction drawn up in concert with the fathers of the Council of Basil, in 1438, and issued by Charles VII. of France, had for its object to protect the Gallican church against the encroachments of the popes. By the *Concordat* between Francis I. and Leo X., this edict was finally abolished; but it was agreed that the nomination to the bishoprics in France, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class, should be vested in the crown. This *Concordat* was forced upon the French nation in opposition to the university, the parliament, and the clergy.

of the Pope out of his own dominions; and several foreign universities have confirmed the disclaimer.

The *Court* of Rome has, indeed, never renounced, nor shown any disposition to relinquish the claims to universal jurisdiction in spiritual matters advanced by ambitious pontiffs; and in our own day, those claims have found advocates even among the Irish priesthood. The late Dr. Doyle, in his examination before a committee of the House of Commons, in 1825, declared, that the Pope had authority to issue commands, ordinances, and injunctions, general or especial, without the consent of the king. This declaration, together with the marked deference shown by the Irish prelate to the pretensions of the Roman court, drew forth some observations from a learned Spanish ecclesiastic, Dr. Villanueva, in which he contends that such doctrine has not the sanction of the Catholic church. "This doctrine," he remarks, "is contrary to the royal prerogative, and militates against the internal tranquillity of nations. Every Government possesses the right previously to examine the rescripts of the Roman *Curia*, of whatever nature they may be; not as if sitting in judgement on the spiritual matters, since that is beyond its competency, but solely to ascertain whether their publication, in the territories under its rule, be likely to produce internal concord and public tranquillity. This is an incontrovertible right of the civil power. Rome has resisted it, and will oppose it, while it possesses the means to do so. But Spain and other kingdoms have preserved this right, and displayed to the world remarkable examples of the firmness with which the temporal power ought to assert this privilege."*

Dr. Doyle maintained, in his examination, that "at present, and even for some centuries past, the limits between the temporal and spiritual things which such commands of the Pope might affect, are so well ascertained, that no mistake could, morally speaking, at present occur." Upon this assertion, Dr. Villanueva makes the following comment: "The Right

* "Observations on the Answers of the Right Rev. James Doyle, D.D. &c. By Dr. J. L. Villanueva." 8vo. Lond. 1825.

Rev. Bishop must allow me to remind him of the confusion of these limits in the famous bull, *In Cæna Domini*; which, notwithstanding its having been suspended by order of Clement XIV., who was compelled to adopt that measure in consequence of the forcible complaints and protests of Charles III. and of divers other princes, the Roman *Curia* thinks proper nevertheless to consider in full vigour. By an instruction given by Pius VII., in 1805, to the Nuncio at Vienna, it is evident that that pope conceived himself authorized to depose kings. Nor is this the worst part of the business: for he attributes the same power to the Church;... adding, that ‘it was an evident proof of the humiliation of the spouse of Jesus Christ, that, in the present times, they could not be put in force.’ Can an instance be quoted, in which more confusion exists in the limits between both powers? True it is, that the Catholic church, detesting such absurdities, has settled these limits. No pope ever overstepped them, while the pontifical cabinet steered its course according to Scripture and Tradition. But, since fallacious Papal commands and the decree of Gratian mixed up the interests of the Church with those of the world, no bridle has been strong enough to curb the ambition of the *Curia*. Where or when has the *Curia* retracted the intimation of Boniface VIII. to Philip the Fair—*In spiritualibus et temporalibus nobis jubes?* and the censure conveyed in the same letter—*aliud credentes hereticos reputamus?* or the doctrine of Innocent III.—*Regalis potestas ab auctoritate pontificali suæ sortitur dignitatis splendorem?* or the maxim of Clement VI., that Heaven gave to the Pope above all, *cælestis simul et terreni jura imperii?* or the saying of Paul IV.—*Pontifex super gentes et regna plenitudinem obtinet potestatis, omnesque judicat?* Now, indeed, there are no princes who would suffer the sceptre to be torn from their hold; but still, the quoted instruction of Pius VII. deserves attention.

“The Right Rev. Dr. Doyle says truly, that the authority of the Pope in spiritual matters is limited, and that this is settled by the Councils. In this he speaks the language of the Church, although not of the *Curia*; in which it is a dogma, that the Pope is superior to the General

Councils; that his authority is absolute. . . . As little will the *Curia* relish the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle's frank detestation of the ultra-montane doctrine, that the Pope possesses the power to deprive the king of England of his kingdom, and to absolve his Catholic subjects from their oath of allegiance; although, in truth, the British nation has recorded in its chronicles many deplorable instances of this curialistic error. And yet, in spite of this supposed power being wholly at variance with the principles of the Catholic church, Rome, by an incomprehensible fatuity, still designates as legitimate and holy the irreligious doctrine on which it pretends to found it. This obduracy in maintaining as a privilege of the primateship, a visionary power which has no other prop than immeasurable ambition, ought to open the eyes of nations and princes, and lead them to mistrust all the new and pestiferous merchandise which Rome wishes to sell as wholesome commodities to foreign states.

"The Right Rev. Dr. Doyle also justly refuses to the Pope the power of excommunicating a judge or Catholic functionary, being a subject of his Britannic Majesty, for having decided against the supposed supremacy of the Pope, in mixed matters, where civil rights are concerned. But, in my judgement, it would have been advisable to state, that, even in such a case, the Pope, according to the doctrine of the Church, could not, of himself, fulminate such an excommunication, that being the peculiar province of the bishop to whose diocese such a Catholic might belong; because the imposition of spiritual penalties belongs of right, as a privilege, to the bishops, who are the immediate pastors of the persons who make themselves liable to such penalties. And it is also a principle acknowledged in Canon Law, that the Pope, not being, as he really is not, universal bishop of all the dioceses of the Church, (that is to say, not possessing an immediate episcopal jurisdiction except in the diocese of Rome,) cannot exercise any act of jurisdiction, in ordinary cases, in the other dioceses of the Catholic world; although, nevertheless, the jurisdiction of the primateship extends to all of them."*

* Villanueva, pp. 5—20. The learned Canon controverts also Dr. Doyle's assertion, that the right of nomination to the bishoprics of Ireland is vested in the Pope. "No prudent Catholic canonist, except the adulators of the *Curia*," he

According to these representations, the power and prerogative which the xxxviith Article of the Church of England claims for the civil magistrate, though diametrically opposed to the pretensions of the Court of Rome, are in perfect consistency with the doctrines and canons of the Roman-catholic Church, being, in fact, no other than are exercised by the Catholic sovereigns of Europe. Dr. Doyle, in his "Essay on the Catholic Claims," denies that Roman Catholics withhold from the king "any duty to which by the laws of the realm he is entitled." "They admit," he says, "like other subjects, even that prerogative of his Majesty, by which he is recognised as the supreme head on earth of the Church of the United Kingdom as the same is established by law; and though themselves do not belong to that church, they, as freely and willingly as the members of the kirk of Scotland, or as any other body of Protestant dissenters, pay to his Majesty whatever duties the law requires that they should pay to him in capacity of head of that church. The law which sanctions their dissent from the doctrines of the Established Church, permits them not to believe that the king has spiritual jurisdiction; and if their dissent be thus sanctioned by law, there is no division of allegiance or breach of duty in withholding it. We do not undoubtedly deny, that his Majesty should, in all temporal matters, (and the law does not seem to require more,) 'rule all estates and degrees committed to his charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.' We do not, whether we be laymen or ecclesiastics, seek to withdraw ourselves, under any pretence, or for any purpose whatsoever, from this lawful power of his Majesty; and if we do not recognise a spiritual jurisdiction in the Crown, our dissent in this matter is sanctioned by the law itself. . . . Were we members of the Church of England and Ireland as by law established, we might have new and other duties to perform to the supreme head of that church; but,

contends, "ever attached the word *right* to these reservations," or pretensions. This point is argued more at length in a distinct pamphlet by the same writer; entitled, "The Apostolic Vicariate of England and Scotland." 8vo. 1825.

as we are not, we may be allowed to think that the non-performance of such duties is not a proof of our allegiance being divided."*

In confirmation of this statement, we may refer to the Declaration of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman-catholic Church in Ireland, the 12th Article of which is as follows:—

“ The Catholics of Ireland swear that they ‘ will be faithful, ‘ and bear true allegiance, to our most gracious sovereign lord ‘ King George the Fourth; that they will maintain, support, ‘ and defend, to the utmost of their power, the succession of the ‘ crown in his Majesty’s family, against any person or persons ‘ whatsoever; utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or ‘ allegiance to any other person claiming or pretending a right ‘ to the crown of these realms;’ that they renounce, ‘ reject, ‘ and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the ‘ Pope and council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, ‘ or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever;’ and that they ‘ do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any ‘ other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ‘ ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, ‘ superiority or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within ‘ this realm.’ They further solemnly, ‘ in the presence of ‘ God, profess, testify, and declare, that they make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary ‘ sense of the words of their oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any ‘ dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority ‘ of the see of Rome, or any person whatsoever, and without ‘ thinking that they are or can be acquitted before God or ‘ man, or absolved, of this declaration, or any part thereof, ‘ although the Pope, or any persons or authority whatsoever, ‘ shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was ‘ null and void from the beginning.’ ”

Allowing to this Declaration all the validity and force

* Doyle on the Catholic Claims, pp. 3—5.

which can attach to it, either as a profession of faith and religious opinion on the part of the Irish prelates, or as a political security, we must nevertheless not overlook the fact, that the Court of Rome, or the Papacy, still maintains its ancient pretensions.* On this point, and not on this alone, the Church of Rome is divided against itself. The distinction between the Roman-catholic religion and Popery, properly so called, is a very material one. The latter term strictly denotes the pestiferous doctrines, religious and political, which have grown out of the claims of ambitious pontiffs and the court of Rome, but which have always met with resistance even within the Romish pale. In this respect, Popery is unchanged. Yet, these doctrines may be disavowed and deprecated by the prelates and clergy of different nations professing the Roman-catholic faith, without any inconsistency or insincerity on their part; since they have never been recognised by the entire Roman-catholic world. Even the Council of Trent, Dr. Villanueva remarks, did not recognise in the Pope a universal bishopric over all the dioceses, "inasmuch as it secured to the bishops the essential right which belongs to them." "It refused, moreover, most energetically, to admit the decree of the primateship of the Pope, because it was said therein, *fuisse ipsi traditam à Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem pascendi ecclesiam universalem*: and because it dreaded that, with this clause, it was intended to establish not only the concentration of all ecclesiastical authority in the person of the Roman pontiff, but also all the absurd

* Clement IV. and V. declared, that to the Roman pontiff belonged, from the plenitude of his power, the disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices; and Clement VI., that to him belonged the presentation to all dioceses. It was an easy step, to establish the axiom that the jurisdiction was received from him who conferred the title. "But all this," remarks Dr. Villanueva, "was new, contrary to the canons, and unknown in the first twelve centuries; and in Ireland wholly so even in the fourteenth and part of the fifteenth; at which period, it appears that the election of the bishops, made with the consent of the clergy and of the country, together with the assent of the prince, and also the subsequent confirmation by the metropolitans, without any interference, direct or indirect, on the part of the Roman pontiff, were then in full use and customary."—*Villanueva's Apostolic Vicariate*, p. 69.

consequences which the Roman *Curia* pretended to deduce from his universal bishopric.*

On the other hand, those absurd consequences are not only still maintained, but are acted upon, in the right of presentation to dioceses claimed by the Pope, and recognised even by the Irish priesthood. "And who is ignorant," to use the words of the same learned Romanist, "of the power accorded by the Pope to the Mendicant Friars, to preach and to administer the sacraments in all the dioceses of Christendom, without the intervention of the bishops; an exemption founded on the error of the universal bishopric?" The Council of Trent did not recognise or confirm this right; but it continues to be virtually exercised; and the Mendicant orders, wherever they are suffered to exist, are at once formidable competitors with the secular clergy, and devoted adherents to the Papacy. Diocesan episcopacy has presented a check and barrier to the usurpations of the Papal monarchy, analogous to that which the temporal power of the feudal barons opposed to that of the Crown; and it has been the constant policy of the Court of Rome, to lessen and limit the power and independence of the prelates, to obtain the nomination of them, and to fetter or supersede, by nuncios, legates, and vicars, their proper jurisdiction. But the monastic orders may be considered as the janissaries of the Papal court, the body-guard of the spiritual usurper, the main instruments of extending and upholding his universal jurisdiction, and, in a word, the chief support of Popery.†

In order to complete our view of the tenets of Romanism, we shall now proceed to examine those other parts of the system, respecting which (as in reference to the prerogatives of the Civil Ruler) Roman-catholics differ among themselves scarcely less widely than some of them do from Protestants. Candour

* Villanueva's Apostolic Vicariate, p. 72.

† "The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits became after that happy and glorious event,—the very soul of the hierarchy, the engines of the state, the secret springs of all the motions of both, and the authors or directors of every great and important event both in the religious and political world."—*Mosheim*, Cent. xiii. Part II. c. 2.

demands that this internal diversity of theological opinion and of religious practice should be kept in view, to prevent our attributing to all the members of the Romish communion indiscriminately, sentiments and tenets which, though held by a majority of Papists, are not binding as articles of faith. These diversities and discrepancies will fall under the following general heads:—

I. The Pontifical Infallibility.

II. The Points at issue between the Jesuits and the Jansenists.

III. The Divine honours paid to the Virgin and the Saints.

IV. Masses and Indulgences.

V. Superstitious and idolatrous Rites.

I. PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.—Among these intestine variations, the controversy relating to the authority and personal infallibility of the Roman pontiff claims our first notice. “The religion of Rome,” remarks Dr. Mosheim, “is derived, according to the unanimous accounts of its doctors, from two sources, the written word of God, and the unwritten,—or, in other words, from Scripture and Tradition. But, as the most eminent divines of that church are far from being agreed concerning the persons who are authorized to interpret the declarations of these two oracles, and to determine their sense; so, it may be asserted with truth, that there is, as yet, no possibility of knowing with certainty, what are the real doctrines of the church of Rome, or where, in that communion, the judge of religious controversy is to be found. It is true, the court of Rome, and all who favour the despotic pretensions of its pontiff, maintain that he alone, who governs the church as Christ’s vicegerent, is authorized to explain and determine the sense of Scripture and Tradition in matters pertaining to salvation; and that, in consequence, a devout and unlimited obedience is due to his decisions. . . . The greater part of the Gallican church, and a considerable number of very learned men of the popish religion in other countries, think very differently from the court of Rome on this subject. They maintain, that all bishops and doctors

have a right to consult the sacred fountains of Scripture and Tradition, and to draw thence the rules of faith and manners for themselves and their flocks; and that all difficult points and debates of consequence are to be referred to the cognizance and decision of general councils. Such is the difference of opinion with respect to the adjustment of doctrine and controversy that still divides the church of Rome; and, as no judge has been (and perhaps none can be) found to compose it, we may reasonably despair of seeing the religion of Rome acquire a permanent, stable, and determinate form."

"The Jesuits, with their numerous tribe of followers and dependents, maintain that the pontiff is infallible; that he is the only visible source of that universal and unlimited power which Christ has granted to the Church; that all bishops and subordinate rulers derive from him alone the authority and jurisdiction with which they are invested; that he is not bound by any laws of the church, nor by any decrees of the councils that compose it; that he alone is the supreme legislator of that sacred community; and that it is in the highest degree criminal to oppose or disobey his edicts and commands. Such are the strange sentiments of the Jesuits. But they are very far from being universally adopted; for other members of the church hold, on the contrary, that the pope is liable to error; that his authority is inferior to that of a general council; that he is bound to obey the commands of the church and its laws as they are enacted in the councils that represent it; that those councils have a right to depose him from the papal chair, when he abuses, in a flagrant manner, the dignity and prerogatives with which he is entrusted; and that, in consequence of these principles, the bishops and inferior rulers and doctors derive the authority that is annexed to their respective dignities, not from the pontiff, but from Christ himself." *

The courtly notion of the infallibility of the Roman pontiff, is, indeed, not more repugnant to the rights of the church, to the decisions of the highest ecclesiastical authorities, and to the dictates of common sense, than it is irreconcilable with

* Mosheim, Cent. xvi. Part I. § 3. ¶ 22, 32.

notorious facts in the history of the Papacy. For forty years (A. D. 1378—1417), the Western church was divided by a contest for the papal tiara, originating in a disputed election. In the language of Gibbon, “from the banks of the Tiber and the Rhone, the hostile pontiffs launched against each other their anathemas and the louder thunders of war.” The claims of the Neapolitan, Urban VI., were maintained by Rome and the principal Italian States, by Germany, Portugal, England, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North; while France, Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland adhered to Clement VII., and, after his decease, to Benedict XIII. By the Council of Pisa, in 1409, the rival Popes of Rome and Avignon were both deposed; and a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter was supported by the Italians and the French, in the person of the infamous John XXIII. The rash proceedings of the Council of Pisa were reversed by the Council of Constance in 1417; and the three contemporary and rival Heads of the Church were all compelled to abdicate in favour of Martin V. In 1439, the Roman church was again divided against itself by two hostile pontiffs. On the deposition of Eugenius IV. by the Council of Basle, the Ex-Duke of Savoy, who had abdicated in favour of his son, was called from the seclusion of the cloister to assume the papal tiara and the keys of St. Peter. After some demur, he was prevailed upon to recognise the equivocal election, and took the name of Felix V. He was acknowledged by the greater part of Europe; but Italy continued to adhere to Eugenius IV.; and, after his decease, Nicholas V. was elected at Rome as his successor, while Felix V. kept his court at Basle, Geneva, and Lausanne. Anxious at length to heal the schism, he proposed to the rival pontiff certain conditions upon which he was willing to abdicate the papal chair. These were agreed to in 1449; and the ex-pontiff, resuming the name of Amadeus, again withdrew into retirement.* These divisions of the pontifical authority, so fatal to the theory of Catholic unity, the repeated depositions of the

* He died not long afterwards in his Abbey of Ripaille, near Thonon in Savoy.

pope by ecclesiastical councils, and the stand made by the churches of Spain, France, and other countries, at different periods, against the ambitious claims of the court of Rome, are circumstances which place in a ridiculous light the fable of Papal infallibility; while the personal infamy of many of the popes stamps the pretension with the broad mark of blasphemous impiety.

“Little room as there is in the Roman controversy for novelty or surprise,” remarks a writer whose theological notions are far removed from genuine Protestantism, “yet it does raise fresh and fresh amazement, the more we think of it, that Romanists should not have been able to agree among themselves *where* that infallibility is lodged which is the keystone of their system. Archbishop Bramhall reckons no less than six distinct opinions on the subject; some Romanists lodging the gift in the Pope speaking *ex cathedrâ*, others in the Pope in Council of Cardinals, others in the Pope in General or Provincial Council, or in the General Council without the Pope, or in the Church Diffusive, that is, the whole company of believers throughout the world. Bellarmine observes, by way of meeting this difficulty, that all Romanists are agreed on two points; first, that wherever the infallibility lies, at least all Romanists agree that the Pope in general council is infallible; next, that, even out of council, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, he is to be obeyed for safety’s sake, whether infallible or not. Granting that infallibility resides in the Pope in council, yet it is not a matter of faith,—that is, it has not been formally determined,—what popes have been true popes; which of the many *de facto* or rival popes are to be acknowledged; nor, again, which of the many professed General Councils are really so. A Romanist might at this moment deny the existing Pope to be St. Peter’s successor without offending against any article of the Creed. The Gallican church receives the Councils of Basil* and Constance† wholly; the Roman church rejects both in part. The last Council of Lateran‡ condemns the Council of Basil. The

* The Eighteenth General Council, held A. D. 1431—1443.

† The Seventeenth, A. D. 1414—1418. ‡ A. D. 1512—1517.

Council of Pisa* is, according to Bellarmine, neither clearly approved nor clearly rejected. The acts of other councils are adulterated without any attempt being made to amend them. . . . Unless it seemed like presumption to interpret the history of religion by a private rule, one might call the circumstance under consideration providential. Nothing could be better adapted than it, to defeat the councils of human wisdom, or to show to thoughtful inquirers the hollowness of even the most specious counterfeit of divine truth. The theologians of Romanism have been able dexterously to smooth over a thousand inconsistencies, and to array the heterogeneous precedents of a course of centuries in the semblance of design and harmony. But they cannot complete their system in its most important and essential point. They can determine in theory the nature, degree, extent, and object of the infallibility which they claim: they cannot agree among themselves where it resides. As in the building of Babel, the Lord hath confounded their language, and the structure stands half finished, a monument at once of human daring and its failure."†

II. THE JANSENIST CONTROVERSY.—Another class of controversies which has divided the Roman church, comprehends the debates relating to the nature, efficacy, and necessity of Divine grace, original sin, free-will, or the natural power of man to obey the laws of God, and the Divine decrees. The theological disputes upon these points date from the fifth century, when Augustine stood forth as the champion of the doctrines of Predestination and Divine Grace, against Pelagius and his followers, and was supported by the authoritative decisions of the Pontiff and the Ephesian Council. The semi-pelagian tenets of Cassian, however, under various modifications, which may be described as approaching to modern Arminianism, spread rapidly from the monastic schools of Gaul through the Latin church: by the Eastern Christians they had long been maintained. In the ninth century, the Predestinarian controversy led to an open schism in the Latin

* A. D. 1409.

† Newman's Lectures on the Prophetic Office, pp. 148—150.

church, between the followers of Godeschalcus, an illustrious Saxon monk, who revived the doctrines of the Augustinian theology, and his persecutors and opponents, among whom was the celebrated Johannes Scotus. By several Gallican councils, his opinions were alternately condemned and defended, without terminating the controversy. The Benedictines and Augustinians for the most part espoused his cause and his doctrine; and the Jansenists, in later times, have been distinguished by maintaining the same theological tenets, which are substantially those of Augustine* and the Reformers. The Dominicans also adhered to the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas concerning the nature and efficacy of Divine Grace, which scarcely differed from the doctrine of Augustine; although, after the rise of Jansenism, they adopted a more guarded and ambiguous language, to avoid being reproached with leaning to the Calvinistic tenets. On the other hand, the Jesuits maintained, first against the Dominicans, and afterwards against the Jansenists, the gross Pelagian doctrine, with the addition of certain scholastic refinements. In vain successive pontiffs endeavoured to impose silence upon the contending orders. The publication of the celebrated work on the Concord of Free-will with Divine Grace, by the Jesuit Molina,† in 1558, served only to inflame their mutual animosities. For a long time the court of Rome appeared anxious to avoid arbitrating between the parties; for both the Dominicans and the Jesuits had appealed to the pontiff, Clement VIII.; and at length, under his successor, Paul V., the determination of the theological question was waived, it being decided that each of the contending parties should have the liberty of following their respective opinions.‡ In 1642,

* The Jansenists take their name from Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, whose posthumous work, called *Augustinus*, appeared in 1640, and, by its able exposition and defence of the doctrine of Augustine concerning man's natural corruption, and the nature and efficacy of Divine Grace, "gave such a wound to the Romish church as neither the power nor wisdom of its pontiffs will ever be able to heal." The Jansenists preferred to be called the disciples of Augustine.

† Professor of Divinity in the University of Eboræ, in Portugal.

‡ This curious decision is supposed to have been influenced by the fear of offending either the king of France, who protected the Jesuits, or the king of Spain, who warmly espoused the cause of the Dominicans.

however, the Jesuits succeeded in obtaining from Urban VIII. a bull condemning the work of Jansenius; and in 1653 and 1656, Innocent X. and Alexander VII. issued bulls denouncing as heretical and impious five propositions alleged to be contained in that work. A fierce persecution of the Jansenists ensued, which was suspended under the pontificate of Clement IX.; but was soon renewed, at the instigation of the Jesuits, by the French monarch, in 1679. Many avoided the rising storm by a voluntary exile. Arnaud, the head and leader of the Jansenists, fled into the Netherlands, which afforded a safe asylum against the threats of the pontiff; and there, the greater part of the Romish congregations embraced the principles and doctrines of his school.* In the following century, the progress of these doctrines, and more especially the wide circulation obtained by Quesnel's Annotations on the New Testament, excited afresh the jealousy and alarm of the Jesuits; and in 1713, Clement XI. issued the bull beginning with the word *Unigenitus*, against Quesnel's work and a hundred and one propositions contained in it. The Gallican church resisted this bull, and appealed from it to a general council. The Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, made a noble stand against the despotic proceedings of the court of Rome. Ultimately, however, the Papal party prevailed; the bull was submitted to by the French bishops; and the Jesuits exulted in the complete depression of their adversaries, little foreseeing the approaching ruin of their own order, which was suppressed by Clement XII. (Ganganelli) in 1773.

It was not simply on account of their embracing the doctrine of Augustine concerning Divine Grace, that the Jansenists rendered themselves obnoxious to the votaries of Rome. Nor can we, with Mosheim, impute that displeasure and resentment to the rigour of their penitential discipline, the mysticism which clouded their piety, or the austerity of their morals, since, in these respects, they did not go beyond some of the monastic orders. But they were guilty of openly denouncing the corruptions of the church of Rome; they exposed to

* See Appendix to this Chapter.

censure the licentiousness of the monastic orders; they insisted upon the necessity of carefully instructing the people in the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, and contended that, for this purpose, the Scriptures and public liturgies should be given them in their vernacular tongue; and finally, they taught that "true piety does not consist in the observance of pompous rites, or the performance of external acts of devotion, but in inward holiness and divine love."

On the other hand, the Jesuits not only maintained the Pelagian doctrines above referred to, but they inculcated a system of ethics subversive of all practical morality. They taught, that it is a matter of indifference from what motives men obey the laws of God; yet that wicked actions may be justified by good intention; and their doctrines of Probability* and Philosophical Sin have cast an eternal reproach upon their schools. In the "Provincial Letters" of the celebrated Pascal, their loose and perfidious system of morals is exposed with the keenest irony and the most exquisite humour. An answer was attempted by Father Daniel, in a piece entitled, "Dialogues of Cleander and Eudoxus," in which the Jesuitical doctrines are defended with great subtlety and dexterity. But the blow aimed at the Society by the learning and wit of Pascal, could not be parried; and the press proved their most formidable enemy. "In affirming that the Jesuits have perverted and corrupted almost every branch and precept of morality," remarks a learned ecclesiastical historian,† "we should not express sufficiently the pernicious tendency of their maxims. Were we to go still further, and maintain that they have sapped and destroyed its very foundations, we should maintain no more than what innumerable writers of the Romish church abundantly testify, and what many of the

* This accommodating doctrine is thus stated:—"An opinion or practice may be followed with a good conscience, when it is inculcated by four, or three, or two, or even by one doctor of considerable reputation, even though it be contrary to the judgement of the person who follows it, and even of him that recommends it." Because, it is argued, it is not to be supposed that a learned divine would adopt an opinion or recommend a practice in favour of which no considerable reason could be alleged: and if the man err, it is sufficient justification, that he errs under such authority.

† Mosheim. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. I. § 35.

most illustrious communities of that church publicly lament." Some of their pernicious maxims were in fact condemned, in 1659, by Pope Alexander VII.; and in 1690, the article relating to Philosophical Sin, by Alexander VIII., but with little or no effect. Not that these impious opinions and corrupt maxims were adopted or maintained by all who belonged to this Protean body. But, in the greater part of their seminaries, the system of religion and morality inculcated was so loose, vague, and equivocal, as to be easily perverted to the worst conclusions and purposes; and the political history of the Jesuits amply attests the pernicious and dangerous character of their casuistical theology. In common with the Dominicans and other doctors, the Jesuits also maintained, that the Sacraments, more especially those of Penance and the Eucharist, exert an efficacious influence on the mind of the receiver, *ex opere operato*, in virtue of their instrumental and efficient power, independently of the disposition of mind with which they are received; a sentiment which the Jansenists more especially combated with indignant severity. The language of the Tridentine decree on Original Sin, however, clearly favours the *opus operatum* notion: "Whosoever shall deny that the guilt of Original Sin is remitted by the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, bestowed in baptism; or shall affirm that that wherein sin truly and properly consists, is not wholly rooted up, but is only cut down, or not imputed: let him be accursed." This notion is not, indeed, peculiar to Romanism. It prevails, as we have seen, in all the Oriental churches; nor are Protestant churches wholly *reformed* in respect to this wide-spread superstition.

III. DIVINE HONOURS TO THE VIRGIN AND SAINTS.—The honours paid to the Mother of Our Lord form a prominent feature of both the Roman and the Oriental superstition; but upon this subject, a great diversity of opinion, and a still more palpable contrariety of practice, have prevailed. One of the debates which occupied the Council of Trent at its fifth session, related to the dogma of *the immaculate conception of the Virgin*, and her consequent freedom from the taint of

original sin, which was zealously maintained by the Franciscans, and as fiercely combated by the Dominicans.* For four centuries, this debate had agitated the Papal community, and given no small trouble to the pontiffs; more especially to Paul V., Gregory XV., and Alexander VII. The Council of Basle, in 1431, decreed this dogma to be an article the belief of which is necessary to salvation; but the authority of this decision was not generally acknowledged; and in 1477 and 1483, Sixtus IV. enacted, that indulgences should be granted to those who devoutly celebrated the *wonderful* conception (*mirâ conceptione*) of the Virgin, to the same extent as were enjoyed on Corpus Christi day; and that the disputants on both sides should refrain from reviling and condemning each other, since the Church had passed no decision on the subject. This did not quell the contest; nor did the Tridentine Council venture to decide the point at issue, although its language may be thought sufficiently to countenance the Franciscan dogma. In the decree on Original Sin occurs the following clause:—"The Holy Council further declares, that it is not its design to include in this decree, which treats of Original Sin, the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God; but that the constitutions of Pope Sixtus IV. of blessed memory are to be observed under the penalties contained in the same; which are hereby renewed."† In 1708, Clement XI. went a step further; and appointed a festival in honour of the Conception of the Virgin Mary to be annually celebrated by the church of Rome on December 8; and although the word *immaculate* is not used,

* This disgusting controversy sprang up about the year 1140 in the Gallican church; the Canons of Lyons taking the lead in adopting the new festival in honour of the dogma, and St. Bernard distinguishing himself in opposing the innovation.

† Notwithstanding this guarded decree, in the former part of the following century the kingdom of Spain was so miserably agitated by factions taking opposite sides in this controversy, that solemn embassies were sent to Rome, both by Philip III. and his successor, urging the pontiff to put an end to the dispute by a public edict. But all that could be obtained from the court of Rome was an ambiguous declaration, intimating that the opinion of the Franciscans had high probability in its favour, but forbidding them to treat as erroneous that of the Dominicans!

the observance of the festival is clearly a recognition of the dogma which it was instituted to establish. The Dominicans refused to observe this festival, denying that the obligation of the decree extended to them, and contending that their opinions had never been expressly condemned by any pope. Bellarmine, however, affirms, that the dogma is piously believed by the greater part of the church; and it has been introduced into the ritual. In Spain, a belief in it was formerly exacted of every individual previously to his taking any degree at the universities, or being admitted into any of the corporations, municipal or ecclesiastical: the oath was even administered to mechanics, upon their being made free of a guild.* Thus was a doctrine converted into a test of Christian faith, which is not only repugnant to the Scriptures, but which even the popes, in the plenitude of their assumed infallibility, durst not explicitly promulgate.

But it is not to the formal decisions of councils and pontiffs that we must refer, in order to ascertain the nature of the honours ascribed to the Virgin by the Romish church. In a popular tract, entitled "A Papist Misrepresented and Represented,"† the charge of addressing more supplications to the Virgin Mary than to Christ, is thus repudiated: "The Papist truly represented, believes it damnable to think the Virgin Mary more powerful in heaven than Christ; or that she can in any thing command him. He honours her, indeed, as one that was chosen as the Mother of God and blessed amongst all women; and believes her to be most acceptable to God in her intercession for us; but owning her still as a creature, and that all she has of excellency is the gift of God, proceeding from his mere goodness. Neither does he at any time say even so much as one prayer to her but what is directed

* Doblado's Letters from Spain, pp. 24, 25. "When you enter a house," says Bourgoing, "unless you wish to be considered as impious, you must begin with uttering the words, *Ave Maria purissima*; to which you will certainly receive this answer, *Sin peccado concebida* (conceived without sin)."—*Mod. State of Spain*, ii. 276. See also *Mod. Traveller*, vol. xviii. p. 171.

† Originally written in 1683, by the Rev. John Gother, and republished by the Right Rev. Dr. Challoner. It has run through between twenty and thirty editions.

more particularly to God, because offered up as a thankful memorial of Christ's incarnation, and acknowledgement of the blessedness of Jesus the fruit of her womb: and thus, without imagining there is any more dishonouring of God in his reciting the Angelical Salutation, than in the first pronouncing of it by the Angel Gabriel and Elizabeth; or that his frequent repetition of it is more an idle superstition than it was in David to repeat the same words over twenty-six times in the cxxxvith Psalm."

Accepting this as a true representation of the sentiments of a certain portion of the Roman-catholic church, we must at the same time regard it as a striking illustration of the opposite notions and practices to which that church extends its sanction. It will only be necessary to place in contrast with this disclaimer of idolatrous worship paid to the Virgin, the following extracts from the services of the church:—

From the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Antiphon. "Rejoice, O Virgin Mary; thou alone hast destroyed all heresies in the whole world."*

Antiphon. "Vouchsafe that I may praise Thee, O sacred Virgin: give me force against mine enemies."

At Lauds, from Candlemas to Holy Thursday. The Antiphon.

"Hail, Queen advanced to heavenly reign:
Hail, Lady of the Angelic train," &c. †

From Trinity to Advent. The Antiphon. ‡

"Hail to the Queen that reigns above:
Mother of clemency and love!
Hail, thou our Hope, Life, Sweetness! we,
Eve's banished children, cry to Thee.

* In the Encyclical Letter of Gregory XVI. the reigning pontiff, occurs this very expression: "*Sed ut omnia hæc prospere ac feliciter eveniant, levemus oculos manusque ad Sanctissimam Virginem Mariam, quæ sola universas hæreses interemit, nostraque maxima fiducia, imo tota ratio est spei nostræ.*" But, that all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes and hands to the most Holy Virgin Mary, who alone destroys all heresies, who is our chief trust, yea, the entire ground of our hope.

† A translation of the Latin hymn, *Ave Regina cælorum.*

‡ Used also in the Vespers for Sundays. It is a translation of "*Salve Regina.*"

" We, from this wretched vale of tears,
Send sighs and groans unto thine ears.
Oh, then, sweet Advocate, bestow
A pitying look on us below.

" After this exile, let us see
Our blessed Jesus, born of thee.
O merciful, O pious Maid,
O gracious Mary, lend thine aid.

VERS. " Pray for us, O Holy Mother of God."

At the Prime.

" Blest Mary, pre-ordained to be
Mother of grace and clemency:
Defend us from our mortal foe:
Receive us, when from hence we go."

At Complins.

Antiphon. " We fly to thy patronage, O Holy Mother of
God: despise not our prayers in our necessities, but deliver
us from all dangers, O glorious and blessed Virgin."

*Hymn for the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin.**

" Hail, God's bright Mother, hail!
Perpetual Virgin blest:
Sea-star by which we sail,
And gate of heavenly rest.

" This *Ave* we to thee
From Gabriel's mouth rehearse:
Let peace our portion be,
And Eva's name reverse.

" The sinner's bonds unbind;
Our evils drive away;
Bring light unto the blind;
For grace and blessings pray.

* Of this favourite hymn of the worshippers of the Virgin, beginning, *Ave Maris stella*, we have three versions before us; the one above selected; a barbarous one in the office of Our Blessed Lady, beginning,

" Hail you, the sea's bright star,
Who God's pure mother *are*;"—

and a third in Cramp's Text Book of Popery, commencing,

" Hail, thou resplendent star,
Which shinest o'er the main."

The reader will observe the anagrammatic play on the word Eva. In the original, it is simply,

" *Mutans Evæ nomen.*"

" Thyself a mother show;
 Let Him receive thy prayer,
 Who, for the debts we owe,
 From thee would breathe our air.

" O Virgin chaste and mild,
 Whose virtues all surpast,
 Preserve us undefiled,
 And make us meek and chaste.

" Our lives preserve from ill;
 To bliss secure the way;
 That Christ our souls may fill
 With joys that ne'er decay."

Another very favourite hymn is the *Stabat Mater*, in which the Virgin is thus invoked:—

" *Fac me plagis vulnerari,
 Cruce hac inebriari,
 Ob amorem Filii.
 Inflammatus et accensus,
 Per te, Virgo, sim defensus
 In die judicii.*

" *Fac me cruce custodiri,
 Morte Christi præmuniri,
 Confoveri gratia.
 Quando corpus morietur,
 Fac ut animæ donetur
 Paradisi gloria."*

From the Rosary.

" O glorious Queen of all the heavenly citizens, we beseech thee, accept this Rosary, which as a crown of roses we offer at thy feet; and grant, most gracious Lady, that, by thy intercession, our souls may be inflamed with so ardent a desire of seeing thee so gloriously crowned, that it may never die in us, until it shall be changed into the happy fruition of thy blessed sight."

" Hail, holy Queen," &c.

Litany of our Blessed Lady.

" Lord, have mercy on us," &c.

" Holy Mary, pray for us,
 Holy Mother of God," &c.

[Here follow forty-two invocations of the Virgin under different titles, as Mirror of Justice, Mystical Rose,

Tower of David, Ark of the Covenant, Refuge of Sinners, &c. &c.]

The following passages are taken from the Catholic School Book:—

“ She is most powerful with God, to obtain from Him all that she shall ask of Him. She is all goodness in regard to us, by applying to God for us. Being Mother of God, *he cannot refuse her request*: being our mother, she cannot deny her intercession when we have recourse to her. Our miseries move her, our necessities urge her; the prayers we offer her for our salvation bring us all that we desire; and St. Bernard is not afraid to say, ‘ That never any person invoked the Mother of Mercies in his necessities, who has not been sensible of the effects of her assistance.’* ”

“ If you will be a true child and a sincere servant of the blessed Virgin, you must be careful to perform four things: 1. Have a great apprehension of displeasing her by mortal sin, and of afflicting her motherly heart by dishonouring her Son, and destroying your soul: and if you chance to fall into that misfortune, have recourse readily to her, that she may be your intercessor in reconciling you to her Son, whom you have extremely provoked. 2. Love and imitate her virtues, principally her humility and chastity. 3. Have recourse to her in all your spiritual necessities; and for that end offer to her daily some particular prayers. 4. Be mindful to invoke her in temptations, and in the dangers you find yourself in of offending God. You cannot show your respect better than by applying yourself to her in these urgent necessities, and you can find no succour more ready and favourable than hers. If you perform this, you will have a true devotion to the blessed Virgin; you will be of the number of her real children;

* The following is the prayer ascribed to St. Bernard, which is alluded to: “ Remember, O most holy Virgin Mary, that no one ever had recourse to your protection, implored your help, or sought your mediation, without obtaining relief. Confiding, therefore, in your goodness, behold me a penitent sinner sighing out my sins before you, beseeching you to adopt me for your son, and to take upon you the care of my eternal salvation. Despise not, O Mother of Jesus, the petition of your humble client, but hear and grant my prayer.”

and she will be your mother, under whose protection you shall never perish."*

It is impossible either to mistake or to explain away such language as this, which plainly ascribes to the Virgin the attributes, and claims for her the incommunicable glory of the Godhead. If this be not worshipping the creature in place of the Creator, how shall idolatry be defined? Not only is the Virgin invoked as an Advocate, an Intercessor, "most powerful with God," a Mediator, a Saviour, the Refuge of Sinners, in impious contrariety to the Christian doctrine, that there is but one Mediator, one Advocate with the Father, Christ Jesus; but she is invested with all power in heaven and earth, angels, principalities, and powers being made subject to her. Is God "the Father of mercies?" the Virgin is the "Mother of mercies." The very titles of Deity are parodied in the honorific appellatives bestowed upon this queen of Antichrist, this goddess of baptized Paganism. It is true, the Latin church does not stand alone in the Marian idolatry. Under the blasphemous title of the *Panagia* (all holy), the Virgin receives the worship of the Oriental churches; and "the *Woman-God*" is still the great stumbling-block of a corrupted Christianity to both Mohammedans and Jews.

The origin of this wide-spread Antichristianity is not doubtful. Female deities were the favourites of the ancient Pagan worship; more especially among the maritime nations on the shores of the Mediterranean. The genial influence invoked by the mariner was always feminine; and the Queen of Heaven, who is the *Maris Stella* of the Catholic vesper service, and the *Panagia* of the Greek islanders, is the successor to the honours of the Astarte of Carthage, the Cytheræa of the Ægean, and the Venus of the Adriatic. Such a superstition must have its roots in the weakness of human nature, to which it was the fatal policy of a corrupt church to accommodate itself at the expense of every thing peculiar to Christianity, except its nomenclature. To those whose superstition, unenlightened by the Scriptures, demanded an idol of the imagination, what more attractive object could be presented

* Catholic School Book, pp. 158—161.

than the Virgin Mother of Our Lord? Heathen mythology affords no conception so beautiful; nor is it not at all wonderful, that this daring invention should have wrought so powerfully in subjugating the mind through the imagination, and in debasing the heart by exciting and flattering its romantic sympathies.*

The invention of the rosary as an implement of devotion connected with the worship of the Virgin,† dates from the tenth century, although it has been erroneously ascribed to the founder of the Dominican order.‡ It was not, however, till the fifteenth century that the history and mystery of the rosary were fully revealed, and its virtues in renovating the church completely developed. An impious legend, invented by a Dominican monk, Alanus de Rupe, and inserted in the breviary set forth by Pope Benedict XIII., was the means of bringing the rosary into general use. The success of this impious fraud emboldened other orders to invent consecrated badges and amulets of like virtue. The Franciscans gloried in the cord of their founder; the Dominicans, in the holy habit; but the most remarkable superstition is that of the scapular, invented by a Carmelite monk, Simon Stock, an

* The Roman bandit always wears suspended from his neck a picture of the Madonna and Child, "to make his death easy."

† It is supposed to have been originally brought from Spain, the Mohammedans having adopted just such a prayer-string from the Hindoos, and the Spanish Catholics from the Moors.

‡ "In the tenth century," says Mosheim, "the worship of the Virgin Mary, which had been carried to a very high degree of idolatry, received new accessions of solemnity and superstition. Near the close of this century, a custom was introduced of celebrating masses and abstaining from flesh, in honour of the blessed Virgin, every Sabbath day. After this, what the Latins call the *minor office* was instituted in honour of St. Mary, which was, in the following century, confirmed by Urban II. in the Council of Clermont. There are also to be found in this age, manifest indications of the institution of the *rosary* and *crown* of the Virgin, by which her worshippers were to reckon the number of prayers that they were to offer to this new divinity; for though some place the invention of the rosary in the thirteenth century, and attribute it to St. Dominic, yet this supposition is made without any foundation. (This is demonstrated by Mabillon.) The rosary consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, and a hundred and fifty salutations of the Blessed Virgin; while the crown, according to the different opinions of the learned concerning the age of the Blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven recitations of the Lord's Prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations." Mosheim, *Ec. Hist.* Cent. x. Pt. II. chap. 4.

Englishman, in 1251. This badge of peculiar veneration for the Virgin, is a square or oblong bit of stuff resembling a flat pincushion, marked with the initials I. H. S., and suspended from the neck by a ribbon.* The monk is fabled to have received the original scapular from the hands of the Virgin, as the distinguishing badge of the Carmelite order, and as a safeguard and protection in the hour of danger. This superstition also receives a sanction from the Roman breviary. The 16th of July is the feast of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel; and the lessons of the second *nocturn* contain the sum and substance of the legend establishing its use. In Ireland, this "garment of the Virgin" is held among certain classes in peculiar veneration; and the following picture of the Papal superstition, as now extant among the Irish peasantry, is by a witness who has but recently withdrawn from the Romish communion.

Having referred to Dr. Milner, an eminent Romanist, as admitting that the practice of praying to the saints is not of imperative obligation, and that, strictly speaking, we are bound only to pray to God, Mr. O'Croly proceeds:—"This important admission, which only echoes the opinion of George Cassander† and other Catholic doctors, cannot be reconciled with the practice of the Roman church; for praying to the saints, though thus accounted a matter of indifference, is completely incorporated with the Roman-catholic religion. The saints and angels are addressed upon all, even the most solemn occasions; are, indeed, constantly associated in worship with the Deity. If the Pope issues a bull or encyclical letter, he always concludes by invoking the blessed Virgin, Mother of God, and the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, the titular saints of the Vatican. At confession, the penitent sets out by acknowledging his guiltiness, not only to God, but also to the Virgin and a number of the most distinguished saints, whom he names individually; and the saints also share with

* O'Croly, p. 172.

† Cassander (George), a learned and moderate Romanist, born near Bruges, in 1515; died, 1566. He laboured all his life to effect a union between Roman Catholics and Protestants, but without success: and many of his writings were condemned by the Council of Trent.

the Deity the homage offered in the sacrifice of the Mass. Extra privileges are annexed to the various festivals instituted in honour of the Virgin,* and to the festivals of the other saints; on which occasions a larger measure of grace is attainable, than on other occasions when the worship of the Deity is more free from intermixture. Besides the Blessed Virgin, who is supposed to possess a pre-eminence of celestial influence, many other individual saints are looked up to with great confidence by many pious votaries, and are considered as undoubted securities to them for their future salvation. Among these we may make special mention of St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assissium, and St. Dominic Gusman. The friars of the several orders that take their names from these celebrated saints, are constantly trumpeting in the ears of the devout the religious benefits that result from an adherence to their respective rituals, and from the payment of due honours to their beatified patrons. Indulgences innumerable, and of peculiar efficacy, are promised to the pious votary; and the followers of these new-fangled rites are under the impression that they can attain heaven much more easily and securely than if they had confined themselves to the original institutes of Christianity. In short, what with indulgences, and habits, and cords, and scapulars, and rosaries, and processions, and litanies to the Virgin and to the saints, and the multitude of prayers addressed to them on such occasions, religious worship is diverted from the great God, and religious hope or expectation is made to centre in the creature rather than in the Creator.† Thus it is, that what is acknowledged to be a matter of indifference by Dr. Milner and others, is, by a rare combination of weakness and craft, converted, in the eye

* Her Conception, Dec. 8; Nativity, Sept. 8; Annunciation, March 25; Purification, Feb. 2; Assumption, Aug. 15.

† "It is happy for the people, that they have another source of hope under the various diseases incident to the human frame, besides the skill of their physicians; a source of hope that never fails them at any season of distress. Thus, for instance, St. Anthony the abbot secures his votaries from fire; and St. Anthony of Padua delivers them from water; St. Barbara is the refuge of the timid in times of thunder and of war; St. Blass cures disorders of the throat; St. Lucia heals all diseases of the eyes; St. Nicholas is the patron of young women who

of ignorance, into the essence of religion; and the theory of Catholic theologians is at variance with the usages of the Catholic church."*

In the "Litanies of Saints," as they are sung in the Roman-catholic church on the three Rogation days, after the *Kyrie eleison*, the Virgin (*Dei Genitrix*) is first invoked with the formula, *Ora pro nobis*. Then, St. Michael, St. Gabriel, St. Raphael, and all angels are called upon to pray for us. Next, St. John Baptist, and the Apostles and Evangelists are severally invoked; then St. Stephen and other martyrs; then St. Silvester, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerom, Martin, and Nicholas, with all holy bishops and confessors; then all holy doctors, St. Anthony, Benedict, Bernard, Dominic, and Francis, all holy priests and levites, holy monks and hermits; then the female saints, Mary Magdalen, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Catharine, and Anastasia, with all holy virgins and widows; the invocation, "*Ora pro nobis*" being repeated at each name; and the series is closed with "*Omnes sancti et sanctæ Dei, intercedite pro nobis.*" The whole of this part of the Litany is evidently an interpolation grafted on the more ancient service. To these invocations, the declaration of the Roman catholic bishops may possibly be applicable; "That the Catholic church teaches her children not to pray to the saints as to the authors or givers of divine grace, but only to solicit the saints in heaven to pray for them, in the same sense as St. Paul desired the faithful on earth to pray for him." This declaration, however, overlooks the immense distinction, that the saints are invoked as the *hearers of prayer*; and in the prayers offered to particular saints on special occasions, not only are they addressed as exercising this divine attribute, but as having by their merits procured the prerogative ascribed to them. The following are specimens:—

want to be married; . . . St. Polonia preserves the teeth, St. Domingo cures the fever, and St. Roque is the saint invoked under apprehensions of the plague. And thus, in all diseases, under every pressure of affliction, some saint is accessible by prayer, whose peculiar province it is to relieve the object of distress."—*Townsend's Travels in Spain*, vol. iii. p. 215.

* O'Croly's Inquiry, pp. 164—166.

Antiphon against the plague in honour of St. Roch.

“ Venerable confessor of Christ, holy Roch, whose prayers have obtained, that they who in their affliction shall devoutly call upon thee, may, by thy merits and intercession, be delivered from all danger of plague and pestilence : Pray for us, blessed saint, that we may be made partakers of this promise.”

St. Agnes. Jan. 21.

“ Look down from heaven, O blessed Agnes : behold and visit this vine which thy right hand hath planted : incline thine ear to us ; hasten to deliver us.”

The following is given from a modern Irish work, published “ with the approbation of superiors,” for the direction of the Christian Doctrine and Purgatorian Societies, and containing an account of the indulgences granted by various popes to those societies.

“ The indulgence of 300 days is granted to those who devoutly repeat the three following ejaculations :—‘ Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, I offer you my heart and soul. Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, assist me in my last agony. Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, may I breathe forth my soul to you in peace.’”*

The invocation and worship of the Virgin and the saints, thus formally authorized by the Romish church, have, among the Papal vulgar of southern Europe, in connexion with Image-worship, degenerated into the grossest idolatry. The decree of the Council of Trent concerning the invocation, veneration, and relics of the saints, and also concerning sacred images, commands all bishops and others to teach, “ That the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of other saints, are to be had and retained, especially in churches, and due honour and veneration rendered to them. Not that it is believed that any divinity or power resides in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped, or that any benefit is to be sought from them, or any confidence placed in images, as was formerly by the Gentiles, who fixed their hope in idols. But the honour with which they are regarded

* Cited in Newman on Romanism, &c. p. 145.

is referred to those who are represented by them ; so that we adore Christ, and venerate the saints, whose likenesses these images bear, when we kiss them, and uncover our heads in their presence, and prostrate ourselves. All which has been sanctioned by the decrees of councils against the impugnors of images, especially the second Council of Nice.*

The bishops are further directed to teach, that "great advantages are derived from all sacred images," "because the divine miracles performed by the saints, and their salutary examples, are thus brought before the eyes of the faithful." Whosoever shall teach or think otherwise, is pronounced accursed.

"If any abuses, however, have crept into these sacred and salutary observances, the holy council earnestly desires that such may be abolished." The nature of the abuses referred to is indicated by the directions, that "all base gain" should be abolished, and "all indecency avoided, so that images be neither painted nor adorned in a lascivious manner ; nor the commemoration of the saints or visits to relics be abused to gluttony and drunkenness." There is ample evidence that these admonitions were much more necessary than effectual in repressing such practices. The admission which they involve, is in itself very remarkable ; but no anathemas are pronounced against parties guilty of such abominations.

The apology offered for image-worship, that no honour is attributed to the image itself, is precisely the same as the defence set up for the pagan idolatry. Thus, the learned Abulfazel, secretary to the Emperor Akbar, giving an account of the Hindoo worship, says : "Since they admit that the Almighty occasionally assumes an elementary form, without

* Held A. D. 787. This council, reversing the decree of a previous one held at Constantinople in 754, decided that the images of Christ and the saints are to be venerated and adored, though not with true worship (*latría*). In 794, Charlemagne assembled, at Frankfort-on-Maine, a council of 300 bishops, in order to re-examine this important question, in which the worship of images was unanimously condemned. The authority of the council of 754, (the 7th Œcumenical Council of the Greeks,) and of that of 794, are unceremoniously set aside by the Papists.

defiling his holiness, they make various idols in gold and other metals, which serve to *assist their imaginations whilst they offer up prayers to the invisible Deity.*"* All idolatry has begun with the worship of emblems; but what might be intended at first to assist the imagination, ends by perverting it; and the theoretic distinction between adoring the image, and honouring or invoking the being it represents, is never found to be long maintained in practice. There are many images of the Virgin, and of other saints, which have attained celebrity in the papal world, and attracted crowds of pilgrims from all quarters, on account of the miracles ascribed to them. Now, in these cases, it is absurd to deny that the confidence of the worshipper is placed in the particular image, since the nominal object of worship is the same in other places. The little town of Loreto owes its origin to the celebrity of the wooden image of the Virgin and its *Santa Casa*, once the Mecca of Italy; and although the trade in rosaries, crosses, &c. is said to have greatly fallen off, thousands of pilgrims still repair every year to worship Our Lady of Loreto.

Nearly akin to the worship of images, is the superstition connected with the Crucifix and the *Agnus Dei*. The latter is an image of a lamb impressed on virgin wax mixed with balsam and holy oil, and blessed according to the form prescribed in the Roman ritual. The Pope consecrates these sacred amulets the first year of his pontificate, and afterwards on every seventh year, on the Saturday before Low Sunday, with many solemn ceremonies and devout prayers. "The spiritual efficacy or virtue of the *Agnus Dei* is gathered from the prayer that the church makes use of in the blessing of it; which is to preserve him who carries an *Agnus Dei*, or any particle of it, about him, from any attempts of his spiritual or temporal enemies; from the dangers of fire, of water, of storms and tempests, of thunder and lightning, and from a sudden and unprovided death. It puts the devils to flight, succours women in child-bed, takes away the stains of past sins, and furnishes us with new grace for the future, that we may be preserved from all adversities and perils, both in life

* Ayeen Akbery, by Gladwin, vol. ii. p. 520.

and death, through the cross and merits of the Lamb, who redeemed and washed us in his blood." *

Such are the spiritual nostrums and juggling inventions, if we may not say of the Roman-catholic religion, of the Papal superstition! But this is not all.

IV. MASSES AND INDULGENCES.—The traffic in Masses and Indulgences forms too prominent a part of the Papal system to be passed over, in adverting to the points upon which a wide discrepancy exists between the dogmatic tenets of the church, and the authorized practice of the Romish priesthood. The Mass has been the source of a most gainful traffic, as its performance is popularly held to be of efficacy for all sorts of purposes. The scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation, which has been so fertile a source of controversy, and which has even been selected by our legislators in former days as a test of adherence to the Romish faith, does not very widely differ from the notions maintained by a portion of the Lutheran divines; and the tenets of the Anglican church, as expounded by High-church writers, closely approximate, upon this point, to those of the more enlightened Romanists. But the doctrine of the Mass, as taught by the friars, and received by the vulgar, is as distinct from the theory of Transubstantiation, as magic is from metaphysics.

The practice of saying masses as a charm for diseases and other purposes, prevails to a great extent, in the present day, in Ireland; a fact which the unimpeachable testimony of the Rev. David O'Croly places beyond dispute. "Masses," says this competent witness, "are offered for a variety of purposes, at least in the minds of the multitude; for brute beasts as well as for human beings. A farmer who happens to have his cattle disordered, the rot among his sheep, or the murrain among his cows, will have masses said for their recovery. The fishermen of Dungarvan, and elsewhere, regularly get masses said, that they may hook the more fish. It is quite common among the ignorant, to be under the persuasion that worldly calamities result from the agency of evil spirits. To counteract this malignant influence,

* Devotion and Office of the Sacred Heart of our Lord Jesus Christ, p. 375.

they fly to the priest to have masses said. The priest takes no pains to remove the error, but accepts the pecuniary offering. Friars carry this matter to the last extremity. There is a general impression, that the masses of friars are more efficacious than those of the secular clergy. This impression answers the intended purpose: it brings more money into the coffers of the friars. . . . The friars drive a considerable trade in masses. If a habit is to be blessed or consecrated, money must be given for masses, in order, of course, to ensure full efficacy to the benediction. These consecrated habits are supposed to be worn in the other world: it would be accounted a great misfortune for a poor person residing in the neighbourhood of a friar, to die without one. The blessing of the scapular must have the same accompaniment as the blessing of the habit; and the ceremony of induction, or reception, or enrolment among the various confraternities and sisterhoods of Carmelites, of St. Francis, St. Augustine, and St. Dominic, ever superinduces a grateful commission for saying masses, which are offered up at once for the benefit of the individuals contributing, and for the confraternities at large of which they then become members. This they call the communion of saints. The friar is the certain gainer in all these transactions.

“ The doctrine of Purgatory has an intimate connexion with the traffic in masses, which, in the church language, are offered up for the quick and the dead. The piety of the living seeks to mitigate the sufferings of their departed friends. This piety is carefully nurtured by the interested clergy. The feast of All Souls (Nov. 2,) is the critical period for the performance of this neighbourly and philanthropic duty. Nothing then is left untried to interest the faithful in behalf of the suffering souls in purgatory, who, it is said, can be most efficaciously relieved, or extricated altogether, by the aid of masses, which are at once impetratory, propitiatory, and expiatory. This is a portion of the 2d of November doctrine, and which is inculcated by every means that avaricious ingenuity can devise. Money was formerly raised by the sale of indulgences . . . Substitute for the old indulgences

masses for the dead, and you have the same solemn farce over again. So much for the theory and practice of masses."*

Indulgences are still, however, an article of papal merchandise; and as Protestants are accused of misrepresenting the doctrine of the Romish church on this head, it will be proper to hear the explanation of it offered by her own apologists.

"The Papist *misrepresented*," says Gother, "believes that his holy father the Pope can give him leave to commit what sin he pleaseth: especially if he can make him a present of a good round sum of money, he never needs doubt of indulgence or pardon for himself and his heirs for ever, for all sorts of crimes or wickedness. . . . The Papist truly represented believes it damnable to hold that the Pope, or any other power in heaven or earth, can give him leave to commit any sins whatever; or that, for any sum of money, he can obtain an indulgence or pardon for sins that are to be committed by him or his heirs hereafter. He firmly believes, that no sins can be forgiven without a true and hearty repentance; but that, still, there is a power in the church, of granting indulgences; by which, as he is taught in his Catechism, nothing more is meant, than a releasing, to such as are truly penitent, of the debt of temporal punishment which remained due on account of those sins which, as to the guilt and eternal punishment, had been already remitted by repentance and confession. For we see in the case of King David, (2 Sam. xii. 10—14,) that the debt of the temporal punishment is not always remitted, when the guilt of the sin is remitted; and, as the church of God from the beginning was ever convinced of this truth, therefore, besides the hearty repentance and confession which she insisted upon in order for the discharge of the guilt of sin, she also required severe penances, sometimes of three, seven, ten years, or more, for the discharge of the debt of the temporal punishment due to Divine justice. Now the releasing or moderating for just causes these penalties incurred by sin, is called an indulgence. And the power of granting such indulgences is visibly implied in the promise of the keys, and of binding and loosing, made to the pastors

* O'Croly's Inquiry, pp. 107—110.

of the church. (Matt. xvi. 10.) And the exercise of this power was frequent in the primitive church, and is even authorized by the example of St. Paul himself, who granted such an indulgence to the incestuous Corinthian, 2 Cor. ii. 10; forgiving, as he says, in the person of Christ; that is, by the power and authority he had received from him. Now the good works usually required for the obtaining of indulgences, are, prayer, fasting, visiting churches, confession, communion, and alms-deeds: but what money there is given at any time on this account, concerns not at all the Pope's coffers,* but is by every one given as they please, either to the poor, to the sick, to prisoners, &c., where they judge it most charity. As to the rest, if any abuses have been committed in granting or gaining indulgences, through the fault of some particular persons, these cannot in justice be charged upon the church to the prejudice of her faith and doctrine; especially since she has been so careful in the retrenching them, as may be seen by what was done in the Council of Trent, *Decreta de Indulgentiis*."

The Tridentine decree is to the following effect:—"Since the power of granting indulgences has been bestowed by Christ upon his church, and this power, divinely given, has been used from the earliest antiquity, the Holy Council teaches and enjoins, that the use of indulgences, so salutary to Christian people, and approved by the authority of venerable councils, shall be retained by the church; and it anathematizes those who assert that they are useless, or deny that the church has the power of granting them. Nevertheless, the

* This is a glaring untruth. Absolution from such crimes as the sovereign pontiff only can forgive, has its fixed price in the Roman Chancery; and Mr. Butler vindicates what he cannot deny, by representing the sums prescribed, as nothing more than *fees of office*! Papal bulls bestowing various indulgences and immunities are annually exported from Rome by wholesale, and sold in Spain and the Spanish colonies. Among the sources of revenue of which the government of Caracas availed itself, under the old regime, one item was, *Sale of Bulls*, 26,000 dollars. See Depons' Travels, vol. ii. pp. 130—136. Four kinds of bulls are recognised; the general bull for the living, the bull for eating milk, the bull for the dead, and the bull of composition. The bull for the dead is "a species of ticket for admission into paradise," which "enables to clear the devouring flames of purgatory."

Council desires that moderation be shown in granting them, according to the ancient and approved custom of the church, lest, by too much laxity, ecclesiastical discipline be weakened. Anxious, moreover, to correct and amend the abuses that have crept in, and by reason of which this honourable name of indulgences is blasphemed by the heretics, the Council determines generally by this present decree, that all wicked gains accruing from them, which have been the principal source of these abuses, shall be abolished. But with regard to other abuses, proceeding from superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or any other cause whatsoever, seeing that they cannot be severally prohibited, on account of the great variety of evils existing in so many places and provinces, the Council commands each bishop to procure a careful account of the abuses existing within his own jurisdiction, and to lay the same before the first provincial synod; that, when the opinion of other bishops has been obtained, the whole may be immediately referred to the supreme pontiff, by whose authority and prudence such enactments will be made as are expedient for the universal church; so that the gift of holy indulgences may be dispensed to the faithful in a pious, holy, and incorrupt manner."

This decree establishes in the clearest manner the incontestable fact, that, at that time, the grossest abuses were notoriously connected with the granting of indulgences, producing evils too various and numerous to be specified. But the decree neither provides an effectual remedy, nor affords any evidence that these monstrous practices have been discontinued. On the contrary, the Court of Rome has continued to enjoy the "wicked gains" derived from the sale of pardons and indulgences; and the Rev. J. C. Euſtace, a Roman Catholic, ascribes in part to this cause the notoriously depraved state of morals in Italy. In whatever other place or province the abuses referred to by the Council may have been corrected or mitigated, no reformation has taken place in the immediate seat of the Papacy, where plenary indulgences, for thousands of years, are offered for sale on easy terms at most of the churches. But the truth is, the doctrine itself is the grossest

of all abuses. The indulgence granted is, according to the theory, the mere remission of church censures, or of the penances exacted by the church, as a *temporal* punishment, from the offender. That the censures of the church, or the penalties imposed as a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, should extend to thousands of years beyond the natural life of the penitent, is a doctrine so revolting to common sense, that, to a Protestant, its credulous reception by the Papal vulgar is matter of unfeigned astonishment. What the church claims the power to remit by such indulgences, is not, in fact, temporal punishment, but future torment in another world; not any ecclesiastical censures, but the decision of the Final Judge.

The distinction between the remission of guilt and the remission of the penalty of guilt, upon which the doctrine of indulgences is founded, is in itself a monstrous fallacy; and the propitiatory efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ is virtually annulled by the notion, that a piacular satisfaction to Divine justice remains to be made in another world by the pardoned offender. It is true, that, as in the case of David, the criminal may be pardoned, and yet the Divine displeasure against the sin be manifested by retributive or afflictive dispensations. Now it is the displeasure of the church against the offence, which, on the most favourable view of the theory, the indulgence proposes to commute for a venal consideration. As extended beyond the present life, however, it affects to bargain for the averting of the Divine justice. The reference to 2 Cor. ii. 10, in justification of this blasphemous pretension, is worthy of the Romish casuistry. St. Paul, in the name of Christ, ratified the forgiveness which, *after punishment*, had been extended to the offender. That he granted any indulgence, is a mere fiction. That it was granted in consideration of the "good works" of the offender, is a supposition equally untenable. Had any such power to dispense pardons as is fabled by the church of Rome been vested in human hands, we know in what light the application to purchase them, or the offer to sell them, would have been treated by the apostles: "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast

thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money." Acts viii. 20.

V. RELICS AND CHARMS.—Miracles and relics, magical charms, and idolatrous rites, form another grand class of Popish discrepancies. The same decree of the Council of Trent which enjoined the invocation of saints and the adoration of their images, condemns all persons who should "affirm, that veneration and honour are not due to the relics of saints, or that it is a useless thing, that the faithful should honour these and other sacred monuments, and that the memorials of the saints are in vain frequented, to obtain their help and assistance." By this language, the Council gave its implied sanction to one of the most shameful features of Popery,—the manufactured relics, the fraudulent miracles, and the show and pantomime by which the practice of pilgrimage and shrine-visiting is kept up for the mercenary purpose of enriching the churches and monasteries. In Rome itself, the display of relics forms one of the strongest attractions to the devotee. In the *basilica* of Santa Croce, for instance, are exhibited, "the finger which St. Thomas thrust into our Saviour's side; part of the sponge on which the vinegar was put; part of the vest without a seam; part of the hair and veil of the Virgin Mary; some earth from Calvary, stained with Christ's blood; part of the stone on which the Angel stood when he saluted Mary; some of the manna; part of Aaron's rod which budded; a tooth of St. Peter; and some bones of St. Thomas à Becket."* In that of S. Lorenzo, which boasts of containing the alleged remains of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence, are shown one of the stones with which the proto-martyr was slain, and part of the gridiron. In that of S. John Lateran, the high altar is said to contain the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, encased in silver busts set with jewels; and among the rare relics also exhibited on Holy Thursday are the following:—part of the cradle of Christ; some of the barley loaves and fishes; the table of the Last Supper (at which only two persons could have sat); part of the purple robe in which our Lord was arrayed; part of the vest without a seam; part of the reed with which he

* Burton's Rome, vol. ii. p. 187.

was smitten; some drops of his blood (in a phial) and of the water that flowed from his side; some of the sponge; a piece of the stone of the sepulchre on which the Angel sat; the porphyry pillar on which the cock crowed after Peter's denial of his Master; a lock of the Virgin's hair; a piece of her petticoat; some towels with which the angels wiped S. Lorenzo's face, when he was on the gridiron; the rods of Moses and Aaron; and two pieces of the wood of the real ark of the covenant.* Opposite to this Basilica is the *Santa Scala*,—a building which takes its name from the precious relic it encloses. This is no other, if the church of Rome may be believed, than the identical staircase on which Our Lord descended from the judgment-seat of Pilate. It is composed of twenty-eight steps of marble; but these were wearing away so fast beneath the genuflexions of the devout, that it was long ago found necessary to case them in wood. This covering has been twice renewed; and the third already exhibits the effects of constant attrition. "Go when you will," we are told, "except on a grand *festa*, you cannot fail to see various sinners creeping up it on their knees, repeating on every step a Paternoster and an Ave Maria. On the Fridays during Lent, crowds go up. I have seen," says the writer who gives this account, "princes of royal blood slowly working their way up on their knees, their rosary in their hand. I am told the ascenders of this holy staircase gain 3000 years' indulgence every time of mounting.... At the top of the staircase is the *Sancta Sanctorum*,—a little dark-looking square hole with an iron grated window, in the centre of the house; so holy that no woman is ever admitted into it. It contains an altar at which even the Pope himself may not perform mass,.... having for an altar-piece a head of Christ, painted by the joint hand of St. Luke and some angels; and yet, people that have seen it, maintain it to be a most hideous piece of work. Outside the *Sancta Sanctorum* are suspended a collection of votive pictures, chiefly commemorative of the hair-breadth escapes from divers perils effected by the agency

* Burton's Rome, vol. i. p. 177. Rome in the Nineteenth Century, vol. ii. p. 235.

of the miraculous image within. Hearts, hands, heads, legs, and arms without number are to be seen in almost every church, in testimony of the miraculous cures worked by the image or shrine to which they are appended; but these are more miraculous than usual." *

The penitential mode of ascending the *Santa Scala*, is not peculiar to these stairs. The same sight may be witnessed, though less frequently, on the steep and lofty flight leading to the convent of Ara-cœli on the Capitoline. Like most of the Romish ceremonies, it is a superstition of pagan origin. In the same manner, Julius Cæsar approached the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; and in the same posture, the Roman matron was taught to do penance by the priests of Cybele or Isis.†

These are but specimens of the degrading superstition fostered by the church of Rome. Many churches owe their foundation to the possession of some supposititious relic; as that of Santa Croce owes its dedicatory appellation to its having been made, by the Empress Helena, the depository of a third part of the True Cross. There were also placed in it two of the thorns, one of the thirty pieces of silver, the superscription, and part of the cross of the good thief! The church of the Escorial in Spain glories in the possession of eleven thousand relics, among which are a sacred hair of the head or beard of our Saviour, and several pieces of his cross, garnished with gold, silver, and jewels. It has been calculated, that the supposed pieces of the True Cross in all the Romish churches would, if collected, be equal to the quantity of timber in a ship of war. The temple dedicated to the Virgin at Loreto was erected to enclose the Sacred House of the Holy Family at Nazareth,—a vaulted room 31 feet by 13, which, in the year 1291, was transported through the air by angels, and

* Rome in the Nineteenth Century, vol. ii. pp. 236—238. Votive pictures and offerings are a relic of heathenism. See page 21. To this custom Horace refers, Od. i. 13.

——— "*Me, tabula sacer*

Votiva paries indicat."

†

——— "*Superbi*

*Totum regis agrum, nuda ac tremebunda cruentis
Erepi genibus.*"—Juvenal, Sat. vi. 525.

planted near Tersato in Dalmatia; whence, three years afterwards, it was conveyed in the same miraculous manner across the Adriatic, to a spot near Recanati; and it finally removed itself into the lands of a noble lady named Lauretta, where the present city of Loreto has since sprung up; and, having been enclosed in a splendid church, was secured against further migration.* The riches of its sacred treasury were formerly valued at fifteen millions of crowns.

As the genuineness of all these relics, the credibility of the legends connected with them, and the alleged miracles wrought by the sacred images, rest upon the same authority, and challenge implicit belief upon the same grounds, there is no medium between the unbounded and devout credulity of the papal vulgar, and the indignant scepticism which rejects the whole system of jugglery and imposture as an insult upon the understanding. Unhappily, the evidences of Christianity itself, so far as they are connected with the miracles which attested its truth, and the validity of human testimony, are obscured and weakened in their available force, by the pretensions and "lying wonders" of the Papacy. Hence Popery has always been the parent of infidelity.

On the minds of the credulous vulgar, the effect of this superstition is not more beneficial than that of the ancient paganism. The state of society in Rome itself, in Naples, in Sicily, in the Spanish peninsula, and in Ireland, too strongly attests its demoralizing influence. The Neapolitans have been characterised as "the only people on earth that do not pretend to virtue." Yet, they would not appear to be sinners above those of other Popish countries. Appealing only, in the worship it prescribes, to the senses and the imagination,—the lower faculties of unregenerate nature,—while the sum of its practical demands is comprised in obedience to the authority of the church, Popery necessarily tends to debase the intellect, as well as to deaden the conscience, and to extinguish the spiritual principle.

* "Whoever," remarks Addison, in his *Letters from Italy*, "were the first inventors of this imposture, they seem to have taken the hint of it from the veneration that the old Romans paid to the cottage of Romulus, which stood on Mount Capitol, and was repaired from time to time as it fell to decay."

"The devotional exercises of the multitude," says the Rev. D. O'Croly, speaking of his Irish countrymen, "are of a very odd description:—scarcely a house without a consecrated bead, a religious piece of furniture supposed to possess extraordinary virtue, particularly if consecrated by the Pope. This guides them in the arrangement of their prayers; most of which are addressed to the Blessed Virgin... In the chair of confession, the satisfactory works imposed generally consist of so many rosaries to be repeated on the five-decad or fifteen-decad bead within a certain limited time... If they stay at home from mass on a Sunday or holiday, they repeat a rosary or two on their bead as a set-off against the omission. In short, the rosary, which should be called their devotion to the Virgin, forms the sum total of their religious worship. The Virgin is transformed into a divinity, of whom her female votaries constantly crave pardon for their transgressions.... What a multitude of odd ceremonies is connected with the use of holy water! It is astonishing what virtue is ascribed to this consecrated element. Nothing can be blessed or hallowed without it; neither candles, nor new fruits, nor new-laid eggs, nor ships, nor dwelling-houses, nor churches, nor bells, nor sacerdotal vestments. It is used in all the sacraments, before mass and after mass, and at the churching of women. Nothing, in short, can be done without holy water. Even the butter-churn is sprinkled with it before the churning commences, that the cream may work the better. It purifies the air, heals distempers, cleanses the soul, expels Satan and his imps from haunted houses, and introduces the Holy Ghost as an inmate in their stead. It is generally believed, that the holy water blessed at Easter and Christmas possesses superior virtue; on which account several tubs or barrels full must be blessed upon these occasions, in order to supply the increased demand.... Salt in like manner is blessed for a variety of purposes: after being, first of all, duly exorcised itself, it is made use of in the administration of baptism, and in the manufacture of holy water. The ceremonial of blessing the oils, the *oleum infirmorum* (oil for the sick), the *oleum catechumenorum* (oil for catechumens), and the *chrisma*, or

chrism, is complicated beyond measure, and magnificent withal. On Maundy Thursday, it is consecrated by the bishop, robed in his pontificals, in the presence of the diocesan clergy robed in their vestments; who all, at the appointed times, while it is in progress of consecration, worship it by triple genuflexion, salutation, and psalmody. The holy oil is adored on Maundy Thursday, just as the Cross is on Good Friday; on which latter occasion also, a multiplicity of odd ceremonies takes place. The worship of inanimate things is justified on the score of its being merely relative; that is, referrible to something really entitled to our adoration. There may be some reason in this. But what object of this kind is there, to which the adoration of the oils may be referred?

“The efficacy of this benediction lasts but for one year; at the expiration of which, it is understood, that the holy oil becomes unfit to *communicate grace*, and should be committed for combustion to the devouring element of fire. The solemn consecration by the bishop, backed by a multitude of crosses and insufflations, &c. performed by the body of priests in attendance, proves insufficient to protect it from the injuries of time and the decay of nature; just as it happens to the consecrated host, which, when it happens to suffer decomposition, is acknowledged to be nothing more than decayed bread, unfit to nourish either body or soul.”*

The doctrine of Transubstantiation, here referred to, is in perfect harmony with the entire system of ceremonial machinery. Its metaphysical absurdity is thus demonstrated by the same writer. As to the change of the elements, it is taught, that the *substance* of the bread is changed into the body and blood of Christ. Now *substance*, as contradistinguished from its *accidents*, or the qualities cognizable by the senses, is a mere idea or figment. But “the change effected (in the bread or wine) by the words of consecration does not, it is granted, affect the sensible or accidental qualities,—the taste, the colour, the strength, the appearance. No alteration or metamorphosis takes place in this respect.

* O’Croly’s Inquiry, pp. 140—145.

The bread retains its nourishing, the wine its inebriating quality. Even Thomas Aquinas says, that the senses are not deceived, because they pronounce judgement only on the accidental qualities, which of right fall under their cognizance. On what, therefore, does the power of transformation exert itself? On the imaginary *substance*, which, contrary to the definition given of a noun substantive, can neither be seen, nor felt, nor heard, nor understood. Transubstantiation, then, may be defined, a transmutation of nothing. . . . Further it is admitted, that the change or metamorphosis, real or imaginary, wrought by the all-powerful words of consecration, is but of a transitory nature. For, when the elements begin to corrupt or suffer decomposition, the *substance* which was supposed to have undergone the transformation, returns to its old state or relation, while the body of Christ withdraws from the decaying elements, or, by the regular process of nature, is re-transformed into the substance of the bread. Here is transmutation upon transmutation, or, more properly speaking, one absurdity generated by another. Many Roman-catholic theologians are not afraid to advance opinions on this subject, that do not exactly tally with the definition given by the Council of Trent. They maintain that there is no conversion of one *substance* into another; but that one is annihilated, and the other instantaneously substituted. Whether they believe that a similar *vice versâ* process takes place on the decay of the elements, does not appear. To be consistent, they should believe so, and that Christ's body is annihilated, to make room for the reproduction of the bread. If this be not a *reductio ad absurdum*, there is nothing of the kind in Euclid." *

"Rightly to understand the doctrine of the Sacraments," remarks the present Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in his Bampton Lectures, "we must look to the theory of secret influences on which it is based,—the mysterious power conceived to belong to certain things, or actions, or persons, of effecting changes not cognizable to the senses, and changes as real as those apparent to observation. It is true, indeed,

* O'Croly, pp. 99—102.

that, in the Christian application of this theory, the power was not conceived to belong intrinsically to the things themselves. They were only subordinate, instrumental causes by which the Divine agency accomplished its ends. *The general belief in magic*, in the early ages of the church, may sufficiently account for the ready reception of such a theory of sacramental influence. The maxim of Augustine, '*Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*,' appears to be, in fact, an adaptation of the popular belief respecting the power of incantations and charms to the subject of religion."*

In a word, the theory of Transubstantiation, the sacerdotal incantations performed by water, salt, and oil, the sacred charms and amulets in which the devotee is taught to put his trust, and the juggling miracles of the Romish priesthood, approach nearer to the doctrine and practice of magic, than to any thing in the religion of the New Testament as taught by Our Lord and his apostles.

Here, then, we close our succinct view of the distinguishing tenets of Popery; a system which is seen to include and admit of a variety of creed ranging from a plausible theology to an unintelligent superstition scarcely better than baptized Paganism. Yet, among the four marks of the True Church insisted upon by Roman-catholic doctors as attaching exclusively to the Papacy, the first is, *Unity* in faith and worship, the other three being *Holiness*, *Catholicity*, and *Apostolicity*.† "She alone," (the Roman-catholic church) says Gother, in his *Papist Represented and Misrepresented*, "has an uninterrupted succession of her pastors from the

* Hampden's Bampton Lectures, lect. vii.

† Bellarmine has increased the number of these marks to fifteen; viz. Catholicity; Antiquity; Duration; Amplitude; Succession of Bishops; Agreement in Doctrine with the Primitive Church; Union; Sanctity of Doctrine; Efficacy of Doctrine; Holiness of Life; Miracles; Prophecy; Confession of Adversaries; Unhappy end of Enemies; Temporal Felicity. Rightly interpreted by history and fact, her catholicity is intolerance; her antiquity a fable; her duration a series of revolutions; her amplitude an empty boast, which is passing away; her episcopal succession, a spurious genealogy; her agreement with the primitive Church, infinitely exceeded by her disagreement; her union a fiction; her sanctity of doctrine exemplified in indulgences; its efficacy in the morals of the people; her

apostles of Christ. She alone has always been one, by all her members professing one faith, in one communion, under one chief pastor, succeeding St. Peter, to whom Christ committed the charge of his whole flock (John xxi. 15) and the keys of heaven (Matt. xvi. 19). She alone has been always holy, and teaching all holiness, by inviting all to holiness, by affording all helps and means of holiness, and by having in all ages innumerable holy ones in her communion. She alone is catholic or universal, by subsisting in all ages, by teaching all nations, and by maintaining all truths. She alone is apostolical, by deriving her doctrine, her communion, her orders and mission from the apostles of Christ. She alone has converted infidel nations, with their kings, to the faith of Christ; and to this day sends her priests and missionaries to all parts of the world, to propagate the kingdom of Christ. She alone has been in all ages illustrated by innumerable miracles, and by the wonderful lives and acts of innumerable saints. All other sects began by separating from her; their first teachers went out from her, and had before acknowledged her authority; they were all censured by her at their first appearance; but she never departed or separated from any more ancient church, or was ever censured by any lawful authority. In a word, she is the great body of Christians, descending from the primitive apostolic church; consequently, she is the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolical Church."

The glaring fallacy of these representations will be sufficiently apparent to every attentive reader from the preceding pages. Her claim to unity of doctrine may be considered as fully disposed of; and her intestine schisms, more especially under the divided pontificate, are fatal to the claim laid to a perpetual ecclesiastical unity under one visible head. Holiness is a title which, as ascribed to either the Pope or the

holiness of life consisting in the austerities of the monastery and the professional celibacy of her priests; her miracles, juggling; her prophecy, on a par with astrology; the confession of her adversaries will avail as little as the fate of any of her enemies, against the witness of confessors and the blood of her victims; her temporal felicity is given, in the page of Inspiration, as a mark of the false church, Rev. xvii. 4; xviii. 7, and the sure precursor of her terrible doom.

Papacy, must be regarded as one of its names of blasphemy. Catholic, or universal, the Latin church has never had any pretension to be styled. Although it comprehended at one time within its pale all the nations of Western Europe, it never comprised the Greeks, Syrians, Copts, Abyssinians, Armenians, and other Oriental nations; nor have the Oriental and African patriarchates ever been subjected to its usurped supremacy. In point of extent and numbers, the Protestant nations and those of the Eastern communions form an aggregate nearly equal (if not more than equal) to those within the Romish pale.* The Protestant nations also are those which are most rapidly multiplying their numbers and extending themselves by colonies. All the Romish missions are in decay, and many of them extinct, while Protestant missions are flourishing and exerting a powerful influence in all parts of the world. In point of antiquity, and all that is meant by apostolicity, the Latin church finds her claims rivalled by those of the Eastern Patriarchate; nor can she dispose of these, or of the argument against her own, but by boldly charging upon churches more ancient and not more corrupt than herself, a schismatical character. "I ask them" (the Papists), says the learned Reformer of Geneva, "why they assert that the church has been lost among the Greeks, among whom there has never been any interruption of that succession of bishops which they consider as the sole guard and preservative of the church. They call the Greeks schismatical. For what reason? Because it is pretended they have lost

* The Roman-catholic religion is still the established religion in Italy and Sicily, in Spain and Portugal, in the Sardinian dominions, in Belgium, Bavaria, and some of the minor German states, in seven of the Swiss cantons, and in the Austrian empire. In France, it is still predominant, as in Ireland, and in some of the Greek islands. It is also the established religion of Mexico and the South American republics, as of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Roman-catholics are numerous in some of the Protestant states of Europe, in Russia, Turkey, and the United States; and there are Syrian, Greek, and Armenian Catholics who acknowledge the Roman see. In India, there are supposed to be upwards of 750,000, reckoning the native converts, and a few in China. Altogether, the total number of the population within the Romish pale may be estimated at about 120 or 130 millions. See page 39.

their privilege by revolting from the apostolical see. But do they not much more deserve to lose it, who have revolted from Christ himself?" *

In a word, then, the Roman church is neither One, Holy, Catholic, nor Apostolical; nor answers in any essential characteristic to the true idea of the Church of Christ.

* Calvin's Institutes, b. iv. c. 2. § 2.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

THE JANSENISTS OF HOLLAND.

THE Jansenists of the Church of Utrecht, although they continue to profess and maintain that they form a part of the Roman-catholic church, must be regarded as actually forming a distinct communion. The following details respecting the rise and proceedings of this communion, are extracted from a valuable German work; a Tour in Holland, by the Rev. Theodore Fliedner, published in 1831.*

“In the year 1704, Coddeus, archbishop of Utrecht, having taken part with the Jansenists, was, at the instigation of the Jesuits, deposed by the Pope. The chapter of Haarlem, after a short resistance, yielded in 1706 to intimidation, and submitted to the Papal decree; but the chapter of Utrecht continued firm, and, in the year 1719, appealed, with a portion of the Haarlem clergy, to a general council. In 1723, they proceeded to elect Cornelius Steenhoven as their archbishop; and he was consecrated at Amsterdam by the hands of the exiled Jansenist bishop Varlet. On the death of the latter, in 1742, the then archbishop of Utrecht, Meendaarts, restored the bishopric of Haarlem, which had become extinct; and in 1758, that of Deventer, in order that bishops might not be wanting for future consecrations. In 1763, he convoked a provincial synod, which declared that the church of Utrecht separates herself in no wise from the Roman-catholic church, or from obedience to the Pope as the visible vicar of Christ and centre of Christian unity; only she rejects the infallibility of both the Pope and the Church in *matters of fact*, and such points as have no reference to Christian faith and practice;

* See Eclectic Review, Third Series, vol. xvi. pp. 324—327. For the very able and interesting articles containing an abstract of Mr. Fliedner's work, the public are indebted to the Rev. Francis Watts, whose extensive and critical acquaintance with the language and theological literature of Germany, has enabled him to render to the English reader, in this and other instances, an important service.

and appeals from the bull *Unigenitus** to a general council. The synod, moreover, avowed its attachment to the Augustinian doctrine with regard both to faith and morals; asserted the right inherent in the cathedral chapter at Utrecht to elect their own bishop; and recognised the inward service of God in the heart as the principal expression of piety. The newly elected bishops, as well as the clergy and the people, were placed under excommunication by the Pope; and the sentence has never been reversed. In 1823, a conference was opened with the Papal nuncio at the Hague, with a view to an accommodation; but it was broken off through his insisting on the acknowledgement of the bull *Unigenitus*, and an unconditional submission, as the terms of reconciliation. The bishop of Deventer and the archbishop of Utrecht, elected in 1825 under the royal sanction, have, therefore, equally with their predecessors, fallen under the ban of excommunication. In February, 1826, those prelates, together with the bishop of Haarlem, issued a solemn declaration, in Latin and French, addressed to all archbishops, bishops, clergymen, and laymen of Catholic Christendom, especially in the Netherlands; in which they assert the justice of their cause; represent the unceasing oppression of the court of Rome in respect to them; openly maintain the fallibility of the Pope, as acknowledged by the popes themselves; (particularly Adrian VI.;) call for brotherly mediation with the Romish chair, where, they say, too often Christ is condemned, and Barabbas set at liberty; but acknowledge at the same time their dependence on the same, and appeal to the next Œcumenical Council.

The points of difference which are at issue are three. First, the church of Utrecht refuses to subscribe to the condemnation of Jansenius by Pope Alexander VII., on the ground, that the five heretical propositions therein alleged, are not contained in Jansenius's book. Whether Jansenius taught those doctrines or not, it is contended, is a question of *fact*; and in matters of fact, neither the Pope nor the Church is infallible. Secondly, it refuses to acknowledge the bull *Unigenitus*, because it condemns Catholic verities grounded

* See page 173 of this chapter.

upon Holy Scripture and the doctrine of the church;* and also, because the bull has never been authorized by a general council, nor received by a great portion of the church. Thirdly, the church of Utrecht contends for the privilege of electing its own bishops, first granted by the Emperor Conrad III. in 1145, and afterwards confirmed by the Pope, but which was unjustly attempted to be taken away in 1706. It maintains the consequent invalidity of the Papal bans issued from time to time against the duly elected bishops, on the ground, that the Pope is to be obeyed in every thing that is not contrary to the law of God and the doctrine and standing rules of the Church, but no further. Yet, it is acknowledged that, although the Pope, being personally fallible, should err in his decisions, it is the duty of all true Catholics still to remain in union with the Holy Chair; and the members of the church of Utrecht profess to remain so united, "because they hold the same faith, acknowledge the Pope as supreme head of the Church, obey him in all things *according to the rule of the Church*, pray for him, defend his rights, and remain in communion with other bishops and churches which have preserved their outward union with the Pope."

In respect to worship, there is no essential difference between the Jansenists of the church of Utrecht and other portions of the Roman-catholic church. Their churches are more simple in their structure and decoration, and many of them have but one altar, although they might have several. Baptism, the Holy Communion, and the Visitation of the Sick, are administered by some of their clergy in the Dutch language; by others, according to choice, in Latin. The prayers, however, are always read in Latin. There is a sermon every Sunday. The church discipline, owing to the superior correctness of their morals and religious principles, is stricter than among other Catholics. The fasts are, for instance, more rigorously observed, especially that of Lent.

* Such as, that "faith is the first grace, and the spring of all other graces;" that "the Lord's Day should be kept holy by Christians, by the reading of books of piety, and, above all, the holy Scriptures;" and, "that it is a sin to prevent a Christian from such reading," &c.

The Bible, in the Dutch translation of Verschuur, is zealously disseminated by the Jansenists throughout their communion; and generally speaking, both the clergy and the laity are distinguished by more liberality of thinking, and a freer intercourse with Protestants, than most Papists. They have a theological seminary at Amersfort, in which about twenty pupils prosecute their studies under the direction of three professors.

It can scarcely be wondered at, that a body so ambiguously circumstanced,—clinging to the infallibility of the Roman-catholic church on matters of doctrine, while disclaiming it on matters of fact,—should be rapidly declining in numbers. In the year 1809, the Jansenist communion comprised thirty-three congregations. In 1831, these were reduced to twenty-seven, under the government of one archbishop and two suffragans, containing not quite 5,000 souls.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LUTHERAN AND REFORMED (OR CALVINIAN) CHURCHES.

Origin of the term Protestant.—And of the Protestant cause.—Prior history of the Reformation.—Early differences between the Saxon and Helvetic Reformers.—Schism in the Lutheran church after the death of Luther.—History of the Helvetic or Reformed church.—Abortive attempts at accommodation between the Lutherans and Calvinians.—Form of Concord.—Spread of the Reformed doctrines.—The Calvinian churches not Calvinist.—Origin of the Predestinarian controversy.—Heads of the Augsburg Confession.—Other Lutheran and Reformed Confessions.—Heads of the Gallic Confession.—Points of difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed.—Points of agreement.—The United Brethren.—The Church of Prussia.—Present state of Protestantism in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland.

THE denomination, PROTESTANT, now indiscriminately applied to all the Reformed communions which have abjured the errors and pretensions of the Romish church, was first given to the followers of Luther, in consequence of the solemn *protest* entered against the decree of the second imperial Diet of Spire, held in 1529, revoking the toleration which had been established by the previous diet of 1526. In this protest, six princes of the Empire* united, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial cities and towns.† At the diet held at Augsburg in the following year (1530), an exposition of the Reformed faith, drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, was presented to the Emperor and the Diet, by the Elector of Saxony, in the name and on behalf of the Protestant members of the Empire. This document, hence called the Confession of Augsburg, continues to be the legitimate standard of the Lutheran faith.‡

* The Elector of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the two Dukes of Lunenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Prince of Anhalt.

† Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Meiningen, Lindau, Kempton, Hailbron, Isna, Weissemburg, Nordlingen, and St. Gall.

‡ The groundwork of this Confession was, the Seventeen Articles, drawn up

Strictly speaking, the term Protestant has a political, rather than a theological import; since it was not against the false doctrines of the church of Rome that the protest was entered, but against the intolerant decree of the Diet; and the Protestant princes and free cities made their stand on behalf of religious liberty. In the following year, they engaged in a league for their mutual defence, known under the name of the League of Smalkald, by which they compelled the Emperor to enter into the religious truce concluded at Nuremberg in 1532, which was to continue till the summoning of a free general council. At length, in 1535, the Pope (Paul III.), yielding to the wishes of the Emperor, consented to summon a council at Mantua; but the Protestants, convinced that, in a council convened under such auspices, every thing would be carried by the votaries of Rome, assembled at Smalkald in 1537, and there protested against the proposed measure. At the same time, a fresh summary of their doctrine was drawn up by Luther, in order to be presented to the council, if necessary: which document, distinguished as "The Articles of Smalkald," is generally ranked with the creeds and confessions of the Lutheran church.

The council, summoned successively at Mantua, Vicenza, and Venice, never met; at last, that of Trent was formally opened under the joint auspices of the Emperor and the Pontiff, who had determined upon forcibly suppressing all opposition. The Protestant princes, having refused to abide by its decisions, were proscribed by the Emperor; and an appeal to arms became their only resource. The battle of Muhlberg on the Elbe, April 24, 1547, in which the Pro-

by Luther, and voted in the conference held at Sultzbach in 1529; which were presented to the Elector of Saxony at Torgau; whence they were styled the Articles of Torgau. Melancthon was employed by the Protestant princes to revise and extend these articles, in which important task he is stated to have shown a due deference to the counsels of Luther. "And thus," says Mosheim, "came forth to public view that famous Confession of Augsburg, which did so much honour to the acute judgement and eloquent pen of Melancthon." The original edition of this Confession (1530), styled *Augustana Confessio invariata*, received some modifications from Melancthon in the edition of 1540, distinguished by the epithet *variata*, which has been followed in all subsequent editions.

testant princes were defeated, produced a temporary submission. This led to the issuing of the edict called the *Interim*, promulgated at a diet held at Augsburg, and intended to regulate the faith and worship of all parties till matters should be determined by the General Council.* In 1552, the war was rekindled with a different issue. Maurice of Saxony, supported by a formidable confederacy, led a powerful army against the Emperor, and compelled him to conclude at Passau the famous treaty of pacification, which laid the foundations of the religious liberties of Germany.† By this treaty, the rule of faith called “The Interim,” was annulled; the contending parties were to enjoy alike the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; all who had been banished on account of having taken part in the league or war of Smalkald were to be reinstated in their possessions and employments; the imperial chamber at Spire was to be open alike to Protestants and Catholics; and there was always to be in that high court a certain number of the Lutheran persuasion. It was not, however, till 1648, that the peace of Westphalia secured alike to Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed, a perfectly free and equal right of publicly exercising their respective modes of faith and worship.

The origin of the Reformation dates much further back than the rise of the Protestant cause, with which it is sometimes improperly identified.‡ Claude, of Turin, in the ninth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth, and Huss in the fifteenth, had peculiarly distinguished themselves by their noble stand against the corrupt doctrines and usurped authority of the see and court of Rome. The writings of Bernard and

* The *formula ad interim*, or temporary rule of faith or worship, contained and asserted all the essential doctrines of the church of Rome, though artfully softened by an affected ambiguity.

† “But that very religious peace,” Mosheim remarks, “which was the instrument of the Church’s stability and independence, set bounds, at the same time, to its progress in the empire, and prevented it effectually from extending its limits.”

‡ Protestantism was the fruit and consequence of the Reformation, a cause identified with religious truth and freedom, but not itself a creed or religion: just as Dissent, in relation to the authority of the English Establishment, originated in the doctrines of the Puritans and Nonconformists, but strictly denotes, not a theological difference, but a political circumstance.

Augustine contain, indeed, the seeds of the Lutheran doctrine; and from these, and the study of his Latin Bible, the Saxon Reformer derived his views of sacred truth. In the year 1512, he commenced the public exposition of the Scriptures, four years before he took the field against Tetzels, the papal emissary, by publishing his theses against Indulgences. About the same time, Zwingli, the Apostle of the Swiss Reformation, treading in the steps, and following up the lessons of Geiler* and Wyttenbach,† his precursors, began to preach the Gospel, (A.D. 1516,) while as yet the name of Luther had never been heard of in those parts. On this account, he disclaimed the name of Lutheran, highly as he honoured his illustrious fellow-labourer, because he learned not, as he says, the doctrine of Christ from Luther, but from the word of God. As a preacher of the distinguishing doctrines of the Reformed faith, Zwingli preceded Luther, and had the advantage of him in point of religious knowledge. But his sentiments had spread very little beyond the immediate sphere of his labours, when, in 1517, Luther “blew the blast which resounded throughout Christendom,” and thus “caused the astonished world so firmly to affix the name of Lutheran to the new doctrine, whether taught by Luther in Germany, or by Zwingli in Switzerland, that, for many years afterwards, no other distinctive appellation could obtain currency.”‡

As the German and the Helvetic Reformation had each its distinct and independent origin in the labours of these two great men, so, it was not long before a difference of opinion discovered itself on some points, which led to a controversy that has ever since divided their followers. The main subject of this difference was, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The notions of the Saxon Reformer respecting the substantial

* John Geiler, surnamed *Cæsaremontanus*, born at Schaffhausen, A.D. 1445, sowed the seeds of divine truth at Strasburg during thirty-three years, from 1477 to 1510.

† Thomas Wyttenbach, born of a noble family at Bienne, in 1472, was professor of divinity, first at Tübingen, and afterwards at Basle, where he had Zwingli, Leo Jude, and other reformers for his pupils.

‡ Scott's Hist. of the Reformation.

presence of Christ in the Eucharist, were very little removed from the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Swiss Reformer, on the contrary, justly regarding the doctrine of the Corporal Presence as the fountain-head of the grossest errors and superstitions of the Romish faith, strenuously maintained, from about the year 1524, that the bread and wine are to be viewed in no other light than as signs and symbols of the body and blood of Christ.* He was supported, in these views, by the learned Œcolampadius of Basle; but they were both vehemently opposed by Luther. This difference of opinion prevented a large section of the Protestant body from concurring in the Confession of Augsburg. Accordingly, while the Lutherans presented their Confession to the Diet of 1530, another Declaration of Faith, drawn up by Martin Bucer, one of the greatest ornaments of the Reformation, was presented to the august assembly in the name and on behalf of the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Meinengen, and Lindau, which had adopted the opinions of the Helvetic Reformers. This declaration is known as the Tetrápolitan Confession. Zwingli himself transmitted to the Diet a private confession of his opinions. In the same year, (1530,) Switzerland had to mourn the death of her great Proto-Reformer, who fell in a battle between the Protestants of Zurich and their Popish countrymen.

Attempts were made, both before and after the death of Zwingli, especially by Bucer, to bring about an accommodation between the Saxon and the Swiss doctors upon the point at issue; and it is remarkable, that, although Bucer composed a separate Confession, his name appears among those who subscribed at Smalkald, in 1537, to the Confession of Augsburg.† These irenical endeavours were rendered unavailing by the uncompromising spirit of Luther, who even refused to comprehend in the league of Smalkald the followers of Zwingli among the Swiss, together with those German states or cities

* "*Nihil esse in cœna quam memoriam Christi*," was the doctrine of the early Helvetic Reformers; and Zwingli's own words are: "*Cœna Dominica non aliud quam Commemorationis nomen meretur*."

† Mosheim, Book IV. ch. 3. Maclaine's note.

which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer.* In 1544, Luther put forth his confession of faith in relation to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in direct opposition to the tenets of the followers of Zwingle. The doctors of Zurich pleaded their cause publicly against the Saxon Reformer in the following year; and thus the unhappy schism, so detrimental to the Protestant cause, became notorious and irreconcilable.

The first Helvetic Confession was published six years after the presentation of the Lutheran and Tetrapolitan Confessions to the Diet of Augsburg. At a meeting of the Swiss divines held at Basle in 1536, comprehending deputies from Zurich, Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Muhlhausen, and Bienne, with Bucer and Capito from Strasburg, it was resolved to draw up a Confession, not only on the point in controversy with Luther, but of the general articles of the Reformed faith. The task was committed to Bullinger, Leo Jude, and three others.† That which generally passes under the name of the Helvetic Confession is, however, the larger one, entitled "*Expositio Simplex*," put forth in 1566, under the authority of the Elector Palatine, and ascribed to Bullinger.

Luther survived Zwingle sixteen years. After his decease, in 1546, Melanchthon was recognised as holding the first rank among the Lutheran doctors. This truly great man, inferior to Luther in courage and firmness of mind, but his equal in piety, and his superior in learning, judgement, and temper, appears to have inclined to the sentiments of the Helvetic divines respecting the Eucharist,‡ but to have deemed the point as not of sufficient moment to justify the breach of fraternal

* Mosheim, Book IV. ch. 3. And yet, both Ulm and Augsburg had embraced the Reformation on the principles of Zwingle.

† Mosheim strangely represents this public act as a withdrawal, on the part of the subscribers, from the Helvetic church, and a junction with Luther. Mr. Butler mentions a previous "Confession," printed at Basle in 1530.

‡ Mosheim affirms, that Melanchthon adopted the sentiments of Luther in relation to the Eucharist. Dr. Maclaine refers to his letters to Calvin, as showing that, if so, he must afterwards have changed his opinion; and even Mosheim admits it to be doubtful, what were Melanchthon's views on this point in his latter days.

concord between the contending parties. His very moderation and love of peace led him, however, to adopt a policy, which, although intended to conciliate, only produced fresh divisions. On the promulgation of the *Interim*, in 1548, Maurice, Elector of Saxony, desirous of ascertaining how far it would be politic to enforce a compliance with that edict, summoned the divines of Wittenberg and Leipsic to a conference in the latter city, with Melanchthon at their head, and submitted the matter to their decision. After long deliberation, swayed by the counsel and influence of Melanchthon, they came to the ambiguous conclusion; That, although the whole of the doctrines laid down in the *Formula ad Interim* could by no means be adopted by the friends of the Reformation, yet, in things that did not relate to the essentials of religion, and which might therefore be regarded as indifferent, compliance was due to the imperial edict. This decision, as might have been expected, gave satisfaction to no party, as it left the question open, what matters might be regarded as indifferent.* Melanchthon himself is supposed to have included under that term, the superstitious ceremonies of the Romish worship, the jurisdiction claimed by the Pope, the question relating to Episcopacy, the number of the Sacraments, and even the cardinal doctrine of the Reformed faith respecting the mode of Justification. The fact seems to be, that Luther's sentiments on this fundamental point, delivered with his characteristic unguarded boldness, were, in Melanchthon's opinion, liable to be misunderstood as derogating from the necessity of good works; and that, to guard against such misrepresentation, he and his colleagues at Leipsic avowed their opinion, that the necessity of good works ought to be asserted and taught. This declaration was furiously attacked by the rigid disciples of Luther, at the head of whom was Arnsdorf, whose exceptionable statements appear to have run into gross antinomianism. His extravagant tenets were ably combated, in 1552, by George Major, an eminent teacher of theology at

* Hence the controversy to which this decision gave rise, was styled *adiaphoristic*, from *ἀδιάφορος*, indifferent; and Melanchthon and his followers were called *Adiaphorists*.

Wittenberg. The debate was carried on for years with keenness and acrimony.

Nor was this the only point upon which the rigid and the moderate Lutherans were arrayed against each other in angry dispute. The language of Melanchthon respecting the mode in which the human will is made to co-operate with Divine agency, was regarded by the former as subversive of the doctrine of Luther upon this abstruse point of casuistical divinity; and hence arose a distinct controversy. The sentiments of Melanchthon and the Philippists (as his followers were called by the rigid Lutherans*) were furiously assailed on the one hand by Matthias Flacius, professor of divinity in the new Protestant university founded by the Duke of Saxe-Weimar at Jena. They found, on the other hand, an acute defender in Strigelius, the friend and disciple of Melanchthon. In 1560, a public dispute was held at Weimar between the two polemics, which appears to have had the usual effect of inflaming the animosity of both parties. Flacius seems, however, to have had sufficient influence to obtain the incarceration of his opponent, by order of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, as the penalty of his heretical opinions. Strigelius lay for some time in prison, where he was treated with great severity; nor did he obtain his release, in 1562, till he had consented to offer something between a retraction and an apology for his opinions.† This specimen of intolerance shows that the spirit of persecution, far from being confined to the Romish church, inhered too generally in the founders of the Reformation, who, in abjuring the Papacy, stood up in defence of truth against superstition, rather than of the principle of religious liberty against spiritual tyranny. They sought shelter, from the beginning, under a secular authority not less

* Melanchthon's real name was Philip Schwartzerd (black-earth), of which his common appellation is a Greek translation. He was born at Bretten in Saxony, February 16, 1497; was appointed Greek Professor at Wittenberg, at the age of twenty-one; and died April 19, 1560.

† The controversy in which these two divines were the principal combatants, has received the name of the synergistical controversy, from *συνεργία*, co-operation, as it turned upon the co-operation of the will with Divine Grace; and those who held with Melanchthon and Strigelius were termed Synergists!

hostile to the rights of conscience than the ecclesiastical domination of the court of Rome.

Up to the time of Calvin's settlement at Geneva, the Helvetic church was nearly confined to the cantons of Switzerland, which adhered to the doctrine of Zwingli. After the example of the French Protestants, the Helvetic churches assumed the title of Reformed, in contradistinction from the Roman-catholic church; but, as this denomination has never been adopted by the Lutherans, it serves equally to distinguish the Zwinglian and Calvinian Protestants from those which adhere to the doctrine and discipline of Luther.

As the great Saxon Reformer was succeeded in his authority by Melancthon, so, Calvin may be considered as having succeeded in the church of Zurich to the authority of Zwingli. This illustrious Frenchman, driven by the violence of religious persecution from his native country,* had been induced by the persuasions of Farel and Viret, two of the pastors of Geneva, to take up his residence in that city. He was only in his twenty-eighth year when he was appointed one of the professors of divinity, soon after his arrival there, in 1536; a year distinguished by the accession of Lausanne to the cause of the Reformation. Geneva was at this time split into hostile factions; and party spirit combined with religious animosity to render it the scene of licentious disorder. To add to the difficulties of the position which he was called to occupy, the clergy of Geneva and those of Berne were at variance on some trivial points of ecclesiastical usage; and to adjust this difference, a Protestant synod held at Lausanne, decreed that Geneva should conform to the ceremonies of Berne.† This decree, backed by the authority of the Government of Berne, the Council of Geneva did not think proper to

* John Calvin (or Chauve) was born at Noyon in Picardy, July 10, 1509. He was originally designed for the church, and had actually obtained a benefice, when the light of the Reformed doctrine led him to give up his ecclesiastical vocation for the law, which he pursued for some time with success. To escape the storm raised against the friends of the Reformation in France, he retired to Basle.

† The points upon which uniformity was required were, 1. The observance of the four festivals of Christmas, New Year, the Annunciation, and the Ascension; 2. The use of stone fonts for baptism; and, 3. The use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The last appears to have been deemed the most important point.

resist ; and the order for conformity was accordingly issued. Calvin and Farel remonstrated against it, but in vain ; and, on their refusing to submit to the decree, they were banished the state. Calvin retired to Strasburg, where he received a cordial welcome from Bucer and his colleagues, and was immediately appointed a professor of divinity in that city. There he republished his "Institutes," originally put forth as a true statement and vindication of the principles held by the persecuted Protestants of his native country. He also gave to the world his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and a treatise on the Eucharist.

In May 1541, the Council of Geneva, repenting of their former policy, rescinded the unjust decree of banishment ; and an honourable deputation of its citizens, seconded by the influence of the Councils of Zurich and Basle, solicited Calvin's return. It was not without reluctance that he yielded to the unanimous recall. In the September following, he resumed his station as pastor and professor, under circumstances honourable to all parties ; and from that time his authority was paramount.

One of his first cares after his return, was, to procure the establishment of a regular ecclesiastical polity and discipline agreeable to his own views, including the power of censure and excommunication. Notwithstanding some opposition to the latter part of his plan, he carried his point ; and the presbyterian discipline was established according to the formulary which, with the aid of six other commissioners, he had drawn up, being ratified by the sanction of the people. In addition to it, Calvin prepared and issued a new and enlarged catechism and a species of liturgy. Another labour of a more secular kind shortly afterwards devolved upon him. He was one of the commissioners appointed by the council to prepare a new digest of the laws ; and so valuable were his services in constructing that code under which the republic long flourished, that Montesquieu has said of him, "The Genevese ought to bless the birth-day of Calvin and the moment of his arrival within their walls." *

* Scott's History.

In the year 1543, Calvin entered the lists of metaphysical controversy against Pighius, a Dutch divine, in defence of "the orthodox doctrine concerning the bondage and the liberation of the will." This work he dedicated to Melancthon, whom he extols as a valiant and able defender of sound doctrine, and who, in a very cordial letter of acknowledgement, intimated the concurrence of his own views with those of Calvin. The mutual esteem in which these two great men held each other, and the near similarity of their doctrinal opinions, seemed highly favourable to a reconciliation between the Lutheran and Zwinglian divines on the points which had too long divided them into hostile parties. On the publication of Luther's last violent work on the Sacramental Controversy, Calvin wrote to Bullinger, (who, with the other divines of Zurich, was to be considered as more particularly attacked,) exhorting him to bear with the vehemence and intemperance of that eminent and leading servant of Christ, to whom they were all so deeply indebted. Calvin's explanation of the doctrine relating to the Eucharist attempted to arbitrate between the statements of Zwingli and the terms employed by the Lutherans. Had all their brethren been animated by the spirit of Calvin and Melancthon, the union so much desired, might easily have been effected.*

In 1552, the intemperate zeal of Joachim Westphal, pastor at Hamburg, renewed with greater vehemence than ever, the deplorable controversy which had been for a time suspended. In a work distinguished alike by extravagance of opinion and virulence of spirit, this polemic hurled his fierce censures against the churches of Geneva and Zurich, for the tenets which they held on the subject of the Eucharist. Calvin, in reply, treated Westphal with little lenity. Each party was supported by zealous defenders and patrons; and thus, the breach was widened beyond all hope of reconciliation.

* In a letter to Bucer, who had retreated before the storm of persecution into England, Calvin exhorts that Reformer to speak more clearly and decidedly on the Eucharist, respecting which he had vainly endeavoured to effect a compromise between the parties; reminding him of the violence of Arnsdorf and others, who even exceeded the Papists in extravagance, and of what Melancthon had suffered from them for not going their lengths.—*Scott's History*.

What the sentiments of Melanchthon concerning the Eucharist were towards the close of his days, has been regarded as extremely doubtful, although it is certain that he was favourable to a union between the Saxon and Helvetic churches. After his death, which took place in 1560, Peucer, his son-in-law, professor of natural philosophy at Wittenberg, together with the divines of that city and Leipsic, openly maintained a doctrine approaching to the faith of the Reformed churches on this contended point. In 1571, they published a treatise in German, entitled *Stereoma*, in which the sentiments of Luther himself were treated with deference, but the extravagancies of Westphal, Brentius, Andreas, and other *ultra*-Lutheran theologians, were renounced. The authors declared, that they did not adopt the opinions of either Zwingle or Calvin; but their adversaries accused them of endeavouring to substitute the Calvinian doctrine for the true Saxon faith. Augustus, Elector of Saxony, was at first disposed to favour the moderate party; and a convocation of Saxon divines held at Dresden, in 1571, under his auspices, drew up a formula in agreement with their opinions. Shortly afterwards, however, yielding to other counsels, and being led to believe that the ancient doctrines of the church were in danger, he suddenly changed his policy, and became the bigoted and barbarous persecutor of Peucer and the other disciples of Melanchthon, who, from their alleged secret attachment to the doctrines of the Helvetic church, were stigmatized as *Crypto-Calvinists* (Hidden Calvinists). In 1574, he convened at Torgau a small body of Saxon divines, by whom their condemnation was pronounced, preparatory to their being visited with the penalties of incarceration and exile.* A declaration was put forth by this assembly on the points relating to the ubiquity of the body of Christ, and its real presence in the Eucharist, in harmony with the tenets of the *ultra*-Lutheran divines.

* The learned and amiable Peucer was more especially the victim of the Elector's displeasure. He languished in a comfortless prison till 1585, and was indebted for his liberation to the intercession of the Prince of Anhalt, the father-in-law of the Elector. On obtaining his liberty, he retired to Zerbst, where he ended his days in peace.

In pursuance of this scheme for healing the divisions of the Lutheran church, and as a preservative against the opinions of the Reformed churches, a treatise was drawn up by Andreas, professor at Tübingen, and his associates at Torgau, which was sent by the Elector to almost all the Lutheran princes, with a view to its being approved by the doctors of the church, and authoritatively enforced by the secular power. It was, however, strongly objected to by many; and the censures passed upon it led its compilers to revise and correct it, with a view to render it more palatable. In this corrected shape, it was at length laid before a select convocation of six divines who met at Berg, a Benedictine monastery in the vicinity of Magdeburg; and the result of their discussions was produced (in 1579) in the shape of the famous instrument known under the name of the *FORM OF CONCORD*.

This document, called also the Book of Torgau, consists of two parts: the first, containing the *dicta* of Andreas and his colleagues at Berg; the second, pronouncing a sentence of excommunication against all Christians who should refuse to subscribe to them, and invoking the sword of the magistrate against them as heretics. The authority of the Elector secured the adoption of this new Confession by the Saxon churches; and their example was slowly followed in other parts of Germany. By several of the most eminent churches of the Lutheran communion, it was, however, firmly and indignantly rejected; among others, by those of Nuremberg, Brunswick, Hesse, Pomerania, Silesia, Holstein, and Denmark. Frederic II. of Denmark, on receiving a copy of this formula, threw it in the fire. A warm and affectionate veneration for the memory of Melancthon contributed to produce this general dissatisfaction with a document in which his opinions were so rudely and intolerantly denounced. Its uncharitable exclusion of the Calvinists from the communion of the Lutheran church, naturally excited still warmer indignation against its authors on the part of the Reformed churches. The Helvetic doctors, with Hospinian at their head, the Belgic divines, those of the Palatinate, together with the principalities of Anhalt and Baden, declared open war against

this misnamed Form of Concord.* Even in Saxony, many who were compelled to subscribe to it, held it in aversion; and on the death of Augustus, the moderate Lutherans and secret Calvinists, favoured by Crellius, the prime-minister of the new Elector, resumed their courage and their influence. Their designs were, however, suddenly frustrated by the unexpected death of the Elector Christian I. in 1591, which was followed by the disgrace and imprisonment of the doctors who had been concerned in the unsuccessful project of reform, while Crellius, their chief patron, suffered death in 1601, as the punishment of his temerity.† The Bergensic formula might with more propriety be denominated the Form of Discord. It has never been universally received by the Lutheran churches, although it is still ranked by some among the standards of the orthodox faith.

Lutherism is now the established or prevailing form of the Protestant faith in Saxony,‡ Prussia, Wirtemberg, Hanover, and great part of Northern Germany; in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. There are also Lutheran churches in Holland, Russia, Poland, and Hungary, and in the United States of America. Of sixteen Protestant universities in Germany, fourteen are Lutheran.§

The doctrine and discipline of the Reformed communion, as modelled by Calvin, have been received by the Protestant churches of Switzerland, Holland, France, and Scotland. In Germany, they found a zealous patron in the Elector Palatine, Frederic III., who, in 1560, removed from their pastoral functions the Lutheran ministers in his dominions, and filled their places with Calvinian divines. His son and

* Hospinian is the author of a learned work entitled, *Concordia Discors, seu de Origine et Progressu Formulæ Concordicæ Bergensis*.

† The chief reason of his unhappy end is stated to have been his opposition to the form of *exorcism* in the administration of infant baptism!!—*Maclaine's Notes to Mosheim*, vol. iv. p. 302.

‡ The reigning monarch has, however, embraced the Romish faith.

§ *Viz.* In Prussia, Berlin, Halle, Breslau, Bonn, Königsburg, and Griefswalde; in Saxony, Leipsig; in Bavaria, Erlangen; in Hanover, Göttingen; in Wirtemberg, Tübingen; in Hesse Cassel, Marburg; in Hesse Darmstadt, Giessen; in Holstein, Kiel; in Mecklenburg, Rostock; in Weimar, Jena; in Switzerland, Basle.

successor, indeed, in 1576, restored for a short time the authority of Lutherism; but in 1583, under the government of the Elector John Casimir, who had followed the example of his brother Frederic in embracing the tenets and discipline of Geneva, Calvinism resumed the ascendancy. From that period, the church of the Palatinate obtained the second place among the Reformed churches; and the Heidelberg Confession or Catechism, drawn up by order of the Elector for the use of the churches in his territories, has been very generally adopted by the Calvinian churches of Germany and France. The Republic of Bremen also adopted the creed and institutions of Geneva. In fact, the fame of Calvin, and the celebrity of the university of which he was the founder, have procured for the church of Geneva the distinction of being the mother of the Reformed churches, as Wittenberg was that of the Lutheran communities. Zurich and Berne for some time tenaciously adhered to the tenets and form of government which had been established by Zwingle; but the prudence and extraordinary influence of Calvin triumphed over their prejudices, and brought about a union between the Helvetic churches. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, all the French Huguenot* churches had entered into the above communion. In the Belgic provinces, the friends of the Reformation seemed for a long time undecided whether they should embrace the communion of the Lutheran or that of the Helvetic church. Each had its zealous advocates and powerful patrons. But in 1571, the Belgic Confession was publicly adopted, drawn up in the spirit, and almost in the terms of that which was received in the Reformed churches of France,

* The origin of this appellation, given in derision to the French Protestants, is involved in uncertainty. The Count de Villars, lieutenant-general of Languedoc, in a letter to the King, dated Nov. 11, 1560, calls the riotous Calvinists of the Cevennes, Huguenots. This is the earliest instance of the term occurring in any historical document. One explanation derives it from a gate in Tours, called *Hugon*, where the Protestants first assembled; another, from *huguon*, a cant word applied to nocturnal street-walkers; a third, from the first words of their original Protest, "*Huc nos*," &c. A more probable etymology is found in the German word *eidgenossen*, confederates, softened into *egnotes*, which was originally applied to the brave citizens of Geneva, who entered into the alliance against the tyrannical attempts of Charles III., Duke of Savoy.

and differing materially, especially in the article relating to the Eucharist, from the Confession of Augsburg. From this time, the Dutch, who had before been generally denominated Lutherans, assumed universally the title of Reformed. In Prussia, after the death of Luther and Melancthon, the Reformed doctrine gained ground, and the foundation was laid of the flourishing Protestant societies which still subsist in that country. The united church of the Bohemian and Moravian brethren, descended from the followers of John Huss, was formed by a coalition between those who were attached to the Lutheran, and those who had embraced the tenets and discipline of the Reformed. Among the German churches of the Lutheran communion, which, after the publication of the Form of Concord, dissolved their original connexion, and embraced the Reformed or Calvinian doctrine and discipline, were those of Nassau, Hanau, Isenburg, Anhalt, and others of less note. The doctrines of the Reformed church were also introduced into Denmark towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century, and made considerable progress, though not countenanced by the favour of the sovereign. The Church of Scotland acknowledges for its founder, in John Knox, a disciple of Calvin; and from its first reformation, it adopted the doctrines, rites, and polity of Geneva, to which it has adhered with singular zeal and jealousy. In England, in the reign of Edward VI., not only was Geneva acknowledged as a sister church, but the universities and churches of this country became the oracles of the Reformed theology. The form of episcopal government, indeed, was retained, as it was partially by the Bohemian and Moravian brethren; nor did Calvin himself regard this point as one of essential importance; but, upon the main point at issue between the Lutherans and the Reformed or Calvinians, relating to the Eucharist, the Articles of the Anglican church approach much nearer to the latter. In fact, the Protestant refugees from England, who, in the reign of Queen Mary, sought an asylum in Germany, were inhospitably expelled from the Lutheran cities as heretics, under the name of Sacramentarians. In France, Switzerland, and those parts of Germany where the Lutheran creed was

not established, they were received with humanity, and allowed to have places of public worship.*

It must not be imagined, as Mosheim very properly remarks, that the several states or religious bodies which embraced the communion of the Reformed or Calvinian church, adopted, universally, all the tenets and views of the Helvetic doctors. On the Continent, the term Calvinist (or Calvinian) has a widely different meaning from the theological acceptation in which it is generally understood in this country. We have seen that, originally, it was used in contradistinction from *Lutheran*: it is now used chiefly as opposed to *Arminian*. In the former sense, it denotes a conformity to the *polity* of Geneva, and an adherence to the doctrine of the Helvetic church respecting those points on which they differed from the Saxon divines. In the latter sense, it relates to the disputes on the doctrine of Predestination, which, in the seventeenth century, divided the Reformed churches; and denotes what is technically denominated Calvinism. It may seem a contradistinction in terms, to assert that Calvin was not the author of Calvinism, and that the Calvinian churches were not specifically Calvinistic. But such is the fact. On the one hand, the doctrines which the great Genevese Reformer held and maintained upon that mysterious point, were no peculiarities of his creed; and the able Continuator of Milner justly remarks, that he appears to have softened, rather than aggravated, what had previously been taught with respect to it. On the other hand, prior to the decisions of the Synod of Dort (Dordrecht) in 1618, no Reformed church had, by any special article of faith, exacted from its ministers an adherence to the Calvinistic tenets upon the point in question.

Nothing is more certain, (and it has been clearly established by citations from their works,) than that the three great Reformers, Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli, as well as Wickliff

* "*Vociferantur quidam,*" says Melancthon, "*Martyres Anglicos esse martyres Diaboli. Nolim hac contumeliâ efficere Sanctum Spiritum in Latimero, qui annum octogesimum egressus fuit, et in aliis sanctis viris quos novi.*"—See Mosheim, Maclaine's note, vol. iv. p. 334.

himself and others, not only held those doctrines of Election and Predestination which have improperly acquired the denomination of Calvinistic, but even carried them, at least in the earlier part of their ministry, to a length almost unknown among modern Calvinists. Those doctrines had been taught and maintained by eminent theologists of preceding times; they sprang up within the pale of the Romish church; and, if named from their greatest champion, should rather be denominated Augustinian; for it was by the great opponent of Pelagius, that they were brought forward with the greatest prominence and boldness. Calvin avowedly stood on the authority of Augustine, in maintaining, against Bolsec, a Carmelite monk, the doctrines held by the pastors of Geneva, on the point of Predestination; and those which were maintained by his assailant, and others of the same school, were stigmatized as Pelagian.* No controversy had hitherto been raised upon the subject among Protestants, when, in 1551, Jerome Bolsec opened the public disputation which gave occasion to Calvin's Treatise on Predestination. That treatise was published in the name of the associated pastors, and must be supposed to have had their entire approbation. In 1560, a similar controversy was opened at Strasburg, by Jerome Zanchius, an Italian ecclesiastic zealously attached to the Augustinian tenets. Towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century, Huber, professor of divinity in the university of Wittenberg, a divine of the opposite school, distinguished himself by openly charging upon the Lutheran divines an approximation to the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination; and his conduct being regarded as offensive by the magistrates of Wittenberg, he was deposed from his office, and banished. Thus it appears that differences of opinion concerning these points in theology existed alike in the Romish, the Lutheran, and the Reformed churches. Ignorance of ecclesiastical history could alone have led to the supposition, that they were originated by Calvin; nor is there the slightest foundation for

* Mosheim contends, that the tenets of the most ancient Helvetic doctors differed very little from those of the Pelagians; an assertion indicating the force of his own prejudices.

the representation, that his views on this subject differed essentially from those of the other great Reformers. It was not till long after his death,* that the Predestinarian controversy assumed the same undue prominence that, in the earlier days of the Reformation, we find given to disputes respecting the Eucharist, the Freedom of the Will, and other points of casuistry.

The essential agreement in doctrine between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, will be seen from comparing their respective symbols and formularies, which exhibit at the same time the grounds of their common secession from the Romish church.

The Augsburg Confession consists of twenty-eight articles or chapters, twenty-one of which are occupied with stating the religious tenets of the Protestants, and the remaining seven in pointing out the errors and abuses which were the ground of their separation from the Church of Rome. Of the twenty-one Articles of Faith, the following is a brief abstract:—

Art. I. Asserts the belief of the subscribers in the Unity of God and the Trinity in the Godhead.

II. In the doctrine of Original Sin.

III. In the twofold nature and unity of person subsisting in Jesus Christ, and all the other articles relating to the Son of God contained in the Apostles' Creed.

IV. Asserts, that men are not justified before God by their works and merits, but by the faith which they place in Jesus Christ, when they believe that God forgives their sins out of love for his Son.

V. That the preaching of the Gospel and the sacraments are the ordinary means employed by God to infuse the Holy Spirit, who produces faith, according to his good pleasure, in those who hear the word.

VI. That faith produces the good works to which men are obliged by the commandments of God.

VII. That there exists a perpetual church, which is the congregation of saints, in which the word of God is taught

* Calvin died May 27, 1564, in his 55th year.

with purity, and the sacraments are legitimately administered ; that the unity of the church consists in uniformity of doctrine and sacraments, but that a uniformity of ceremonies is not requisite.

VIII. That the word of God and the sacraments do not lose their efficacy, although administered by wicked ministers.

IX. That Baptism is requisite for salvation, and that it ought to be administered to infants.

X. That, in the Eucharist, the body and blood of the Lord are truly present, and distributed to those who partake of it.

XI. That Confession is to be practised, but without an exact enumeration of sins.

XII. That Penance consists of contrition and the belief that, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our sins are forgiven us on our repentance ; and that there is no true repentance without good works, which are its inseparable fruits.

XIII. That the Sacraments are not only signs of the profession of the Gospel, but tokens of the love of God to men, which serve to excite and confirm their faith.

XIV. That a vocation is requisite for pastors to teach in the church.

XV. That those ceremonies ought to be observed, which contribute to the order and peace of the church ; but that the notion of their being necessary to salvation, or that grace is acquired or satisfaction made by them, is to be entirely exploded.

XVI. That the authority of magistrates, their commands and laws, with the legitimate wars in which they may be forced to engage, are not contrary to the Gospel.

XVII. That there will be a day of judgement when all men will appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, and the wicked will be consigned to eternal punishment.

XVIII. That the power of free-will may produce an exterior good conduct, and regulate the morals of men towards society ; but that, without the grace of the Holy Spirit, neither faith, regeneration, nor true righteousness can be exercised or attained to.

XIX. That God is not the cause of sin, but that it springs only from the corrupt will of man.

XX. That good works are necessary and indispensable, but that they cannot purchase the remission of sins, which is obtained only in virtue of the merits of Christ, and in consideration of faith, which, when sincere, must produce good works.

XXI. That the virtues of the saints are to be placed before the people in order to excite imitation; but that the Scripture no where enjoins the invocation of saints, nor mentions any other Mediator than Jesus Christ.

The abuses introduced into the church, of which the Confession complains, are thus enumerated:—

I. The denial of the cup to the laity in the celebration of the Eucharist.

II. The celibacy of the clergy.

III. The abuses connected with the Mass.

IV. The practice of auricular confession.

V. The injunction of abstinence from particular meats.

VI. Monastic vows.

VII. The assumption by the church of secular power.*

Upon this last point, the Confession sets forth, that “Ecclesiastical power, or the power of the keys, which Jesus Christ gave to his church, consisted only of the power of preaching the Gospel, and of administering the sacraments, the forgiveness of sins, and refusing absolution to a false penitent. Therefore neither pope nor bishops have any power to dispose of kingdoms, to abrogate the laws of magistrates, or to prescribe to them rules for their government.”

According to the constitution of the Lutheran churches, the supreme civil ruler of every state is invested with ecclesiastical supremacy. Their polity is not hierarchical, and, except in Denmark and Sweden, does not recognise bishops as an order

* In this Confession, as well as in the Apology for it, drawn up by Melancthon in reply to Faber, afterwards archbishop of Vienna, great reserve was maintained in mentioning the Pope. In the Articles of Smalkald, drawn up by Luther, the Papal usurpation is uncompromisingly denounced, as full of arrogance and blasphemy. All bishops, though unequal in gifts, it is asserted, should be equal in their ministry under one chief, who is Jesus Christ; and the Pope is declared to be the true Antichrist.—See *Butler's Confessions of Faith*, pp. 21—28.

in the church, but admits of a considerable subordination and diversity of rank and privilege among the clergy.* In Prussia, there are provincial and diocesan superintendents, who may be regarded as corresponding to the English archdeacons. The supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs is vested in councils or boards, appointed by the sovereign, and termed consistories, which are composed of a number of clergymen and several of the laity, including persons conversant with both civil and ecclesiastical law. Thus, according to the representation of Mosheim, the internal government of the Lutheran churches recedes equally from Episcopacy on the one hand, and from Presbyterianism on the other, its distinguishing feature consisting in its direct subordination to the civil government. The power of excommunication, claimed and exercised by the founders of the Lutheran church, has, as a natural consequence, fallen into disrepute and desuetude, being regarded as "derogatory from the majesty of the sovereign, and detrimental to the interests of civil society."

Various liturgies are in use among the Lutheran churches; but, in all that relates to external worship and the public exercise of religion, every community is left to frame its own regulations. The festivals which commemorate the nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension of Our Lord, and the day of Pentecost, are deemed sacred in the Lutheran churches; "and to avoid giving offence to weak brethren," several other festivals have been retained, which, to adopt the words of Mosheim, "seem to have derived the respect paid to them from the suggestions of superstition, rather than from the dictates of true religion."

The following Confessions of Faith accord generally with the symbolic books of the Lutherans, and are greatly respected by them, but do not possess, except in particular places, the authority of standards:†—

* The archbishop of Upsal, who is primate of Sweden, is the only Lutheran archbishop. In 1816, the king of Prussia, who is said to be a great admirer of the English church, nominated two titular bishops of the evangelical church of Prussia, but without diocesan jurisdiction or episcopal power. Two others have since been appointed, who take their titles from the towns of Stettin and Magdeburg.

† Butler's Confessions, p. 31.

1. The Saxon Confession. 1552. Composed by Melanchthon, by order of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, and received by the churches of Leipsic, Strasburg, and Pomerania.
2. The Wirtembergian. 1552. Composed by Brentius, by order of the Duke of Wirtemberg, and professedly an abridgement of the Augsburg Confession.
3. The Suabian.
4. The Pomeranian.
5. The Mansfeldian.
6. The Antwerpian.
7. The Copenhagen.

The principal symbolic books of the Reformed or Calvinian churches are:—

1. The Helvetic Confession. 1566. Ascribed to Bullinger.
2. The Tetrapolitan. 1531. Ascribed to Bucer.
3. The Heidelbergian. 1563. Composed by order of the Elector Palatine, John Casimir.
4. The Gallic. 1559. Presented by Theodore Beza to Charles IX. at the memorable conference of Poissi, in 1551; and afterwards presented in great form to the same monarch by the Queen Dowager of Navarre, Henry, King of Navarre, the Count of Nassau, Admiral Coligny, and other illustrious Protestants.
5. The Belgic. 1561. Approved by the States, 1571.
6. The Canons of the Synod of Dort. 1618.
7. The Westminster Confession, adopted as the standard of faith by the Church of Scotland in 1688.
8. The Savoy Confession. 1658.

To which must be added, (though not strictly classing with the symbols of Calvinian churches,)

9. The Anglican Confession, or Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, agreed upon by the Convocation held in London, 1552, and revised and published in Latin and English in 1571.

Of the earlier Calvinistic symbols, the Gallic Confession may be taken as a fair specimen; and the high sanction which it received, gives it a distinguished historical importance.

It consists of forty articles, of which the following is an abstract:—

Art. I. Asserts the belief of the subscribers in the existence, unity, and perfections of the Deity.

II. That this God has manifested himself primarily in his works, but chiefly in his word, at first revealed by oracle, and subsequently committed to writing in the books which we call the Holy Scripture.

III. Enumerates the canonical books of the Old and New Testament.

IV. Sets forth, that “we know these books to be canonical and a very certain rule of our faith, not so much by the common accord and consent of the church, as by the witness and interior persuasion of the Holy Spirit, which causes us to distinguish them from the other ecclesiastical books, upon which, although they are useful, we cannot found any article of faith.”

V. Is as follows: “We believe that the word which is contained in these books, proceeded from God, from whom alone it derives its authority, and not from men. And forasmuch as it is the rule of all truth, containing all that is necessary for the service of God and our salvation, it is not lawful to men, nor even to angels, to add to it, diminish it, or alter it. Whence it follows, that neither antiquity, nor customs, nor the multitude, nor human wisdom, nor judgements, nor sentences, nor edicts, nor decrees, nor councils, nor visions, nor miracles, may be opposed to this Holy Scripture; but, on the contrary, all things ought to be examined, regulated, and reformed, according to it. And agreeably to this, we avow the three symbols, to wit, the Apostles’, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, because they are conformable to the word of God.”

VI. Sets forth, that this Holy Scripture teaches us, that in the sole and simple Divine Essence, there are Three Persons, not confused, but distinct, yet not divided, but of one same essence, eternity, power, and equality. In this, the subscribers adhere to what has been determined by the ancient councils, abhorring all sects and heresies which have been

rejected by the holy doctors, as St. Hilary, St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Cyril.

VII. That this God, in Three co-operating Persons, created all things, visible and invisible; that of the invisible spirits some have fallen into perdition, having corrupted themselves in malice, and are the enemies of all good, consequently of the whole church; the rest have persisted in obedience, having been preserved by the grace of God, and are ministers to glorify the name of God, and to promote the salvation of the elect.

VIII. That God not only has created, but also governs and conducts all things, disposing and ordering all occurrences according to his will: not that he is the author of evil, seeing that his will is the sovereign and infallible rule of all rectitude and equity, but he has admirable methods of so making use of devils and wicked men, that he is able to convert into good the evil which they do, and of which they are guilty. "And thus, confessing that nothing is done without the providence of God, we adore in humility the secrets which are hidden from us, without troubling ourselves above our measure, but rather apply to our use what is made known to us in the Holy Scripture for our repose and security; inasmuch as God, who has subjected all things to himself, watches over us with paternal care, so as that not a hair of our head shall fall without his will; and holds the devils and all our enemies under such restraint that they can do us no harm without his permission."

IX. Asserts the alienation of man from God, the entire corruption of human nature, the insufficiency of reason to find out God, and the bondage of the will to sin.

X. That original sin, with which the whole race of Adam is infected, is an hereditary vice, and not merely an imitation, as the Pelagians would have it, "whom we detest in their errors."

XI. That this vice is truly sin, which suffices to condemn the whole human race, even to the new-born infants, and that it is reputed such before God: even after baptism, it is always sin, as respects guilt, although the condemnation is abolished to the children of God, not being imputed to them by his gratuitous goodness. That it is moreover a perversity

producing always fruits of malice and rebellion, so that the most holy, while they resist it, cease not to be subject to infirmities and faults so long as they dwell in this world.

XII. That from this general corruption and condemnation in which men are plunged, God withdraws those whom in his eternal and immutable counsel he has chosen by his alone goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, without consideration of their works; leaving the rest in this same corruption and condemnation, to demonstrate in them his justice, as to the former he causes to shine forth the riches of his mercy. And that no one can introduce himself to such a benefit by his own virtue, seeing that of our own nature we cannot have a single good thought, till God has predisposed us to it.

XIII. That, in Jesus Christ, all that was requisite for our salvation is offered and communicated to us; wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; so that, in declining from him, we renounce the mercy of the Father.

XIV. Asserts belief in Our Lord's assumption of proper but immaculate humanity, and deprecates certain ancient heresies respecting His person.

XV. Asserts the inseparable union, without confusion, of the two distinct natures in Christ.

XVI. That God, in sending his Son, has been willing to show his love and inestimable goodness towards us, in delivering him up to death, and in raising him again to fulfil all righteousness, and to procure for us the heavenly life.

XVII. That, by the One Sacrifice which the Lord Jesus has offered on the Cross, we are reconciled to God, in order to be held and reputed righteous before him; that Jesus Christ is our entire and perfect purification; and that in his death was made an entire satisfaction for sin.

XVIII. That all our righteousness is founded on the remission of our sins; wherefore we reject all other means of justifying ourselves before God, believing that the slightest declension from this foundation is fatal to the enjoyment of repose and peace with God.

XIX. That by this method we have liberty of access to God, and filial assurance in calling upon him.

XX. That we are made partakers of this righteousness by faith alone; and that the righteousness we obtain by faith depends upon gratuitous promises.

XXI. That we are illuminated in the faith by the secret grace of the Holy Spirit, in such wise that it is a gratuitous gift; so that the faithful have no cause for boasting, and that it belongs to God who begins, to finish the work.

XXII. That by this faith we are regenerated in newness of life, and that it necessarily produces good works; yet, that those good works, performed under the guidance of his Spirit, do not come into account in the matter of our justification.

XXIII. That all the figures of the law came to an end at the coming of Jesus Christ; but that we are to avail ourselves of the law and the prophets, as well for the regulation of our life, as for our confirmation in the promises of the Gospel.

XXIV. After asserting that Jesus Christ is given to us as our only Advocate, repudiates and rejects the intercession of deceased saints, and all other methods of propitiating God, as derogatory to the sacrifice of the death and suffering of Jesus Christ; also, the doctrine of purgatory, monastic vows, pilgrimages, forbidding to marry, abstinence from meats, ceremonial observance of days, auricular confession, indulgences, and all other things by which it is sought to merit grace and salvation. "Which things," it is added, "we reject, not only for the false opinion of merit which is attached to them, but also, because they are human inventions, which impose a yoke on our consciences."

XXV. That forasmuch as the church cannot subsist, unless there be pastors who have the charge of teaching, such are to be honoured and reverently listened to, when they have been duly called, and faithfully discharge their office; detestation being expressed of all fantastic persons who would, as far as in them lies, annihilate the ministry of the word and sacraments.

XXVI. That no one ought to withdraw himself, but that all together ought to keep and maintain the union of the Church, submitting themselves to the common instruction and to the yoke of Christ; and this in whatever place God

shall have established a true church order, although the magistrates and their edicts be contrary to it; and that all those who do not range themselves under it, or who separate from it, contravene the ordinance of God.

XXVII. That "nevertheless it is proper carefully and discreetly to discriminate which is the true church, because that title is too much abused. We say then, following the word of God, that it is the company of the faithful, who agree in following that word, and the pure religion which is built upon it, and who profit therein all the days of their life, increasing and becoming confirmed in the fear of God. Nevertheless, we deny not that even among the faithful, there may be hypocrites and reprobates, whose wickedness cannot efface the title of the church."

XXVIII. That where the word of God is not received, and the sacraments are not administered, there is properly no church. That the assemblies of the papacy are nevertheless to be condemned, because the pure truth of God is banished from them, the sacraments are corrupted and falsified, and all sorts of superstition and idolatry are practised; that all who take part in such acts, and communicate in them, separate and cut themselves off from the body of Christ. Notwithstanding, since there remains some little trace of the church in the Papacy, and the substance of Baptism is retained in it, the efficacy of which ordinance does not depend on the administrator, those who have been baptized in that communion have no need of a second baptism; although, on account of its corruptions, children cannot be presented in it without our incurring self-pollution.

XXIX. That the true Church ought to be governed according to the polity established by Our Lord; which requires that there should be pastors, overseers, and deacons, in order that the pure doctrine may have its course, vices be corrected and repressed, and the poor and all other afflicted persons be relieved under their necessities.

XXX. That all true pastors in every place have the same authority and equal power under a sole head, sole sovereign, and sole universal bishop, Jesus Christ; and that for this

reason no church ought to pretend to any domination or lordship over another.

XXXI. That no one ought to avail himself of his own authority to govern the church, but that that ought to be done by election, so far as possible; the exception being such cases of extraordinary exigency, when, the state of the church being interrupted, God has raised up individuals to repair and reform the church. That under all circumstances, however, this rule ought to be adhered to, That all pastors, overseers, and deacons have testimony of being called to their office.

XXXII. That it is good and useful, that those who are chosen to be superintendants, should hold consultation among themselves as to matters of regimen.

XXXIII. That all human inventions are to be excluded, and all laws by which it is sought to bind the conscience; such regulations only being received as are requisite for maintaining concord and discipline: and that what Our Lord declares respecting excommunication is binding and necessary.

XXXIV. That the sacraments are added to the word for more ample confirmation, as pledges of Divine grace, and for the aid and comfort of our faith, because of the infirmity and imperfection which are in us; and that they are external signs in such wise, that God operates by them in the virtue of his Spirit, in order that they may not signify any thing to us in vain; but that all their substance and truth are in Jesus Christ, and that, separated from him, they are mere shadow and smoke.

XXXV. That there are only two sacraments common to all the Church; of which the first, Baptism, has been given as a witness of our adoption, since we are therein grafted into the body of Christ, in order to be cleansed by his blood, and then renewed in holiness of life by his Spirit. That we ought to be baptized but once, seeing that the benefit therein signified extends to the whole of life. That, although it is a sacrament of faith and repentance, inasmuch as God receives into his Church little children with their parents, by the authority of Christ the infants of believers ought to be baptized.

XXXVI. That the Holy Supper, which is the second sacrament, is to us a testimony of the union which we have with Jesus Christ, inasmuch as he has not only once died and risen again for us, but also feeds and nourishes us truly with his flesh and blood, so that we are one with him, and his life is common to us. Notwithstanding that he is in heaven till he shall come to judge the world, by the secret and incomprehensible power of his Spirit, he nourishes and vivifies us with the substance of his body and his blood; but this is done spiritually; and is a mystery the height of which surmounts our understanding, and can be apprehended only by faith.

XXXVII. That, both in the Supper and in Baptism, God really and in effect imparts to us what is therein figured.

XXXVIII. That the water does not cease to testify to us in truth the interior washing of our soul in the blood of Jesus Christ, by the efficacy of his Spirit; and that the bread and wine really serve as spiritual nourishment, inasmuch as they show forth, as to the eye, the flesh of Jesus Christ to be our meat, and his blood to be our drink. "And we reject," it is added, "the fantastics and sacramentarians who refuse to receive such signs and marks, seeing that Our Lord Jesus declares, This is my body, and this blood my cup."

XXXIX. That God wills that the world should be governed by laws and polities, in order that there may be some restraints laid upon the unruly passions of the world; and thus, that he has established kingdoms, republics, and all other sorts of principalities, whether hereditary or otherwise, and all that appertains to the administration of justice, and wills to be recognised as their author. For this cause, he has put the sword in the hand of the magistrate, to repress crimes committed not only against the second table of the Commandments, but also against the first. It is requisite, therefore, for his sake, not only that superiors be allowed to rule, but also that they be honoured and held in all reverence as his lieutenants and officers, invested with a legitimate and sacred charge.

XL. That it is therefore incumbent to obey their laws and

statutes, to pay tributes, imposts, and other dues, and bear the yoke of subjection with a good and free will, even though they should be infidels; provided that the empire of God remains in its entirety. And those are to be detested, who would reject superiorities, introduce community and confusion of goods, and subvert the administration of justice.*

To sum up the preceding articles in brief; it will be seen that

Art. I. relates to the Being and Nature of God.	Answering to Art. I. of Augsburg Conf., and I. of Anglican Art. in part.
II—V. relate to the Holy Scriptures as the revelation of the Divine Will and only Rule of Faith: and to the Three Creeds as conformable thereto.	Arts. VI. VII. VIII. and XXI. of the Anglican.
VI—VIII. relate to the Trinity in the Godhead, cooperating in the creation of all things, and to the all-controlling government and providence of God.	Arts. I. and XIX. of Augsburg. Arts. I. V. of Anglican.
IX—XI. relate to Original Sin.	Art. II. of Augsburg, and IX. and X. of Anglican.
XII. relates to Election.	Art. XVII. of Anglican.
XIII—XVII. relate to Salvation in Christ,—the true doctrine of our Lord's Person,—and the sufficiency of his Atonement.	Art. III. of Augsburg, and Arts. II. XV. XVIII. of Anglican.
XVIII—XXI. relate to Justification by Faith.	Arts. IV. V. and XVIII. of Augsburg, and Arts. X. XI. of Anglican.
XXII. relates to Good Works.	Arts. VI. XII. and XX. of Augsburg, and XII. of Anglican.
XXIII. relates to the Use of the Law.	
XXIV. relates to Popish methods of Propitiation; Intercession of Saints; Purgatory; Monastic Vows; Celibacy; Indulgences, &c.	Arts. XI. XV. XXI. and XXII. to XXVIII. of Augsburg, and Arts. XIV. XXII. and XXXI. of the Anglican.
XXV—XXXIII. relate to the true nature and proper government of the church.	Arts. VII. VIII. XIV. and XV. of Augsburg, and XIX. XX. XXIII. XXXIII. XXXIV. of Anglican.

* Appended to the French Bible. 12mo. Amst. 1699.

XXXIV—XXXVIII. relate to } the Sacraments.	Arts. V. IX. X. XIII. of Augsburg, and XXV—XXX. of the Anglican.
XXXIX, XL. relate to Civil } Government as the Ordi- } nance of God.	Art. XVI. of Augsburg, and XXXVII. XXXVIII. of Anglican.

It is remarkable, that there is no article corresponding to the XVIIth of the Augsburg Confession, relating to the Final Judgement; nor does the Lutheran symbol comprise any article answering to Articles II. III. IV. V. XII. and XXIII. of the Calvinian, relating to the Rule of Faith and Canon of Scripture, Election, and the Moral Law.

On comparing it with the Anglican Articles, it will be seen that, on most of the points on which the Augsburg Confession is silent, and the Gallic symbol explicit, the Anglican agrees more nearly with the latter. There is, on the other hand, no distinct article in either the Lutheran or the Calvinian symbol, answering to Articles III. IV. XVI. XVIII. XXIV. XXIX. XXXV. XXXVI. and XXXIX. of the Church of England.

The points upon which the Lutheran and the Reformed or Calvinian churches disagree, may be reduced to the following heads:—

I. IN REGARD TO THE EUCHARIST, OR THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.—In the infancy of the Reformation, this, we have seen, was the only point that prevented a union between the Helvetic and Saxon churches.

II. IN REGARD TO THE AUGUSTINIAN THEOLOGY, OR THE DOCTRINE OF ABSOLUTE PREDESTINATION.—This, however, although enumerated by Mosheim among the points of disagreement between the Lutherans and the Reformed, did not, in fact, constitute an original ground of separation or mark of distinction. The doctrine is properly to be considered as characterising a particular school of theology, rather than any religious communion. It must, indeed, be admitted, that in the XIIth Article of the Gallic Confession, the doctrine of Election is more distinctly asserted, than in any part of the Augsburg symbol; yet, it would not be difficult to shew the entire accordance of the sentiments maintained in that Article,

with the language of Luther and other Saxon divines. The Articles of the Synod of Dort were designed to serve as a "form of concord" in the Belgic church, at that time divided into the two parties of the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants.* But the history of that Synod proves that the doctrines of which those Articles were an authorized exposition, had not by any means obtained the common consent of the Reformed divines. Moreover, the same theological differences subsisted within the Lutheran communion; as they have not ceased to divide the Anglican church into two parties from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the present day. With the sentiments of Arminian divines, whether of Holland or of England, the tenets of Luther respecting the bondage of the will and the corruption of human nature are not less at variance than the Calvinistic doctrine of decrees; so that the Anti-Calvinistic party might with equal justice be styled Anti-Lutheran also. The modern Lutherans have, indeed, widely receded from the theological views of their great Founder; and the same remark applies to the churches founded by the great Reformer of Geneva. All the difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, on the point in question, amounts to this; that, in the Gallic and Belgian symbols, the doctrine of Predestination is more explicitly insisted upon than in the Saxon confessions; and that, by the Synod of Dort, the Calvinistic theology was, for the first time, identified with the national standard of faith in the Belgic churches.

III. IN REGARD TO CERTAIN RITES AND CEREMONIES, which the Lutherans esteem lawful, if not useful, and the Reformed reject as superstitious. Such are, according to the enumeration of the Lutheran historian (Mosheim), the use of images in the churches, the distinguishing vestments of the clergy, the private confession of sins, the use of wafers in the administration of the Lord's Supper, the form of exorcism in the celebration of baptism, and other ceremonies of like moment.

* The Remonstrants were the Arminian party, who were condemned by the Synod.

IV. IN REGARD TO THE FORM OF ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.—The Lutheran church-polity may be said to admit of episcopacy, since that form of government is retained in Sweden and Denmark; and it is a principle of the Lutheran doctrine, that, the Divine law being silent on this head, different forms of ecclesiastical polity may be adopted without a breach of christian charity and fraternal union. In practice, however, the episcopal order is not recognised, nor any distinction between the ministers of the Gospel with respect to rank, dignity, or prerogatives. Yet, in its Consistorial government, the Lutheran church, according to Mosheim, recedes as far from presbyterianism on the one hand, as from episcopacy on the other. The main difference between the Lutheran church polity, and that which was adopted, in pursuance of the counsels of Calvin, by the Republic of Geneva, is, that the latter vests the ultimate power of deciding affairs of a religious nature, in the Consistory or Synod; that is, in the church itself; and consequently arms its associated elders and pastors with a certain magisterial power:* whereas the former clothes the supreme civil rulers with spiritual supremacy, and places the government of the church in the hands of a body immediately dependent upon the civil government. In this respect, the Presbyterian polity may be said to resemble more nearly the Papal or Italian system; while the Lutheran, with which the Anglican accords, is more conform-

* Mosheim affirms, that Zwingle, deeming all authority of every kind to be lodged in the hands of the magistrate alone, would not allow to the ministers of the church even the power of excluding flagitious offenders from its communion. But Calvin succeeded, in the face of a formidable opposition, in establishing a jurisdiction which enabled the clergy to enforce purity of discipline by the authority of the State. He reformed the republic, but it was upon principles which infallibly lead to intolerance and persecution. "Zwingle, in his form of ecclesiastical government, had given an absolute and unbounded power, in religious matters, to the civil magistrate, to whom he had placed the clergy in a degree of subjection that was displeasing to many... Calvin, on the contrary, reduced the power of the magistrate in religious matters within narrow bounds. He declared the Church a separate and independent body, endowed with the power of legislating for itself. He maintained that it was to be governed, like the primitive church, only by presbyters and synods; that is, by assemblies of elders, composed both of the clergy and laity; and he left to the civil magistrate little else than the privilege of protecting and defending the church, and providing for what related to its external exigencies and concerns."—(*Mosheim*, Cent. xvi. Sect. III. Pt. ii. 12.)

able to the Germanic or feudal system, which subordinated the power and authority of the Pope himself to that of the Emperor. The necessary result of this wide opposition between the Lutheran and Calvinian systems of polity is, that, under the one, which deprives the church of all independent jurisdiction, ecclesiastical discipline is reduced to a nullity: under the other, which arms it with penal sanctions, ecclesiastical discipline becomes, almost of necessity, political injustice. It is the complaint of Mosheim, that the counsels of certain persons in power prevailed in the Lutheran church, who considered the privilege of excommunication in the hands of the clergy as derogatory to the majesty of the sovereign, and detrimental to the interests of civil society; and that, as the consequence of this branch of spiritual jurisdiction falling into disrepute, the Lutheran church is deprived of almost all authority and discipline. The opposite evil is chargeable upon the system which invests the Consistory or Synod with the power of following up its judicial sentence with civil penalties, and identifies the discipline exercised by Christian pastors with the administration of the laws and the functions of the magistrate.

From these four grand points of difference, not one of them involving any cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith, we turn to the consideration of those matters in which the authorized symbols of the Lutheran and the Reformed churches exhibit an entire accordance, while they bear their united protest against the errors of the Church of Rome. These distinguishing points of agreement and marks of unity are the following.

I. THE RECOGNITION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES AS THE ONLY AUTHORITATIVE RULE OF FAITH.—“The great and leading principle of the Lutheran church is,” says Mosheim, “that the holy Scriptures are the only source whence we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or to practice; and that these inspired writings are, in all matters that are essential to salvation, so plain and so easy to be thoroughly understood, that their signification may be learned, without the aid of an expositor, by every person of common

sense who has a competent knowledge of the language in which they are composed. There are, indeed, certain formularies adopted by this church, which contain the principal points of its doctrine, ranged for the sake of method and perspicuity in their natural order. But these books have no authority but what they derive from the Scriptures of truth, whose sense and meaning they are designed to convey; nor are the Lutheran doctors permitted to interpret or explain these books so as to draw from them any propositions that are inconsistent with the express declarations of the word of God."

The entire accordance of this grand principle of the Lutheran faith with the fundamental articles of the Reformed churches, will be seen by comparing it with the Vth article of the Gallic Confession, as also with the VIth article of the Church of England. On the other hand, it is at direct variance with the XIIIth and XIVth articles of the Tridentine symbol, and with the claims of the Romish church as the authoritative judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures.

II. THE ASSERTION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLE OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH, or gratuitous Justification; opposed to all notions of a piacular or justifying efficacy in good works, as procuring the remission of sins. This doctrine, styled by Luther himself the *Stantis vel Cadentis Ecclesiae Articulus*,—the article by which the church must stand or fall,—is found asserted with equal distinctness in the IVth, Vth, and XVIIIth articles of the Augsburg Confession, the XVIIIth, XIXth, XXth, and XXIst of the Gallic, and the Xth and XIth of the Anglican. It may be regarded, indeed, as the sum and substance of the Reformed faith, the basis alike of the Lutheran, the Zwinglian, and the Calvinian systems of doctrine; and to establish this doctrine, in opposition to the Romish theology, was the main purpose of the appeal made by the Reformers to the sacred Scriptures as the ultimate rule of faith.

III. THE REJECTION OF THE ROMISH DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES of Auricular Confession, Indulgences, Purgatory, the Intercession of Saints, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Denial

of the Cup to the Laity, Abstinence from particular Meats, Monastic Vows, Clerical Celibacy, and the Papal Supremacy.

IV. THE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE LAITY.—Both in the Lutheran consistories and in the Calvinian presbyteries, laymen are associated with the clergy in the government of the church; the right and duty of the people to read the Holy Scriptures are also unequivocally exercised; the cup in the Eucharist is no longer confined to the priests; and, in short, the laity are regarded as forming an integral part of the Protestant churches, their civil rights being in all respects equal to those of the clergy.

THE UNITED BRETHREN.

The nearest approach to a formal union between the two great divisions of the Protestant world, previously to the present century, was that which took place at Sendomir in Poland, in 1570, where a congress was held of the Bohemian Brethren, the Lutherans, and the Switzers, (or Reformed,) at which a formulary was agreed upon, generally called, "The Consent of Faith at Sendomir."* The Bohemian Brethren (under which appellation we must include the Moravian churches) were descended from those early Protestants who, even in the fourteenth century, maintained a long and obstinate struggle for their religious rights against the Court of Rome, but who first assumed, in 1457, the form of an independent ecclesiastical body, under the name of "The United Brethren." John Huss and Jerom of Prague, both of whom appear to have been indebted for their scriptural views to the writings of Wiclif, laid the foundations, by their preaching and their martyrdom, of the extensive revival of genuine Christianity, which took place in those countries more than a century before the era of the Saxon Reformation. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the Brethren availed themselves of the short intervals of peace they enjoyed in those

* This document, with an account of the Congress, was published by Jablonski at Berlin, in 1731, under the title, *Historia Consensus Sendomirensis*.

troublesome times, to undertake a translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Bohemian tongue, which they got printed at Venice; and they have the honour of being the first people in Europe who printed a Bible in the vernacular language of their country.* No sooner had the Brethren heard of Luther's bold testimony to the truth, and of the success which was attending his labours, than they sent, in the year 1522, two deputies to assure him of the deep interest which they took in his work, giving him at the same time an account of their own doctrine and constitution. They were most kindly received; and both the great Saxon Reformer and his learned colleague, Bucer, recognised the United Brethren as holding the same faith, and bore honourable testimony to the purity of their doctrine, and the surpassing excellence of their salutary discipline.

After the death of those great men, however, the Lutherans discovered a spirit of intolerance towards their Protestant brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, which for a long time prevented any union or fellowship between the churches. With the Reformed communion, the Bohemian Brethren found less difficulty in establishing a good understanding; and in Poland, at that time the asylum of pious exiles driven out of their own country by persecution, a union between the Bohemian Brethren and the Reformed was formally concluded by the synod of Xyans in 1560. At length, at a synod held at Posen in 1570, the harmony between the Brethren's Confession and that of Augsburg was acknowledged by all parties. In another synod, held at Wilna, in Lithuania, the disputes between the Lutherans and the Reformed, on the subject of the Lord's Supper, were accommodated. And in April of the same year (1570), the union of all the Protestants of Poland of the three communions was ratified by the more numerous and imposing assembly convened at Sendomir.

* This edition of the Scriptures met with so rapid a sale, that it was twice reprinted at Nuremberg; and in order to act more independently, the Brethren established three printing-offices in Bohemia and in Moravia, which at first were wholly employed in printing Bohemian Bibles. This Translation remained in use for more than a century.

For several years after this, general synods were held, composed of the members of the three bodies, in which all the resolutions previously agreed upon were confirmed, and some new arrangements were made for the maintenance of order, the establishment of general schools, and other similar objects: these were all digested, and passed, under the name of constitutions; and for a long period, the Protestants of Poland continued to enjoy all the advantages of union. The Lutherans were the first to disturb the general peace: they separated themselves eventually from the other two Confessions, and did not re-unite with them until a hundred years afterwards, in the year 1712, when it was too late to repair the evils resulting from separation. The Reformed, on the contrary, continued to unite more and more closely with the Bohemian Brethren; until, at the synod of Ostrog in 1627, the latter became permanently merged in the Reformed communion, at the sacrifice of their peculiar form of government and independent discipline, having already lost much of the spirit of their ancestors.*

The year 1627 witnessed also the extinction of the churches of Moravia and Bohemia by the systematic extirpation of Protestantism throughout those countries, which have been styled "the Goshen of the middle ages." Many hundreds of families, nobles as well as rich citizens, fled from the violence of this persecution, into Saxony, Silesia, Brandenburg, Poland, Prussia, the Low Countries, and other parts of Germany. The common people were watched with the utmost severity, to hinder them from emigrating, and to force them to apostatize. Some thousands, however, found means to follow their pastors in their distress, while the remainder were left to groan under the hated and oppressive yoke. At the Peace of Westphalia, which closed, in 1648, the Thirty Years' War, those who still adhered to the reformed faith in Bohemia and Moravia were perfidiously abandoned by the Protestant powers to the vindictive intolerance of Austria, without one stipulation in their favour. No church or school for the Protestants was now suffered to remain; all Bibles

* Bost's History of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, pp. 84—91.

and religious books that could be seized, were burned; and whole districts were depopulated by the savage tyranny which drove all who prized their religious liberty from their native land. It is computed that not fewer than 80,000 Bohemian subjects left their country on account of religion at different times, subsequently to the year 1624. The greater part established themselves in Saxony and Upper Lusatia, where most of them became mixed in a short time with the rest of the inhabitants. Others took refuge in Silesia, while many retired into Poland and Prussia, where they joined their brethren of the same faith.

Although the extinction of Protestantism in Bohemia and Moravia seemed thus completely effected, there still remained some germs of the knowledge of the Gospel, which began to shoot forth with surprising rapidity about the commencement of the eighteenth century. In the year 1715, a very remarkable revival commenced, simultaneously, at Fulneck in Moravia, and at Litiz in Bohemia, from which the restoration of the church of the United Brethren took its rise. In 1722, the foundation was laid of the Moravian settlement of Herrnhut, in a wild spot on the great road from Liebau to Grittau, in Upper Lusatia, where a number of Moravian refugees established themselves under the protection of Count Zinzendorf, and were joined in a short time by others, both of the Lutheran and Reformed communions. The congregation was, in process of time, confirmed in its rights and regulations by grants of the sovereign. Another settlement was commenced by Bohemian refugees, in 1742, at Niesky, near Gorlitz, in Upper Lusatia; where has since been fixed the college or seminary in which students are prepared to be employed in the Brethren's congregations among both Christians and heathen. Kleinwelke, in Upper Lusatia, was founded in 1756. Other settlements of the Brethren were commenced in 1743 and 1744, at Gnadenberg, Gnadenfrey, and Neusalz, in Lower Silesia. Gnadenfeld, in Upper Silesia, was built in 1780, by a special royal grant. In Saxony, Prussia, and other parts of Germany, congregations of the Brethren were also established. The first settlements in England were made

about the year 1742; and several of those in the United States date from the same period.

Very soon after this re-institution of the Brethren's church, the missions to the West Indies and Greenland were commenced, which form so memorable an epoch, not merely in the history of the Brethren, but in that of modern Christianity. The institutions of the Brethren at the present time consist of twenty-three *settlements*,* containing about 10,000 members; forty-five *societies*, composed of members in connexion with the Brethren's church, who attend the public ministry and sacraments in the parish churches, but have private meetings for edification among themselves;† between twenty and thirty smaller congregations, whose only establishment consists of a chapel, with perhaps a school-house, of which there are sixteen in England and Wales;‡ and forty-three missionary stations, of which sixteen are regular settlements,§ occupying the labours of 116 missionaries, exclusive of their wives and female assistants. No religious community has done so much, in proportion to its numbers and limited resources, towards the diffusion of Christianity; and it is a distinguishing feature of the Brethren's missions, that their self-denying labours have in every instance been directed to tribes on the extreme verge of civilisation, or to the outcasts of humanity,—the half-frozen Greenlander, the savage Esquimaux, the enslaved Negro, and the despised Hottentot.

All the congregations collectively style themselves, “The Protestant Church of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren of the Confession of Augsburg.” They acknowledge no other confession of faith or symbolic book; nor will agree to be

* Of these, fourteen are in Germany and Holland, one in Russia (Sarepta), three in England (Fulneck, Ockbrook, and Fairfield), one in Ireland (Gracehill), and four in the United States.

† Viz. sixteen in Germany and Prussia, containing, in 1824, about 32,000 members; seven in Switzerland and France, 2,664 members; four in Denmark, 1796 members; three in Norway, 475 members; two in Sweden, 550 members; thirteen in Russia, 41,300 members. Total, 78,700 members.

‡ Comprising 2,280 members in 1824: in the United States, they are about twice as numerous. Total, about 7,600.

§ Viz., eight in Greenland and Labrador, two among the North American Indians, and six in Cape Colony. The other twenty-seven stations are in the West Indies.

received in any country otherwise than in the character of "Adherents to the Augsburg Confession." Moreover, they have, in their synods, unanimously agreed, that no doctrine repugnant to that Confession shall be permitted to be taught in the congregations of the Brethren; and whoever shall persist in preaching other doctrines, cannot hold a ministerial office in their church. As "a Declaration of Christian doctrine," however, "the Brethren esteem very highly the synod of Berne, held in the year 1532; and particularly the first eighteen chapters as a pastoral instruction."* At a general synod held at Barby, in 1775, the following declaration was adopted:—"The chief doctrine to which the church of the Brethren adheres, and which we must preserve as an invaluable treasure committed unto us, is this; That, *by the sacrifice for sin made by Jesus Christ, and by that alone*, grace and deliverance from sin are to be obtained for all mankind. We will, therefore, without lessening the importance of any other article of the Christian faith, stedfastly maintain the following five points:—

" 1. The doctrine of the universal depravity of man: that there is no health in man, and that, since the fall, he has no power whatever left to help himself.

" 2. The doctrine of the divinity of Christ: that God, the Creator of all things, was manifest in the flesh, and reconciled us to himself; that he is before all things, and that by him all things consist.

" 3. The doctrine of the atonement and satisfaction made for us by Jesus Christ: that he was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification; and that, by his merits *alone*, we receive freely the forgiveness of sin and sanctification in soul and body.

" 4. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and the operations of his grace: that it is he who worketh in us conviction of sin, faith in Jesus, and pureness in heart.

" 5. The doctrine of the fruits of faith: that faith must evidence itself by willing obedience to the commandments of God from love and gratitude."†

* Concise Historical Account, p. 21.

† Holmes, vol. ii. p. 61.

The internal constitution of the ancient church of the Brethren, which is still substantially adhered to, was originally adopted in 1457, and more definitively settled in 1616, by the synod of Zerawitz. Its principal features, as well as the distinguishing peculiarities of the Brethren's Unity, are exhibited in the following abstract:—

I. CLASSIFICATION OF MEMBERS.—Every church is divided into three classes : 1. *beginners* or *catechumens*, comprising the children of the brethren and adult converts; 2. *the more advanced*, or *communicants*, who are admitted to the Lord's Supper, and are regarded as members of the church; and 3. *the perfect*, consisting of such as have persevered for some time in a course of true piety. From this last class are chosen, in every church, by a plurality of votes, the elders, from three to eight in number.

II. PRESBYTERY OR CONSISTORY.—“ Every congregation of the United Brethren is directed by a Board of Elders, called, *The Elders' Conference of the Congregation*; whose province it is to have a watchful eye over that congregation with respect to the doctrine, the walk and deportment of all its members, the concerns of the choirs, and of each individual person; and to promote the welfare of every part, as well as to prevent harm and danger. The better to secure this aim, a committee of overseers is appointed, who have the commission carefully to watch over the domestic affairs and the means of outward subsistence in the congregation; to adjust, in a manner becoming brethren, the differences which may occur between the members of the congregation; and to take care that all things be done decently and in order, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men.” * Once in three months, these elders are bound to visit the houses of the Brethren, in order to observe the conduct of each member of the family; to ascertain whether every one is labouring

* Concise Hist. Acct. II. § 21. The distinction of choirs, in the congregations of the Brethren, refers to the difference of age, sex, and station. Boys and girls above, or under, twelve years of age, are considered as belonging to separate choirs; and the difference in the station of life constitutes the distinction between the single, married, and widowed choirs. Each choir has its particular meetings, besides those of the whole congregation.

diligently in his calling; whether those in trade conduct their affairs aright; whether family worship is kept up, &c.;—of all which they make a report to the pastor. It is also their duty to visit the sick, and to assist the poor brethren with money contributed by the members of the church and deposited in an alms' box. These contributions are in addition to the general collections on festivals and fast-days and at the Lord's Supper. Brethren appointed for the purpose keep the account of this money. Four times a year, other collections are made to defray the expenses of public worship, and for the maintenance or relief of poor ministers and persons banished for the sake of the Gospel.*

III. ORDERS AND GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH.—“ The administration of the word and sacraments is performed, either by ministers who have received ordination from bishops of the Church of the Brethren, or by such as have been ordained in the Lutheran or Calvinist church... The privileges of an episcopal church, which the present Unity of the Brethren derives from the Ancient Church of the Brethren, are regarded by them as a signal benefit vouchsafed by the providence of God; as they are the means whereby the Unity of the Brethren and its constitution have been maintained and supported among the Protestant churches. The Brethren improve these external church privileges, and the liberty connected with them, in having the ministers of their church ordained by their own bishops; but the direction of the Unity of the Brethren in general, or that of individual congregations, is not committed to the bishops as such; but they, as well as the presbyters and deacons ordained by them, and the ministers who have received Lutheran or Calvinist ordination, together with all other servants of the Congregation of the Brethren, are subordinate to a Board or Conference of Elders, appointed by the General Synod, to whom the direction of the whole Unity of the Brethren is entrusted, and without commission from whom bishops are not empowered to ordain. But all ordinations by the Lutheran or Calvinist churches established

* Bost, p. 130.

by law in different countries, are admitted as equally valid with those of the Church of the Brethren." *

The deacons, according to the ancient constitution of the church, were the chief assistants of the pastors, and were considered as candidates for the ministry. They were employed as village preachers and catechists; assisted also at the meetings of the elders; and helped by their own labour to support the pastor.† Each of the pastors boarded in his house two or three young lads of respectable parents, in order to train them for the service of the church; who, after going through a course of study, were admitted by the Synod into the number of the *acolythes*: these were the subordinate assistants of the pastor, and the occasional attendants of the deacons in their ministry. The bishops, who were nominated by the ministers, appointed the pastors to their stations, and had the power of removing them when they thought fit, and of ordaining the *acolythes* and deacons as well as the ministers. Every bishop was established over a certain number of churches: two were commonly appointed for Bohemia; two for Moravia; and one, or sometimes two, for Poland. The superiority of the bishop did not consist in greater honour or higher salary, but in a greater measure of labour and responsibility.‡ Every bishop was bound to refer all important matters to the judgement of his colleagues; and this union of bishops formed the ecclesiastical council. From this, there was an appeal to the General Synod, whose decision was final. Every bishop had two or three co-bishops, who had seats in the ecclesiastical council, and assisted, or, if necessary, supplied the place of the bishops.

For the purpose of watching over the civil affairs and political privileges of the congregations of the Brethren, and pleading their cause in cases of necessity, the Ancient Church appointed some of its members under the appellation of *Seniores Civiles* (Civil Elders), who were also ordained with imposition of hands. This office is still continued.

* Concise Hist. Acct. p. 24.

† Bost, p. 135.

‡ "According to the words of the Lord Jesus, 'Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister,' &c. Matt. xix. 26, 27."—Bost, p. 139.

The Synods, which are held every three or four years, are composed of the bishops with their co-bishops, the civil seniors, and "such servants of the church and of the congregations of the Brethren as are called to the synod by the former Elders' Conference, appointed by the previous synod, or commissioned to attend it, as deputies from particular congregations;" together with (in Germany) the lords or ladies of the manors, or proprietors of the land on which regular settlements are erected, provided they be members of the Unity. Several female elders also are usually present at the synods, in order that, in the deliberations referring to the female part of the congregations, the needful intelligence may be obtained from them; but they have no votes. Sometimes, several hundred persons attend these meetings. All the transactions of the synod are committed to writing, and communicated to the several congregations. From one synod to another, the direction of the external and internal affairs of the Church of the Brethren is committed to a Board consisting of bishops and elders chosen by the synod, and individually confirmed by lot, which bears the name of "The Elders' Conference of the Unity of the Brethren."

4. RITES AND ORDINANCES.—A litany peculiar to the United Brethren is regularly used as part of the morning service on the Lord's day. On other occasions, the minister offers extemporary prayer. The Singing of Hymns is considered by the Brethren as an essential part of their Divine worship; and constitutes so principal a feature of it, that many of their services consist entirely of singing.

At the Baptism of children, both the witnesses and the minister bless the infant with laying on of hands, immediately after the performance of the rite.

The Lord's Supper is celebrated, in regular settlements of the Brethren, every four weeks, on Saturday evening; and in other places, on every fourth Sunday. The bread, having been consecrated, is distributed among the communicants, standing, by several deacons assisting the minister: the recipients hold the bread in their hands until the distribution is completed; after which it is eaten by all at once, kneeling.

The consecrated cup is also given from one to the other, standing, till all have partaken of it. Absolution is implored of the Lord in fellowship, immediately before the Communion, and sealed with the holy kiss of peace. Previously to it, and likewise on festival and memorial days of the Congregations, a love-feast is frequently held: that is, the members eat and drink in fellowship. Small plain cakes and tea are distributed during the singing of some verses by the congregation, with intermixed anthems, accompanied by the organ, and sometimes by other instruments.

The *Pedilavium*, or washing of feet, was formerly observed by some congregations of the Brethren before every celebration of the communion. At present, it is practised only at certain seasons, as on Maundy-Thursday, by the whole congregation, and on some other occasions in the choirs. It is performed by each sex separately, accompanied with the singing of suitable verses, treating of our being cleansed and washed from sin by the blood of Christ.

Dying persons are blessed for their departure by their Elders, during prayer and singing a verse, with imposition of hands. At funerals, the pastor accompanies the corpse to the burial-place with the singing of hymns, and an address is delivered at the grave.

Another peculiar custom found in the congregations of the Brethren is, their assembling on Easter Sunday, at sun-rise, in their burial-grounds, when the minister pronounces a Confession of Faith, contained in what is called, *The Easter-morning Litany*; at which, also, those who have died in the Lord, as members of that congregation, since the last celebration of Easter, are remembered by name as having departed in hope of a glorious resurrection.

Marriages are, by general agreement, never contracted without the advice and approbation of the Elders of the congregation. When a brother wishes to marry, he in the first instance signifies his intention to the Elders, who take his wish, as well as his proposal, if he has one, into consideration. If they find no objection, his proposal is, first, submitted to the Lot. If the question is affirmatively decided, and the

sister proposed gives her free consent, and likewise the parents of both parties have declared their approbation, or such approbation may be presumed, and no other hinderance appears, banns are then published according to the custom of the country, and the wedding is publicly performed.*

The Use of the Lot, on all solemn and important occasions, "is grounded, partly, upon the acknowledgement of human insufficiency, even with the best intention, and partly, on a filial confidence in the gracious condescension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the leading of his people, combined with that fervent desire, that *His* will only may be done." Before this is used, all circumstances belonging to the subject under consideration are carefully weighed. "Moreover, it is a fundamental principle with the United Brethren, that the Lot is never to be used in order to constrain any one against his own conviction in any thing; for instance, to undertake an office, a journey, or voyage, &c."

5. DISCIPLINE.—"The church of the United Brethren, in all their congregations, have agreed upon certain *rules* and *orders*, which have for their aim, that all evil may be prevented beforehand, and whatever might prove an occasion to the commission of sin be removed as far as possible. These *Congregation Orders* or *Statutes* are laid before every one that desires to become a member of the Church of the Brethren, for his due consideration. Whoever adopts them voluntarily, and with a conviction of their propriety, binds himself, either by giving his hand to the Brethren of the committee of overseers, or by subscribing these statutes with his own hand; yet he still retains full liberty, if he should alter his mind, to leave the Church of the Brethren again. Whoever, after having voluntarily agreed to them, does not walk conformably to them, falls under Congregation-discipline; that censure which, in ancient times, was already introduced into the Congregation of the Brethren. Agreeably to the direction of our Saviour, Matt. xviii. 15, &c., the Congregation-discipline has various degrees, and consists in admonitions,

* Should the Lot be unfavourable, the marriage is suspended; but, after a while, or under any change of circumstances, the affair may be again submitted to the Lot.

warnings, and reproofs given to those who transgress; first, by his fellow-brother; next, by one of the Elders of the congregation; and, lastly, by the Committee of Overseers; in exclusion from the holy communion, and, according to the nature of the case, also from other private meetings of the congregation: and this continues until genuine repentance and a real conversion become evident in the person falling under discipline; when he is either re-admitted to the holy communion, or reconciled to the congregation, after a deprecatory letter has been read, expressing the offender's sorrow for his transgression, and asking forgiveness. In case of great and public offence given, such persons are also absolved with laying on of hands in the presence of the congregation. It is, however, to be observed, that no privation of temporal honour, dignity, or substance is connected with this Church or Congregation-discipline; neither can this ever be the case, as it never interferes with any merely civil regulations, which fall under the cognizance of the laws of the land."

The Brethren acknowledge, that the church-government in the established Churches of Protestantism "does not apply to the congregations of the Brethren, because they never were intended to form a national establishment. For their design is no other than this; to be true and living congregations of Jesus Christ, and to build up each other as a spiritual house of God, to the end that the kingdom of Jesus Christ may be furthered by them. Hence, the doctrine of Jesus and his Apostles, and the order and practice of the Apostolic churches, are the model by which they wish to be formed. And as the apostolic congregational constitution is grounded upon those divine benefits which Christ himself has purchased for His church, and bestows upon it, therefore the Unity of the Brethren deems such a constitution essentially requisite, and seeks both to approach nearer and nearer unto it, and to preserve it unaltered. Experience teaches, that such a congregational constitution may very well exist among the general religious and church constitutions, and would redound both to the honour of Jesus Christ, and to public utility."*

* Concise Hist. Account, II. § 11.

Such are the constitution and discipline of the ancient Church of the Brethren, which, in its main principles, may be considered as the original model of the Congregational form of church-government adopted by the English Nonconformists. The institutions of Wesleyan Methodism, avowedly framed in imitation of the Moravian discipline, present, on some points, a closer apparent approximation; especially in the Episcopal Methodist Church of the United States. But the fundamental principle of the Brethren's Unity is strictly Congregational. Every settlement has its own particular regulations, and is directed by its own elders; "no congregation is dependent on another;" every congregation is represented in the synod by their deputies; the discipline is strictly Congregational; and although ordination is reserved for the bishops, "no one is permitted to preach in the congregations, who is not sufficiently approved, regularly called, and presented to, and accepted by the congregation; while all the members of the congregation may exhort and admonish one another, and "Brethren who are not students by profession, are sometimes made use of for delivering discourses."* Thus, the rights of the congregation are more distinctly recognised in the Brethren's Church, than in any other Lutheran or Reformed communion.

THE CHURCH OF PRUSSIA.

A union between the Lutheran and Reformed churches in the Prussian dominions, has recently been effected by State interference. From the year 1817, it has been a favourite object with the Court, to remodel the National Church of Prussia in conformity to the Episcopal polity, and to introduce into all the churches the use of a liturgy. As the first step towards this change, the title of bishop, but without episcopal jurisdiction or prelatial power, was conferred upon several of the clergy; and this act of royal prerogative excited no murmurs; but the attempt to introduce a liturgy met with great and general

* Concise Account, II. § 15, 22.

opposition. On the 28th of February, 1834, the ecclesiastical authorities issued a new code of regulations (*agenda*) for the government of the churches. It appears to have been at first proposed to introduce these with the consent of the pastors. The refusal, however, of a great number of the townships and Lutheran clergy to adopt this code, and to embrace the Union, induced the Government to have recourse to compulsory measures of a severe and intolerant character. Several of the recusant pastors have been suspended from their functions, especially in Silesia, and replaced by vicars willing to submit to the State regulations. The Consistory have also been enjoined not to license any theological student who will not engage to do all in his power to introduce the new liturgy and ecclesiastical order.

Of the institutions and rites of the Prussian Lutheran church, as it existed previously to the recent arrangements, the following outline has been furnished us by an American gentleman who visited Germany in 1826.*

I. BAPTISM.—This ordinance is administered at any time the parents may desire, during the first six weeks after the birth of the child. All parents are required by law to present their children for baptism within that time. The rite is usually performed in the churches, and on a week-day, when the child is always presented by the nurse, the parents being rarely present, their place being occupied by the sponsors. Occasionally the rite is performed in the houses of the parents. The infant being held by the clergyman with the face downwards, the water is poured on the back of its head. If one of the parents is a Protestant, and the other a Catholic, the sons are baptized by a clergyman of the same religious persuasion as the father, and the daughters by one of the church to which the mother belongs.

II. CONFIRMATION.—Every child is required to be confirmed. “At thirteen years of age, he is sent by his parents to the clergyman of the parish to which he belongs, to inform him that he is old enough to receive religious instruction preparatory to confirmation. As soon as the class of children

* Dwight's Travels in the North of Germany. New York, 1829.

immediately preceding have been confirmed, all those who have reached the age of thirteen years are required to repair, once a week, to the house of their pastor, to receive from him that instruction in the great doctrines of their church, which is indispensable to admission within its pale. They are thus taught two hours every week during the year, excepting the six weeks previous to their confirmation, when they are instructed four hours weekly. No one is permitted to partake of the sacrament, who has not passed a year in this preparatory course. To communicate theological knowledge in this manner, is as much the duty of a Lutheran clergyman, as preaching or baptism. It is given gratuitously. At the end of the year the children are examined; and if found to possess the necessary acquaintance with religious truth, a certificate is given them, that they have passed through the course necessary to church-membership, on which they are publicly confirmed. It is illegal, however, to confirm them before fourteen years of age:* in a few cases, from inattention of the parents, or from some other cause, they are not confirmed until fifteen or sixteen."

Confirmation usually, if not always, takes place on a weekday, with the exception of Palm Sunday. The candidates first sing for about half an hour; the clergyman then offers a prayer, and afterwards delivers a sermon addressed particularly to the children. They then approach in pairs, and kneel before him, while, placing his hands on their heads, he pronounces the following benediction: "May the Lord bless thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." After all of them have received this benediction, they enter the sacristy, and write their names in the church records; the clergyman gives them a certificate of confirmation, and on the succeeding Lord's-day they partake of the sacrament.

III. THE EUCHARIST.—This ordinance is administered to

* In Hanover, and some other German states, young girls neither enter into society, nor curl their hair, until the day they are to be confirmed. To this day they of course look forward with much interest.

all who, after they have been confirmed, signify their wish to partake of it, by giving in their name, in writing, one or two days before the celebration of it. The male communicants partake first, approaching the altar in pairs; afterwards the females in the same manner. During the whole service, which occupies a considerable time when the communicants are numerous, the choir sing, making a pause while the officiating minister is addressing the communicants. Each one, on leaving the altar, drops a piece of money into a box. Many Lutherans partake of the sacrament several times in the year; some only once a year; others rarely or never. The Lutheran clergy use wafers in the sacrament; the Reformed, bread. "The Evangelical Church"* has endeavoured to unite the two modes, by introducing long wafers, which they break.

IV. FESTIVALS.—The three great festivals are, *Oestern* (Easter), *Weinacht* (Christmas), and *Pfingsten* (Whitsuntide), each of which lasts two days. During these, as well as the other festival days, divine service is performed in the churches. The shops are closed while the churches are open, but may be opened during the rest of the day. The other fasts and festivals are, *Charfreitag* (Good Friday); *Busstag*, a day of public fasting and prayer, on which balls and other amusements are forbidden, and the sacrament is administered to great numbers; Palm Sunday, on which numbers are confirmed; Ascension Day, declared to be one of the great festivals by a royal order in 1789; and *Todtenfeiertag*, held on the 4th of July, the anniversary of the second capitulation of Paris, in commemoration of the deliverance of Germany from the yoke of Napoleon: on this day, the altars of the churches are hung with black; and the clergy are ordered to preach from 1 Macc. ix. 10, in allusion to those who fell in the contest. These are all the festivals observed in the Prussian church. In Saxony, the four great festivals, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and *Busstag*, continue three days each. Besides which, the following days are observed; *Johannistag*, in honour of St. John Baptist; Annunciation-day;

* The designation assumed by the United Lutheran and Reformed communions.

Conception-day; Epiphany; and *Michaelis* (Michaelmas). The Roman-catholic church in Saxony has not so many religious festivals in the year as the Lutheran; an exception to the general rule in all other countries where Protestantism prevails.

V. DISCIPLINE.—In the beginning of the last century, a severe ecclesiastical discipline was maintained in both the Lutheran and the Reformed churches of Prussia. Frederick William I. issued an edict, requiring all persons guilty of public offences to make a public confession in the church. This practice was abolished by Frederick the Great in 1746, who ordered, that, when any such offence had been committed, the clergyman should take one of his brethren with him, go to the house of the offender, and warn and exhort him in private. The discipline is now, in fact, merely nominal.

VI. ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.—All the branches of the Protestant church of Prussia are under the direction of the minister of ecclesiastical affairs. In each of the ten departments there is a Consistory, composed of from seven to nine persons, part ecclesiastics, part laymen, besides the president, who is always appointed by the Crown. Vacancies are filled up by the other members, but the choice is null till approved by the King. These Consistories determine all questions relating to the internal concerns of the Church; and the examination of theological candidates takes place before them. They receive a salary from the State. Each province is subdivided into dioceses, over which a superintendent is appointed by the Consistory, who has the special charge of the parishes and schools within his jurisdiction. Each province has also its general superintendent, who makes an annual report to the Consistory of the department.

VII. PATRONAGE.—The King has the right of disposing of about one-third of the parish cures in the kingdom. In some of the large towns, the corporations have the disposal of most of the churches. In the event of a vacancy, they nominate a successor; and after he has preached for a certain period, the members of the congregation are asked whether they have any objection to his being appointed their pastor: if no objections are made, he is confirmed in the appointment. Many of the

village churches are in the hereditary gift of the nobility. A few of the parish churches are at the disposal of the Consistory; and in a still smaller number, the right of election is in the congregation. In all cases, the people have, nominally, a *вето*, but subject to the decision of the Consistory. The support of the clergy is derived partly from glebe land, or, in the towns, from a fund belonging to each parish; partly from fees and donations. Few of the clergy receive more than 1200 Prussian dollars a year, and some less than 1000. In the villages, their income is often as low as from two to five hundred dollars. From their comparative poverty, there is little intercourse between them and the majority of their parishioners; and pastoral visits are unknown.

VIII. THEOLOGICAL SENTIMENTS.—The clergy and laity of Germany are divided into two great religious parties; the Rationalists, Antisupernaturalists, or Neologists, and the Supernaturalists or Orthodox. Within the last twenty years, a doctrinal reformation has been rapidly gaining ground, under the patronage of the King, who has filled the chairs of the universities with orthodox professors. Scepticism has been discouraged to the utmost, on account of its supposed tendency to generate disloyalty and political liberalism. The Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination is almost universally rejected by even the orthodox; and considerable latitude of opinion still prevails among them on various points; but upon the whole, it seems undeniable that true religion has of late years undergone, in Prussia, a marked and extended revival.

PRESENT STATE OF THE LUTHERAN AND REFORMED COMMUNIONS.

The stupendous theological revolution which issued in the desolation of modern Rationalism, is considered to be mainly attributable to the frigid, technical, and frivolous orthodoxy into which the Protestantism of the Reformation subsided, when the spirit was driven out, and the letter supplied its place. "The history of Christian controversy," remarks Dr.

Pusey, "scarcely exhibits more unhappy, more unpractical, and frequently presumptuous polemics, than many of those which distracted the German church after the death of Luther; unless, perhaps, in the Eastern controversies, on the person of the Redeemer, or the endless straw-splittings of the schoolmen. . . . Abounding in technical *formulae*, (whether from the Aristotelic scholastic philosophy, or from the scholastic theology,) in straw-splitting distinctions, in endless problems and deductions, the systems of the age were a massive repertorium of all which might be accumulated on doctrinal theology, rather than a clear exposition of the Christian doctrine itself." This system necessarily led to a strong re-action, or rather revulsion, as the newly awakened spirit of inquiry gathered strength, and other branches of knowledge were cultivated. The philosophists of the age learned to scorn,—the common people, to look upon religion as too deep and abstruse for them to meddle with.

Such was the state of the public mind, when Semler, the colleague and successor of Baumgarten in the theological chair at Halle, led the way in the assault upon the entire system of revealed truth. He had been educated in all the formal metaphysical orthodoxy of his predecessor; and he even published the system of Baumgarten, with a very learned preface, containing an instructive review of the leading Christian doctrines; but, in the prosecution of his studies, he became dissatisfied with the uncertain basis of the entire congeries of metaphysical opinions which passed for theological science. He saw that nothing important, in respect to distinguishing doctrines, can be proved from the Ancient Fathers, inasmuch as real unanimity in the manner of explaining those doctrines is hardly to be found among them. He then began to examine how far the influence of Aristotle had contributed to modify the modern systems of scholastic theology; and having arrived at the conviction, that the forms of logic afforded no better means of determining religious truth, than prescriptive authority, he betook himself to the critical study of the Scriptures. In this branch of inquiry, however, he found a still greater deficiency. Whole masses of texts had been employed

as proofs of dogmatic statements, which, upon examination, were found not to bear the construction put upon them.* He was disgusted at this discovery, and revolt succeeded to disgust. Not long after he became sole occupant of the chair of theology, he commenced his attacks upon the sacred criticism and exegesis of the times, and he could not but triumph in the onset. His works rapidly spread throughout Germany, and elicited unbounded attention and discussion. Emboldened by success, he next turned his assault upon the scholastic theology; and, for nearly forty years, he waged incessant war with the systems and principles of his predecessors. Happy would it have been, had he warred only with the systems of human opinion; but the sacred writers themselves were made the subject of his daring speculations; and, by applying to them the doctrine of *accommodation*, (that is, a principle of interpretation which represents a writer as shaping what he says in accordance with the prejudices of those whom he addresses,) he explained away every miraculous fact and every essential doctrine contained in the Bible.† Having burst the trammels of the schools, he now disdained all restraint, and rushed into unbounded scepticism. Before his death, he had raised up a number of disciples and coadjutors, some of whom united to equal learning, far more taste, caution, and system. Eichhorn, Eckermann, Herder, Gabler, Bertholdt, Ammon, Paulus, Stäudlin, Justi, and a multitude of other theologians and critics, enlisted in the cause of Semler; and many of them spent their lives in promoting it. The consequences were most appalling. Never before did the Christian faith sustain an assault from so powerful a combination of distinguished talent and profound learning. Nearly every university and gymnasium in Germany became infected with the Neology of this now fashionable school; almost every

* These faults and deficiencies are very prominent in the *Loci Theologici* of Gerhard, the Coryphæus of the Lutheran systematical divines; a work in twenty-two quarto volumes!

† Kant first proposed the system of interpreting "the ecclesiastical faith," or Revelation, by "the practical rules of a religion of pure reason," that is, modern philosophy; on which account he is considered as the founder of modern Rationalism.

chair was won by this party, and nearly every periodical work fell into their hands.* The victory seemed to be complete, and the doctrines of Luther to be almost eradicated from the country. The notes of triumph were echoed from every quarter by the opponents of Evangelical truth. Here and there, a solitary professor in a university, or a pastor in some humble village, was to be found, who maintained the doctrines of Luther; and the University of Tübingen in Wirtemberg, which has the credit of being the only one in Germany that has not departed from the doctrines and principles of the Reformation, could boast of the names of Bengel, Storr, the Flatts, and Süskind.† But the voice of the faithful few was drowned amid the din of the exulting multitudes, goaded on by powerful, energetic, and learned leaders, and encouraged by princes and potentates.

At length, in the year 1817, the Pastor Harms, of Kiel in Holstein, sounded an alarm in the ears of the professed followers of Luther, which made itself heard over all parts of the continent. He chose that year, the tercentenary of the commencement of the Reformation, as an opportune season for giving to the German world a new edition of the celebrated Theses of Luther, which embrace all the fundamental principles of the Reformed faith, together with some additional ones of his own, and appropriate remarks upon the whole. The work obtained an extensive sale, in spite of every effort to check its circulation. Harms was ridiculed as an enthusiast; was contumeliously depreciated as being neither a professor in any university, nor a man of distinguished learning; was opposed by specious argumentation; but all to little purpose. He appealed to Lutherans in favour of the doctrines of Luther; and of those who were induced seriously to examine the Theses of the great Reformer, not a few became convinced that they had indeed abandoned the ground

* So completely was this the case, that the celebrated Gesenius, in making out a catalogue of the various religious and critical journals published in Germany, mentioned as a rarity, *one* (published at Tübingen) which defended the supernatural inspiration of the Holy Scriptures!

† The names of Reinhard, Knapp, Noesselt, Morus, and Tittmann, deserve also honourable enumeration among the opponents of the fashionable Neology.

of the Reformation. From that time, a counter-revolution in favour of Evangelical doctrines has been proceeding in Germany. Numerous authors of the first order have since arisen to aid in this decided and widely-spreading change in theological opinions; among whom particular honour is due to the venerable Knapp, who long stood alone as the champion of Scriptural truth in the university of Halle; De Meyer of Frankfort; Krummacher; Lücke; Hahn; Neander; and, above all, Tholuck, who has succeeded to the theological chair at Halle, and who, though not above forty years of age, possesses greater influence and a higher reputation than any other theologian of the day.*

Other causes, indeed, besides the scholastic character of the strait-laced orthodoxy into which the Reformation settled down, concurred to produce the declension from piety and the speculative infidelity which have, till within these few years, so extensively characterised Lutheran Germany. "The dark side of Protestantism," remarks an acute and candid writer, "the source of all its disadvantages, infirmities, and errors, is the undecided, ambiguous character of the church. This belongs as much to its outward government as to its inward doctrine. Protestantism has been left standing half way; it is the *juste milieu*, which, subsequently to the Reformation, was introduced into church affairs. It has thrown off the fetters of the ancient church, but still has not achieved its entire freedom... It is notorious, that the Protestant church was, at its very origin, made a tool of worldly politics, and was left dependent on worldly power. Protestantism prostrated itself as deeply before the thrones of princes, as the Romish church had raised itself above them... The church is still ruled by the orders of the Cabinet. The Consistories *appear* to possess a sort of aristocratic power, but it is in appearance only: they are, in reality, merely the organ of the ministry. From the Cabinet they receive the liturgy, the

* Muller, the most learned historian of modern times; Creutzer, the antiquary; Köppen, the metaphysician; Heinroth, the distinguished physiologist; are among the men of letters and science who have maintained the Divine authority of Christianity, and openly professed its distinguishing doctrines.

priestly vestments, the texts of their sermons, and directions as to how they are to apply the word of God to the circumstances of the times. The subaltern clergy are drilled just like the inferior officers of an army. In a word, they are priests no longer, but merely state-servants in black uniforms." *

These remarks apply more especially to Prussian Germany, and those territories in which Protestantism is the religion of the State. But not only in the Lutheran churchè has an extensive abandonment of the doctrines of the Reformation taken place, and a specious philosophical deism supplanted the Christian faith. In Switzerland, France, and Holland, a similar defection has overspread the churches of the Reformed communion. The church of Geneva, once the glory of the Reformation and the very citadel of Protestantism, has, for nearly the last hundred years, been the metropolis of Socinianism. So far back as the middle of the last century, its Company of Pastors were explicitly charged by D'Alembert, in the French Encyclopædia, with having abjured a belief in all the mysterious doctrines of Christianity;† and their endeavours to evade or explain away this charge, by a vague and ambiguous declaration in 1758, convinced nobody that D'Alembert had overstepped the truth. But, as their public formularies still remained irreconcilably at variance with the doctrinal sentiments they were believed to hold, both prudence and decorum rendered it advisable to refrain from the promulgation of avowed Arian or Socinian tenets. It was, therefore, by the suppression of the doctrines contained in the ancient formularies, and by the gradual lowering down of the import of evangelical phraseology, that the public were prepared for the more open renunciation of the fundamental articles of the Reformed faith. At length, the pastors of Geneva thought the time was come for putting forth a new

* Menzel on German Literature. Eclect. Rev. Aug. 1837. Art. IX.

† "*Plusieurs ne croient plus la divinité de Jesus Christ, dont Calvin, leur chef, était si zélé défenseur, et pour laquelle il fit brûler Servet.*" Art. Genève. Voltaire, writing to D'Alembert, in 1763, says with high satisfaction, "*Il n'y a plus dans la ville de Calvin que quelques gredins qui croient au Consubstantiel.*" In 1778, Vernet, one of the pastors and a professor of divinity, openly avowed Arianism, or something worse.

“Catechism or Instruction of the Christian Religion, for the use of the Swiss and French Protestant Churches;” in which, though professedly not differing much from the ancient Catechisms edited by Osterwald and others, there is not only no exposition or defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, but not even an allusion to it. On the fundamental article of justification by faith, a similar silence and negative opposition are maintained. Altogether, the new Catechism exhibits the most complete view of modern Deism, as a *system* drawn out into all its bearings upon practical morality, that has ever been given to the world.

The substitution of this Socinianized Catechism was but one of a series of measures adopted by the Venerable Company of Pastors, in order to carry into effect the extirpation of the Christian doctrine. The Confession of Faith formerly printed at the end of the Liturgy in use in the church of Geneva, and also at the end of the Bible, in the editions of 1605 and 1725, disappeared in the recent editions. The liturgy itself, as well as the venerable translation of the Scriptures, was submitted to correspondent *improvement*. In the courses of lectures given by the pastors and professors, a guarded silence was maintained as to the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, or they were adverted to only as matters of free opinion indifferently left to the adoption or rejection of their pupils. Finally, in May 1817, the Company of Pastors adopted the Resolution to exact from all candidates for the sacred ministry the following engagement:—

“We promise to refrain, so long as we reside and preach in the churches of the Canton of Geneva, from maintaining, whether by the whole or any part of a sermon directed to that object, our opinion, 1. As to the manner in which the Divine nature is united to the person of Jesus Christ; 2. As to Original Sin; 3. As to the manner in which Grace operates, or as to efficacious Grace; 4. As to Predestination.

“We promise, moreover, not to controvert, in our public discourses, the opinion of any one of the pastors on these subjects.

“Finally, we engage, should we have occasion to express

our thoughts on any one of these topics, to do it without insisting upon our particular views, by avoiding all language foreign to the Holy Scriptures, and by making use of the phraseology which they employ."

The exaction of this promise was accompanied with the grave assurance on the part of the Venerable Pastors, that "they do not pretend in any way to constrain the liberty of opinion." It was a mere "bye-law of discipline," designed simply for the preservation of concord, like all other acts of uniformity! The immediate occasion for this stretch of ecclesiastical authority was the formation of a Protestant Evangelical church at Geneva, on the plan of the Congregational churches of the English Nonconformists; a measure adopted in consequence of the increasing violence of the hostility which the Company of Pastors had manifested towards Evangelical doctrines. It was not long before the intolerance of Infidelity towards the "exclusive mysticism" of the faith, was manifested in open persecution; and the Pastors of Geneva were found invoking the aid of the Republican Government, to impose silence on the separatists who dared openly to promulgate the tenets of Calvin.

Nor is it in Geneva only that this extensive abandonment of the doctrines of the Reformation has taken place. In the canton of Vaud, formerly dependent upon that of Berne, there is, in like manner, an ecclesiastical establishment, Presbyterian in form, and nominally Calvinistic, the rulers and pastors of which have exhibited a similar hostility to evangelical religion. The endowed college at Lausanne was one of the first-fruits of the Reformation in Switzerland; and the eminence of many of its professors has raised it to a high reputation. Mr. Gibbon's long residence in that city afforded him the malign gratification of witnessing the decline of what he termed Calvinistic prejudices; yet, the semblance of a nearer approach to Evangelical doctrines than was approved at Geneva, has been kept up, partly perhaps in the spirit of theological rivalry, at Lausanne. About the year 1823, however, a spirit of religious zeal having manifested itself among some of the students and the younger ministers,

which led to private meetings for devotion and reading the Scriptures, the Professors and Pastors took umbrage, and invoked the interference of the Government to put a stop to such irregular proceedings. On January 15, 1824, the Council of State published an edict, prohibiting all assemblies for religious worship, except those of the national church, under severe penalties of fine and imprisonment. On the 20th of May following, another edict was issued, explaining the former so as to bring under prohibition, as an unlawful assembly, even the daily domestic worship, if any person not belonging to the family were present: it pointed the sword of the law more directly against "acts of proselytism and seduction;" and it specified a gradation of penalties to be inflicted on the offender, ascending from a fine of 25*l.* to banishment for three years. Nor were these empty fulminations. Several admirable men, ministers and scholars of reputation, were driven out of the Canton; and one of them, M. Henri Juvet, died in exile at Nismes, from the effects of harsh treatment upon his delicate frame.* To the petitions, memorials, and remonstrances presented to the Council of State, no reply was vouchsafed; but at length, the public spirit of the Canton was so far roused in favour of the sufferers, that it was found prudent to connive at a relaxation of the intolerant edict.

The Reformed churches of France may be considered as a branch of the Helvetic communion, although governed by their own consistories. Their pastors, as well as those of the French Lutherans, are supported by stipends allowed them, according to a certain scale, by Government. Two Protestant universities in France also are supported by grants from the State; one at Strasburg, the other at Montauban. From the budget of 1837, presented to the Chamber of Deputies, it appears that there were 366 pastors of the Reformed church, and 230 of the Lutheran church, exclusive of assistants and superannuated pastors, to be provided for; showing a decided

* The Pastors of Nismes and its neighbourhood, twenty-two in number, with M. Gardes at their head, united in a Declaration against the intolerance of the Canton of Vaud, published at Paris in July, 1826. In the preceding year, the Dissenting ministers of London had published some Resolutions in the same spirit.

increase of the numbers of Protestants. The aggregate of both communions, however, is supposed to be considerably under two millions.

The history of Protestantism in France is deeply tragical. The religious wars of the sixteenth century;—the perfidious massacre of the Huguenots on the eve of St. Bartholomew in 1572, in which 50,000 Protestants are believed to have perished, the victims of vindictive state policy and papal intrigue;—the civil broils between the court and the Protestants in the reign of Louis XIII., and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the charter of their religious freedom, by Louis XIV. in 1685, followed by a savage persecution which drove many thousands into exile;—form the most prominent features. Under Napoleon, the French Protestants enjoyed protection from molestation; but the restoration of Louis XVIII. was signalized by a revival of persecution against them upon political pretences. They have at length been admitted to all the privileges of citizenship; and their pastors now share in the favour of the State. Their religious condition but too generally exhibits the same departure from the tenets and devotional spirit of their forefathers, that has taken place in all the churches of the Reformed communion. Socinianism and indifferentism have reduced Protestantism in France to a *caput mortuum*. Within the past few years, indeed, a religious movement has commenced, the result of the labours of the Bible Society and of the zealous efforts of pious individuals; but the revival of evangelical religion is at present too partial and incipient to have produced any decided change in the ecclesiastical character of the Protestant churches.

A portion of the French Reformed church still exists in the Netherlands. The Walloon church (as it is termed) differs from the Dutch Reformed church (into whose classes it is now incorporated), principally, if not entirely, in retaining the use of the French language in Divine service, and of the Geneva Catechism in preference to the Heidelberg. The congregations of this communion, which in 1688 amounted to sixty-two, are now reduced to not quite a third of that number.

The Dutch Reformed church, or old Established church of

the Netherlands, notwithstanding the Royal ordinance of 1816, sanctioning certain modifications introduced by an ecclesiastical commission of the preceding year, preserves its original constitution and creed. The decisions of the Synod of Dort still remain unrepealed; and the Heidelberg Catechism constitutes the acknowledged symbol of belief. The Presbyterian system of government by representation also abides in full force, through the medium of church sessions, classical directions, provincial directions, and the general synod; which correspond very nearly to the kirk-session, presbytery, synod, and general assembly of the Church of Scotland. The number of congregations is estimated at about 1300.

There are also in Holland fifty-seven congregations of the Lutheran communion, who are united under a Presbyterian representative government, according to a new constitution sanctioned by the King in 1818. These congregations were originally composed of German settlers, who were permitted to retain the doctrine and ritual of the Lutheran church. Their numbers amounted, in 1835, to 66,000 souls. The principal congregation is at Amsterdam, and comprises 22,000, under the care of five ministers. In 1791, a separation from the Amsterdam congregation took place on account of the neologian sentiments of the ministers, the seceders forming themselves into a distinct congregation under the title of the "Restored Lutheran Church:" this congregation numbers at Amsterdam 9000 souls, and there are eight or nine congregations of the same communion in other towns.

Three other distinct Protestant communities exist in Holland, which demand a brief notice; the Remonstrants, the Mennonites, and the *Christo Sacrum*.

The Remonstrant communion, which is now reduced to between 30 and 40 congregations, consists of that portion of the Reformed church which adhered to the Arminian party, in spite of the decisions of the Synod of Dort, and the ejection and persecution of the Remonstrant clergy. Their return and re-appearance were connived at by the Government on the gradual subsiding of civil commotion; and they have ever since constituted a separate ecclesiastical community.

The Mennonites (who take their historic name from Menno Simons of Friesland, the founder, in 1536, of the community from which they spring,) are a section of the old Dutch Baptists, claiming to be descended from that branch of the Waldenses who, to escape from the persecution to which they were exposed in the valleys of Piedmont, fled, in the latter part of the twelfth century, into Flanders, Holland, and Zealand.* The theology of Menno appears to have been in accordance with the doctrines of the orthodox Confessions; but his followers have widely departed from the evangelical faith, and now protest against being called after the name of their founder. The "Summary of Christian Doctrine," put forth by one of their ministers, at Ryswick, exhibits an Arian creed, combined with a low Arminianism upon the doctrines of Justification and Divine Grace.† The distinguishing peculiarities of the Mennonites relate to baptism, oaths, war, law-processes, and the office of the magistrate.

With regard to the first point, their views are peculiar, inasmuch as they reject Infant Baptism, but baptize their youth at the age of eleven or twelve, by pouring or sprinkling. The mode of baptism, whether by affusion or immersion, appears to be deemed by them indifferent; but the former practice prevails. The children of Christian parents, educated in the Christian church, are held to be "under an obligation to be baptized;" but, as the rite is viewed as introducing the subject to Christian communion, it is deferred till the age at which the catechumens are supposed to be able to answer for themselves. In objecting to take oaths and to bear arms, the Mennonites resemble the Quakers. They deem it unlawful also to resist injustice, even by a law process; and they consider themselves as forbidden by the law of

* Of the old Fleming Baptist churches, three congregations only exist, the feeble remnant of a once numerous and flourishing body. In these, however, a purer spirit of religion survives, than in the Mennonite portion of the Baptists.

† See this document in Adam's Religious World Displayed, vol. ii. pp. 188—191. A more ancient Confession is referred to by M. Grégoire, drawn up at Dort in 1632, and approved by the Mennonites of Alsace in 1662, of which a German edition was printed in 1771, under the title of "Confession of the Christian Faith of the Christians without Defence, known in the Low Countries under the name of Mennonites."

Christ, to aspire to any post of honour, or to the magistracy. These scruples are believed, however, to be no longer universally adhered to. In their church constitution, they approximate to the Congregational churches of England and America, their congregations being independent of any other ecclesiastical authority than that of the ministers and deacons of their own choice. Most of their places of worship are endowed, but they accept no support from the State. The deacons, whose number varies from six to twenty, according to the size of the congregation, are appointed sometimes for life, sometimes for four or five years: they assist the minister in the oversight of the church, and are charged with the financial arrangements and the temporal care of the poor. Deaconesses also are appointed by the minister and deacons, who are entrusted with the care of the female poor. Associations of the churches are occasionally held, similar to those of the English Baptists. The chief business of these Associations is, to provide ministers for destitute churches, and to examine into the state of the Mennonite college at Amsterdam, at which many of their ministers are educated. Some of the pastors are unlettered men, and many of the churches have no pastors, but are supplied either by their own elders, or by the neighbouring ministers. In this general outline of their order and government, the main features of the Congregational form of church polity will be recognised; and the history of this communion affords a monitory lesson, as showing that no system, how free soever from secular admixture, affords an effectual security against doctrinal declensions and a decay of the spirit of vital religion.*

The whole body of Mennonites in Holland is stated to consist of about a hundred and fifty congregations, including a population of 85,000. In the Prussian dominions, they have also a number of scattered congregations, but their numbers have declined to about 15,000. In Russia, they

* See "State of Religion in Holland," in *Eclectic Rev.* 3d Series, vol. xvi. pp. 320—328. There formerly existed another class of Baptists in Holland, known by the name of Collegiants, or Rynsburgers, who acknowledged no distinction of ecclesiastical office, and they were the only Baptists in the country who performed the rite by immersion; but they have been extinct some years.

have three churches, amounting to about 6000. In the United States of America, the descendants of Mennonite emigrants form a distinct communion: and in some parts of Pennsylvania, they compose the bulk of the population.

The *Christo Sacrum* is a denomination founded at Delft, in 1801, with the chimerical object of uniting in one communion, all parties and confessions, who hold the divinity of Christ, and redemption by the merits of his passion. Members are admitted from all Christian churches; but no efforts are used to make proselytes. Several works, however, have appeared in defence of their principles. The society has made little progress, not exceeding two or three thousand persons; and though still extant, it is so strictly local, as scarcely to deserve enumeration among Protestant sects.

THE VAUDOIS.

In order to complete this rapid view of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, it only remains to notice the interesting remnant of the ancient church of primitive Protestants, known under the name of Waldenses, or Vaudois, from which the Mennonites of Holland and the Bohemian Brethren alike deduce their ecclesiastical descent. The recesses of the Cottian Alps have, from time immemorial, afforded an asylum to refugees clinging to a purer faith than was endured or tolerated by a corrupt Church. The alleged heresies of the apostolic Claude, Bishop of Turin, which anticipated, on many points, the doctrines of Wickliffe and of Huss, are stated to have been maintained in the valleys of Piedmont throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, and to have existed even prior to that time. In the thirteenth century, the same secluded valleys afforded shelter to Albigensic exiles and fugitives. In fact, the Vaudois claim to be considered not so much as a local, isolated community, perpetuated in the bosom of the Alps, as in the light of a branch of that pure and primitive church which is to be traced at different periods, under various names, in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean;

comprising individuals and communities of different nations, Provençal, Lombard, Bohemian,—always persecuted, yet still preserving, amid surrounding defection, the true succession of the apostolic doctrine—*lux in tenebris*.

The Vaudois themselves carry back the history of their church no further than the time of Claude of Turin; and they, in all probability, originated in a colony of refugees; who fled from the persecutions directed against the followers of that great Confessor in the tenth century. Soon after the Reformation, a correspondence was opened between the Waldensian Pastors and the learned Œcolampadius, which led to their uniting with the church of Geneva, in 1535, but retaining a considerable part of their tenets and discipline. After the plague of 1630, which carried off a great proportion of their clergy, they applied for spiritual succour to the Reformed churches of France, and gradually adopted their creed, rites, and discipline.

The history of the relentless persecutions sustained by the Vaudois of Piedmont, at intervals, during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, combines the interest of heroic romance with that higher kind which belongs to the annals of martyrdom. In 1447, Pope Innocent VIII., treading in the steps of his predecessors, issued bull after bull for their extermination, granting plenary indulgences to all who should engage in the crusade against them.* Accordingly, 18,000 regular troops, besides 6000 vagabonds, are stated to have been let loose upon the inoffensive inhabitants of these valleys; and had not a feeling of compunction, or motives of policy, induced their sovereign, Philip VII., Duke of Savoy, to interpose, the work of destruction would probably have been at that time completed. In 1559, a fresh edict having been

* Most remarkable is the testimony of Reinerus, an inquisitor of the thirteenth century:—"Of all the sects which have been, or now exist, none is more injurious to the Church (of Rome) for three reasons. 1. Because it is more ancient: some say, it has continued from the time of Silvester; others, from the time of the Apostles. 2. Because it is more general: there is scarcely any country into which this sect has not crept. And 3. Because all other heretics excite horror by the greatness of their blasphemies against God; but these have a great appearance of piety, as they live justly before men, and believe rightly all things concerning God, and all the articles which are contained in the Creed."

issued by Emanuel Philibert, for the final extermination of the heretics of the valleys, the Count de la Trinité, at the head of a considerable army, took the field against them. The resistance made by the Vaudois was desperate; and, protected by their natural fortresses, they succeeded in baffling the ruthless foe, till the rigours of an Alpine winter compelled him to retire to the plains. The conflict was renewed with increased fury and cruelty in the spring; but ultimately, the Duke of Savoy called off his troops, and the valleys were permitted to enjoy a considerable interval of tranquillity.

In 1665, the slumbering rage of persecution was again awakened; and the inhabitants of the valleys were saved from extermination only by the spirited remonstrance of Oliver Cromwell, which he threatened to support, if necessary, by force; and a collection was made in England for their relief, to the amount of nearly 40,000*l*. From that time till the year 1685, they enjoyed comparative immunity. But in that year, Louis XIV., having revoked the Edict of Nantes, prevailed with Victor Amadeus II. to make another effort to force the Vaudois to submit to the papal yoke, offering to support him with 14,000 French troops. In the following year, operations were commenced, which the Vaudois were prepared to resist; and on the 23d of April, 1686, they repulsed and drove back their French assailants on the side of St. Germain. On the next day, they succeeded in giving a check to the army of the Duke of Savoy on the heights of Angrogna. But, on the third day, whether seized with a sudden panic, or exhausted by these heroic efforts, or influenced by unexplained inducements, they surrendered themselves to the Duke of Savoy, who, instead of being conciliated by their unhopèd for submission, crowded his prisons with his captives. According to Henry Arnaud, their patriotic historian, the entire population of the valleys, amounting to 14,000 persons, were thrown into dungeons; 11,000 of whom rapidly perished, either by disease or by the hands of the executioner; and the remaining 3000 were banished, their lands being in part assigned to a colony of Irish, who had emigrated from their country during the Protectorate. Of the

survivors, about 800 accepted of the offered protection of the Elector of Brandenburg; but the greater part settled in the Palatinate. There, however, they were not long suffered to remain unmolested; and the invasion of that province of the empire by Louis XIV., in 1689, led to one of the most extraordinary and successful enterprises that were ever achieved by a band of determined men. In August of that year, they assembled, to the number of 800, in the forest of Nyon, and, under the command of one of their pastors, (Henry Arnaud, above-mentioned,) crossed the Lake of Geneva, on the night of the 15th, to commence a march of nearly 200 miles over a mountainous and hostile country, for the purpose of recovering their possessions sword in hand. After boldly attacking and defeating the Marquis de Larrey at the head of 2400 regular troops, at the bridge of Salabertran, they ascended by moonlight the almost inaccessible face of the opposite mountain, whence they descended into the valley of the Clusone; and on the following morning, having routed a detachment of the enemy, re-entered, as glorious victors, their native land, from which, little more than three years before, they had been ignominiously led captive.

The present inhabitants of the valleys are the descendants of these heroic men. During the reign of Napoleon, they enjoyed a complete equality of civil privileges, and their pastors were provided for by the Government. But when replaced, by the Congress of Verona, under their ancient sovereign, they again became victims of an oppression, the more galling from contrast with their short-lived prosperity. The royal pension which their pastors had for more than a century received from the British crown,* was illiberally withheld by the Administration of the day, on their becoming the subjects of France (in 1796); and it was not till after repeated memorials and representations on their behalf, that, in 1826, the stipend was restored. In the mean time, their claims upon the liberality of their fellow Protestants had come to be generally recognised; contributions for their relief had been raised in France, in Prussia, and in the Netherlands,

* First granted by William and Mary.

as well as in this country;* and the religious wants of this interesting and long-neglected community have at length received attention, and been partially met by a supply of the Holy Scriptures, and the formation of schools, for want of which they were fast sinking into ignorance.

The population of the Vaudois communes amounted, in 1816, to rather more than 20,000 persons, of which 1700 were Roman Catholics. In ancient times, a synod of as many as 120 pastors is stated to have been annually convened in the recesses of these mountains, whence missionaries were sent forth to preach in every part of Europe.† Now the pastors of this

* The Emperor, Alexander I. of Russia, transmitted a munificent benefaction of 12,000 francs, towards the erection of a hospital and a new church; and the King of Prussia presented 10,000 francs towards the support of the schools, the clergy, and their widows. The case of the Vaudois was first brought under the notice of the British public and government by the General Body of the Three Denominations of Dissenting Ministers in London in 1816; and a fund was raised for their immediate relief. It was not till nine years after this, that the Vaudois had the good fortune to engage the sympathy of some of the clergy of the Established Church; and in 1825 a committee was formed to raise subscriptions for their benefit.

† The churches in these valleys were formerly much more numerous. There are now only fifteen parish churches, although, in the ancient records, mention is made of eight other parishes, to which pastors were attached; these are now annexed to the fifteen. In the valley of the Clusone (Val Perosa), there were, as late as 1727, six flourishing Vaudois churches, which were sacrificed to an exchange of territory between France and the House of Savoy; all who remained faithful to their religion being forced into exile. The Vaudois were also numerous in the valleys of Queiras, Mathias, and Meane, near Susa, until entirely extirpated there by Duke Charles Emmanuel in 1603; as they were in the Marquisate of Saluzzo in 1633, where they had many churches. Five villages and the town of Lucerne, formerly attached to the parish church of St. Jean, have also been taken from them in the valley of Lucerne. Indeed, in the year 1560, the Vaudois had churches in Pignerolo, Quiers, and Turin.—*Authentic Details of the Waldenses*, pp. 101, 102. In the fourteenth century, the population of these valleys, swelled by emigrants from Lyons, becoming excessive, many families withdrew to Provence; others to villages in the Marquisate of Saluzzo. But the most considerable colonies formed at that time, sought an asylum in Calabria and Apulia, where they built Borgo d'Oltromontane, near Montalto, and, fifty years afterwards, on the increase of new settlers, San Sisto, Vacurisso, Argentine, and St. Vincent. The Marquis of Spinello also allowed them at last to build on his land, near the sea, the fortified town of Guardia. This colony continued to flourish when the Reformation dawned upon Italy; but, after subsisting for nearly two centuries, was basely and barbarously exterminated by the Court of Rome.—See *M'Crie's Reformation in Italy*, pp. 3—6, 257, 266, 282, 344. It is a curious fact, as remarked by this historian, that “the first gleam of light, at the revival of letters,

little flock are reduced to less than twenty. The continued existence of this community is, indeed, a singular phenomenon. Nothing short of necessity, or a local attachment too strong to be overcome, could, one would think, induce the inhabitants to brave the rigours of an Alpine winter, and to risk the horrors of famine, in the bleak, rugged, and barren highlands which they occupy. Their poverty is extreme; but they glory in their religious freedom and their traditional recollections. "We led the way in the emancipation from papal thralldom," exclaimed the venerable moderator, M. Peyrani, to his English visiter, Dr. Gilly, in 1823. "We stood in the front rank; and against us the first thunderbolts of Rome were fulminated. The baying of the blood-hounds of the Inquisition was heard in our valleys before you knew its name. They hunted down some of our ancestors, and pursued others from glen to glen, and over rock and mountain, till they obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries. A few of these wanderers penetrated as far as Provence and Languedoc, and from them were derived the Albigenses, or heretics of Albi. The province of Guienne (then in possession of the English) afforded shelter to the persecuted Albigenses. From an English province, our doctrines found their way into England itself;* and your Wickliffe preached nothing more than what had been advanced by the ministers of our valleys four hundred years before his time. . . . Ours is the Apostolic succession, from which the Roman hierarchy has departed."†

shone on that remote spot of Italy, (Calabria,) where the Vaudois had found an asylum." And it is not less remarkable, that in the mountainous corner of Piedmont, where Cottius defied the arms of Augustus, should be found the only remnant of the church of the Reformation in Italy, who have been able to maintain their stand against the power of papal Rome.

* The fires of persecution had been kindled at Turin, the scene of Bishop Claude's apostolic labours, and in the neighbouring cities, as early as the tenth century. About the middle of the eleventh, Cologne witnessed the martyrdom of several alleged heretics, respecting whose sentiments there is no room to question that they were substantially scriptural. In the twelfth century, the Cathari, or Puritans, abounded in Germany, Flanders, Lorraine, Southern France, Savoy, and Milan; and a small company of German refugees found their way from Gascony into England, where they were cruelly persecuted, and, after undergoing a public whipping and other penal severities, perished of cold and hunger. The crusade against the Albigenses was undertaken in 1209.

† Gilly's Narrative, p. 78.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ANGLICAN AND SCOTTISH CHURCHES.

Specific peculiarities of the Anglican church.—Points of approximation to the church of Rome.—Analysis of the Thirty-nine Articles.—Points of opposition to Romanism.—Fundamental difference relating to the Rule of Faith.—Authority in Controversies of Faith claimed by the Anglican church.—Principles at issue between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Queen Elizabeth and the Puritan Divines.—Hooker's Theory of Ecclesiastical Authority.—Similar power claimed by the Scottish Reformers.—Analysis of the Westminster Confession.—Form of Presbyterian Church Government established in Scotland.—Archbishop Usher's new model.—Six points of difference between the Anglican and Scottish churches: Orders; Hierarchical Constitution; Ritual; the Sacraments; Discipline; Theological Tenets.

BETWEEN the Established Churches of England and Scotland, there exists a difference of constitution and doctrinal character, very similar to that which distinguishes the Lutheran churches from those of the Reformed communion. The Scottish church, reformed upon the model of Geneva, is, in its doctrines, rites, and polity, strictly Calvinian. The Anglican church, as regards both the spirit of its government and discipline, and its secular relations, approaches nearer to the Lutheran, that is, the German system, than to the Helvetic. Upon the great point of disunion between the Saxon and the Swiss Reformers—the Eucharist, the language of the English ritual favours the Lutheran doctrine, while that of the Articles, though Calvin and Melancthon would probably alike have approved of it, could scarcely have been tolerated by Luther.

In its hierarchical constitution, the Anglican church differs alike from the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, with which it allows of no ecclesiastical communion. Deducing its episcopal succession from the Roman church, it recognises the validity of Romish orders, so that no priest of that

communion, on embracing the Protestant faith, is required to submit to re-ordination, in order to qualify him to minister at the altars of the church of England. But Presbyterian ordination is deemed null and void; so that no Lutheran clergyman, nor even a minister of the established church of Scotland, can officiate, or hold a cure or benefice in the Anglican church, without submitting to re-ordination. Prior to the passing of the Act of Uniformity, indeed, in 1662, the validity of the orders of the established Presbyterian churches appears to have been admitted. The English Reformers, and their successors down to the time of Archbishop Laud, though they viewed Episcopacy as the apostolic model, did not consider any particular mode of government as essential to the constitution of the church; and consequently the validity of ordination by Presbyters was not questioned. By an Act passed in the 13th of Elizabeth, the ordination of the foreign churches, in which Episcopacy was not retained, was expressly declared to be valid; and their ministers were rendered capable of officiating at the altars of the English church, and even of holding preferments on the authority of the bishop's license alone. Many individuals who had received no other than Presbyterian ordination, were accordingly permitted to exercise their ministry in the Church of England. Among these were Travers, Cartwright, Whittingham (one of the authors of the old version of Psalms), and others, who yet were permitted to hold preferments in the church. The subject was considered by the English prelates in 1610. James I. had succeeded in establishing Episcopacy in Scotland; but it was necessary that some of the ministers destined to the office of bishop should receive the episcopal character from the prelates of the English church. Accordingly, three of the Scottish clergy came to London for consecration, in order that they might convey the episcopal character to the rest of their brethren in Scotland. These individuals had received only Presbyterian ordination. A difficulty was therefore started by Andrews, Bishop of Ely, who contended that they must be ordained priests before consecration. Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, replied, that where there

were no bishops, Presbyterian ordination was valid; or, he added, it might be questioned whether any lawful ministry existed in the foreign Reformed churches. The difficulty was removed by Bancroft's remark, and the consecration proceeded. It was not till the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, that the practice of the church on this subject was altered. By a clause in that Act, no minister can enter the pulpits of the English church without having received Episcopal ordination. After the restoration, therefore, when Episcopacy was re-established in Scotland, Bancroft's position was disregarded, and Leighton, Sharp, and their brethren, who had received only Presbyterian orders, were ordained priests previously to their consecration.

"Of all Protestant churches," remarks the learned Author of "*Horæ Biblicæ*,"* "the national church of England most nearly resembles the church of Rome. It has retained much of the dogma, and much of the discipline of Roman Catholics. Down to the sub-deacon, it has retained the whole of their hierarchy; and, like them, has its deans, rural deans, chapters, prebends, archdeacons, rectors, and vicars; a liturgy taken, in a great measure, from the Roman-catholic liturgy, and composed, like that, of Psalms, Canticles, the Three Creeds, Litanies, Gospels, Epistles, prayers, and responses. Both churches have the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, the absolution of the sick, the burial service, the sign of the cross in baptism, the reservation of confirmation and order (ordination) to bishops, the difference of episcopal and sacerdotal dress, feasts and fasts. Without adopting all the general councils of the church of Rome, the church of England has adopted the first four of them; and without acknowledging the authority of the other councils, or the authority of the early fathers, the English divines of the established church allow them to be entitled to a high degree of respect."†

* Charles Butler, Esq., a distinguished civilian and a Roman Catholic.

† Butler's Confessions of Faith, pp. 194-5. The representation given by the learned Romanist, as to the peculiar spirit of the Church of England, is supported by several high-church divines. Prebendary Le Bas, in his Life of Jewel,

The early Reformers of the Church of England, in the reign of Edward VI., held sentiments on various points of church-government, more in accordance with those of the Lutheran and Reformed divines; and had the life of that pious young monarch been prolonged, many important modifications would probably have been introduced in those parts of the ritual and government of the English church, which recede the furthest from the institutions of the foreign Protestant churches. But it was the policy of Elizabeth, in restoring Protestantism, to bring the public worship still nearer to the Romish ritual, and to discountenance to the utmost all those further innovations for which the Puritans pleaded, and by which the churches of England and Scotland would have been

speaking of the Bishop's controversy with Harding, has the following remarks:—"That, in every essential question, he was faithful to the principles of the *English* Reformation, as distinguished from those which governed most of the Reformers of the Continent, is clear from the whole tenor of his dispute with Harding. For he does not content himself with saying to his adversaries, 'I defy you to find Romanism in the Bible:' he goes further, and says, 'I defy you to find it in the first six centuries; I defy you to uphold it by the authority of the earliest interpreters of the Bible; I defy you to establish it by the consent of those who in primitive times bare witness to the truth.' Now, in doing this, he was true to the peculiar genius of our Anglo-Catholic church. Most other Protestant communities send every individual to the Bible alone; there to exercise his own private judgment, without reference to the judgment of primitive and catholic antiquity. The church of Rome, on the contrary, sends her children to an infallible and living guide, whose prerogative it is to expound the *written* and *unwritten* word,—to interpret the oracles both of Scripture and of Tradition. Whereas the church of England, on the one hand, acknowledges no authority as co-ordinate with the Bible; but, on the other hand, in determining the sense of the Bible, she listens with respect to the voice of the most ancient fathers and doctors; and not only with respect, but even with submission, where that voice is all but unanimous."—*Life of Jewel*, p. 257. In the Act of Supremacy (1 Eliz.), power was given to the sovereign to appoint commissioners for censuring and suppressing heresies; but it is expressly enacted, that those opinions only should be deemed heretical, which have been pronounced such by express declaration of Scripture, or by some one of the first four councils, or by any subsequent council, founding its decision on clear scriptural authority. The first four councils are thus recognised without limitation. Mr. Alexander Knox, after referring to this, and other documents, in proof of the peculiar character of the Anglican church; in contradistinction from "pure Protestantism," says:—"It is because the church of England so substantially rejects this principle" (of appealing to the Scriptures alone), "that I am in the habit of maintaining that she is not Protestant, but a Reformed portion of the Church Catholic."—*Knox's Remains*, Vol. III. p. 300.

brought into closer union.* The numerous points of approximation, or features of resemblance, in polity and ritual, between the Anglican and the Roman church, have at different periods encouraged divines of both communions to cherish the project of a mutual accommodation or re-union.† But a strong barrier presents itself in the Articles of the Church of England, which exhibit, in unequivocal language, a stern protest against the errors of Popery, and assert all the fundamental principles of the Reformation. Sixteen of these Articles are expressly directed against the assumptions and false doctrines of the Romish church.‡ Eight may be considered as in general accordance with the Roman-catholic faith.§ The remaining fifteen are of a mixed character; partly relating to points upon which Roman Catholics themselves are divided, and partly directed against the tenets of the Puritans.||

* "She thanked publicly one of her chaplains, who had preached in defence of the real presence; she retained images in her private chapel; and would undoubtedly have forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary, had not interposed. Having appointed a committee of divines to review King Edward's liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the Pope, and to make people easy about the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament."—*Mosheim*, Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. II. § 17. Maclaine's note.

† The latest proposal of the kind was advanced in a pamphlet by the Rev. Samuel Wix, A.M., one of the London clergy, published in 1819, entitled, "Reflections concerning the Expediency of a Council of the Church of England and the Church of Rome being holden, with a view to accommodate Religious Differences," &c. This pamphlet is chiefly remarkable as embodying, in forty pages of extracts from the writings of Bishops Montagu, Cosin, and Bramhall, Drs. Grabe, Hickes, and Waterland, and other divines of the Church of England, a defence of the leading errors of Romanism. The feasibility of bringing about a union between the Anglican and Gallican churches was discussed in a long correspondence between Archbishop Wake and the Doctors of the Sorbonne, in the years 1717, 1718; but it appears that the project did not originate with the Archbishop; and that the basis of the union he contemplated as possible, was to be laid in the abrogation of the Papal authority. See *Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.* by Maclaine, vol. vi. Fourth Appendix. Also, Butler's "Confessions," &c. p. 194.

‡ Viz. Arts. vi. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. xix. xxi. xxii. xxiv. xxv. xxviii. xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. xxxvii.

§ Arts. i. ii. iii. iv. v. viii. xxvi. xxxiii.

|| Art. vii. on the binding nature of the moral law. Art. ix. and x. against the Pelagians. Art. xv. and xvi. "of Christ alone without sin," and "of sin after baptism." Art. xvii. of Predestination and Election. Art. xviii. of Salvation only by the name of Christ. Art. xx. of the authority of the Church, Art. xxiii.

The points upon which, in her Articles, the Church of England bears testimony against the doctrines of the Church of Rome, will be seen from the following analysis.

The Church of England MAINTAINS:—

- I. The sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament for salvation, in opposition to the authority of Tradition. See Article VI.
- II. The cardinal doctrine of justification by faith, in opposition to the Romish doctrine of works of supererogation, or piacular rites. See Arts. XI. XII. XIII. and XIV.
- III. The right of the lay people to “both the parts of the Lord’s sacrament.” See Art. XXX.
- IV. The lawfulness of the marriage of priests. See Art. XXXII.
- V. The King’s supremacy over all estates and degrees, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, to the exclusion of all Papal jurisdiction. See Art. XXXVII.

The Church of England REJECTS AND DENIES:

- I. The infallibility of the Church of Rome. See Art. XIX.
- II. The infallibility of General Councils. See Art. XXI.
- III. The Romish doctrine of Purgatory.
- IV. The Romish doctrine concerning Pardons or Indulgences.
- V. The worship and adoration as well of images as of relics.
- VI. The invocation of saints.
- VII. Public prayer in a tongue not understood by the people. See Art. XXIV.
- VIII. The so-called sacraments of Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction. See Art. XXV.
- IX. Transubstantiation, and the “blasphemous fables” of “the sacrifices of Masses.” See Arts. XXVIII. XXIX. and XXXI.

The fundamental difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, as stated by the Bishop of Peterborough, relates to the RULE OF FAITH. By the Church of Rome, the authority of Tradition is recognised as both equal to, and independent of, the Holy Scriptures; “whereas the Church of England acknowledges no authority but such as is

on the unlawfulness of unauthorized preaching or ministering. Art. xxvii. of Baptism. Art. xxxiv. of the authority of every national church to ordain, alter, or abolish rites and ceremonies, and to overrule private judgment. Art. xxxv. of the Homilies. Art. xxxvi. of the consecration of bishops, &c. Arts. xxxviii. and xxxix. against community of goods and of the lawfulness of oaths.—Art. xxxvii. of the civil magistrate, has a clause affirming the lawfulness of capital punishments and of serving in the wars. By 1 Will. and Mary, Protestant dissenting ministers were exempted from subscribing to Arts. xxxiv. xxxv. xxxvi. and certain words of Art. xx.

wholly and solely dependent on the Bible.* “We,” says Cardinal Bellarmine, speaking for the Romish church, “assert, that the necessary doctrine, whether relating to Faith or to Morals, is not all expressly contained in Scripture; and therefore, that beside the *written* word of God, there is a necessity for an unwritten word; that is, the divine and apostolical traditions. But they (the Protestants) teach, that all things necessary to faith and morals are contained in the Scriptures; and therefore that there is no need of any unwritten word.”† The rejection of Tradition, as a rule of faith, has therefore been pronounced to be “the vital principle of the Reformation,”‡ agreeably to the well known declaration of the famous Chillingworth:—“The Bible, the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants.”

Such is, undoubtedly, the true Protestant doctrine, as we find it laid down in the Sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, as well as in the fifth of the Gallic Confession. Yet, with this doctrine, the language of the Twentieth Article of the Anglican church, which claims for that church an “authority in controversies of faith;”§ as well as the clause

* Marsh's (Bp.) Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, p. 4.

† Cited by Bp. Marsh, Comp. View, p. 11.

‡ Ib. p. 75.

§ The authenticity of this clause of the XXth Article has been called in question, and seems to be at most doubtful. Archbishop Laud was accused of having fabricated it,—a charge which his enemies were unable to substantiate; and he retorted by charging his accusers with having falsified the Articles by omitting it in the printed copies. His “Speech,” however, supplies strong ground for doubting its genuineness. First, he affirms, that “the Articles of Edward VI. and those made under Queen Elizabeth, differ very much;” and those of Edward VI. not being binding, “whether the clause be in them or out of them, it is not much material.” He then asserts, that he had a copy of the Articles in English of the year 1612, and of the year 1605, and of the year 1593, and in Latin of the year 1593, which was one of the first printed copies; and “in all these, the affirmative clause for the church's power is in.” But in the year 1571, the very year in which the Articles were first confirmed by Act of Parliament (13 Eliz. c. 12), Laud admits, that the Articles were printed both in Latin and English *without the clause*; which “certainly could not be done,” he says, “but by the malicious cunning of that opposite faction.” Now if the Act of Elizabeth refers to the edition of 1571, it is clear that the clause has never received legislative sanction. In 1633, its authenticity was publicly debated in the divinity schools at Oxford, upon occasion of Peter Heylin's disputing for his doctor's degree. Prideaux, the professor, read the Latin Article out of the *Corpus Confessionum*,

of the Thirty-fourth Article relating to the Traditions of the church as overruling private judgement, have been deemed scarcely reconcilable. Bishop Marsh avows, that "the two churches so far agree on the subject of church-authority, that each of them claims the power of deciding in controversies of faith. Nor is even the second clause of the Twentieth Article at variance with the principles of the Church of Rome; for it is a principle with that church, as well as with the church of England, that it is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word written; and this principle is unequivocally maintained by the Romish writers themselves."* The learned Prelate rests the vindication of the article on this ground: that "the Church of England carries its authority no further than is absolutely necessary for its own preservation," nor further than other Protestant churches.† And with regard to the Thirty-fourth Article, the Bishop contends, that the word *Traditions* is therein used only in reference to ecclesiastical customs; and that "the article was merely intended to oppose the tenet of the Church of Rome, that customs or ceremonies of the church, sanctioned by traditional and immemorial usage, had the force of a law, and could not be changed."‡

Bishop Burnet insists, in his exposition of this Article, that "a distinction is here to be made between an authority that is absolute and founded on infallibility, and an authority of order. The former," he says, "is very formally disclaimed by our church; but the second may well be maintained, though we assert no unerring authority."§ This is stigmatized as a lax interpretation of the article, by the learned Prelate

published at Geneva in 1612, *without* the clause. Heylin produced an *English* edition *with* the disputed clause, but was unable to verify it by any Latin copy; and a Latin edition of the Articles, printed at Oxford in 1636, three years after, does not contain the clause. There is no proof that, by whomsoever interpolated, it was ever exhibited in manuscript to a Convocation; and from Hales's letter to Laud, it is evident that, by the most learned and judicious divines of his day, it was not held to be either genuine or authorized. For an account of the controversy to which this subject gave rise in 1710—1724, see Butler's *Confessions of Faith*, pp. 75—80; and *Eclect. Rev.* 3d ser. vol. viii. pp. 293, 557—559.

* Comp. View, pp. 159, 160.

† Ibid. p. 163.

‡ Ib. pp. 10, 11.

§ Exposition of the Articles. Art. XX.

above cited, who remarks, that an authority may be absolute which is not infallible. "The Parliament of Great Britain does not aspire to the infallibility which the Church of Rome ascribes to a general council; yet no one will pretend, that an Act of Parliament is not *absolutely* binding on all the subjects of this realm." When the sense of Scripture is disputed, the authority to determine such controversy of faith is declared by the Twentieth Article to be vested in the church; "and the exercise of this church authority is recognised by the law of the land, as well as by the canons ecclesiastical."*

In point of fact, an authority in controversies of faith, whether expressly assumed or not, is virtually claimed and exercised by any church which imposes upon its members subscription to articles of faith upon controverted points. In this respect, the Church of England must be admitted to lay claim to no higher authority than has been asserted by the Church of Scotland, and by the Lutheran churches. In each of these communions, the right of private judgement is limited and overruled by the authorized formularies to which subscription is enforced. Nor do we find that those religious dissidents who, in the seventeenth century, called in question this authority, differed so much as to its validity, as to its limits and the parties in which it is legitimately vested. Both the Puritans and the Prelatists, Conformists and Non-conformists, Neal remarks, "agreed too well in asserting the necessity of a uniformity of public worship, and of using the sword of the magistrate for the support and defence of their respective principles, which they made an ill use of in their turns whenever they could grasp the power into their hands. The standard of uniformity, according to the bishops, was the Queen's supremacy and the laws of the land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of provincial and national synods, allowed and enforced by the civil magistrate; but neither party were for admitting that liberty of conscience, and freedom of profession, which is every man's right, as far as is consistent with the peace of the government under which he

* Comp. View, pp. 161—163.

lives."* In accordance with this representation of the Non-conformist historian, Mosheim thus states the opposite principles contended for by the Queen's Commissioners on the one hand, and by the Puritans on the other, in the reign of Elizabeth:—

" 1. The former maintained, that the right of reformation, that is, the privilege of removing the corruptions, and of correcting the errors that might have been introduced into the doctrine, discipline, or worship of the church, was lodged in the sovereign or civil magistrate alone: the latter denied that the power of the civil magistrate extended so far, and maintained that it was rather the business of the clergy to restore religion to its native dignity and lustre. This was the opinion of Calvin.

" 2. The Queen's Commissioners maintained, that the rules of proceeding in reforming the doctrine or discipline of the church, were not to be derived from the sacred writings alone, but also from the writings and decisions of the Fathers in the primitive ages. The Puritans, on the contrary, affirmed that, the inspired word of God being the pure and only fountain of wisdom and truth, it was thence alone that the rules and directions were to be drawn, which were to guide the measures of those who undertook to purify the faith, or to rectify the discipline and worship of the church; and that the ecclesiastical institutions of the early ages, as also the writings of the ancient doctors, were absolutely destitute of authority.

" 3. The Commissioners ventured to assert, that the church of Rome was a true church, though corrupt and erroneous in many points of doctrine and government; that the pontiff, though chargeable with temerity and arrogance in assuming to himself the title and jurisdiction of head of the whole church, was nevertheless to be esteemed a true and lawful bishop; and, consequently, that ministers ordained by him were qualified for performing the pastoral duties.† But the

* Neal, vol. i. p. 126. See also Hooker's *Eccl. Polity*, Hanbury's ed. vol. i. p. xx.

† "This," says the learned Historian, "was a point which the English bishops thought it absolutely necessary to maintain, since they could not otherwise claim the honour of deriving their dignities, in an uninterrupted line of succession, from the Apostles."

Puritans considered the Romish hierarchy as a system of political and spiritual tyranny, that had justly forfeited the title and privileges of a true church; they looked upon its pontiff as Antichrist, and its discipline as vain, superstitious, idolatrous, and diametrically opposite to the injunctions of the Gospel; they consequently renounced its communion, and regarded all approaches to its discipline and worship as highly dangerous to the cause of true religion.

“ 4. The Commissioners considered as the best and most perfect form of ecclesiastical government, that which took place during the first four or five centuries; they even preferred it to that which had been instituted by the Apostles, because, as they alleged, our Saviour and his Apostles had accommodated the form mentioned in Scripture to the feeble and infant state of the church; and left it to the wisdom and discretion of future ages to modify it in such a manner as might be suitable to the triumphant progress of Christianity, the grandeur of a national establishment, and the ends of civil policy. The Puritans asserted, in opposition to this, that the rules of church government were clearly laid down in the Scriptures—the only standard of spiritual discipline; and that the Apostles, in establishing the first christian church on the aristocratic plan that was then observed in the Jewish sanhedrim, designed it as an unchangeable model, to be followed in all times and in all places.

“ 5. Lastly, the Court reformers were of opinion, that things indifferent, which are neither commanded nor forbidden by the authority of Scripture, (such as the external rites of public worship, the vestments to be used by the clergy, religious festivals, and the like,) might be ordered, determined, and rendered a matter of obligation by the authority of the civil magistrate; and that in such a case the violation of his commands would be not less criminal than an act of rebellion against the laws of the State. The Puritans alleged, in reply to this assertion, that it was an indecent prostitution of power, to impose as necessary and indispensable those things which Christ had left in the class of matters indifferent; since this was a manifest encroachment upon that liberty with

which the Divine Saviour has indulged us. To this they added, that such ceremonies as had been abused to idolatrous purposes, and had a manifest tendency to revive the impressions of superstition and popery in the minds of men, could by no means be considered as indifferent, but deserved to be rejected without hesitation as impious and profane. Such, in their estimation, were the religious ceremonies of ancient times, the abrogation of which was refused by the Queen and her council.*

The fundamental principle upon which, in his learned defence of "Ecclesiastical Polity," Hooker bases his reasonings, is this:—"That which the church, by her ecclesiastical authority, shall publicly think and define to be true and good, must, in congruity of reason, overrule all inferior judgements whatsoever." The positions which form the main pillars of his whole fabric, may be stated in the form of a syllogism: "All public laws must overrule private judgements: the church, like other societies, is invested with power to make laws: therefore, whatever laws the church enacts, are binding upon all who are born within its confines." But first, it may be replied, the major proposition, being equally true of all laws, good and bad, just and unjust, might equally serve as an argument to enforce civil obedience under the most corrupt and arbitrary administrations of legislative power; and is true in fact, even when false in morals. Neither private judgement nor private conscience can be pleaded against public laws; and yet, it is certain, that cases may arise, in which a man is bound to follow the dictates of his own conscience in obeying God rather than man. So long as laws exist, whether equitable or not, they must in fact overrule all inferior judgements; and he who infringes upon them, whether his intention and motive be morally good or evil, must bear the penalty. No man can actually possess a right *against* the law, because the law is the source and limit of all legal rights. But laws which violate private conscience, and which deny to men the rights that are necessary to the discharge of

* Mosheim, Cent. xvi. Sect. III. Part II. ch. 2. § 20. Neal, vol. i. pp. 123—126.

religious obligations, are not the less bad laws, and such as never ought to have been made, since they contravene the primary obligations of morality.

The minor proposition of the syllogism is, that the church, like other societies, has the power to make laws. But this, again, is open to the objection of proving too much. A proviso is therefore appended to it, qualifying the legislative power attributed to the church:—"Provided that those laws do not interfere with or contradict the laws and commandments of Scripture." But the rightful possession of a power to make laws, cannot depend upon the moral rectitude of its enactments. If the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, it must possess this power, whether its exercise be morally right or wrong; whether the ceremonies it ordains be scriptural or unscriptural. No one can ever abuse a right or power which he does not actually possess; nor can he possess it without its being liable to abuse through his exercising it amiss. The same reasoning will apply to all societies or communities. The just bounds which moral obligations may set to the exercise of a legislative right, do not qualify the right itself, which exists independent of such conditions. Otherwise, there could be no such thing as inequitable laws, or bad legislation.*

Whether any particular church is in possession of such legislative power, is a question of simple fact. The church, as a society, cannot, any more than an individual, have either power or authority, other than it derives from the laws which define its prerogatives. Hooker's reasoning seems to assume,

* The church of Rome, as Daniel Neal remarks, alleges all its ordinances to be conducive to her well-being, and not inconsistent with the laws of Christ. Bishop Warburton thus endeavours to parry the application of this remark: "Does it follow that, because I have a right to the *use* of a power, I have a right to the *abuse* of it? The church of Rome, that of England, and every other christian church of one denomination, may, as a Society, make laws of order and discipline. The church of Rome *abuses* this right; therefore the church of England shall not *use* it!"—(Warburton's Notes on Neal: *Works*, 4to. vol. vii. p. 899.) This distinction between a right to use a power, and a right to abuse it, is a mere play upon words. It is morally wrong to abuse any legal or political right, but the right itself is not affected by such abuse: the power to use it, and the power to abuse it, are the same thing, such power being involved in the right itself, for a right is a legal power.

that the church has an *inherent* power of a political nature: an assumption which approaches to a contradiction in terms; since every society is the creature of conventional arrangements, and can have no inherent power, much less such a power as is here claimed. It is a very specious assertion, that every society has a right to regulate its own concerns,—to make laws for its own well-being; but no society can have any such right, except so far as it is *allowed* to govern itself. If a corporate body, it must possess this right by delegation, in virtue of some charter from the crown. No society not possessed of political sovereignty, that is, not an independent state, can withdraw its members from the operation of the laws which limit their rights alike in an individual and in a corporate capacity. For the church to pretend to any political power independent of the sovereign, is to strike at the prerogatives of royalty, and to incur the guilt of treason.*

Christianity confers no new political rights; therefore, no such rights can belong to Christians collectively, as such. The right to make laws of any kind, is a right purely political. Whether they relate to religion or not, makes no difference in this respect. Again: no persons can have an inherent or natural right to make laws, for even hereditary rights are not inherent, but conventional. The right to legislate in religious matters, is but the authority which the laws give, or allow, to certain parties acting as a society or corporation, to regulate the matters specifically entrusted to them. Any higher pretensions than this on the part of a church, are subversive of the first principles of civil society.

In point of fact, the Church of England has no power to make laws, as a society distinct from the State. It has long ceased to possess any independent legislative power; nor are its decisions and decrees any longer binding, politically, upon the subjects of the State, the power to enforce them being taken away by the Toleration Act and other statutes legaliz-

* It may be said, that the church representative includes the king, as its head, and acts concurrently with the regal authority. But this is the power of the crown, in which that of the church is merged.

ing nonconformity. The conclusion, therefore, to which Hooker's reasoning would lead us, even if logically good, would be actually and practically erroneous: the syllogism is overthrown by the fact.

Still, the enactments of the church may nevertheless be both politically and morally binding upon all its members;—politically, to the extent to which the laws of the corporation exact a conformity; and morally, in virtue of the pledges of obedience which every member is required to give. *Within* the church, the right of private judgement is of necessity limited, not by the abstract authority, but by the actual laws and formularies of the institution. But, when Hooker contends, that “that which the church shall publicly think and define to be *true* and *good*, must, in congruity of reason, overrule all inferior judgements,”—he confounds that authority which rules and overrules rights, with the authority of testimony and evidence, which alone can command the deference of the judgement. The law can create and rule rights and wrongs; but truth and falsehood it can neither make nor determine. The authority of Scripture, the inspired rule of faith, is not simply above all human authority, but different in kind from any which can be claimed for ecclesiastical rules. It is the authority of Divine testimony, attested by external and internal evidence, which renders unbelief inexcusable impiety; for, by the reception or rejection of that testimony, the state of the heart towards God is infallibly indicated, so that unbelief and disobedience are represented as identical. Human testimony, though possessing the authority of a document and the force of evidence, can claim no such obedience as springs from religious faith. The church is an authority as a witness to the truth; but, as a witness, she appeals to the private judgement, resting her claim to deference purely on evidence. An authority which overrules the exercise of private judgement, by defining what is to be received as truth, or to be complied with as expedient, is obviously something quite distinct; namely, a power to bind the conduct by legislative decisions, which may have the restrictive force of law, but are of no avail as evidence, and leave what is true and

what is false to be determined by entirely different means.* A *religious* authority in matters of faith must not merely be infallible, but must, as such, be itself the legitimate *object* of faith: and this no uninspired human authority can be.

These important distinctions, however, which furnish the key to the enigma that was the main subject of controversy, were as imperfectly understood, in the days of Hooker, by one party as by the other. The right of private judgement, it must be admitted, was nearly as little respected by the Puritans and the Scottish Reformers, as by the champions of the Episcopal polity. The power and authority which the Westminster Confession ascribes to the Civil Magistrate, are not essentially different from what are asserted in the XXth Article of the Anglican church. The language of the Confession is, that the Civil Magistrate "hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in

* "Authority is an auxiliary principle in learning, whether it be religion or science, or any matter whatever of human knowledge, that is concerned; not a sole or fundamental one. We should readily condemn the mathematician who should expect a pupil to believe, on the ground of the mathematical skill of his tutor, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles; and require a subscription to this theorem, before he will impart to him any instruction. Equally mistaken, however, is the theologian who expects that the christian hearer should admit, on the authority of the Church, the doctrine, that works done before justification have the nature of sin (Art. XIII.), when that doctrine is established by *inference* from other admitted truths of theology. I can understand very well the beginning and ending with the authority of Him who is emphatically said to have *taught as one having authority*. But the dogmas of church communion partake as much of reason as of authority; and appeal accordingly, by their very nature, to the reason which is involved in them, no less than to the authority which pronounces them....The Articles of our own church did not *originate* in authority, but in an exercise of reason *against* a corrupt authority. They were *confirmed* indeed by the authority of the Church of England; but they *originated* in a resistance to the existing authority of the Church of Rome. Fairly indeed to appeal to the principle of authority, we must go back to the divinely-inspired teachers of Christianity. This is our only consistent resting-place." *Observations on Religious Dissent*; by Renn Dickson Hampden, D.D. Principal of St. Mary Hall, &c. &c. pp. 38, 39. Archbishop Whately, after remarking that the word *authority* is ambiguous, sometimes used in the primary sense corresponding to *auctoritas*, "to signify the weight assigned to the example or opinion of those who, on any point, are likely to be competent judges;" and sometimes in the sense of *potestas*, to signify power, to which we are bound to submit, as the authority of a magistrate;—contends that the word is to be taken in the former sense in the Article.—*Whately on Romanism*, p. 193.

the church; that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship or discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed; for the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the will of God." (Chap. xxiii.) It is obvious, that no higher prerogative than this, is claimed for the civil magistrate by the XXXVIIth Article of the Church of England, which is indeed less full and explicit. Both the power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith, are involved in the authority to suppress heresy, to regulate the worship and discipline of the church, and to control even the transactions and decisions of synods. Agreeably to this language, Cartwright, the great Puritan champion and antagonist of Hooker, maintains, that "those who would withdraw themselves, should be by ecclesiastical discipline at all times, and now also, under a godly prince, by civil punishment, brought to communicate with their brethren." And again: "The magistrate ought to compel them to hear the word of God; and if they profit not, nor with sufficient teaching correct themselves, then they should be punished."* This is the principle of persecution undisguised, and carried as far as the Church of Rome would contend for.†

* Replye, 1572. Cited in Hanbury's Hooker, vol. i. p. xx.

† "It is curious," remarks Dr. Arnold of Rugby, in his Tract on the Principles of Church Reform, "to observe the contradictory positions in which the two parties were placed:—the Church of England enforcing a tyranny upon principles in themselves most liberal and most true; the Dissenters accidentally advocating the cause of liberty, while their principles were those of the most narrow-minded fanaticism. One feels ashamed to think that the great truths so clearly and so eloquently established by Hooker, in the earlier books of his Ecclesiastical Polity, should have served in practice the petty tyranny of Laud and Whitgift, or the utterly selfish and worldly policy of Elizabeth. The Church of England maintained most truly, that rites and ceremonies, being things indifferent in themselves, might be altered according to the difference of times and countries; and that the regulation of such matters was left wholly to the national church. But, inasmuch as the government of the national church was a mere despotism, (the Crown having virtually transferred to itself the authority formerly exercised by the Popes,) its appointments were made with an imperious stiffness, which was the more offensive

The Westminster Confession,—which, as approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in 1647, and ratified by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1649, is also “the public and avowed Confession of the Church of Scotland,”—consists of Thirty-three chapters, of which the titles are as follow :—

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| I. Of the Holy Scripture. (Answering to Art. VI. of the Anglican Church.) | |
| II. Of God and of the Holy Trinity. (Compare with Arts. I. and V.) | |
| III. Of God's Eternal Decrees. (Answering to Art. XVII.) | |
| IV. Of Creation. | } (Answering to Arts. I. and V.) |
| V. Of Providence. | |
| VI. Of the Fall of Man, of Sin, and the Punishment thereof. (See Art. IX.) | |
| VII. Of God's Covenant with Man. | |
| VIII. Of Christ the Mediator. (See Arts. II. IV. and XV.) | |
| IX. Of Free-will. | } (Compare with Arts. X. to XVI.) |
| X. Of Effectual Calling. | |
| XI. Of Justification. | |
| XII. Of Adoption. | |
| XIII. Of Sanctification. | |
| XIV. Of Saving Faith. | |
| XV. Of Repentance unto Life. | |
| XVI. Of Good Works. | |
| XVII. Of the Perseverance of the Saints. | |
| XVIII. Of Assurance of Grace and Salvation. | |
| XIX. Of the Law of God. (See Art. VII.) | |
| XX. Of Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience. | |
| XXI. Of Religious Worship and the Sabbath-day. | |
| XXII. Of Lawful Oaths and Vows. (Ans. to Art. XXXIX.) | |
| XXIII. Of the Civil Magistrate. (Ans. to Art. XXXVII.) | |
| XXIV. Of Marriage and Divorce. (See Art. XXXII.) | |
| XXV. Of the Church. (Ans. to Art. XIX.) | |
| XXVI. Of the Communion of Saints. | |
| XXVII. Of the Sacraments. | } (Ans. to Arts. XXV—XXXI.) |
| XXVIII. Of Baptism. | |
| XXIX. Of the Lord's Supper. | |
| XXX. Of Church Censures. (See Art. XXXIII.) | |
| XXXI. Of Synods and Councils. (See Art. XXI.) | |
| XXXII. Of the State of Men after Death, and of the Resurrection. | |
| XXXIII. Of the Last Judgement. | |

Twenty-five of these Articles of Faith, (viz. the first nineteen, the XXIst, the XXVIIth, XXVIIIth, and XXIXth,

from the confessed indifferent nature of the matters in question; and while one ritual was inflexibly imposed upon the whole community, in direct opposition to the feelings of many of its members, this fond attempt to arrive at uniformity inflicted a deadly blow, according to Lord Falkland's most true observation, on the real blessing of christian union." Pp. 20, 21.

and the last two,) relate to the doctrines of the Christian religion. The other eight relate to matters ecclesiastical. This Confession differs from every other Protestant symbol, as well in its greater minuteness and diffuseness, as in the apparatus of "proofs," by which every position is connected with some text of Scripture. It has the appearance of being less a confession of faith, and protest against the errors of Romanism, than a synodical canon of orthodox doctrine, and, as the Act of Approval sets forth, "a special means for the more effectual suppressing of the many dangerous errors and heresies of the times." In this respect, it partakes of the character of the canons of the Synod of Dort, or of the Form of Concord among the Lutheran symbols, more than of any other Reformed Confession.

On comparing it with the Articles of the English church, for which it was intended to be substituted, the most prominent and material differences, in point of doctrine or arrangement, are the following:—

The first chapter of the Scottish or Westminster Confession, like the first article of the Helvetic, relates to the Holy Scripture, answering generally to the VIth article of the Church of England, and including also, or superseding the VIIth, XXth, and XXIst. By the third clause or paragraph of this chapter, the use of the Apocrypha, except as other human writings, is expressly disclaimed; and the chapter concludes with the following affirmations:—"The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture, is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any scripture, (which is not manifold, but one,) it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly. The Supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture."

The second, fourth, and fifth chapters of the Confession, relating to the Attributes of the Deity, may be considered as answering to Arts. I. and V. of the English church. The

third, "Of God's Eternal Decrees," is in place of Art. XVII. Of Predestination and Election. The sixth answers to Art. IX. The seventh, only in part, corresponds to Art. VII. The eighth chapter includes the substance of Arts. II. IV. and XV. The ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth chapters relate to the same points as are treated of in Arts. X. to XVI.; but it is in this part, that the Confession differs most widely, in its theological doctrine, from the Articles of the English church.

The nineteenth chapter agrees with Art. VII. in recognising the perpetual obligation of the Moral Law; which is reasserted, in reference to the Fourth Commandment, in the twenty-first.

Passing over, for the present, the intervening portions; the thirty-second and thirty-third chapters, as well as the seventh, assert doctrines scarcely adverted to in the English Articles, but contained in the Three Creeds. On the other hand, Arts. III. VIII. and XXXV., relating to the Descent into Hell, the Three Creeds, and the Homilies, are tacitly rejected in the Westminster Confession. The three chapters of the Confession relating to the Sacraments, correspond, with no material difference of sentiment, to Arts. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. and XXXI. of the English church, including also Art. XXII.

Of the eight chapters relating to matters ecclesiastical, the twentieth attempts to define the rights of conscience, but ends with affirming the principle of religious persecution. The twenty-second, "Of Lawful Oaths," answers to the last of the Thirty-nine Articles, and accords with it. The twenty-third answers to Art. XXXVII. The twenty-fourth agrees with Art. XXXII. on the lawfulness of the marriage of ecclesiastics, but goes into other points upon which the Articles are silent. The twenty-fifth answers to Art. XIX. The twenty-sixth seems introduced as a comment upon a clause in the Apostles' Creed, and may be considered as supplemental to the preceding chapter. The thirtieth chapter includes the subject of Art. XXXIII., but goes much beyond it in

expounding the force of church censures. The whole chapter runs as follows:—

“ 1. The Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate.

“ 2. To these officers the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent, both by the word and censures, and to open it unto penitent sinners by the ministry of the gospel, and by absolution from censures as occasion shall require.

“ 3. Church censures are necessary for the reclaiming and gaining of offending brethren, for deterring of others from the like offences, for purging out of that leaven which might infect the whole lump, for vindicating the honour of Christ and the holy profession of the gospel, and for preventing the wrath of God, which might justly fall upon the church, if they should suffer his covenant and the seals thereof to be profaned by notorious and obstinate offenders.

“ 4. For the better attaining of these ends, the officers of the church are to proceed by admonition, suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper for a season, and by excommunication from the church, according to the nature of the crime and demerit of the person.”

It is deserving of especial remark, that, in this chapter, there is no distinct mention of the sorts, orders, or names of the church officers, in whom the government of the church and the power of discipline are vested. A similar reserve is maintained in the following chapter, “Of Synods and Councils,” which corresponds to Art. XXI. of the English church, and is as follows:—

“ 1. For the better government and further edification of the church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called synods or councils.

“ 2. As magistrates may lawfully call a synod of ministers and other fit persons, to consult and advise with about matters of religion; so, if magistrates be open enemies to the church, the ministers of Christ, of themselves, by virtue of their office,

or they with other fit persons upon delegation from their churches, may meet together in such assemblies. (Acts xv.)

“ 3. It belongeth to synods and councils *ministerially to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience*; to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God and government of his church; to receive complaints in cases of mal-administration, and authoritatively to determine the same: which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, *not only for their agreement with the word, but also for the power whereby they are made*, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his word.

“ 4. All synods and councils since the apostles’ times, whether general or particular, may err; and many have erred: therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as a help in both.

“ 5. Synods and councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical; and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs, which concern the commonwealth, unless by way of humble petition, in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate.”

With regard to this and the preceding chapter, the Act of Approval, passed by the General Assembly of Scotland, contains the following express qualification or provision.

“ Lest our intention and meaning be in some particulars misunderstood, it is hereby expressly declared and provided, That the not mentioning in this Confession the several sorts of ecclesiastical officers and assemblies, shall be no prejudice to the truth of Christ in these particulars, to be expressed fully in the Directory of Government. It is further declared, That the Assembly understandeth some parts of the second article of the Thirty-first chapter, only of kirks not settled or constituted in point of government. And that although, in such kirks, a synod of ministers and other fit persons may be called by the Magistrate’s authority and nomination, without any other call, to consult and advise with about matters of religion; and, although likewise the ministers of Christ,

without delegation from their churches, may of themselves, and by virtue of their office, meet together synodically in such kirks not yet constituted; yet neither of these ought to be done in kirks constituted and settled: It being always free to the Magistrate to advise with synods of ministers and ruling elders, meeting upon delegation from their churches, either ordinarily, or being indicted by his authority, occasionally and *pro re nata*; it being also free to assemble together synodically, as well *pro re nata* as at the ordinary times, upon delegation from the churches, by the intrinsical power received from Christ, as often as it is necessary for the good of the church so to assemble, in case the Magistrate, to the detriment of the church, withhold or deny his consent; the necessity of occasional assemblies being first remonstrate unto him by humble supplication."

The form of Presbyterian Church-government, and of Ordination of Ministers, as agreed upon by the Westminster Assembly in 1645, and ratified by an act of the General Assembly of Scotland in 1655, is contained in a separate document. In this it is set forth, that "the officers which Christ hath appointed for the edification of his church are, some extraordinary, as apostles, evangelists, and prophets, which are ceased; and others, ordinary and perpetual, as pastors, teachers and other church governors, and deacons." The other church governors are afterwards stated to be, the officers "commonly called elders" by the Reformed churches. The respective provinces of these officers having been defined, the document proceeds to specify the "several sorts of assemblies, congregational, classical, and synodical," by which it is "lawful and agreeable to the word of God," that the church should be governed. Finally, the subject of Ordination is treated of. Ordination is determined to be "the act of the presbytery;" and it is stated to be "very requisite, that no single congregation that can conveniently associate, do assume to itself all and sole power of ordination." This definition, obviously, is subversive of the whole theory of the episcopal polity.

Archbishop Usher, however, it is well known, drew up, in

1641, a New Model of Church-government, which was an attempt to unite the Episcopal and Presbyterian forms of polity. It is entitled, "The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government received in the ancient Church." The following abstract will show how far, in his view, the two systems are capable of being reconciled and amalgamated."

"By the order of the Church of England, all Presbyters are charged to minister the doctrine and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ; as the Lord hath commanded, and as this realm hath received the same. (*Form of Ordering of Priests.*) . . . Of the many elders who, in common, ruled the church of Ephesus, (Acts xx. 17, 18,) there was one president, whom our Saviour, in his Epistle to the Church, in a peculiar manner styleth the Angel of the Church of Ephesus (Rev. ii. 1); and Ignatius, in another Epistle, written about twelve years after to the same church, calleth the bishop thereof. Betwixt which bishop and the presbytery of that church, what a harmonious consent there was in the ordering of the church-government, the same Ignatius doth fully there declare. . . . For further proof whereof we have that known testimony of Tertullian, Apol. c. 39. . . . For, with the bishop, who was the chief president, (and therefore styled by the same Tertullian, in another place, *Summus Sacerdos*, for distinction's sake,) the rest of the dispensers of the word and sacraments were joined in the common government of the church. And, therefore, in matters of ecclesiastical judicature, Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, used the received form of gathering together the Presbytery. In the fourth Council of Carthage, it was concluded, that the bishop might hear no man's cause without the presence of the clergy; which we find also to be inserted in the canons of Egbert, who was a Bishop of York in the Saxon times, and afterwards into the body of the canon law itself.

"True it is, that, in our church, this kind of Presbyterian government hath been long disused. Yet, seeing it still professeth that every pastor hath a right to rule the church, (whence the name of *Rector* also was given at first unto him,)

and to administer the discipline of Christ, as well as to dispense the doctrine and sacraments; and that the restraint of the exercise of that right proceedeth only from the custom now received in this realm; no man can doubt, but, by another law of the land, this hinderance may be well removed. And how easily this ancient form of government, by the united suffrages of the clergy, might be revived again, and with what little show of alteration the synodical conventions of the pastors of every parish might be accorded with the presidency of the bishops of each diocese and province, the indifferent reader may quickly perceive by the perusal of the ensuing propositions.

“ 1. In every parish, the rector or incumbent pastor, together with the churchwardens and side-men, may every week take notice of such as live scandalously in that congregation, who, if they cannot be reclaimed, (by suitable admonitions,) may be presented unto the next monthly synod, and, in the mean time, be debarred from access to the Lord's Table.” (The Parochial government answering to the Church Session in Scotland).

“ 2. The suffragans” (the number of these officers being conformed to the number of the several rural deaneries into which every diocese is subdivided, and made to answer to the ancient *chorepiscopi*) “ might every month assemble a synod of all the rectors or incumbent pastors within the precinct,” answerable to the Scots' presbytery or ecclesiastical meeting. By this synod, sentence of excommunication to be decreed against contumacious offenders; and to the same court, “ all things that concerned the parochial ministers might be referred;” as also “ the censure of all new opinions, heresies, and schisms,” which might arise within the circuit, with liberty of appeal to the diocesan synod.

“ 3. The diocesan synod (answering to the Scottish Provincial Synod) might be held once or twice every year; to consist of all the suffragans and the rest of the rectors and incumbents, the bishop presiding. Here all matters of great moment might be taken into consideration, and the orders of the monthly synods revised. If any matter of difficulty could

not receive a full determination, it might be referred to the next provincial or national synod.

“ 4. The provincial synod might consist of all the bishops and suffragans, and such of the clergy as should be elected out of every diocese within the province ; to be held every third year. And if the parliament do then sit, both the primates and provincial synods might join together and make up a NATIONAL COUNCIL ; wherein all appeals from inferior synods might be received, all their acts examined, and all ecclesiastical constitutions which concern the state of the church of the whole nation established.”

It will be observed, that this model overlooks, or leaves indeterminate, the specific prerogatives of the episcopal function ; on which hinges the main difference between the Episcopal and the Presbyterian forms of church-government. In the Anglican church, both Confirmation and Ordination are restricted to the Episcopal order. In Archbishop Usher's model, Presbyterian orders would seem to be recognised as valid ; and if so, the adoption of his scheme would have involved the establishment of a modified Presbyterianism.

The *theory* of discipline in the Scottish church does not differ very widely from that of the canons of the English Episcopacy ; but the practice of the two churches, as modified by the habits and customs of the two nations, is totally different ; and it would probably be found more easy to reconcile the two churches upon every formal point of variance, than to revive that strict ecclesiastical discipline which, in this country, as in the Lutheran States, has been silently abrogated, in consequence of the subordination of the spiritual to the civil power. Although the ecclesiastical controversy has turned chiefly upon the different forms of church polity, yet, the more important discrepancy of opinion will be found to relate to the proper ends and limits of such government, as contradistinguished from the arrangements of civil society.

In order to reconcile the Anglican and Scottish Confessions, it would be requisite that the Church of England should consent to suppress Articles III. VIII. XXXV. and XXXVI. ; also, that part of Article VI. which sanctions the public

reading of the Apocrypha, and the first clause of the XXth, attributing to the church a power to decree rites and ceremonies as well as authority in controversies of faith. The Church of Scotland must, on her part, consent to withdraw Chapters III. X. XVII. and XVIII., the theological complexion of which is too decidedly Calvinistic to comport with the reserve maintained in the English Articles; also, to modify the XXXth and XXXIst, relating to church-government. No great difficulty would seem to lie in the way of making these Confessions to accord, since they exhibit little positive contrariety;* but an actual union between the two churches would require much more than this. Agreeing as they do substantially in the doctrines of the Protestant faith, they nevertheless differ widely:—

First, as to the nature of Holy Orders, and the power of Ordination.

Secondly, as to the Hierarchical constitution of the Anglican church.

Thirdly, as to matters of Ritual; especially the use of Liturgies, which the Church of Scotland rejects.

Fourthly, as to the doctrines of Sacramental Grace and Sacerdotal Absolution, implied in the offices of the Anglican church.

Fifthly, as to the whole system of Discipline and Ecclesiastical Courts.

Sixthly, as to certain points of Calvinistic Theology.

We shall offer a brief explanation of the differences subsisting between the Churches of England and Scotland upon each of these several points.

I.

FIRST, AS TO ORDERS AND ORDINATION.—The Church of England has two degrees of ordination, deacons' orders and

* As all dissenting teachers were required by the Toleration Act to qualify, by subscribing before Quarter Sessions to the Thirty-nine Articles, except the XXXIVth, XXXVth, XXXVIth, and the above-mentioned words of the XXth, it would seem that these four only were deemed insuperably objectionable by the Nonconformists of that period. Arts. III. VI. and VIII., however, have also been objected against; and no Antipædobaptist could subscribe to Art. XXVII.

priests'. The first degree empowers the person to preach, with license from the bishop, and to administer baptism;* but he must be admitted to the second degree before he can administer the Lord's supper, or hold any benefice or cure of souls. A candidate for the ministry must be twenty-three years of age before he can be ordained deacon; and a deacon must be full twenty-four before he can be ordained priest. The power to ordain, after previous examination, is, in both cases, restricted to the Episcopal office, but with this distinction; that, in the ordination of priests, but not of deacons, the bishop is assisted by priests at the imposition of hands. This, however, is said to be practised, not as essential to due ordination, but rather as a circumstance of honour—*ad honorem sacerdotii, quam essentiam operis*. A priest who is raised to the episcopal office, is said to be consecrated, not ordained to that dignity; although bishops, priests, and deacons are spoken of as three orders of the church. In this sense of the term order, as denoting a rank or degree in the hierarchy, there are many orders; but "touching the ministry of the church," to use the words of Hooker, "the clergy are either presbyters or deacons." He uses the word presbyters, rather than priests, because, he says, he "would not willingly offend their ears to whom the name of priest is odious:"† "in truth," he adds, "the word presbyter doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech more agreeable, than priest," with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ.‡ Deacons, Hooker says, were originally stewards of the church; but, "tract of time having clean worn out those first occasions for which the deaconship was then most necessary, it might be the better afterwards extended to other services, and so remain, as at the present day, a degree in the clergy of God, which the Apostles of Christ did institute."

Of the power which Episcopal Ordination is supposed to

* Baptism even by laymen has been pronounced valid.

† "Though without cause," is added; but he almost immediately assigns cause as above; and subsequently remarks: "The Holy Ghost, throughout the body of the New Testament, making so much mention of them, doth not any where call them priests."

‡ Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Book V. § 78.

convey, this great Champion of Episcopacy thus speaks: "The power of the ministry of God translateth out of darkness into glory; it raiseth men from the earth, and bringeth God himself down from heaven; by blessing visible elements, it maketh them invisible grace; it giveth daily the Holy Ghost; it hath to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls; when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they perish; when it revoketh the same, they revive. . . . The same power is, not amiss, both termed a kind of mark or character, and acknowledged to be indelible. Ministerial power is a mark of separation, because it severeth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a special order consecrated unto the service of the Most High in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference, therefore, from other men is, that they are a distinct order." . . . "A thing much stumbled at in the manner of giving orders, is," he proceeds to say, "our using those memorable words of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, '*Receive the Holy Ghost.*' . . . But the very authority and power which is given men in the Church to be ministers of holy things, is contained within the number of those gifts whereof the Holy Ghost is author; and therefore he which giveth this power, may say, without absurdity or folly, '*Receive the Holy Ghost,*'—such power the Spirit of Christ hath indued his Church withal; such power as neither prince nor potentate, king nor Cæsar, on earth can give." This power is afterwards described as "a holy and ghostly authority, authority over the souls of men, authority, a part whereof consisteth in power to remit and retain sins." *

Such, then, is the theory of Ordination in the Church of England, to which both the language of the rite, and the power assumed by the priest in the office for the Visitation of the Sick, strictly correspond; and it is as the presumed successors of the Apostles in their peculiar office, that only bishops are deemed capable of transmitting "that power which ordinations do bestow."

* Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Book V. § 77.

It is proper to state, however, that this theory has by no means been constantly or universally adopted by the advocates of Episcopacy. Archbishop Cranmer confessedly maintained, at one time, the original identity of bishops and presbyters;* and that nothing more than mere election or appointment is essential to the ecclesiastical office.† And although he is presumed to have changed his opinions on this head, it is admitted that, in his new formulary for ordination, A.D. 1550, "nothing was suffered to remain, which implied that an indelible character was *sacramentally* impressed on the soul of the receiver, by virtue of which he became a depository of the prerogative of forgiveness." The formulary recognises the distinction between the three offices of bishop, presbyter, and deacon; it assigns to the bishop the superiority which belongs to one who is charged with the exercise of

* This was the opinion also of Tyndal, Lambert, and Barnes, as extant in the "Healing Attempt." In "A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institutions of Bishops and Priests," issued in the reign of Henry VIII., and subscribed (A.D. 1537 or 1538) by Thomas Cromwell, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, eleven bishops, and many other doctors and civilians, it is asserted, "That in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops." A similar declaration occurs in "The Erudition of a Christian Man, composed by the Ecclesiastical Committees appointed by the King, and published by royal authority, A.D. 1540." St. Jerom's opinion, that the scriptural bishop and presbyter were the same in office as well as name, is expressly approved by Bishops Alley, Pilkington, and Jewel, and by other Protestant champions of the reign of Elizabeth. See authorities in Burnet's "Hist. of the Reformation," Part I. p. 366. Stillingfleet's "Irenicum," Part II. ch. vi. § 11. "*Quis enim, post immensos tot doctissimorum hominum in re exigua labores, id satis demonstrare potest, utrum presbyterorum et episcoporum semper unum, an interdum duo fuerint officia?*"—*Archdeacon Powell's Discourses*, (1786,) p. 364.

† In answer to seventeen questions propounded by order of Edward VI. to Cranmer and his colleagues, their Declaration sets forth: That "there is no more promise of God, that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil." That "the bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but both one office, in the beginning of Christ's religion." That "a bishop may make a priest, by the Scriptures, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election." That, "in the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture; for election or appointing thereto is sufficient." The entire document is given by Burnet, "Hist. of Reform." vol. i. pp. 318—321; and by Stillingfleet, "Irenicum," Pt. II. ch. vii. § 2. See also Le Bas's "Life of Cranmer," vol. i. p. 240.

discipline and the government of a diocese; and it is framed upon the principle, that no holy office can be duly conferred without the episcopal sanction and ministration; but the rubric discarded the chrism or consecrating unguent, and other "pantomimic rites" connected with the old formulary. Nor does the language adopted afford any decisive indication, that Cranmer regarded Episcopacy in a different light from Jerom and Augustine, Jewel and Usher, who held it to be an institution demanded by the convenience of the church, rather than as of apostolic origin.* In fact, this seems to have been the prevailing opinion up to the time of Archbishop Laud, who, for asserting, in his disputation for his degrees, that "Episcopacy, as a distinct order from Presbytery, was of Divine and necessary right," was charged with going about to "make a division between the English and other Reformed churches."

The Church of Scotland, it has already been shewn, expressly defines Ordination to be the act of the Presbytery; and it recognises no difference of orders. Ordination is defined to be, "the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church office." "Every minister of the church is to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong;" "the power of ordering the whole work of ordination" being vested "in the whole presbytery." Deacons are recognised as distinct officers, to whom it belongs, "not to preach the

* Prebendary Le Bas considers the formulary as indicating, that the Primate had divested himself of his "peculiar notions relative to the dignity of the episcopal function." (*Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 45.) [He has not adduced any proof, however, that they were peculiar to Cranmer, or that his opinions had undergone any material change. In his *Life of Jewel*, the same learned writer admits, that that bishop cites with approbation the well-known words of Jerom: "Let bishops understand that they are above presbyters, rather of custom than of any truth or right of Christ's institution;" and, that "a presbyter and a bishop are the same thing." Jewel cites a similar declaration from Augustine; and he affirms that bishops were appointed to a dignity and power superior to that of presbyters, for the purpose of checking the growth of schism in the church. It is "just possible," his Biographer thinks, "that his notions of the episcopal succession may have sustained some little *damage* from his residence abroad, and from his intercourse with the Helvetic divines."—*Life of Jewel*, p. 318.]

word, or administer the sacraments, but to take special care in distributing to the necessities of the poor." They are accordingly laymen, not being ordained. The term priest, though only a corruption of presbyter, being commonly understood to denote a sacerdotal office, or that of a sacrificer, is never applied to the ministers of the Church of Scotland, who repudiate the Levitical analogy, and disclaim altogether those peculiar pretensions which Hooker and other champions of Episcopacy connect with the "ghostly authority" of "the Christian priesthood."

II.

SECONDLY, AS TO THE HIERARCHICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.—Although, as we have seen, the Church of England recognises only two degrees of ordination, and three orders,—bishops, presbyters, and deacons, the actual constitution of her hierarchical polity is much more complicated; answering to the ecclesiastical division of the kingdom into provinces, dioceses, archdeaconries, deaneries, and parishes. The two archbishops have superior power over all the bishops in their respective provinces; but their office is now considered as a dignity, rather than a jurisdiction or a distinct order. The bishops, as well as the archbishops, are barons or lords of parliament, taking precedence of all temporal barons; they are also sole judges in their own courts, and issue writs in their own names; their jurisdiction still embracing several particulars respecting temporalities. Every bishop of the United Church has, in fact, two sorts of power: the one is essential to his office as bishop, and cannot be delegated to any other person who is not a bishop; while the other, being derived from the State, is commonly delegated to doctors of law. The proper functions of the bishops are, to govern their respective dioceses, to assist at the consecration of other prelates, to examine and ordain priests and deacons, to consecrate churches and burying-grounds, and to administer the rite of confirmation. The bishop's representatives and assistants in the government of the church, are

the archdeacons, of whom there are sixty in England. Their office is, to hold visitations of the clergy in their respective portions of the diocese once every year, when the bishop himself does not visit, at which they inquire into the reparations and moveables belonging to churches, suspend in cases of discipline, and exercise jurisdiction over churchwardens, &c. The rural deans answer to the ancient *chorepiscopi*, or sub-bishops. The deans of chapters form a distinct order, being the presidents of the prebendaries or canons belonging to the several cathedrals, who form the chapter, and are the nominal electors of the bishop. These are the dignified clergy. The inferior clergy are, the rectors or vicars,* and their curates, who are stipendiaries, but, being for the most part in priests' orders, are equal in ecclesiastical rank to the beneficed clergy. There are also various lay-officers connected with the episcopal courts, besides the churchwardens, who are a species of deacons, annually chosen by the parishioners. "As for deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, archdeacons, chancellors, officials, commissaries, and such other the like names," says Hooker, "which being not found in Holy Scripture, we have been thereby, through some men's error, thought to allow of ecclesiastical degrees not known nor ever heard of in the better ages of former times; all these are in truth but titles of *office*, whereunto partly ecclesiastical persons, and partly others, are in sundry forms and conditions admitted, as the state of the church doth need, degrees of *order* still continuing the same they were from the first beginning."†

The Church of England is the only Protestant church which retains the Episcopal form of government in its hierarchical splendour.‡ The bishops of other Episcopal reformed communions, in Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, and the United States, are presidents of the clergy, but possess

* The rector enjoys the prædial or great tithes of the parish. If these have been secularized, the incumbent, who has only the small tithes, is termed a vicar; a name originally implying that he was the *vicarius*, or deputy of the rector.

† Eccl. Polity, Book V. § 78.

‡ See pages 226, 231, 244, 254, 264.

no senatorial rank, and exercise no judicial functions. It is not, however, the multiplicity of offices and gradations in the English hierarchy, so much as the commixture of civil and ecclesiastical power in its constitution, which forms its distinguishing feature. Several of the German and Helvetic Reformers were disposed to regard the episcopal form of church-government as having both antiquity and expediency in its favour. "What more certain," says one of them, "than that the ordering of ecclesiastical persons one in authority above another, was received into the church by the common consent of the Christian world?"* "But," says Hooker, "they grant that the superiority of bishops and archbishops is somewhat ancient, but no such *kind* of superiority as ours have. By the laws of our discipline, a bishop may ordain without asking the people's consent; a bishop may excommunicate and release alone; a bishop may imprison; a bishop may bear civil office in the realm; a bishop may be a counsellor of state: those things ancient bishops neither did nor might do." Granting this, he proceeds to justify the changes introduced for greater convenience, and to defend, by Jewish and Roman precedents, "the conjunction of civil and ecclesiastical power" in one person; the main point upon which he was at issue with his opponents.† "The most that can be said in this case is," says this great Apologist for Prelacy, "that sundry eminent canons bearing the name of Apostolical, and divers councils likewise there are, which have forbidden the clergy to bear any secular office; whereupon the most of the ancient Fathers have shewed great dislikes that these two powers should be united in one person. . . . Canons, constitutions, and laws, which have been at one time meet, do not

* Zanchius, cited by Hooker, Book VII. § 15.

† "In the prime of the world, kings and civil rulers were priests for the most part all. The Romans note it as a thing beneficial to their commonwealth." . . . "Shall we then discommend the people of Milan for using Ambrose, their bishop, as an ambassador about their public and political affairs; the Jews for electing their priests sometimes to be leaders in war; David for making the high-priest his chiefest counsellor of state: finally, all Christian kings and princes which have appointed unto like services bishops or other of the clergy under them?" Book VII. § 15.

prove that the church should always be bound to follow them." And he affirms that, far from being a blemish, we ought to acknowledge it as "one of the chiefest ornaments unto this land," that, "by the ancient laws, the clergy, being held for the chief of those Three Estates which together make up the body of this Commonwealth, under one supreme Head and Governor," should have "ever borne a proportionable sway in the weighty affairs of the land."*

This mixture of the civil and ecclesiastical functions is expressly disclaimed by the Church of Scotland. It maintains, in its public Confession, that "the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, has therein appointed a government in the hands of church-officers, distinct from the civil magistrate." It jealously protests against there being "any other head of the church but the Lord Jesus;" although it avows, that, from due obedience to "the magistrates' just and legal authority," ecclesiastical persons are not exempt. In the General Assembly, a representative of the sovereign presides, in the person of the Lord High Commissioner, who is always a nobleman, but he has no voice in their deliberations; and there is a distinct chairman or moderator, who is now always a minister. It is a standing principle of the polity of the Scottish church, that the union of civil and ecclesiastical functions in the same person is ordinarily inexpedient. Knox, in adopting the general principles of the discipline and polity of Geneva, had appointed, in place of bishops, an order of superintendents, who exercised functions in some respects similar. This intermediate scheme between the Episcopal and the Presbyterian was, however, speedily abandoned; and in 1552, the celebrated Andrew Melville introduced that form of polity which, by the Treaty of Union, is established as the only government of Christ's Church in that part of Great Britain called Scotland. In the democratic character of its constitution, and the absolute parity of all the presbyters, as well as in the strictly ecclesiastical functions of its officers, the Church of Scotland presents a system of church government

* Book VII. § 15. Hooker justifies, in his Preface, "her sacred Majesty's Court of High Commission."

the very opposite to that of prelacy, and incapable of being assimilated to the English hierarchy.

III.

THIRDLY, AS TO MATTERS OF RITUAL.—Under this head may be included the ordained use of the Liturgy, and the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Rubric, as well as the offices of Baptism, Marriage, Confirmation, Visitation of the Sick, and Burial, and “the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons,” which is declared, by the XXXVIth Article of the Church of England, to have in it “nothing superstitious and ungodly.”

The present Book of Common Prayer is the work of a commission of six prelates and six other dignitaries, with Archbishop Cranmer at their head, appointed by Edward VI. The compilation was submitted to the Convocation in November 1548; and on the 15th of January following, after considerable opposition, it received the final sanction of the Legislature. The Commissioners “did not profess to compose an original Liturgy, but rather to mould into a better fabric the noble collection of materials which antiquity had already furnished to their hands. With this view, every thing sound and valuable in the Romish Missal and Breviary was transferred by them, without scruple, to the English Communion Service and to the Common Prayer; and the whole was enriched from the treasures of devotion which had been preserved in the most ancient and venerable Liturgies.”* The essential merits of the performance are thus enumerated by Bishop Ridley, one of the Commissioners. 1. The service in a language known to the people. 2. Scripture lessons instead of legendary tales. 3. The Bible read through in order without interruption. 4. The Creed more properly disposed. 5. The Lord’s Prayer introduced immediately before reading or other devotion; and this, 6, repeated audibly instead of secretly. 7. The Ave-Maria omitted. 8. The monkish metrical hymns rejected. 9. As also the prayers for the

* Le Bas’s *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 318.

dead. 10. And, lastly, addresses to saints, together with superstitious consecrations and exorcisms. To this may be added, that the Absolution in the daily service is in the precatory form, and without any proclamation of the power of the keys.*

Before this "General Public Office" came forth, there were in use a great variety of forms of prayer and communion. The popish service-books of Sarum, of Hereford, of York, of Bangor, and of Lincoln, as we learn from Strype, the ecclesiastical historian of those times, which had been adopted by different churches, were still tenaciously adhered to; the English forms, which had been partially introduced, being stigmatized as "innovations" and "new rites." The Latin service-books had, indeed, been expressly forbidden by the Government, "although it was afterwards thought fit to connive at them for a while." But at length, "for the preventing of this different service of God, (for by it great divisions and contentions happened,) the King resolved to have one form composed, to be only used, and none other, throughout this realm."† In the royal circular addressed to the bishops, urging the strict observation of the Common Prayer, the King exhorts them "to put away all vain expectation of having the public service in the Latin tongue, which were a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light." At length, in the 3d and 4th of Edward VI., the Romish service-books were called in and abolished by Act of Parliament.

"Though even the first Communion-service and the first book of public prayers, struck off abundance of superstitions, and reduced the service of God to the primitive pattern and the rule of God's word, yet," says the same Historian, "the Reformers never looked upon it as so perfect but that it might admit of amendment and improvement." Accordingly, two years after (1550), it "underwent a diligent inspection and reformation by some of the bishops." Since then, the Liturgy has undergone three several revisions; first, when re-established by I Elizabeth; again in the first year of King James;

* Le Bas's Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 321.

† Strype's Memorials, Book I. c. ii. A. D. 1548.

and, lastly, in 1661, the 14th Charles II., when the last Act of Uniformity was passed. The alterations made in the service at these different periods were, however, few and immaterial; and many of them were adapted to conciliate the Romanists, rather than to satisfy the scruples of conscientious Protestants whose views harmonized with those of the Reformers of Zurich and Geneva. More violent measures were adopted in the reign of Elizabeth, in order to compel an observance of the rites and ceremonies which the Church claimed the power to decree, than had been employed to make the Papalins read prayers in the English tongue.

The main object of the Act of Uniformity was, to restore a rigid observance of those minute regulations which related to the clerical habits and certain ceremonies identified with the exterior solemnities of public worship. The disgraceful irregularities, as they were deemed, occasioned by "a lax enforcement" of that Act, are thus enumerated in a paper of Lord Burleigh's:—"Some say the service and prayer in the chancel; others in the body of the church. Some say the same in a seat made in the church; some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people. Some keep precisely the order of the book; others intermeddle psalms in metre.* Some say with

* Thomas Warton regards the metrical psalms of Sternhold as a puritanic version, and asserts, that, notwithstanding the title-page states, that they are "set forth and *allowed* to be sung in all churches," they were never admitted by lawful authority. They were, he says, first introduced by the Puritans, from the Calvinists of Geneva, and afterwards continued by connivance. This is not quite correct. Psalmody was cherished in this country by the disciples of Wickliff, as it was by the Albigensic and Bohemian brethren on the Continent. In the reign of Henry VIII., "some poets, such as the times afforded, translated David's Psalms into verse; and it was a sign by which men's affections to that work (of Reformation) were everywhere measured, whether they used to sing these or not." Bishop Jewel writes thus to Peter Martyr:—"A change now appears visible among the people; which nothing promotes more than inviting them to sing psalms. This was begun in one church in London, and did quickly spread itself not only through the city, but in the neighbouring places. Sometimes at Paul's Cross, there will be six thousand singing together." A clause in the Act of Uniformity, 1548, authorized the practice of using any psalm openly, "in churches, chapels, oratories, and other places." At length, as psalmody, after being popular for a while, in France and Germany, among both Roman Catholics and Protestants, came to be discountenanced by the former as an open declaration of Lutherism, so, in England, psalm-singing was soon abandoned to the Puritans, and became almost a peculiarity of Nonconformity.—See p. 328.

a surplice; others without a surplice. The table standeth in the body of the church in some places; in others, it standeth in the chancel. In some places the table standeth altar-wise, distant from the wall a yard; in others, in the middle of the chancel north and south. In some places, the table is joined; in others, it standeth upon tressels. In some, the table hath a carpet; in others, it hath none. Some with surplice and cap; some with surplice alone; others with none. Some with chalice; some with communion cup; others with a common cup. Some with unleavened bread; others with leavened. Some receive kneeling; others standing; others sitting. Some baptize in a font; some in a basin. Some sign with the sign of the cross; others sign not. Some minister in a surplice; others without. Some with a square cap; some with a round cap; some with a button cap; some with a hat. Some with scholars' clothes; some with others." All this, it has been said, was "the result of leaving these indifferent matters to private discretion." * Some forsook the churches, because the habits were used; others, again, because the habits were not used. The policy of Elizabeth led her to take part with the latter. "She inherited from her father," remarks Prebendary Le Bas, "a love of magnificence and state, and was unable to endure the thought of stripping the service of God of all those visible attributes which often powerfully affect the heart through the medium of the senses. Had she been left entirely to her own inclinations, it is probable, indeed, that the offices of the church might have retained somewhat more of the ancient grandeur than might be altogether consistent with the genuine simplicity of a spiritual worship." † It is, however, indisputable, that, in her reign, a great number of changes were introduced, which rendered the ritual of the English church far more conformable to that of the Popish service, than Cranmer and his colleagues had left it, and, of course, less acceptable to the Puritans. We have an account of these alterations in the Proceedings of

* Le Bas, *Life of Jewel*, p. 166. The paper of Lord Burleigh's is taken from Madox's *Vindication*, pp. 155, 156.

† *Life of Jewel*, p. 164.

some learned Divines appointed by the Lords to meet at the Bishop of Lincoln's, in 1641, to take into consideration certain "Innovations in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England." * The following are enumerated among "Innovations in Discipline."

"1. The turning of the holy table altar-wise, and most commonly calling it altar.

"2. Bowing towards it, or towards the East, many times, with three congees, but usual in every motion, access, or recess in the church.

"3. Advancing candlesticks in many churches upon the altar so called.

"4. In making canopies over the altar so called, with traverses and curtains on each side and before it.

"5. In compelling all communicants to come up before the rails, and there to receive.

"6. In advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafront or altar-cloth so called.

"7. In reading some part of Morning Prayer at the holy table when there is no communion celebrated.

"8. By the minister's turning his back to the west, and his face to the east, when he pronounceth the Creed, or reads prayers.

"9. By pretending for their innovations the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, *which are not in force*, but by way of commentary and imposition, and by putting to the Liturgy, Printed *secundo, tertio Edwardi Sexti*, which the Parliament hath reformed and laid aside.

"10. By prohibiting a direct prayer before sermon, and bidding of prayer." †

In this same document, we find suggested, under the head of "Considerations on the Book of Common Prayer:"—

"Whether the Rubric should not be mended, where all

* These learned persons were, Archbishop Usher, the Bishop of Lincoln (Williams), Dr. Prideaux (afterwards Bishop of Worcester), Dr. Ward, Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, Dr. Brownrig (afterwards Bishop of Exeter), Dr. Feately, and Dr. Hacket (afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield).

† "History of Nonconformity," &c. London, 1704. pp. 347, 348.

vestments in them of divine service are now commanded which were used 2 Edw. VI.

“ Whether Lessons of Canonical Scripture should be put into the Calendar instead of Apocrypha.

“ Whether it were not fit to have some discreet Rubric made to take away all scandal from signifying the sign of the cross upon the infants after baptism ; or, if it shall seem more expedient to be quite disused, whether this reason should be published ; that, in ancient liturgies, no cross was consigned upon the parts but where oil also was used, and therefore, oil being now omitted, so may also that which was concomitant with it, the sign of the cross.

“ In the absolution of the sick, were it not plain to say, *I pronounce thee absolved*?

“ In the order of the burial of all persons, it is said, *We commit his body to the ground in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life*: Why not thus? *Knowing assuredly that the dead shall rise again.*”

Notwithstanding the high reputation and unimpeachable motives of the learned prelates and other divines who concurred in these suggestions and recommendations, it does not appear that any of them were adopted. Twenty years afterwards, we find the same points adverted to in the “ Papers of Proposals concerning the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church of England, humbly presented to his Majesty, King Charles II., by the reverend ministers who laboured for concord.” In the first paper occurs the following humble representation :—

“ May it therefore please your Majesty, out of your princely care for the healing of our breaches, graciously to grant, that kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and such holy-days as are but of human institution, may not be imposed upon such as do conscientiously scruple the observation of them. And that the use of the surplice, and cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, (rather than Christ or Emanuel, or any other names whereby the Divine Person or either of the Divine Persons is denominated,) may be abolished: these things being, in the judgement of the imposers themselves,

but indifferent and mutable ; and in the judgement of others, a rock of offence ; and in the judgement of all, not to be valued with the peace of the church. We likewise represent to your Majesty, that divers ceremonies, (which we conceive have no foundation in the law of the land,) as erecting altars, bowing towards them, and such like, have not only been introduced, but in some places imposed, whereby an arbitrary power was usurped ; divers ministers of the Gospel (though conformable to the established ceremonies) troubled ; some reverend and learned bishops offended ; Protestants grieved ; and the Papists pleased, as hoping these innovations might make way to greater changes.

“ May it therefore please your Majesty, in such ways as your royal wisdom shall judge meet, effectually to prevent the imposing and using such innovations for the future ; that so, according to the pious intention of your royal grandfather, King James, of blessed memory, the public worship may be free not only from blame, but from suspicion.”

The same points were again urged upon the consideration of His Majesty in the “ Second Paper.” All that could be obtained, however, was the appointment of certain divines, of both parties, as Commissioners under His Majesty’s authority, to treat about the alteration of the Book of Common Prayer. In the “ humble and earnest Petition for Peace,” presented by the divines of the Presbyterian party to the archbishops, bishops, and others associated with them in this Commission, all that is asked for is, the confirmation of the grants solemnly made in His Majesty’s Declaration (at Breda) concerning ecclesiastical affairs ; with liberty of using a reformed liturgy ; and a confirmation of the orders of the Presbyterian pastors, without forcing them to be re-ordained by the bishops.*

* “ And that, seeing we cannot obtain the form of Episcopal government described by the late reverend Primate of Ireland, and approved by many Episcopal divines, we may at least enjoy those benefits of reformation in discipline, and that freedom from subscription, oaths, and ceremonies, which are granted in the said Declaration, by the means of your charitable mediation and request.” . . . “ Were these two granted, the confirmation of the grants in His Majesty’s Declaration, with the liberty of the Reformed Liturgy offered you, and the restoring of able,

This Petition for Peace was accompanied with a Reformed Liturgy (composed by Mr. Baxter), comprising some additional forms, which were offered to the consideration of the Commissioners. In pursuance, moreover, of the professed object of the Commission, the Presbyterian ministers proceeded to put in their exceptions against certain passages in the present Liturgy, many of their objections being founded upon alterations made since the reign of King Edward. For instance; in pleading that the religious observation of saints' days might not be enjoined, the Petitioners ask, that "the names of all others not inserted in the Calendar, which are not in the first and second Books of Edward VI., may be left out." They desire, that "there may be no such imposition of the Liturgy as that the exercise of the gift of prayer be thereby totally excluded in any part of public worship;" and that it may be left to the discretion of the minister to omit part of the service, "as occasion shall require," such liberty being "allowed even in the first Common Prayer-book of Edward VI." Again, in reference to the first rubric of the Morning Service, it is requested, that the words of the Rubric may be expressed as in the book established by authority of Parliament, 5 and 6 Edw. VI. And the second rubric is excepted against, as seeming "to bring back the cope, alba, and other vestments forbidden in the Common Prayer-book, 5 and 6 Edward VI." They also complained of the suppression of the rubric in King Edward's Common Prayer-book, declaring that kneeling at the receiving of the Lord's Supper was not retained out of any belief of transubstantiation; which rubric, being "established by law as much as any other part of the Common Prayer-book," they pray to have restored.

Unhappily, it had been predetermined to make no concessions to the Presbyterian party. No accommodation was desired, the Court party being afraid of nothing so much as that the Presbyterians should conform. The Petition and Exceptions called forth from the Episcopal Commissioners

faithful ministers to a capacity to be serviceable to the Church of God, without forcing them, against their consciences, to be re-ordained; how great would be the benefits to this unworthy nation!"

only an angry rejoinder, in which every objection raised by the Petitioners was treated as frivolous, the only "concessions" being limited to a few verbal corrections.* In their reply to this answer, the Presbyterian Commissioners say: "In them (the Concessions), you allow not the laying aside of the reading of the Apocrypha for Lessons, though it shut out some hundreds of chapters of Holy Scripture, and sometimes the Scripture itself is made to give way to the Apocrypha; you plead against the addition of the Doxology unto the Lord's Prayer; you give no liberty to omit the too frequent repetition of *Gloria Patri*, nor of the Lord's Prayer in the same public service; nor do you yield the Psalms to be read in the new Translation, nor the word priest to be changed for minister or presbyter, though both have been yielded unto in the Scottish Liturgy; . . . nor to read the Communion Service in the desk when there is no communion; but, in the late form, instead thereof, it is enjoined to be done at the table, though there be no rubric in the Common Prayer-book requiring it; you plead for the holiness of Lent, contrary to the statute (5 Elizabeth); you indulge not the omission of any one ceremony; you will force men to kneel at the sacrament, and you put not in that excellent rubric in the 5 and 6 of Edw. VI., which would much conduce to the satisfaction of many that scruple it. And whereas divers reverend bishops and doctors, in a paper in print before these unhappy wars began, yielded to the laying aside of the Cross, and the making many material alterations, you, after twenty years' sad calamities

* A specimen or two of these Concessions may be acceptable. "We are willing that all the Epistles and Gospels be used according to the last translation. That, when any thing is read for an Epistle which is not in the Epistles, the superscription be, *For the Epistle*. That the words *the Day* be used only upon the day itself; and for the following days it be said, *as about this time*. That if the Font be so placed as the congregation cannot hear, it may be referred to the ordinary to place it more conveniently. That those words, *With my body I thee worship*, may be altered thus: *With my body I thee honour*. That those words, *till death us depart*, be thus altered: *till death us do part*. That the words *sure and certain* be left out." It is remarkable, that even some of these trivial amendments should not have been carried into effect. "We must say in the conclusion," remark the Presbyterians, after going through these Concessions, "that if those be all the abatements and amendments you will admit, you sell your innocency and the church's peace for nothing."

and divisions, seem unwilling to grant what they of their own accord then offered You speak of singing David's Psalms, allowed by authority, by way of contempt, in calling them Hopkins's Psalms; and though singing of psalms be an ordinance of God, yet you call it one of our principal parts of worship, as if it were disclaimed by you. And you are so far from countenancing the use of conceived [extemporaneous] prayer in the public worship of God, (though we never intended thereby the excluding of set forms,) as that you seem to dislike the use of it even in the pulpit, and heartily desire a total restraint of it in the church You will not leave the minister, in the Visitation of the Sick, to use his judgement of discretion in absolving the sick person, or in giving the sacrament to him, but enjoin both of them, though the person to his own judgement seem never so unfit; neither do you allow the minister to pronounce the absolution in a declarative and conditional way, but absolutely and inconditionally All which considered, we altogether despair of that happy success which thousands hope and wait for from this His Majesty's Commission; unless God shall incline your hearts, for the peace and union of the nation, to a more considerable and satisfactory alteration of the Liturgy." *

The Royal Commission expired (July 25, 1661), and the conferences ended, without any advance having been made towards accommodation. On the 20th of November, the King sent a letter to the Convocation, commanding them to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to make such additions and amendments as might be deemed necessary. The revision occupied a month; but the only alterations consisted of the verbal corrections conceded by the Episcopal Commissioners, chiefly in the rubrics, and some in the Calendar. Additional forms of prayer were added, for the 30th of January, for the 29th of May, for persons at sea, and a new office for the administration of baptism to adult persons. Some new lessons also were taken out of the Apocrypha; but it was agreed that

* "History of Nonconformity," pp. 183—186. For a history of the Savoy Conference, as it is generally called, the reader may be referred to Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. ch. 6. Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. 1660-1.

no apocryphal lessons should be read on Sundays. On the 20th of December, the review passed both houses of the Convocation, and was transmitted to the King in council; and on February 24 following, the Privy Council transmitted the Prayer-book, thus revised, to the House of Peers, with the royal message, That his Majesty had duly considered of the alterations, and does, with the advice of his council, fully approve and allow the same; and doth recommend it to the House of Peers, that the said books of Common Prayer and of the forms of ordination and consecration of bishops, priests, and deacons, with those additions and alterations, be the book which, in and by the intended Act of Uniformity, shall be appointed to be used in all parish churches of England and Wales, *under such sanctions and penalties as the Parliament shall think fit.*" Having passed the Lords, they were sent down to the Commons, to be inserted in the Act of Uniformity. The Bill enacting that measure was read a first time, January 14, 1662. It passed the House by a majority of only six, the ayes being 186, the noes 180; and, on being sent up to the Lords, it met with greater obstacles, several amendments being introduced, which occasioned conferences between the two Houses.* The Commons, however, or rather the ascendant party in the Commons, supported by the Court, refused to accede to the amendments; and the Lords ultimately gave way. On May 19, the Bill received the Royal assent; "and by it," says Bishop Burnet, "all who did not conform to the Liturgy by the 24th of August, St. Bartho-

* "The Lords would have exempted schoolmasters, tutors, and those who had the education of youth; and, in the disabling clause, would have included only livings with cure. But the Commons, being supported by the Court, would abate nothing, nor consent to any provision for such as should be ejected. They would indulge no latitude in the surplice or cross in baptism, for fear of establishing a schism, and weakening the authority of the Church, as to her right of imposing indifferent rites and ceremonies. *And the Court were willing to shut out as many as they could from the Establishment, to make a general toleration more necessary.* When the Lords urged the King's declaration from Breda, the Commons replied, that it would be strange to call a schismatical conscience a tender one; but, suppose this had been meant, say they, his Majesty can be guilty of no breach of promise, because the Declaration had these two limitations; a reference to Parliament, and, so far as was consistent with the peace of the kingdom."—*Neal*, vol. iv. p. 325.

lomew's day, in the year 1662, were deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices, without leaving any discretionary power with the King in the execution of it, and without making provision for the maintenance of those who should be so deprived; a severity neither practised by Queen Elizabeth in the enacting of her Liturgy, nor by Cromwell in ejecting the Royalists, in both which a fifth part of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence. St. Bartholomew's day was pitched upon, that, if they were then deprived, they should lose the profits of the whole year, since the tithes are commonly due at Michaelmas." "The Parliament," says Rapin, "were undoubtedly actuated by a spirit of revenge; and being of principles directly opposite to the Presbyterians, who were for reducing the royal power within certain limits, they resolved to put it out of their power for ever to restrain the prerogative or alter the government of the church; and the King, being in continual want of money, was content to sacrifice the Presbyterians for a large supply of the nation's money, especially when he knew he was serving the cause of Popery at the same time, by making way for a general toleration."

The terms of conformity now were:

1. Re-ordination, if they had not been episcopally ordained; which involved a renunciation of the validity of Presbyterian orders.
2. A declaration of unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed and contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, &c.
3. The oath of canonical obedience.
4. Abjuration of the solemn league and covenant.
5. Abjuration of the lawfulness of taking arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever.

Not only were the terms more rigid than before the civil wars; but lecturers and schoolmasters were now, for the first time, put upon the same footing with incumbents, as to oaths and subscriptions.

The 24th of August, 1662, is the era of Nonconformity. The number of those who, on or before that day, relinquished

their preferments in the church, is stated by Neal and other contemporary writers, at about two thousand; "an example," says the Nonconformist Historian, "hardly to be paralleled in the Christian world." From that time, the Protestant Dissenters have formed a considerable and powerful body in the nation; and the Act of Toleration, which at length extended the protection of Government to their worship, was the necessary consequence of the Act of Uniformity, which threw so large a proportion of the learning, piety, and social influence of the church into the scale of Dissent.*

Since that period, applications for a further review of the Liturgy and Offices have been repeatedly made without any successful result. In the reign of William and Mary, a Bill relaxing the rigid terms of the Act of Uniformity, and dispensing with the practice of kneeling at the sacrament, and the use of the Cross in baptism, passed the House of Lords, but was lost in the Commons.† A special Commission was subsequently issued under the great seal, appointing ten bishops and twenty divines, (among whom were Archbishops Tillotson and Tennyson, and Bishops Burnet, Patrick, Kidder, and Stillingfleet,) to prepare such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer and Canons as might be fit to lay before the Convocation. The Commissioners (though some refused to act) discharged the task assigned to them, and transmitted their report to the Convocation; but the lower house came to a resolution not to entertain the proposal, and would take no notice of that part of the King's message.‡ The purpose of the Commission was thus defeated; and some subsequent attempts proved equally abortive.

* Among the more eminent of the Nonconformists who were ejected by this Act, may be enumerated, Baxter, Howe, Owen, Bates, Philip Henry, Flavel, Manton, Goodwin, Pool, Charnock, Caryl, Mead, S. Clark, Alsop, Gale, Jacomb, Calamy, Clarkson, Annesley, and Corbet.

† Bishop Burnet says, that this Bill of Comprehension was not supported by those in the House who seemed most favourable to the Dissenters, because "they set it up for a maxim, that it was fit to keep up a strong faction both in church and state;" and "they also thought, that the toleration would be best maintained, when great numbers should need it, and be concerned to preserve it. So this good design being zealously opposed, and but faintly promoted, it fell to the ground."

‡ Burnet's Own Times. 1689.

The Church of Scotland, by an Act of Assembly in 1645, rejected the use of the Liturgy altogether, and adopted, in lieu of it, "The Directory for the Public Worship of God," agreed upon by the Westminster Assembly. In the Preface to that Directory, the reasons for this proceeding are thus given at length:—

"In the beginning of the blessed Reformation, our wise and pious ancestors took care to set forth an order for redress of many things which they then, by the word, discovered to be vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous in the public worship of God. This occasioned many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the Book of Common Prayer at that time set forth; because, the Mass and the rest of the Latin service being removed, the public worship was celebrated in our own tongue. Many of the common people also received benefit by hearing the Scriptures read in their own language, which formerly were unto them as a book that is sealed.

"Howbeit, long and sad experience hath made it manifest, that the Liturgy used in the Church of England, (notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it,) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad. For, not to speak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it, the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it have occasioned much mischief, as well by disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or subscribing to those ceremonies. Sundry good Christians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's table; and divers able and faithful ministers debarred from the exercise of their ministry (to the endangering of many thousand souls in a time of such scarcity of faithful pastors), and spoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their families. Prelates and their faction have laboured to raise the estimation of it to such a height, as if there were no other worship, or way of worship, of God amongst us, but only the service-book, to the great hinderance

of the preaching of the word, and (in some places, especially of late) to the justling of it out as unnecessary ; or (at best) as far inferior to the reading of common prayer, which was made no better than an idol by many ignorant and superstitious people, who, pleasing themselves in their presence at that service, and their lip-labour as bearing a part in it, have thereby hardened themselves in their ignorance and carelessness of saving knowledge and true piety.

“ In the meantime, Papists boasted that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their service ; and so were not a little confirmed in their superstition and idolatry, expecting rather our return to them, than endeavouring the reformation of themselves ; in which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when, upon the pretended warrantableness of imposing of the former ceremonies, new ones were daily obtruded upon the church.

“ Add hereunto, (which was not foreseen, but since hath come to pass,) that the Liturgy hath been a great means, as, on the one hand, to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry, which contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer, with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants whom he calls to that office ; so, on the other side, it hath been (and ever would be, if continued,) a matter of endless strife and contention in the church, and a snare both to many godly and faithful ministers, who have been persecuted and silenced upon that occasion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more still would be, diverted from all thoughts of the ministry to other studies.

“ Upon these, and many the like weighty considerations, in reference to the whole book in general, and because of divers particulars contained in it ; not from any love to novelty, or intention to disparage our first Reformers, (of whom we are persuaded that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, and whom we acknowledge as excellent instruments raised by God to begin the purging and building of his house, and desire they may be had of us and posterity in

everlasting remembrance with thankfulness and honour,) but that we may, in some measure, answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for further reformation, and may satisfy our own consciences, and answer the expectation of other reformed churches, and the desires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give some public testimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worship, which we have promised in our solemn League and Covenant: we have, after earnest and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much consultation, not with flesh and blood, but with his holy word, resolved to lay aside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God; and have agreed upon this following Directory for all the parts of public worship, at ordinary and extraordinary times."

The Act of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1645, approving and appointing the Directory, was revived and confirmed by the Tenth Act of the General Assembly, 1705. It is not, however, strictly adhered to in all its provisions. The extent to which the practice of the Established Church of Scotland, in matters of ritual, differs from that of the Church of England, may be seen from the following enumeration of particulars. No liturgy or public form is used. No surplice is worn, but only the Presbyterian gown. There are no chancels or altars in the churches: the communion-tables are not fixed, but are introduced for the occasion, and are sometimes two or more in number, and of considerable length. The elements are received in a sitting posture, being administered to the congregation by the elders. The posture during prayer is standing. Neither the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, nor the Doxology, is introduced as an essential part of the public service.* No

* In the familiar correspondence of a late prelate of the Church of Ireland, (Bishop Jebb,) there occurs a singular passage, which discloses the intense prejudice of which even learned and amiable minds are susceptible, in respect to different modes of Christian and Protestant worship. The writer is describing his feelings on attending the church service as performed at Percy Chapel, London. "What I most cordially disrelished was the style of hymn. . . . I felt like a stranger dropped from another world into an assembly of strange worshippers,

instrumental music is admitted. No consecration of churches or of burial-grounds is practised, nor any funeral service at interment. The Lord's Supper is never celebrated in private houses, nor privately administered to the sick or dying. Sponsors in baptism are not admitted, the Church of Scotland allowing none to present children for baptism but the parents. Confirmation is rejected. Lent is not observed, nor any of the ecclesiastical festivals.

In most of these particulars, the practice of the Protestant Dissenting churches agrees with that of the Church of Scotland.

IV.

FOURTHLY, AS TO THE DOCTRINES OF SACRAMENTAL GRACE AND SACERDOTAL ABSOLUTION.—The tenets of the Church of England upon these points correspond to the theory of ordination already explained, and may be represented as intermediate between the doctrines of the Romish church and those of the churches of Scotland and Geneva. The language of the Thirty-nine Articles does not, indeed, upon this point, widely differ from that of Calvin himself. "Sacraments ordained of Christ," the XXVth Article sets forth, "be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession; but rather they be certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him." "We admit," says Calvin in his Institutes, "the comparison deduced from external badges; but we cannot bear that the last and least use of the sacraments should be represented as their principal and even sole object. The first object of them is, to assist our faith towards God; the second, to testify our

with whom I could no more join *than I could join in the worship of Juggernaut*. In the morning, indeed, the Psalms displeased me; they were Christianized, and no Gloria Patri was either sung, or, indeed, existed in the printed Psalm Book. Before sermon, — — gave a long prayer of his own, and altered the Lord's Prayer; and, after the sermon, took a still greater liberty, in lengthy alterations of a liturgical collect. *Oh innovatores!*"—Jebb and Knox's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 215.

confession before men. The only office assigned to them by God, is, to testify and confirm his benevolence towards us; nor do they impart any benefit, unless they are accompanied by the Holy Spirit to open our minds and hearts, and render us capable of receiving this testimony. . . . They communicate no grace from themselves, but announce and show, and, as earnest and pledges, ratify the things which are given to us by the goodness of God." "Wherefore let us abide by this conclusion; that *the office of the Sacraments is precisely the same as that of the word of God; which is to offer and present Christ to us, and in him the treasures of his heavenly grace*; but they confer no advantage or profit without being received by faith."* Conformably to this doctrine, the XXVIIIth Article teaches, that "the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith." And the XXIXth further affirms, that "the wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing."

In still more remarkable coincidence with the language of the Institutes, was the Exhortation in the Communion Service, as left by Archbishop Cranmer in the Prayer-book, and as it stood prior to the revision in the reign of Charles II.: "Wherefore it is our duty to render most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God our heavenly Father, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance, *as it is declared unto us as well by God's word, as by the holy Sacrament of his body and blood.*"

This language evidently agrees with the sentiment of Calvin, that the office of the Sacraments is the same as that of the word of God, namely, to declare and represent the saving truth and the grace of Christ.† But the Revisers of 1662

* Institutes, Book IV. § 13, 14, 17.

† "With Bertram I confess," says Bishop Ridley, in one of his defences at Oxford, "that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely, as he

introduced a most important alteration; and the clause now runs,—“but also to be our food and sustenance *in that holy Sacrament*.” The design with which this alteration was made, when taken in connexion with the other changes in the Rubric, cannot be misunderstood. But we find it thus broadly stated by a learned and zealous champion of the Church of England, in a recent publication. “The distress of the Episcopal church during the usurpation,” remarks Mr. Alexander Knox, “had more than ever endeared her to her genuine children; and the hand which inflicted the discipline, served to abate all undue Protestant zeal. A revision, therefore, of the Liturgy being called for, the Revisers seized the opportunity (contrary to what the public was reckoning upon) to make our formularies, not more puritanical, but *more catholic*. They effected this, without doubt, *stealthily*, and, to appearance, by the minutest alteration; but to compare the Communion Service, as it now stands, especially its rubrics, with the form in which we find it previously to that

writeth, because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, *that is, the power of his word*, which not only feedeth the soul, but cleanseth it.” Language which seems to allude to John xv. 3; xvii. 17; vi. 63. “It seems to me to be evident,” says the same great Reformer, “that Christ took bread, and called it his body, for that he would institute thereby a perpetual remembrance of his body, especially of that singular benefit of our redemption, which he would then procure and purchase unto us by his body upon the cross. . . . The sacramental bread is the mystical body, and so it is called in Scripture (1 Cor. x.), as it is called the natural body of Christ. But Christ’s mystical body is the congregation of Christians. Now, no man was ever so fond as to say, that the sacramental bread is transubstantiated and changed into the substance of the congregation. Wherefore, no man should think or say that the bread is transubstantiated into the natural substance of Christ’s human nature.”—*Works of the Brit. Reformers*, (Tract Society ed.) Ridley, pp. 32—34. Such were the sentiments of the martyr Frith, the pupil and friend of Tyndal, for which he suffered. “I answered,” he says, “that I thought it (the sacrament) was both Christ’s body and also our body, as St. Paul teaches us in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. x.”—See also his *Treatise on the Sacrament, British Reformers, Frith*, pp. 70, 71. Frith was charged by Sir Thomas More with teaching “in a few leaves all the poison that Wickliff, Ecolampadius, Tyndal, and Zuinglius have taught in all their books before, concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar; not only affirming it to be very bread still, as Luther doth, but also, as these other beasts do, saith it is nothing else.” The latter assertion, Frith repels; showing “what it is more than bread,” by a comparison between the sacrament and the paschal lamb, which was more than meat, and yet a very lamb indeed.

transaction, will be to discover, that, without any change of features which could cause alarm, a *new spirit* was then breathed into our Communion Service; principally by a few significant circumstances in the manner of conducting the business, which were fitted to impress the devout, though certain to be fully understood only by the initiated.* Thus, by means of the rubrics, "a new character was given to the celebration of the Eucharist;" and what Cranmer had rejected, the Revisers emphatically restored.†

According to this view of the doctrine of the Church of England, "there is," as Mr. Knox expresses it, "in this holy sacrament, a peculiar affluence of supernatural grace mysteriously united with the consecrated symbols, so as to make them the vehicles of heavenly benediction to the capable communicant." "The visible signs become, through the Divine power, for our spiritual benefit, supernaturally endued with invisible virtue."‡ Thus, Bishop Horsley, in one of his charges to the clergy of Rochester, directs them to instruct the people, "that the sacraments are not only signs of grace, but means of the grace signified; the matter of the sacrament being, by Christ's appointment and the operation of the Holy Spirit, the *vehicle* of grace to the believer's soul."§

* Knox's Remains, vol. i. p. 54.

† Ib. vol. ii. pp. 153—156.

‡ Ib. pp. 165, 172.

§ Mr. Knox goes so far as to contend for a principle of the Roman-catholic church, that the sacraments have their effects, "where the receiver doth not (*ponere obicem*) put any bar against them." And he avows his belief, that "the divine influence dispensed through that bread and that cup, enters into many a heart which is speculatively unconscious of the blessing it is receiving, and inspires it with holy desires, good counsels, and just works." (Vol. ii. p. 254.) Of the peculiar influences of divine grace which distinguish the Christian dispensation, "the Eucharist appears designed," he thinks, "by its Divine Author, to be the chief instrumental conduit;" (Ib. p. 247;) the bread and the cup being "the effective organ of a vital communication from the then specially present Redeemer."—(p. 201.) These notions have recently found zealous advocates in the authors of the Oxford "Tracts for the Times," who form a very influential body in the University. In the tract entitled, "Adherence to the Apostolic Succession the safest Course," occurs the following sentence: "Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with this plain truth,—that, by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves not only from a decent, orderly, useful society, but from the only church in this realm which has a right to be quite sure that she has the Lord's body to give to his people." In Tracts,

"Sacraments," says Hooker, "are the powerful instruments of God to eternal life." "It greatly offendeth, that some, when they labour to shew the use of the holy sacraments, assign unto them no end, but only to *teach* the mind by other senses that which the word doth teach by hearing. . . . They are heavenly ceremonies which God hath sanctified and ordained to be administered in his church: first, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or saving grace of Christ unto all that are capable thereof; and, secondly, as means conditional, which God requireth in them unto whom he imparteth grace. . . . For we take not Baptism, nor the Eucharist, for bare *resemblances* or memorials of things absent, neither for *naked signs* and testimonies assuring us of grace received before; but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the sacraments, delivereth into our hands that grace available unto eternal life, which grace the sacraments represent or signify. . . . We receive Christ Jesus in Baptism once, as the first beginner; in the Eucharist often, as being by continual degrees the finisher of our life. . . . Baptism is a sacrament which God hath instituted in his church, to the end that they which receive the same might thereby be incorporated into Christ; and so, through his most precious merit, obtain, as well that saving grace of imputation which taketh away all former guiltiness, as also that infused divine virtue of the Holy Ghost, which giveth to the powers of the soul their first disposition towards future newness of life."* "The grace which we have by the holy Eucharist doth not begin, but

Vol. i. No. 10, the inferior clergy are characterised as "those who are entrusted with the keys of heaven and hell, as the heralds of mercy, as the denouncers of woe to wicked men, as entrusted with *the awful and mysterious gift of making the bread and wine Christ's body and blood.*" Bishop Phillpotts, in his last charge to the clergy of Exeter, holds similar language.

* Eccl. Polity, Book V. § 50, 57, 60. Speaking of rebaptizing, the learned Apologist says: "How should we practise iteration of Baptism, and yet teach that we are by Baptism born anew?" "As Christ hath, therefore, died and risen from the dead but once, so that sacrament which both extinguisheth in him our former sin, and beginneth in us a new condition of life, is by one only actual administration for ever available; according to that in the Nicene Creed, 'I believe one Baptism for the remission of sins.'" *Ib.* § 62.

continue life. No man, therefore, receiveth this sacrament before Baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. . . . And it may be that the grace of Baptism would serve to eternal life, were it not that the state of our spiritual being is daily so much hindered and impaired after Baptism." . . . "The Bread and Cup are (Our Lord's) Body and Blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receipt whereof the *participation* of his Body and Blood ensueth." *

Further, in endeavouring to show that the difference between the doctrine of the Romanists and that of the Anglican church on this point is not essential, the learned Champion of Episcopacy adds: "It is on all sides plainly confessed, First, that this sacrament is a true and real participation of Christ, who thereby imparteth himself, even his whole entire person, as a *mystical Head*, unto every soul that receiveth him; and that every such receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himself unto Christ as a *mystical member* of him, yea, of them also whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, that to whom the *Person of Christ* is thus communicated, to them he giveth, by the same sacrament, his Holy Spirit to sanctify them, as it sanctifieth Him which is their Head. Thirdly, that what *merit, force, or virtue soever there is in his sacrificed Body and Blood*, we freely, fully, and wholly, have it by this sacrament. Fourthly, that *the effect thereof in us is a real transmutation of our souls and bodies* from sin to righteousness, from death and corruption to immortality and life. Fifthly, that because the sacrament, being of itself but a corruptible and earthly creature, must needs be thought an unlikely instrument to work so admirable effects in man, we are therefore to rest ourselves altogether upon the *strength of His glorious power*, who is able and will bring to pass, that the bread and cup which he giveth us, shall be truly the thing he promiseth." † "This bread hath

* Eccl. Polity, Book V. § 67.

† Ibid. Towards the close of the same paragraph, the specific difference between the tenets of the Romish, Lutheran, and Anglican churches is thus defined: "Whereas, therefore, there are but three expositions made of 'This

in it more than the substance which our eyes behold; this cup, hallowed with solemn benediction, availeth to the endless life and welfare both of soul and body, in that it serveth as well for a medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins, as for a sacrifice of thanksgiving: with touching it sanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the image of Jesus Christ.”*

In accordance with this language, Hooker, in a passage already cited, represents the Christian minister as “having to dispose of that flesh which was given for the life of the world, and that blood which was poured out to redeem souls:” “by blessing visible elements, it (the ministry) maketh them invisible grace; it giveth daily the Holy Ghost.”

Although neither Ordination nor Confirmation is ranked by Hooker among the sacraments, he attributes, in both instances, to the imposition of the hands of the bishop, as “an effectual sign,” the actual conveyance of Divine grace. Of Confirmation, which he terms “a sacramental complement,” he thus speaks: “The reason wherefore Confirmation, by prayer and laying on of hands, hath hitherto always continued, is for other very special benefits,” (*i. e.* other than the communication of miraculous gifts,) “which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that

is my body:’ the first, This is in itself before participation *really and truly the natural substance of my body, by reason of the co-existence which my omnipotent body hath with the sanctified element of bread*, which is the Lutheran’s interpretation; the second, This is in itself and before participation *the very true and natural substance of my body, by force of that Deity which with the words of consecration abolisheth the substance of bread, and substituteth in the place thereof my body*, which is the Popish construction; the last, *This hallowed food, through concurrence of Divine power, is, in verity and truth, unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation whereby as I make myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as my sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need, this is to them, and in them, my body*: of these three rehearsed interpretations, the last hath in it nothing but what the rest do all approve and acknowledge to be most true; nothing but that which the words of Christ are, on all sides, confessed to enforce; nothing but that which the Church of God hath always thought necessary; . . . nothing but that wherewith the writings of all antiquity are consonant, and all Christian confessions agreeable.”

* Ib. § 67.

gift or grace of the Holy Ghost, not which maketh us first Christian men, but, when we are made such, assisteth us in all virtue, armeth us against temptation and sin. . . . As much is signified by Eusebius Emisenus, saying, ‘The Holy Ghost, which descendeth with saving influence upon the waters of Baptism, doth there give that fulness which sufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth in Confirmation an augmentation of further grace.’ The Fathers, therefore, being thus persuaded, held Confirmation as an ordinance apostolic, *always* profitable in God’s church, though not always accompanied with equal largeness of those external effects which gave it countenance at the first.”* This language is countenanced by the rubric contained in the Common Prayer-Book prior to the last review; which declares, “That forasmuch as Confirmation is ministered to them that be baptized, that, by imposition of hands and prayer, they may receive strength and defence against all temptations to sin, and the assaults of the world and the devil; it is most meet to be ministered when children come to that age, that, partly by the frailty of their own flesh, partly by the assaults of the world and the devil, they begin to be in danger to fall into sundry kinds of sins.” Accordingly, the bishop offers the petition, that God, who had “vouchsafed to regenerate” the persons about to be confirmed, “by water and the Holy Ghost,” and had “given unto them forgiveness of all their sins,” would now “strengthen them with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, and daily increase in them the manifold gifts of grace.”

The honour of administering Confirmation is restricted to prelates, as “their peculiar and incommunicable prerogative.” “It must be wholly omitted, if they do not perform it.” But, adds Mr. Wheatley, treating “Of the Order of Confirmation,” “though the laying on of hands is a token that the bishops act in this office by divine authority, yet at the same time they sue to Heaven for the blessing they bestow, in humble acknowledgement that *the precious gifts hereby conferred* are not the effect of their own power and holiness, but of the

* Eccl. Pol., Book V. § 66.

abundant mercy and favour of Him who is the only fountain of all goodness and grace." *

The XXVth Article of the Church of England ranks Confirmation and Orders among those so called sacraments, which "are not to be counted for sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles; . . . but yet have not like nature of sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." The Chrism or Unction, which gave its ancient name to this rite, has accordingly been laid aside since the Reformation. Yet, it may admit of question, how far the imposition of hands comes under the description of a visible sign or ceremony, though confessedly not ordained of God. In a tract written by the Rev. Mr. Biddulph, and circulated by the Bristol Tract Society, it is intimated, that Confirmation falls short of being a sacrament, only as it is not "ordained by Christ himself," but is of apostolic institution. The Collect pronounced by the bishop after the imposition of hands, indeed, contains these expressions: "We make these our humble supplications unto Thee for these thy servants, upon whom (after the example of thy holy Apostles) we have now laid our hands, *to certify them (by this sign) of thy favour and gracious goodness towards them.*" The Presbyterian Commissioners of the Savoy Conference expressed their desire, that the practice of the Apostles may not be alleged as a ground of the imposition of hands for the Confirmation of children, "both because the Apostles never did use it in that case, as also because the Articles of the Church of England declare it to be a corrupt imitation of the Apostles' practice." They also petitioned, "that imposition of hands may not be made" (as in this Collect) "a *sign* to certify children of God's

* Wheatley on the Common Prayer, pp. 393—396. According to Jerom, in a passage cited by Hooker with approbation, the cause of insisting upon Confirmation by prelates, "is not any absolute impossibility of receiving the Holy Ghost by the sacrament of Baptism, unless the bishop add after it the imposition of hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitness to honour prelacy with such pre-eminencies, because the safety of the church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief superiors, to whom if some eminent offices of power above others should not be given, there would be in the church as many schisms as priests."—Eccl. Pol. §66.

grace and favour towards them, because this seems to speak it a sacrament, and is contrary to that fore-mentioned XXVth Article, which says that Confirmation hath no visible sign appointed by God." The reply of the Episcopal Commissioners was to this effect: "Prayer after the imposition of hands is grounded upon the practice of the Apostles, Heb. vi. 2, and Acts viii. 17. Nor doth the XXVth Article say, that Confirmation is a corrupt imitation of the Apostles' practice, but that the five commonly called sacraments have grown partly of the corrupt following the Apostles, &c.; which may be applied to some other of these five, but cannot be applied to Confirmation, unless we make the church speak contradictions. We know no harm in speaking the language of Holy Scripture, Acts viii. 15; and though imposition of hands be not a sacrament, yet it is a very fit sign to certify the persons what is then done for them, as the prayer speaks." The Presbyterian divines, who were accustomed to practise imposition of hands in Ordination, rejoined, in their answer, that the question was not of imposition of hands in general, but of this imposition in particular; and that no proof had been given, that that sort of imposition, called Confirmation, was referred to in the cited texts. They argue, that the XXVth Article cannot more probably be thought to speak of any one of the five as proceeding from the corrupt imitation of the Apostles, than of Confirmation as a supposed sacrament.* In answer to the latter allegation of their opponents, they say: "It is fit to speak the Scripture's language in a scripture sense; but, if those who have no such power to give the Holy Ghost will say, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' it were better for them to abuse other language than scripture language."

* The words of the Article are,—“such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures.” It seems difficult to understand the latter description of any of the five, except Marriage and Orders; and whether Ordination would be described as a state of life, may be doubted. Yet the expression, “states of life,” in the plural, requires us to fix upon one besides Marriage. Of the other three, Confirmation, Penance, and Extreme Unction, the first and third only have any visible sign attached to them, viz. the chrism, for which the imposition of hands is substituted in Protestant Confirmation. The Douay Catechism cites Acts viii. 17, as the Scripture warrant for Confirmation.

Whatever construction may be put upon the language of the Article, it is undeniable, that Confirmation, as practised in the Anglican Church, differs in no respect from the Romish rite, except in the use of the chrism or unction, which forms "the matter" of the sacrament. Bishop Burnet lays great stress upon this circumstance. "After all," he says, "here is no sacrament, *no express institution, neither by Christ nor his Apostles*; no rule given to practise it; and, which is the most essential, there is no matter here; for *the laying on of hands is only a gesture in prayer*; nor are there any federal rites declared to belong to it; it being, indeed, rather a ratifying and confirming the Baptism, than any new stipulation. To supply all this, the Church of Rome has appointed *matter* for it; the chrism, which is a mixture of oil-olive and balm (*opobalsamum*), the oil signifying the clearness of a good conscience, and the balm the savour of a good reputation. . . . The invention that was afterwards found out, by which the bishop was held to be the only minister of confirmation, even though presbyters were suffered to confirm," (the chrism having been previously consecrated by the bishop,) "was a piece of superstition without any colour from Scripture." The learned Prelate subsequently pleads, indeed, for both Confirmation and Orders, as "holy functions derived to us down from the Apostles; and because there is a *visible action* in these, though in strictness they cannot be called a sacrament, yet, so the thing be rightly understood, we will not dispute about the extent of a word that is not used in Scripture." Taken in "a large sense," every holy rite, he contends, may be so called.

The exposition, however, which Bishop Burnet has given of the doctrine of the Church of England on this subject, is altogether irreconcilable with the language of Hooker; nor does it seem to be borne out by the formularies of the Church. The laying on of hands, if regarded as a mere gesture in prayer, could not be "a sign" certifying the conveyance of divine grace, or "what is then done for" the persons confirmed. The popular notion of the rite undoubtedly corresponds to the representation, that, in virtue of the authoritative

benediction of the officiating prelate, accompanied with the visible sign, confirming grace, or some "precious gift," or, at least, an assurance of divine favour, is conveyed and certified to the persons upon whom the bishop lays his hands. Hooker lays it down as an axiom, in answer to the specious pleas of the Romanists, that, "in actions of this kind, we are more to respect what the greatest part of men is commonly prone to conceive, than what some few men's wits may devise in construction of their own particular meaning."

The fact is, that within the Church of England there has always existed a wide difference of sentiment between the high-church and the evangelical divines, as to the efficacy of the sacraments, and the nature of the benefit which they are designed to impart. Upon the subject of the "effect of baptism," a vehement controversy sprang up in the year 1815, occasioned by Bishop Mant's Tracts on Regeneration and Conversion, in which the regenerating efficacy of the baptismal rite was strenuously advocated.* In opposition to this notion, it was contended by Mr. Simeon, Mr. Scott, and other evangelical divines, that, although the Church "speaks of every person whom she has baptized as regenerate, it is upon a hypothetical assumption, present or future, of their spiritual regeneration." Bishop Mant represents any future regeneration or conversion to be not only superfluous, but paradoxical, except the conversion of repentance and amendment of life. The sentiments of Bishop Burnet upon the efficacy of baptism, as well as upon the sacraments generally, are more in accordance with those of the evangelical clergy, and of the Presbyterian divines of other days. Although his writings are not generally received as an authorized exposition of the doctrines of the Church of England, it may be proper to lay them before the reader, as those of a numerous party.

* The doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, as contended for by Bishop Mant and the high-church divines, is thus stated by Bishop Tomline: "Those who are baptized, are immediately translated from the curse of Adam to the grace of Christ; the original guilt which they brought into the world is mystically washed away; and they receive forgiveness of the actual sins which they may themselves have committed; they become reconciled to God, partakers of the Holy Ghost, and heirs of eternal happiness."—*Refut. of Calvinism*, p. 83. So Bishop Phillpotts, in his Triennial Visitation Charge. 1836.

“The nature of a ritual action,” says the learned Prelate, “even when commanded, is such, that, unless we would imagine that there is a charm in it, which is contrary to the spirit and genius of the Gospel, which designs to save us by reforming our natures, we cannot think that there can be any thing in it that is of itself effectual as a mean; and therefore it must only be considered as a command that is given us, which we are bound to obey, if we acknowledge the authority of the command. But this being an action that is not always in our power, but is to be done by another, it were to put our salvation or damnation in the power of another, to imagine we cannot be saved without baptism; and therefore it is only a precept which obliges us in order to our salvation. And Our Saviour, by leaving it out when he reversed the words, saying only, ‘He that believeth not,’ without adding, and is not baptized, ‘shall be damned,’ does plainly insinuate that it is not a mean, but only a precept in order to our salvation.

“As for the ends and purposes of baptism, St. Paul gives us two. The one is, that ‘*we are all baptized into one body, we are made members one of another*’ (1 Cor. xii. 13); we are admitted to the society of Christians, and to all the rights and privileges of that body which is the Church. And in order to this, the outward action of baptism, when regularly gone about, is sufficient . . . But a second end of baptism is internal and spiritual. Of this St. Paul speaks in very high terms, when he says, that *God has saved us according to his mercy by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost*. (Tit. iii. 5.) . . . Here then is the inward effect of baptism: it is a death to sin, and a new life in Christ, in imitation of him, and in conformity to his Gospel. So that here is very expressly delivered to us somewhat that rises far above the badge of profession or mark of difference.

“That does indeed belong to baptism; it makes us the visible members of that body into which we are baptized or admitted by baptism. But that which saves us in it, which both deadens and quickens,* must be a thing of another

* Rom. vi. 3. Col. ii. 12.

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*character** imprinted in it, but because, it being a dedication of the person to God in the Christian religion, what is once so done, is to be understood to continue still in that state, till such a person falls into an open apostasy."†

"In the Eucharist, by our *showing forth our Lord's death till he come*, we are admitted to the *communion of his body and blood* (1 Cor. x. 16); to a share, in partnership with other Christians, in the effects and merits of his death. But the unworthy receiver is guilty of his body and blood, and brings thereby down judgements upon himself; so that to fancy a virtue in sacraments that works on the person to whom they are applied, without any inward acts accompanying it, and upon his being only passive, is a doctrine of which we find nothing in the Scriptures; which teach us that every thing we do is accepted of God, only with regard to the disposition of mind that he knows us to be in when we go about it. Our prayers and sacrifices are so far from being accepted of God, that they are *abomination* to him, if they come from wicked and defiled hearts. The making men believe that sacraments may be effectual to them when they are next to a state of passivity, not capable of any sensible thoughts of their own, is a sure way to raise the credit of the clergy, and of the sacrament; but at the same time it will most certainly dispose men to live in sin, hoping that a few rites, which may be easily procured at their death, will clear all at last. And thus we reject, not without great zeal against the fatal effects of that error, all that is said of the *opus operatum*, the very doing of the sacrament: we think it looks more like the incantations of Heathenism, than the purity and simplicity of the Christian religion."‡ . . . "Sacraments are federal acts; and those visible actions are intended to quicken us, so that in the use of them we may raise our inward acts to the highest degrees possible; but not to supply their defects and imperfections. Our opinion in this point represents them as means to raise our

* The Romish doctrine teaches, that, "besides grace, three of the sacraments, viz. baptism, confirmation, and orders, produce another effect, which is called a *character*," i. e. "a kind of spiritual mark or seal in the soul, which always remains in it."—*Douay Cat.*

† Burnet, on Art. XXV.

‡ Ibid.

minds, and to kindle our devotion. Whereas the doctrine of the Church of Rome represents them as so many charms, which may heighten indeed the authority of him that administers them, but do extinguish and deaden all true piety, when such helps are offered, by which the worst of men, living and dying in a bad state, may, by a few faint acts, and perhaps by none at all of their own, be well enough taken care of and secured. But, as we have not so learned Christ, so neither dare we corrupt his doctrine in its most vital and essential parts." *

With these views of the Sacraments, the language of the Scottish Confession entirely harmonizes. "Sacraments are holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace, immediately instituted by God to represent Christ and his benefits, and to confirm our interest in him; as also to put a visible difference between those that belong unto the church and the rest of the world; and solemnly to engage them to the service of God in Christ, according to his word The grace which is exhibited in or by the sacraments rightly used, is not conferred by any power in them; neither doth the efficacy of a sacrament depend upon the piety or intention of him that doth administer it, but upon the work of the Spirit and the word of institution, which contains, together with a precept authorising the use thereof, a promise of benefit to worthy receivers." With regard to Baptism, the Confession states, that, "although it be a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed to it, as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated." In proof of which, reference is made to Acts xviii.13. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is stated, in the same document, to have been instituted by Our Lord, "to be observed in his church unto the end of the world, for the perpetual remembrance of the sacrifice of himself in his death, the sealing all benefits thereof unto true believers, their spiritual nourishment and growth in him, their further engagement in and to all duties which they owe unto him; and

* Burnet, on Art. XXV.

to be a bond and pledge of their communion with him and with each other, as members of his mystical body." * It is unnecessary to point out the essential opposition between the sentiments indicated by this language, and those of the Church of England divines, who represent the sacraments as vehicles of grace, "causes instrumental of regenerating and sanctifying virtue," "conduits and effective organs of vital communication;" whereby a "grace available unto eternal life" is delivered into the hands of the passive recipient. But the Churches of England and Scotland do not seem to differ more widely from each other on this point, than the opposite schools of Hooker and Burnet within the English Church, the latter supported by the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the former appealing to the language of the Ritual.

The practice of the two churches, however, differs very observably in the celebration of the Eucharist; † and in this practical form, the disagreement of doctrine is much more unequivocally displayed than in the language of the formularies. In the Church of England, the elements are delivered to each communicant, kneeling at the altar, by the priest. In the Church of Scotland, they are received from the minister by the elders, who distribute them to the other communicants, and they are received sitting. The "Directory for the Public Worship" expressly enjoins, that the table be "so conveniently placed, that the communicants may orderly sit about it or at it." In fact, the character of the institution as a social ordinance, is solicitously preserved; and, instead of being an act between an administrator and a receiver, it is regarded as an act of religious fellowship or mutual communion, as well as a votive or a sacramental act of worship in reference to Our Lord on the part of each communicant. Thus, all the ideas inseparable from the word *altar*, are excluded. On the same ground, the Lord's Supper is never administered in private houses, in the Church of Scotland, to the sick or dying, or to malefactors prior to execution; a practice which is thought to countenance the notion of its being a *viaticum* or safe passport, like the Popish sacrament of Extreme Unction.

* Confession of Faith, ch. 27, 28, 29.

† See p. 334.

Nor has the Church of Scotland any service answering to the Absolution of the Anglican Church in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick. The rubric in the English service directs, that "the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort." Then follows the formula. "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: *And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.*" Such "power and commandment to his ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins," is constantly claimed and asserted in the declaratory Absolution of the daily Morning Service of the Church; and this "power to remit or to retain sins," is held to be a very principal part of that official authority which is conveyed by Episcopal ordination. But here, again, we are required to notice a wide discrepancy in the construction put upon this language by those who have undertaken to expound the doctrines of the Church of England; for, while the power of remitting sins is expressly claimed by Bishop Horsley, Bishop Tomline, and other divines of the high-church school, as appertaining to "the Christian priesthood,"* the theory of sacerdotal absolution has been by many Episcopalian divines disavowed and reprobated, as the basis of the spiritual despotism of Popery. Bishop Burnet, in assigning reasons for the rejection of the Romish sacrament of Penance, says:—"In the last place, we except to the form of absolution in these words, *I absolve thee.* We of this church, who use it only to such as are thought to be near death, *cannot be meant to understand any thing by it, but the full peace and pardon of the church:* for, if we meant a pardon with relation to God, we ought to use it upon many other occasions. The pardon that we give in the name of God, is only declaratory of his pardon, or

* See Horsley's Sermons, vol. i. p. 286.

supplicatory in a prayer to him for pardon. In this, we have the whole practice of the Church till the twelfth century universally on our side... In the twelfth century, some few began to use the words, *I absolve thee*... Yet this form was but little practised... But some schoolmen began to defend it, as implying only a declaration of the pardon pronounced: and this having an air of more authority, and being once justified by learned men, did so universally prevail, that, in little more than sixty years' time, it became the universal practice of the whole Latin church... *The idea that arises naturally out of these words, is, that the priest pardons sins;* and since that is subject to such abuses, and has let in so much corruption upon the Church, we think we have reason not only to deny that Penance is a sacrament, but likewise to affirm, that they have corrupted this great and important doctrine of repentance in all the parts and branches of it."*

Referring to the varying expositions of that passage in the Gospel of St. John (ch. xx. 23), upon which the doctrine of Sacerdotal Absolution is supposed to be grounded, the learned Prelate argues, that "those words of Christ's, if applied to all priests, must belong to them in their full extent; and if so, the salvation or the damnation of mankind is put absolutely in the priest's power. Nor can it be answered, that the conditions of the pardon of sin that are expressed in the other parts of the Gospel, are here to be understood, though they are not expressed; as we are said to be saved, if we believe; which does not imply that a single act of believing the Gospel, without any thing else, puts us into a state of salvation. In opposition to this, we answer, that the Gospel having so described *faith* to us, as the root of all other graces and virtues, as that which produces them, and which is known by them, all that is promised upon our *faith*, must be understood of a faith so qualified as the Gospel represents it; and therefore that cannot be applied to this case, where an unlimited authority is so particularly expressed that no condition seems to be implied in it... Therefore, since no condition is here named as a restraint upon this general power that is pretended

* Burnet on Art. XXV.

to be given to priests by those words of Our Saviour, they must either be understood as simple and unconditional, or they must be limited to all the conditions that are expressed in the Gospel; . . . and thus we think we are fully justified in saying, that by these words, Our Saviour did indeed fully empower the Apostles to publish his Gospel to the world, and to declare the terms of salvation, and of obtaining the pardon of sin, in which they were to be infallibly assisted, so that they could not err in discharging their commission; and the terms of the Covenant of Grace being thus settled by them, all who were to succeed them were also empowered to go on with the publication of this pardon and of those glad tidings to the world: so that whatsoever they declared in the name of God, conform to the tenor of that which the Apostles were to settle, should be always made good.* We do also acknowledge, that the pastors of the Church have, in the way of censure and government, a ministerial authority to remit or to retain sins, as they are matters of scandal or offence; *though that, indeed, does not seem to be the meaning of those words of Our Saviour*; and therefore we think that the power of pardoning and retaining is only declaratory, so that all the exercises of it are then only effectual, when the declarations of the pardon are made conform to the conditions of the Gospel. This doctrine of ours, how much soever decried of late in the Roman Church, *as striking at the root of the priestly authority*, has yet been maintained by some of their best authors, and some of the greatest of their schoolmen."†

* This is in accordance with Calvin's exposition of the passage: "*Non dubium est quin. Hic breviter complexus sit Dominus Evangelii summam. Neque enim separanda est hæc potestas remittendi peccata à docendi officio, cui uno contextu annexa est. . . . Hic ergo præcipuus est Evangelii prædicandi finis, ut Deo reconcilientur homines, quod fit gratuita peccatorum venia, quemadmodum et Paulus docet 2 Cor. v. 18, ubi Evangelium hac ratione appellat ministerium reconciliationis. . . . Insulsi sunt Papistæ, qui locum hunc ad magicas suas absolutiones detorquent.*"—Calv. Com. in loco.

† Burnet on Art. XXV. The following passage in Bishop Jewel's Apology shows that his views of "the Power of the Keys" were not substantially different from those of Bishop Burnet. "Moreover we say, that Christ hath given to his ministers power to bind, to loose, to open, to shut. And we say that the office of loosing consisteth in this point: that the minister either by the preaching of the Gospel offereth the merits of Christ and full pardon to such as have lowly and contrite hearts, and do unfeignedly repent themselves, pronouncing

If this exposition of the Church of England doctrine be admitted, that of the Church of Scotland does not in any way differ from it. But in that case, not only must the theory of Hooker, and the peculiar claims of the Episcopal priesthood, be abandoned, but it will be impossible to justify the retention of that form of Absolution which naturally suggests the erroneous and perilous idea, Bishop Burnet being witness, that "the priest pardons sins."

V.

FIFTHLY, AS TO THE SYSTEM OF ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

The theory of ecclesiastical discipline in the Church of England, is to be found in the "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Bishop of London, President of the Convocation, &c., and agreed upon with the King's Majesty's License, in their Synod begun at London, A. D. 1603." (1st of James I.) These Canons, which are 141 in number, are a collection out of the several preceding canons and injunctions, and are all founded on the canons of ancient councils. Being authorized by the King's Commission, they are held to be binding on the clergy; but, not having been confirmed by Parliament, they are not obligatory on the laity, except where they are explanatory of the ancient canon law.* Theoretically, the discipline of the Church, we

unto the same a sure and undoubted forgiveness of their sins and hope of everlasting salvation: or else that the same minister, when any have offended their brothers' minds with some great offence, or notable and open crime, whereby they have as it were banished and made themselves strangers from the common fellowship and from the body of Christ, then after perfect amendment of such persons, doth reconcile them, and bring them home again, and restore them to the company and unity of the faithful. We say also, that the minister doth exercise the authority of binding and shutting, as often as he shutteth up the gate of the kingdom of heaven against unbelieving and stubborn persons, denouncing unto them God's vengeance and everlasting punishment: or else when he doth quite shut them out from the bosom of the church by open excommunication." *Apol. Pt. II. § 8.*

* The old Provincial Constitutions are still in force, if not against the present laws. The canons drawn up by Laud in 1640, and then approved, were not confirmed at the Restoration; and those prepared for the Church of Ireland in 1634, a hundred in number, as well as the five that were added in 1711, have been laid aside, and the English code of 1603 adopted in their room.

are told by its apologists, continues as exact as ever; and it may be added, as impracticable. Her censures, penances, excommunications, have lost their force; and Bishop Newton long since remarked, that "the canons are become no more than *bruta fulmina*, and are no more regarded." *

According to the theory of the Church, every parish is committed to the government of the minister, with the assistance of the churchwardens, (generally two,) who are chosen annually, in Easter week, from the body of the parishioners, and who are the guardians of public morals and ecclesiastical discipline within their precincts. These lay officers of the Church are bound by their oath to return the names of all loose and scandalous livers into the ecclesiastical court of the diocese, at least once a year; and they may present at any other time for gross crimes. And if the churchwardens neglect their duty, and no voluntary promoter appears, the

* The anathemas of the Tridentine Council are but too faithfully imitated in the denunciations of excommunication against all who should dare to contravene the decrees of the Anglican Convocation: "Whosoever shall affirm, that the King's Majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian emperors of the primitive church:"—"Whosoever shall affirm that the Church of England... is not a true and apostolical church:"... or, "That the form of God's worship in the Church of England... containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures:"—or, "That any of the nine-and-thirty Articles are in any part superstitious and erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto:"—or, "That the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England are wicked, antichristian, or superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority, men who are zealously and godly affected, may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or, as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them:"—"Whosoever shall separate themselves from the communion of saints as it is approved by the Apostles' Rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves in a new brotherhood:"—of each and all such persons in the cases severally specified it is decreed, let him (or them) be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the Archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of such his wicked errors. Canons 1 to 12. By these unretracted censures, the Church of England fulminates the utmost penalties against all Presbyterians, all "maintainers of conventicles," and nonconformists of every description. The protection of the State extended to them by the Toleration Act, left them still under the ban of the Church. And when it is considered what excommunication once involved, and would still entail, if put in force by the ecclesiastical courts, the Papal anathema cannot be deemed to breathe more of the spirit of persecution. So long as these canons are the recognised law of the English Church, she cannot evade the charge of antichristian intolerance.

113th canon then empowers the minister to take the business of prosecuting offenders into his own hands. If the party accused be convicted of the crime upon the testimony of at least two witnesses, before the judge of the ecclesiastical court, he may be excommunicated, and not admitted to the sacrament or any communion in divine offices, and be condemned in the costs of the suit. There is also what is termed the Greater Excommunication, whereby the offender is cut off from all commerce with Christians, even in temporal affairs. This must be pronounced by the bishop; and if the excommunicated person persist, for forty days, in contumacious disobedience, he may be committed to prison by virtue of the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, to lie there till he shall have made satisfaction to the Church. But, if the judge of any spiritual court excommunicate a man for a cause of which he has not the legal cognizance, the party may have an action against him at common law, and he is also liable to be indicted at the suit of the King.

In point of fact, the power of the spiritual courts has been for the most part overruled or silently abrogated. Churchwardens no longer present; the canon and the oath are alike disregarded; and the terrible penalty of Excommunication, it would be found impracticable to enforce. The system is in itself a pure despotism, foreign from the spirit of the English constitution, and incompatible with religious toleration. Happily, it has been silently merged in the civil government.*

* Recent attempts have been made, however, to revive the oppressive and vexatious processes of the ecclesiastical courts for the purpose of enforcing church-rates. The malicious imprisonment of a respectable member of the Society of Friends in Carlow gaol for conscientiously refusing to pay this ecclesiastical impost, led to the passing of the 5 & 6 William IV. c. 74, the object of which was to protect Quakers from being subject to personal attachment on account of the non-payment of ecclesiastical demands. A former Act, 53 Geo. III. c. 53, had abolished Excommunication, together with all proceedings following thereupon, save in certain specified cases; and in such cases, had substituted a writ from the Court of Chancery *De Contumace capiendo*, for the writ *De Excommunicato capiendo*; limiting the civil penalty to six months' imprisonment; while other clauses extended the provisions of former Acts, giving justices of the peace power to determine complaints respecting tithes not exceeding ten pounds, and empowering justices of the peace to issue warrants of distrain for the recovery of church or chapel-rates, not exceeding ten pounds. This Act, although important,

In the Church of Scotland, the administration of ecclesiastical discipline devolves upon the Kirk sessions; and the popular constitution of those courts, as well as their subordination to the control of the higher judicatories, affords a security against oppression. In this Church, every regulation of public worship, every act of discipline, and every ecclesiastical censure, which, in Episcopal churches, emanate from the authority of a diocesan, or from a convocation of clergy, are the joint act of a certain number of ministers and laymen acting together with equal authority, and deciding every question by a majority of voices. The laymen, who form an essential part of the ecclesiastical courts of Scotland, are called Elders, and Ruling Elders; they are chosen from among the heads of families of reputed orthodoxy and piety, and are solemnly ordained to their office. The number of elders is proportioned to the extent and population of the parish, varying from two or three to twelve, twenty, thirty, and even fifty. Their office resembles in some respects that of the churchwardens in the Church of England; but their jurisdiction is of a more religious character. They assist at the dispensation of the sacraments, and in administering relief to the poor, and are the bearers also of religious advice and comfort among the parishioners. They correspond less to *ecclesiæ guardiani* (the legal definition of churchwardens), than to *diaconi* or deacons, as that order subsisted in ancient times. Of these elders, with the minister as moderator, the kirk session consists; which has the power of admitting persons to the privilege of membership, and of suspending offenders from the Lord's Table. From this session, an appeal lies to the presbytery, which answers to the Consistory of the Lutheran churches, and consists of all the pastors within a certain district, with one ruling elder chosen from each parish. To this judicatory belong the examination, admission, ordi-

both in principle, as limiting the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in its remedial operation, left it optional whether to have recourse to the summary civil process, or to the more vexatious forms of the ecclesiastical courts. Hence the necessity of the more recent Act for the protection of the Quakers. With regard to other classes of Dissenters, the law of church-rate is still in a very ambiguous and unsatisfactory state.

nation, and censuring of ministers, the licensing of probationers, the deciding upon references and appeals from kirk sessions, the directing of the sentence of excommunication against contumacious offenders, the cognizance and rebuke of any heresy or erroneous doctrine, and generally, the regulation of all matters concerning the several churches within its jurisdiction. From the judgement and authority of the presbytery, there lies an appeal to the provincial synod, which ordinarily meets twice in the year, and comprises all the presbyteries within the province.* The highest ecclesiastical court, to which lies the ultimate appeal, is the National Synod, styled the General Assembly, composed of a certain number of ministers and ruling elders delegated from each presbytery, and of commissioners from the royal boroughs.† The elders deputed to this council are seldom the lay elders of the respective parishes, but frequently gentlemen of the legal profession, and persons eminent for rank or talents; but they must have acted at least once as elders within the presbytery which they represent, and have subscribed to the National Confession. The Assembly chooses its own Moderator or President, who is always a minister; but the Crown is represented in the person of the Lord High Commissioner, who is always a nobleman, and is the real president of the Assembly, although he has no vote. In questions purely religious, no appeal lies from the decision of this court, which is at once a legislature and a judicatory. But it is invested with no such temporal authority over property and persons as appertains to the ecclesiastical courts of England. It can enforce its spiritual decisions by no such formidable sanctions; it can neither amerce by fines, nor by its writs incarcerate the offender.

* The number of parishes in Scotland is 893; of Presbyteries, 78; of Synods, 16. The number of ministers who enjoy benefices and possess ecclesiastical authority, is 940. In some populous parishes, chapels of ease are erected, the ministers of which are not members of any ecclesiastical courts. The total number of ministers in the Kirk is 1087; of congregations, 1052.

† The proportion of representation was determined by Act 5 of the Assembly, 1694, according to which the General Assembly now consists of 200 Ministers representing Presbyteries; 89 Elders representing Presbyteries; 67 Elders representing Royal Boroughs; 5 Ministers or Elders representing Universities. Total 361.

It cannot follow out the excommunicated person into all the civil relations of life, and destroy his competency for the discharge of any social functions.*

The sanctions of discipline in the Church of Scotland, as exercised by the kirk sessions, are such as derive their entire force from religious considerations and public opinion. A parent who is under public scandal, is disqualified from presenting his child for baptism, till his character has been cleared, or he has satisfied the kirk. Irregular marriages, also, (that is, such as, being contracted before a magistrate, are valid in law, but have not received the sanction of the ministerial function,) exclude the parties from Christian privileges till satisfaction has been made. The esteem in which those privileges are held, the general observance of the sacrament, and the disgrace attaching to church censures, give to the decisions of the kirk sessions an authority and social influence which have been found sufficiently available for the purpose of religious discipline. "In that temperate exercise of discipline which the Church of Scotland recognises as congenial to her constitution, care is taken," remarks Principal Hill, "to avoid every appearance of intermeddling officiously with those matters that fall under the cognizance of the civil magistrate;"... "and the public censures of the Church are reserved for those scandalous sins which bring reproach upon religion."† "By our constitution," says another Scottish clergyman, "a power (in the Church) is acknowledged; but a power limited to its proper object. A subordination takes place; but, the higher you ascend, the determination lies in the greater number; so that, if the censure, when inflicted, falls with additional weight, yet hereby the greater security is given, that it shall not be inflicted unjustly."‡

* A pecuniary fine is now levied, or rather accepted, in most cases of public scandal, in lieu of the public exposure of the offender, in the kirk, for three successive Sundays, on a bench known by the name of the Stool of Repentance; which was the ancient practice. For this change, however, there seems to be no law; and the old discipline is still maintained in many places.

† Hill's Theological Institutes, p. 254.

‡ Bonar on the Nature and Tendency of the Ecclesiastical Constitution in Scotland. See Adam's Religious World Displayed, vol. ii. pp. 12—18.

Into the actual efficiency of religious discipline within the pale of the Established Kirk, it is not our present business to inquire. Its theory presents, in its democratic polity, its independence of the civil power, its mild character, and moderate pretensions, a striking contrast to the canons, and penal laws, and terrible sanctions of prelatical Episcopacy. But, in their actual administration, the opposite systems do not seem so widely to differ. Each, carried out to the full extent of the theory, would be found trenching upon the province of the civil government; and of the two evils, experience shows, that spiritual authority in the hands of the magistrate is less to be feared, as being less fatal to religious liberty, than secular power of any kind in the hands of the ecclesiastic. The reformation of manners effected by the stern coercion of an ecclesiastical police, is dearly purchased at the sacrifice of civil and religious freedom, without which piety itself must soon languish, and all that is ethereal in its spirit desert at length the chilled and rigid form.

VI.

LASTLY, AS TO CERTAIN POINTS OF DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.—It has already been stated, that, although the doctrines of the Anglican and Scottish Confessions are substantially in accordance, the theological complexion of chapters III. X. XVII. and XVIII. of the latter is too decidedly Calvinistic, or Dordrechian, to comport with the apparent reserve maintained in the corresponding Articles of the English Church. The difference between the two symbols, however, arises less from any opposition of doctrine, than from the more diffuse and expository character of the Scottish Confession, and from its having been drawn up subsequently to the spread of the Arminian controversy to this country. In raising the question, whether the Articles of the Church of England are or are not Calvinistic, it has been overlooked, that the Calvinistic controversy was the birth of the seventeenth century, while the Articles were drawn up in the sixteenth. The doctrines to which the Articles relate, had been long made the subject of metaphysical and polemic debate, between doctors and

fathers of the Romish Church, and subsequently between the Reformers and the Tridentine divines; but it was not till the reign of James I. that the schism between the Calvinistic and Arminian parties in the Belgic Church, extended itself to this country, where, in Archbishop Abbot and Archbishop Laud, the opposite opinions found their zealous patrons, and the theological dispute soon ripened, as in Holland, into a war of political factions.*

That Arminianism was regarded as an heretical innovation upon the Reformed Faith, when it was first promulgated from the pulpits of the Established Church, is undeniable. Among the "Innovations in Doctrine," enumerated in the "Proceedings of the Divines appointed by the Lords to meet at the Bishop of Lincoln's, in 1641," which have been already referred to, the following is mentioned (No. 13): "Some have defended the whole gross substance of Arminianism, that *Electio est ex fide prævisa*; that the act of conversion depends upon the concurrence of man's free will; that the justified man may fall finally and totally from grace." Again, (No. 14,) "Some have defended universal grace as imparted as much to reprobates as to the elect, and have proceeded *usque ad salutem Ethnicorum*, which the Church of England has anathematized." With the Arminian or Anti-Calvinistic doctrines thus stated, it is impossible to reconcile the language of Arts. X. XI. XIII. XVII. and XVIII. "It is not to be denied," remarks Bishop Burnet, treating of the XVIIth Article, "that the Article seems to be framed according to St. Austin's doctrine." That in which "the knot of the whole difficulty lies," is not, indeed, expressly defined; "that is, whether God's eternal purpose or decree was made

* "These disputes quickly crossed the seas, and divided us. Archbishop Abbot adhered to St. Austin's doctrine; while Bishop Overall, but especially Archbishop Laud, espoused the Arminian tenets. All divines were by proclamation required not to preach upon those heads: but those that favoured the new opinions were encouraged, and the others depressed. And unhappy disputes falling in at that time concerning the extent of the royal prerogative beyond law, the Arminians having declared themselves highly for that, they were as much favoured at court as they were censured in Parliament: which brought that doctrine under a very hard character over all the nation."—*Bishop Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles.*

according to what he foresaw his creatures would do, or purely upon an absolute will, in order to his own glory." And, therefore, although the Bishop admits the high probability, that the framers of the Article "meant that the decree was absolute," yet, both parties, he thinks, might subscribe to the Article without renouncing their respective opinions. "On the other hand," he proceeds to say, "have Calvinists the less occasion to scruple; since the Article does seem more plainly to favour them. The three cautions that are added to it, do likewise intimate that St. Austin's doctrine was designed to be settled by the Article; for the danger of men's having the sentence of God's predestination before their eyes, which may occasion either desperation on the one hand, or the wretchedness of most unclean living on the other, belongs only to that side; since these mischiefs do not arise out of the other hypothesis."* The argument adduced by the Anti-Calvinistic expositors of the Article, that those cautions are at variance with the doctrine, and that they are to be construed as inculcating an opposite opinion, is a desperate logical shift; the absurdity of which is demonstrated by the fact, that precisely the same language of caution is found in the writings of Calvin, who, by the same showing, was no believer in the doctrines popularly distinguished by his name. If, then, the Articles are not Calvinistic, (and to term them so, it has been contended, is "little better than a downright anachronism," †) neither are the writings of Calvin Calvinistic; for the distinctive appellation was of much later origin, and had reference, not to any peculiar doctrines held by that great Reformer exclusively, but to the received tenets of the Reformed churches, misnamed, after the founder of the Presbyterian polity, Calvinist. If, however, the question be, whether the XVIIth Article is in accordance with the doctrine of St. Augustine, as held by Calvin, in common with Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli, with Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Knox, the precise correspondence of the language employed by the framers of the Article, to that which is

* Burnet on the Articles.

† Le Bas's *Life of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 93.

found in the writings of the Helvetic Reformer, can leave no doubt of the identity of doctrine in the mind of any person open to conviction. The following passages will be seen to comprise both the precise statement of the doctrine, which, by some recent assailants of Calvinism, has been represented to be peculiar to the Articles, and the cautions with which the dogmatic statement is guarded.

ART. XVII.

"Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation *those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind*, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting life as vessels of honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit, be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit, &c.

"As the godly consideration of Predestination and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons . . . ; so, for curious and carnal persons lacking the Spirit of God to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation," &c.

CALVIN.

"Now what is the end of Election, but that, being adopted as children by our Heavenly Father, we may by his favour obtain salvation and immortality? The persons, therefore, whom God hath adopted as his children, he is said to have chosen, *not in themselves, but in Christ; because it was impossible for Him to love them, except in him*, or to honour them with the inheritance of his kingdom, unless previously made partakers of him . . . Christ therefore is the mirror in which it behoves us to contemplate our election, and here we may do it with safety."—Calvin's Commentaries by Allen, vol. ii. p. 449. "*In Christo, ergo extra nos. Hoc est, non intuitu dignitatis nostræ, sed quoniam adoptionis beneficio cælestis Pater nos inseverit in Christi corpus.*"—Calvin on Eph. i. 4.

"As those who, in order to gain an assurance of their election, examine into the eternal counsel of God without the word, *plunge themselves into a fatal abyss*; so, they who investigate it in a regular and orderly manner, as it is contained in the word, derive from such inquiry the benefit of *peculiar consolation*. Let this then be our way of inquiry; *to begin and end with the calling of God.*"—Commentaries, vol. ii. 448. "*Sed meminerimus quorsum hîc de Prædestinatione Paulus disputet, ne alios fines in disputationibus nostris spectando, periculose erremus.*"—Calvin on Eph. i. 4.

If the language of Calvin did not suggest the expressions adopted by the framers of the Article, at all events the

moderation, the reserve, and the alleged latitude which characterise it, would have had his cordial approbation.

That, up to the assembling of the Synod of Dort, the Churches of England and Scotland alike adhered to the so-called Calvinistic tenets, is proved by the assent given to its decrees by the British divines who assisted at that synod. Among those who subscribed and attested its Articles, are found the names of George Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff; John Davenant, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney College, Cambridge; Thomas Good, Precentor of St. Paul's; and Walter Balcanqual, a Scotch Presbyterian. It is clear, also, from the history of those transactions, that there was not at that time supposed to be any essential difference between the doctrine of the Church of Geneva, and that of the other Reformed churches. The only mention made of Calvin, in the History published by order of the States-General, is, along with others, as an eminent doctor of the Reformed churches. Thus, Arminius is accused of having vehemently attacked the reputation and authority of the most illustrious doctors, Calvin, Zanchius, Beza, Martyr, Ursinus, and others; and his disciples are represented as glorying in the profession of an entirely new theology. The term Calvinist is never used in this document. The main dispute, indeed, between the orthodox pastors and the remonstrants, related not to Predestination, but to articles confessedly of greater importance.*

The English monarch had joined his influence with that of the House of Orange in the convocation of this synod; but it was not long before political events occasioned a revolution upon this point in the sentiments of the King and of his bishops; and there can be no doubt that the disgust which James early conceived against the Presbyterian discipline,

* In the Conference held at the Hague, Feb. 1613, the orthodox pastors renewed the declaration of their readiness to come to an amicable adjustment of their differences with the Remonstrants, provided the latter would assure the churches, "that they thought differently from those Reformed churches on no other heads of doctrine except the five Articles" concerning Predestination.—See Scott's "Synod of Dort," p. 71.

paved the way for the change in his theological sentiments. In the reign of Charles I., the countenance of the Court was confined to the divines who favoured the Arminian system; and the supposed connexion between the Arminian theology and Episcopacy, the Calvinistic doctrines and Presbyterianism, was rivetted in the prejudices of the nation by the transactions of the succeeding reigns. Thus, the theological differences between the Churches of England and Scotland have resulted mainly from political causes.

Within the pale of both churches, however, there exists a wider diversity of theological tenets than separates the two communions. Although the rigid Calvinism of the Scottish symbol has never been questioned, the "moderate" party within the Established Church of Scotland are believed to entertain notions much more nearly allied to the Arminian school;* while the very dispute raised in the Anglican Church, respecting the true character of its Articles, attests the discrepancy between the "orthodox" and "the evangelical" tenets,—the Arminianism of Tomline, and the Calvinism of Scott. "In the English Church," according to the admission of one of the boldest asserters of its claims, "may be found differences as great as those which separate it from Greece or Rome. Calvinism and Arminianism, Latitudinarianism and Orthodoxy, all these sometimes simply such, and sometimes compounded together into numberless varieties of doctrine and school; and these not merely each upholding itself as true, but, with few exceptions, denouncing all the rest as perilous. Such is its state even among its appointed ministers and teachers."† But this reproach is not, as we have shown, peculiar to Protestantism. The boasted unity of the Roman Church is broken by diversities of doctrine and school still more heterogeneous and irreconcilable.

* The Moderate party is the most numerous, reckoning six hundred ministers out of ten, or three-fifths of the whole; but the Evangelical party is on the increase.

† Newman on Romanism and Popular Protestantism, p. 311. See also *Ib.* pp. 394—397.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PROTESTANT NONCONFORMISTS.

- Sect. i. *The Three Denominations.*—Their origin.—Agreement of the English Presbyterians with the Church of Scotland.—Spirit of the Presbyterian polity.—Rise of the Independents.—Comparative view of the Presbyterian and Independent parties of the seventeenth century.—The Congregational scheme of Church-government.—Rise of the Baptists.—The Baptist Confession.—The Savoy Confession.—Three Points of Difference between the Presbyterian and the Independent ministers.—Union of the Two Bodies.—Declaration of Faith issued by the Congregational Union.—Controversy relating to the Voluntary Principle.—Numbers of the Dissenters.—Amount raised for religious objects.—Theological Academies.—Missions.—Spirit of Dissent.
- Sect. ii. *The Scottish Dissenters.*—United Associate Synod.—Origin of the Secession.—Division into Burghers and Anti-Burghers, and Re-union.—Relief Synod.—Cameronians and Bereans.—Origin of the Glassite or Sandemanian Dissenters.—Congregationalists and Baptists.—Episcopalian Dissenters.
- Sect. iii. *The Wesleyan Methodists.*
- Sect. iv. *The Calvinistic Methodists.*
- Sect. v. *The Irish Dissenters.*

IN the preceding chapters, we have been chiefly occupied with the creeds and symbols of ecclesiastical communions whose political organization, as national churches, gives to them respectively the compact form of societies governed by legislative authorities, and approaching to the character of corporate bodies. We have now to ascertain and develop the distinguishing tenets and discipline of religious denominations altogether detached from the State, and rejecting the principles of ecclesiastical polity upon which all national churches are founded.

Under the vague appellation of Dissenters, are popularly confounded a variety of denominations and sects, the offsets of different communions, whose names perplex the minds of persons unaccustomed to discriminate between the terms which designate distinct communions, and those which denote merely some nicer shade of opinion, or some sectarian subdivision. But the Protestant Dissenters of English History, to whom the appellation properly attaches, consist of the

Three Denominations which have branched from the original Nonconformists to the prelatical government of the Church of England, as established by Elizabeth and the Stuart dynasty; viz. the Presbyterian denomination, the Independent or Congregational denomination, and the Baptist or Antipædobaptist denomination. These unitedly form the Protestant Dissenting body, in whose favour the provisions of the Toleration Act were originally intended to operate; and whose ministers residing in and near the metropolis, enjoy, in common with the London clergy and the two Universities, the privilege of access to the sovereign on the throne.* It is to the history and characteristic opinions of these three denominations that we shall first address ourselves.

SECTION I.

THE THREE DENOMINATIONS.

The English Presbyterians, who formed the bulk of the original Nonconformists, differed only in their political predicament from their brethren of the Church of Scotland. The Westminster Assembly, composed chiefly of Presbyterian divines, were exceedingly desirous, in alliance with Scotland, of establishing Presbyterian uniformity throughout the kingdom; and the Confession, Directory, and Catechism, agreed upon by this synod in 1647, were adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, of which they are still the acknowledged standards; they are also adhered to by the various bodies of orthodox Presbyterians in both parts of the kingdom, who have seceded from her communion. The

* In the reign of William and Mary, it would seem that the London dissenting ministers of the several denominations addressed the throne as separate bodies. In 1702, Dr. Calamy states, "they made an address to Her Majesty in a large body, made up of the three denominations of Presbyterians, Independents, and Antipædobaptists; and this being the first time of their joining together in an address at court, it was much taken notice of, and several were surprised, and commended their prudence."—*Calamy's Life*, vol. i. p. 460. On the recent occasion of her present Majesty's happy accession, the Unitarian ministers, who have seceded from the General Body of the Three Denominations, were allowed to present a separate address to the throne in the character of Presbyterian ministers.

divines of the Independent denomination, who sat in the Westminster Assembly, did not exceed ten or twelve in number, deriving their weight chiefly from their acknowledged talents and learning. Dissenting from their Presbyterian brethren on no points of theology, they were strenuously opposed to their notions and principles of church-government, as not less intolerant than those of the prelatists. They therefore threw every possible obstacle in the way of establishing Presbyterian uniformity; and though out-voted by numbers, they succeeded, with the aid of the friends of religious liberty in parliament, in preventing the ascendancy of a party which, had it obtained sufficient power, would have shown no more respect to the rights of conscience, than had the displaced hierarchy.

Presbyterianism, viewed as a scheme of polity, though admirably suited to the exigencies of the times in which it originated, partakes of the essential defectiveness of the incipient Reformation of the sixteenth century; embodying those erroneous principles which were adopted by the founders of most of the Protestant churches, and which soon proved not less fatal to the cause of scriptural truth, than to the internal peace of the Christian communities. At that period, the rights of the people were as ill understood by the one party as by the other. The Reformation was an insurrection against spiritual despotism, but almost exclusively in defence of the rights of the clergy; and the people took part in it, as the cause of the spiritual leaders to whom they had attached themselves. It was the cause of ecclesiastical independence, rather than of civil freedom; and national attachments and jealousies came in aid of the struggle. The Presbyterian polity is essentially theocratic. In times when the infant spirit of municipal freedom was too weak to wrestle with either imperial despotism or sacerdotal domination, it was a fortunate error which enlisted on the side of resistance, if not of liberty, the pretensions of the Church to a mixed power, which trenches alike upon the prerogatives of the civil magistracy and upon the rights of conscience.

Presbyterianism, at once theocratic and republican in its

character, is the natural antagonist of Prelacy, which is the aristocratic principle of the feudal system grafted upon church polity. It is the old contest, renewed in another form, of the Guelf against the Ghibelline,—the democratic interest, under protection of the Church, wrestling against the encroachments of monarchical power. Prelacy, which, in alliance with secular power, has been, alternately, an engine of spiritual despotism, and a barrier against sacerdotal fanaticism, makes the Church the minister of the Crown. Presbyterianism, on the contrary, seeks to make the civil magistrate the minister of the Church. Both invoke, as the ultimate sanction of church-government, the power of the sword. Each has had, alternately, the sword turned against itself. Religious liberty is in almost equal danger from prelate and presbytery, when armed with political power; but the spiritual interests of mankind have suffered most injury from the ascendancy of the more secular system. The intolerance of Presbyterianism is theological, and is directed against heretical pravity. The intolerance of Prelacy is political, and winks at error, but would exterminate dissent. Separate Prelacy from state influence, and you leave nothing but venerable formalities and an empty title. Deprive Presbyterianism of political power, and its moral influence may still survive, until the free spirit of Christian piety, disdaining the fetters of creeds, covenants, and church-courts, transmigrates into other forms of external polity, and the people resume their primitive rights, as “free from all men,” in matters of religious faith, but “under the law to Christ.”

The Congregational system of church-government, or Independency, differs alike from Prelacy and Presbyterianism; but not so widely from the latter in its forms, as in rejecting from the constitution of Christian churches, and from the rule exercised by their pastors, every political element. The term *Independent* was originally employed to denote the opinions of those Nonconformists who held that every particular church, or religious society, has an entire and complete power of jurisdiction over its members, independent of either synods or prelates. It was more especially, however, in

opposition to presbyterial or classical government that the distinction was made, which gave rise to the appellation;* and though acquiesced in by those whose sentiments it denoted, it was both intended by their enemies, and regarded by themselves, as a term of reproach. Accordingly, it is protested against by several writers, as at once too narrow and too vague. "Whereas, indeed," says Mr. Cotton, "we do profess dependence upon magistrates for civil government and protection; dependence upon Christ and his word for the sovereign government and rule of our administrations; dependence upon the counsel of other churches and synods, when our own variance or ignorance may stand in need of such help from them."† "Truly, brother," says another of their apologists, in reply to the abuse of William Prynne, "none of all those whom you thus entitle, do at all glory in this name. . . . Notwithstanding, we are not so ashamed of it, as utterly to disclaim it, and that for two reasons. First, for distinction's sake, between us and that which you call presbyterial government. The second is, because the word *Independent* is to signify, that we hold all particular churches of Christ to be of equal authority, and none to have or exercise jurisdiction over another, but that each church is under Christ's government, as the sole Head, King, Lord, Lawgiver thereof. You mightily mistake the matter, when you interpret Independency as not needing both the communion and assistance of other persons, nations, and churches."‡ Again: in the Apologetical Narrative of the Independents, presented to the House of Commons in 1643, we meet with the same disclaimer. "Not that they claim an entire independency of other churches; for they agree, that, in all cases of offence, the offending church is to submit to an open exami-

* The designation is supposed to have been derived from the following sentence in an "Apology or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly but unjustly called Brownists;" addressed to the British and Continental Universities, and published, both in Latin and in English, about 1604. "*Cœtum quemlibet particularem, esse totam, integram, et perfectam ecclesiam ex suis partibus constantem, immediate et independentem (quoad alias ecclesias) sub ipso Christo.*"

† Cotton's Way of the Congregational Churches cleared, p. 11.

‡ Burton's Vindication of the Churches called Independent, p. 11.

nation by other neighbouring churches, and, on their persisting in their error of miscarriage, they are then to renounce all communion with them till they repent; which is all the authority or ecclesiastical power that one church may exercise over another, until they call in the civil magistrate, for which they find no authority in Scripture."* In the same important document, the Independents of that period profess their agreement in doctrine with the Articles of the Church of England and other Reformed churches; and state, that their officers and public rulers in the church were pastors, teachers, ruling elders, (not lay, but ecclesiastical persons,) and deacons.

Neal represents the Independent polity as "a middle way between Brownism and Presbytery." The term Brownists, however, is only an opprobrious name given by their enemies to the early separatists from the Church of England.† Long before Robert Brown‡ was heard of, there existed in this country Puritan congregations, collected and founded upon these principles; and even in the reign of Queen Mary, there were in London, and elsewhere in exile, flourishing churches of this persuasion. Persecuted by her Protestant successor with more than equal rigour, they could still meet only in private, till, by the Act of 1593, those who had escaped the gibbet, and survived the effects of the dungeon, were condemned to indiscriminate banishment. The greater part retired to Holland, where, in 1596, they put forth a Confession of their Faith, and an Apology for their separation from the Anglican Church, in Latin and English. At Leyden, at Middleburgh, and at Rotterdam, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were numerous churches of English exiles, under the pastoral care of the learned John Robinson, Henry Jacob, and Dr. William Ames, who had

* Neal's History, vol. iii. 8vo. p. 118.

† A scandalous writer of the name of Cawood, in a furious attack upon the Dissenters, speaks of "that infamous and turbulent bigot, Robert Brown, the father of Independency." That title might with more reason be given to Penry or to Robinson.

‡ This unhappy man, a near relative of the Lord Treasurer Cecil, first distinguished himself by his imprudent and violent conduct as a church reformer, about 1580. He eventually conformed, and obtained preferment; he passed the last forty years of his life in obscurity, and died miserably in 1630. Neal, vol. i. p. 303.

adopted those views of church-fellowship and government which have since distinguished the body of English Independents.* Mr. Jacob returned to his native country about 1616, and presided over a church of the same description in London, till 1624, when he removed to Virginia. In a speech made by Sir Walter Raleigh in the House of Commons, in 1592, on the subject of a law to transport the Brownists,† he thus refers to their numbers: "If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the sea-side, at whose charge shall they be transported? Or whither will you send them? I am sorry for it, but I am afraid there is near twenty thousand of them in England; and when they are gone, who shall maintain their wives and children?" Numbers were driven by these persecutions to seek an asylum in New England; and America still cherishes the memory of the Pilgrim Fathers, as the founders of those institutions which are the sources of her freedom, her intellectual and moral power, and her national elevation. The methods taken to destroy these obnoxious separatists, served only to extend and strengthen the cause. "The heresy which had been expelled from England, returned with the increased strength of a transatlantic cultivation; and the publications of Cotton and Hooker, Norton and Mather, were circulated through England, and produced a mighty effect."‡

Many who had been driven into exile by the persecutions of Whitgift, left England, dissatisfied with the terms of conformity exacted by the bishops, but not opposed to the Episcopal polity. During their residence, however, in the United Provinces, they were led to study more closely the grounds of their dissent, and returned Independents. By this means, when the state of the country became favourable to freedom of inquiry, an impulse was given to the spread of their

* See Orme's *Life of Owen*, pp. 65—69. Vaughan's *Stuart Dynasty*, vol. i. pp. 60, and 297—327.

† "In the course of this debate, these obnoxious fraternities are called indifferently Barrowists and Brownists. Their enemies, in describing them by these names, generally intended to identify them with what was conceived to be reproachful in the death of the one leader, or in the infirmities of the other."—*Vaughan*, vol. i. p. 309.

‡ Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 71.

opinions. "The rapid progress of the Independents," Mosheim candidly remarks, "was no doubt owing to a variety of causes; among which justice obliges us to reckon the learning of their teachers, and the regularity and sanctity of their manners."* "Contrary to the progress of other sects," remarks a Scottish historian,† "the Independent system was first addressed, and apparently recommended by its tolerating principles, to the higher orders of social life. It was in the progressive state of the sect, when in danger from the persecuting spirit of the Presbyterians, that it descended to the lower classes of the community, where other sectaries begin their career."

The rise of the Independent party may unquestionably be ascribed to the extreme violence and bigotry of the Presbyterians, in whose eyes toleration was a deadly sin, and Independency a pestilent heresy. The friends of religious liberty, therefore, naturally and almost necessarily, became identified with a sect distinguished by more modest pretensions and more tolerant principles. "Of all-Christian sects," Hume is constrained to allow, "this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration." Between the Presbyterians and the Independents, little difference existed on the leading doctrines of Christianity, as is shown by their uniting in the same Confession; and, as regarded the form of church-government, the Presbyterian and Congregational schemes were not so opposite as to forbid the hope of accommodation, for, in modern times, they are seen blending and passing into each other. But they were at variance as to first principles. While so nearly agreeing in the forms, they were the antipodes of each other in the spirit of their ecclesiastical polity. The real Independents asked only for protection, whether from a republic, a protectorate, or a monarchy. The Presbyterians contended for power, and they hazarded a Restoration to obtain it. In the righteous retribution of Divine Providence, those who had refused to acknowledge the equal rights of others,

* Mosheim, Cent. xvii. Sect. II. Part II.

† Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 275.

were, by that event, deprived of their own; and since the era of the Toleration Act, the denomination which was once able to maintain the struggle with a powerful hierarchy, has melted away before the growing importance of the despised sect whom they would fain have extinguished.

Considerable light is thrown upon the character of the different ecclesiastical parties which were represented in the Westminster Assembly, and upon the opposite spirit of their polity, by the ingenuous account given of them by Richard Baxter, himself a moderate Presbyterian. Speaking of the leaders of his denomination, he says: "I disliked the course of some of the more rigid of them, who drew too near the way of prelacy, by grasping at a kind of secular power; not using it themselves, but binding the magistrates to confiscate or imprison men, merely because they were excommunicated; and so corrupting the true discipline of the church, and turning the communion of saints into the communion of the multitude, who must keep in the church against their wills, for fear of being undone in the world. Whereas a man whose conscience cannot feel a just excommunication, unless it be backed with confiscation or imprisonment, is no fitter to be a member of a Christian church, than a corpse is to be a member of a corporation. It is true, they claim not this power as *jure divino*; but no more do the prelates, though the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* is the life of all their censures. Both parties too much debase the magistrate, by making him their mere executioner; whereas he ought to be the judge wherever he is the executioner, and ought to try the case at his own bar, before he be obliged to punish any delinquent. They also corrupt the discipline of Christ, by mixing it with secular force. They reproach the keys, or ministerial power, as if it were a leaden sword, and not worth a straw, unless the magistrate's sword enforce it. What, then, did the primitive church for three hundred years? Worst of all, they corrupt the church by forcing in the rabble of the unfit and unwilling; and thereby tempt many godly Christians to schisms and dangerous separations. Till magistrates keep the sword themselves, and learn to deny it to every

angry clergyman who would do his own work by it, and leave them to their own weapons,—the word and spiritual keys,—and *valeant quantum valere possunt*,—the church will never have unity and peace.

“ I disliked, also, in some of the Presbyterians, that they were not tender enough to dissenting brethren, but too much against liberty, as others were too much for it; and thought by votes and numbers to do that which love and reason should have done.” *

“ In the Independent way,” he subsequently proceeds to remark, “ I disliked many things. They made too light of ordination. They also had their office of lay-eldership. They were commonly stricter about the qualification of church-members, than Scripture, reason, or the practice of the Universal Church would allow; not taking a man’s bare profession as credible and as sufficient evidence of his title to church communion, unless, either by a holy life or the particular narration of the passages of the work of grace, he satisfied the pastors and all the church, that he was truly holy I disliked also the lamentable tendency of this their way to divisions and subdivisions, and the nourishing of heresies and sects. But, above all, I disliked, that most of them made the people, by majority of votes, to be church governors, in excommunications, absolutions, &c., which Christ hath made an act of office; and so they governed their governors and themselves. They also too much exploded synods; refusing them as stated, and admitting them but upon some extraordinary occasions. I disliked also their over-rigidity against the admission of Christians of other churches to their communion; and their making a minister to be as no minister to any but his own flock, and to act to others but as a private man; with divers others such irregularities and dividing opinions; many of which the moderation of the New England Synod hath of late corrected and disowned, and so done very much to heal these breaches.” †

It may be questioned, whether the opinions disowned by the New England Independents were ever generally held by

* Life, Part II. pp. 142, 143.

† Ibid.

their English brethren. In some of the above particulars, Baxter appears to have been misled by misrepresentations of their actual sentiments. In the following paragraph, he concedes almost every thing for which the Independents have contended, although he does not appear to have perceived the inferences which might fairly be deduced from the premises.

“ Most of them were zealous, and very many learned, discreet, and godly men, fit to be very serviceable in the Church. In the search of Scripture and antiquity, I found, that, in the beginning, a governed church, and a stated worshipping church, were all one, and not two several things; and that though there might be other by-meetings in places like our chapels or private houses for such as age or persecution hindered to come to the more solemn meetings, yet churches then were no bigger, in respect of number, than our parishes now. These were societies of Christians united for personal communion, and not only for communion by meetings of officers and delegates in synods, as many churches in association be. I saw, if once we go beyond the bounds of personal communion, as the end of particular churches, in the definition, we may make a church of a nation, or of ten nations, or what we please, which shall have none of the nature and ends of the primitive particular churches. I saw also a commendable care of serious holiness and discipline in most of the Independent churches. And I found that some episcopal men, as Bishop Usher himself, did hold that every bishop was independent as to synods, and that synods were not proper governors of the particular bishops, but only for their concord.”*

Between the primitive Episcopacy of Archbishop Usher's model, and the Independent scheme of church-government as delineated by Owen and other authorities, there is a much closer correspondence than has generally been recognised. It is contended, indeed, by the advocates of the Congregational polity, that the true and primitive diocesan Episcopacy was Independency; and they adduce in support of this position, the language of Dr. Barrow, in his *Treatise on the Pope's supremacy*: “ At first, every church was settled apart under

* *Life*, Part II. pp. 142, 143.

its own bishop and presbyters, so as independently and separately to manage its own concerns: each was governed by its own head and its own laws." * Mosheim makes a similar statement. "The churches, in those early times, were entirely independent, each one governed by its own rulers and its own laws.... Nothing is more evident than the perfect equality that reigned among the primitive churches; nor does there appear, in that first century, the smallest trace of that association of provincial churches, from which councils and metropolitans derive their origin. These councils changed the whole face of the Church, and gave it a new form; for by them the ancient privileges of the people were considerably diminished, and the power and authority of the bishops greatly augmented." † According to this view, the first step in the departure from the primitive polity was from what may be termed parochial Episcopacy to synodical jurisdiction, which is Presbyterianism; and the second was from Presbyterianism to Prelacy. First, the people were deprived of their ancient privileges; next, the presbyters; lastly, the bishops themselves.

The founders of the Independent or Congregational scheme of church-government were influenced by the conviction, that, if the ancient rights of the presbyters of the Church were not duly attended to in the constitution of the Episcopal Church of England, neither were the primitive rights of the people duly regarded in the constitution of the Church of Scotland. Hence the opposite spirit of the Presbyterian and Independent polities. Those learned and pious men were no idle theorists, no visionary reformers. Whatever errors they committed, their object was, to restore to the people their primitive rights, and to provide a barrier against sacerdotal usurpation on the part of either synod or convocation, diocesan or *classis*, prelate or presbyter. Not without reason had Milton complained, that those who had "thrown off" their "prelate lord," and "with stiff vows renounced his liturgy," were for riding the Church with "a *classic* hierarchy of their

* Barrow's Works, vol. i. p. 662.

† Mosheim, Cent. i. Part II. ch. 2, § 14. Cent. ii. Part II. ch. 2, § 3.

own," and that "new presbyter" was "but old priest writ large." * Thus, Independency, as a scheme of ecclesiastical reform, resulted from the re-action produced by the *jure divino* pretensions and persecuting spirit of Presbyterianism.

In pursuing his account of the leading parties in the nation at this period, Baxter records his opinion of the Baptists, who, though not represented in the Westminster Assembly, were rising into importance as a religious body, and could at that time rank among themselves many excellent, and a few learned persons. Differing in general from the Independents upon the rite of baptism alone, their more respectable ministers would probably be regarded as belonging to that denomination, with whom they were often closely associated; while "the medley of opinionists," to whom Baxter refers as swelling the Anabaptist party, were eventually drawn off, by the progress of their fanatical opinions, into the various ephemeral sects which rose to the surface, in the general effervescence of opinions, and evaporated, leaving behind nothing more substantial than a name.†

"For the Anabaptists themselves," says Baxter, "though I have written and said so much against them, as I found that most of them were persons of zeal in religion, so, many of them were sober, godly people, who differed from others but in the point of Infant Baptism, or, at most, in the points of Predestination, Free-will, and Perseverance.‡ And I found in all antiquity, that though Infant Baptism was held lawful by the Church, yet some, with Tertullian and Nazianzen, thought it most convenient to make no haste; and the

• It deserves remark, that Cromwell, while protecting the Independents against the Presbyterians, is said to have entertained the design of re-establishing Episcopacy in a milder form, as a check upon the Presbyterian clergy.

† Among these, Baxter particularizes "five sects whose doctrines were almost the same, but they fell into several shapes and names; the Vanists (Sir Harry Vane's disciples); the Seekers; the Ranters; the Quakers, and the Behmenists." The first is a sect of Baxter's own making, or must be identified with the second. The Ranters were Antinomians of the worst description. The Quakers only assumed the form of a permanent sect.

‡ From their first assuming the character of a distinct denomination, the Baptists have been divided into Calvinistic and Arminian, as differing upon these points and the extent of Redemption.

rest left the time of baptism to every one's liberty, and forced none to be baptized: insomuch as not only Constantine, Theodosius, and such others as were converted at years of discretion, but Augustine and many such as were the children of Christian parents, (one or both,) did defer their baptism much longer than I think they should have done. So that, in the primitive church, some were baptized in infancy, and some in ripe age, and some a little before their death; and none were forced, but all left free; and the only penalty of their delay was, that so long they were without the privileges of the church, and were numbered but with the catechumens or expectants." *

The first mention of the Baptists in English history, is as the subjects of persecution in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1535, fourteen Hollanders, refugees, were accused of being Anabaptists, and were put to death, ten others escaping the same fate only by recantation. During the reign of Edward VI., a commission was issued to several bishops and other persons, "to try all Anabaptists, heretics, and despisers of the common prayer;" and they were empowered, in the event of their contumacy, to commit them to the flames. Under Elizabeth, the same inhuman policy was persisted in. In 1575, a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists was discovered at Aldgate, London. Many were imprisoned; and four of them made their recantation, bearing faggots, at St. Paul's Cross. Eight Dutch women were shortly after banished for the same heresy, and two, for their peculiar obstinacy, were sentenced to be burned. At length, exiled by the proclamation of Elizabeth, the remnant of this obnoxious sect fled to the United Provinces, where they mingled with the other Protestant exiles.† The learned Ainsworth had been for some time pastor of the Independent church at Amsterdam, when it was joined by John Smith, or Smythe, who had been a minister of the Church of England, but had embraced the

* Life, Part II. pp. 140, 141.

† The last martyr burned in England was Edward Wightman, a Baptist of Burton-upon-Trent. He was condemned by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and was burned at Lichfield, April 11, 1612.

opinions of the Baptists. A controversy on the subject of Infant Baptism was the result; and Mr. Smith, on his return to England, having adopted the Arminian tenets, became the founder of the first regularly organized Baptist church, about the year 1608, holding the tenets of the Arminian or General Baptists. In the year 1616, the Independent congregation of which Henry Jacob was pastor, having become very numerous, a division took place, and that portion which had adopted the opinions of the Baptists, chose Mr. Spilsbury for their pastor. This was the first separate Baptist church holding the Calvinistic doctrine. In 1620, King James's "Loyal subjects, unjustly called Anabaptists," presented to him and to Parliament a Confession of their Faith. A Confession of Faith of seven Baptist churches in London, was published in 1646; and another, of several congregations in Somersetshire, in 1656.* The controversy relating to Infant Baptism and the mode of Baptism, was carried on with much earnestness and asperity, both from the press and by public disputation, between 1649 and 1675. Under the Long Parliament, the Baptists did not wholly escape persecution. A Mr. Henry Denne was imprisoned for preaching against Infant Baptism; and a disgraceful ordinance was passed, denouncing severe penalties against the abettors of certain opinions, among which is included the denial of Infant Baptism. After the Restoration, the first victim of the revival of the penal laws of Elizabeth was the celebrated Author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*; then a member, and subsequently the pastor, of a Baptist congregation at Bedford, by which he had been sent out, as an itinerant preacher, into the surrounding villages. Being apprehended, on the warrant of a local magistrate, at one of the religious meetings of the poor people to whom he was accustomed to preach, he was thrown into prison, and, after an examination in which his admission of the facts was construed into a ground of conviction, was, without trial, sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. He remained in Bedford gaol, with an occasional relaxation of the rigour of his imprisonment, for twelve years; and at length obtained

* Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 229.

his liberty, by an act of royal favour, in 1672. The congregation at Bedford, over which Bunyan subsequently presided for many years, although chiefly composed of Baptists, included Independents practising Infant Baptism; and Bunyan, who, in his catholic spirit, showed himself far in advance of his times, was vehemently assailed by his Baptist brethren for allowing of this mixed communion. His Defence, in reply to these now-forgotten antagonists, places them in no very honourable light, as the bitter calumniators of the greatest ornament of their denomination.

Among other eminent Baptist ministers who suffered imprisonment for nonconformity during this reign, were Thomas De Laune and Benjamin Keach. Ten men and two women of that persuasion were apprehended at a meeting near Aylesbury, under the statute of Elizabeth, and, on refusing to conform or to abjure the realm, were condemned to death. But the case having been laid before Lord Chancellor Hyde, he was induced to interpose his influence, and the atrocious sentence was reversed by a royal pardon. At length, the Toleration Act, on the happy accession of William and Mary, placed the Baptists, in common with other Protestant dissenters, under the protection of the laws. In the year 1689, a general assembly of the Calvinistic Baptists was convoked in London, consisting of the representatives of one hundred congregations, who decided on putting forth a Confession of Faith, containing all the leading peculiarities of their doctrinal tenets and discipline. This document, consisting of thirty-two articles, with a preface, and general epistle, still remains the most complete representation of their sentiments.*

* In 1700 was published, "The Baptist's Catechism; agreeably to the *Confession of Faith* put forth by the Elders and Brethren of many Congregations of Christians (baptized upon profession of their Faith) in London and in the Country; owning the doctrines of Personal Election and Final Perseverance." An address to the reader thus explains the design of the publication: "Having a desire to show our near agreement with many other Christians of whom we have great esteem, we some years since put forth a Confession of our Faith, *almost in all points the same with that of the Assembly and Savoy*, which was subscribed by the elders and messengers of many churches baptized on profession of their faith; and do now put forth a short account of Christian principles, for the instruction of our families, in most things agreeing with the Shorter Catechism of the

The Independents, having generally concurred in the Westminster Confession, took no steps towards publishing any declaration of their faith and order, till the year 1658, when, in pursuance of circular invitations, issued with the consent of the Protector, about two hundred elders and messengers from above one hundred churches, assembled at the Savoy.* A committee† being appointed to prepare the heads of agreement, the articles were severally discussed, prior to adoption, and the whole was afterwards published under the title of "A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England: agreed upon and consented to by their Elders and Messengers in their Meeting at the Savoy, Oct. 12, 1658." The preface, which is long, is believed to be from the pen of Dr. Owen, but was subscribed by the whole committee. The Savoy Declaration contains the same statements of Christian doctrine with the Westminster Confession, but omits those parts of it which relate to the power of synods, church censures, marriage and divorce, and the authority of the civil magistrate in matters purely religious; which parts were never ratified by the English parliament.‡ Instead of these, there is annexed, a separate Declaration "Of

Assembly. And this we were the rather induced to, because we have commonly made use of that Catechism in our families; and the difference being not much, it will be more easily committed to memory." Editions of this Catechism were printed at Bristol in 1775.—Wilson's *Hist. Inquiry*, p. 189.

* Ten years earlier (1648), the Congregational Churches in New England held a meeting at Cambridge, (Massachusetts,) where they agreed to the doctrinal part of the Westminster Confession, and framed a Platform of Church Discipline suited to their own principles.

† Consisting of Drs. Owen and Goodwin, and Messrs. Nye, Bridge, Caryl, Greenhill, and Griffith.

‡ Chapters I. to XIX. correspond verbally to the Westminster Confession; but Chap. XX. "Of the Gospel and the extent of the Grace thereof," is additional: "in which Chapter, what is dispersed and inserted by intimation in the Assembly's Confession is here brought together and more fully under one head." Chapters XXI. to XXVII. correspond to Chapters XX. to XXVI. of the Westminster, with the following exceptions: Clauses 4 of Chap. XX., 5 and 6 of Chap. XXIV., and 3 of Chap. XXVI. are omitted; 3 of Chap. XXIII. is modified; and Chap. XXV. is materially altered, a remarkable clause being added, relating to the expectations of the Church. Chapters XXX. and XXXI. are entirely omitted; and the remaining Chapters correspond. The Westminster has 33 Chapters; the Savoy, 32.

the Institution of Churches, and the Order appointed in them by Jesus Christ;" in which the principles of Independency are propounded. The leading features of the system are:—That to each particular church is given, by the institution of Christ, "all that power and authority which is any way needful for their carrying on that order in worship and discipline" which they are directed to observe:—That the power of censures being vested in each church, "is to be exercised only towards particular members of each church respectively as such; and there is no power given by Christ to any synods or ecclesiastical assemblies to excommunicate, or by their public edicts to threaten excommunication, or other church censures, against churches, magistrates, or their people, upon any account, no man being obnoxious to that censure but upon his personal miscarriage as a member of a particular church:"—That "no person ought to be added to the church, but by the consent of the church itself:"—and, That ordination alone cannot constitute ministers "church-officers" without previous consent of the church.*

The Preface to the Savoy Declaration is remarkable as containing the first explicit avowal of sentiments of enlightened tolerance and catholic charity, that ever appeared in such a document. It avows, that the Independents had always maintained, though at the expense of much opposition, "the great principle, that, among all Christian states and churches, there ought to be vouchsafed a forbearance and mutual indulgence to saints of all persuasions, that keep to and hold fast the necessary foundations of faith and holiness." And it maintains, that all professing Christians, "with their errors that are purely spiritual, and intrench and overthrow not civil societies, should for Christ's sake be borne with; and they be permitted to enjoy all ordinances and spiritual privileges, according to their light, as freely as any of their brethren who pretend to the greatest orthodoxy." The subscribers solemnly declare, that, if they had all the power which any of their brethren of different opinions had

* Orme's Life of Owen, pp. 239, 240.

desired to have over them or others, they would freely grant this liberty to them all.*

On comparing this language with the account given by Richard Baxter of the sentiments of the Independents, it will be seen, that they differed from the Presbyterians chiefly on three points.

1. As to Ordination, and the liberty of preaching.
2. As to the political form and constitution of church-government, and the conditions of church-communion.
3. As to the grounds and limits of religious liberty.

An explanation of the opposite or differing opinions of the Presbyterians and Independents upon these points, will enable the reader to form a clear and correct view of the characteristic sentiments of the Congregational Dissenters of the present day, who adhere, with little modification, to the opinions of their ancestors.

I.

First, as to Ordination. The opinion of the Presbyterians is thus stated by a modern advocate of the system: "This power (that of ordaining office-bearers to the exercise of their function) appears to belong exclusively to the pastors of the church, and neither solely nor conjointly to the Christian people."† The Congregational or Independent divines thus explain their opinions in the Savoy Platform of Order: "Ordination alone, without the precedent consent of the church, by those who formerly have been ordained, by virtue of that power they have received by their ordination, doth not constitute any person a church-officer, or communicate office-power unto him." The Presbyterians, on the one hand, denied that the mere invitation and choice of the people could confer the pastoral office, or that it was even a prerequisite. The Independents denied, on the other hand, that Ordination could constitute any one a pastor without the previous choice or consent of the people over whom he was to

* It was not to be expected that these sentiments, or the Declaration itself, would be pleasing to the Presbyterians; but it is a sad reflection, that they should have stirred up the spleen of Baxter.—See Orme's Owen, pp. 236, 237.

† Brown's Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government, p. 60.

preside. That any Christian church should have a pastor forced upon them by either prelatical, presbyterial, or lay appointment, was, in their view, subversive of the most sacred rights of the people. Not that they regarded election as superseding Ordination; and what is very remarkable, we find Dr. Owen endeavouring to reconcile the elective right, as relating to the spiritual office, with the right of presentation to the temporal emoluments annexed to it, as vested in the patron. "It will be objected, I know," he says, "that the restoration of this liberty unto the people will overthrow the *jus patronatus*, or the right of presenting unto livings and preferments, which is established by law in this nation. But this election of the church doth not actually and immediately instate the person chosen in the office whereunto he is chosen, nor give actual right unto its exercise.* It is required, moreover, that he be solemnly set apart unto his office in and by the church, with fasting and prayer. That there should be some kind of peculiar prayer in the dedication of any unto the office of the ministry, is a notion that could never be obliterated in the minds of men concerned in these things, nor cast out of their practice." . . . "It is needless to inquire what is the authoritative influence of this Ordination, while it is acknowledged to be indispensably necessary, and to belong essentially to the call unto office. For, when sundry duties, as Election and Ordination, are required unto the same end, by virtue of divine institution, it is not for me to determine what is the peculiar efficacy of the one or the other, seeing neither of them, without the other, hath any at all."†

* Hooker, on the other hand, while recognising the right of the people to elect their pastors, paradoxically contends, that that right is exercised for them by the patron! "The power of Order I may lawfully receive, without asking leave of any multitude; but that power I cannot exercise upon any one certain people utterly against their wills; neither is there in the Church of England any man, by order of law, possessed with pastoral charge over any parish, but *the people in effect do choose him thereunto*. For, albeit they choose not by giving every man personally his particular voice, yet can they not say, that they have their pastors violently obtruded upon them, *inasmuch as their ancient and original interest therein hath been by orderly means derived into the Patron who chooseth for them!*"—*Eccl. Pol.* Book VII. § 14.

† Owen's *True Nature of a Gospel Church*, pp. 83, 84.

This language is stronger, as to the absolute necessity of Ordination, than most modern Congregationalists would be disposed to employ; but it shows decisively what were the views of the founders of the Congregational polity. The Presbyterians contended, that "the essence of a call to office doth not consist in Election, but in Ordination, and that it belongeth to a Presbytery to ordain." The Independent divines met this allegation, not with a bare negative, but urged that "Ordination, as well as Election, is used in the Congregational way; and so the essence of the call is not wanting there, whether it consists in the one or in the other." "Though," they said, "we deny Ordination to be of the essence of the call to office, yet we assert it to be a necessary adjunct of such a call. Officers ought not to be wholly or altogether without Ordination; yet, the very essence of a call to office is complete without Ordination." "Every man who is actually set over, or hath the charge of a particular flock or church, hath the essentials of the ministerial office. But every man who is elected by a church of Christ, and hath accepted of the choice, though as yet unordained, is actually set over, or hath the charge of a particular office committed to him." Whereas, "without Election, a man cannot be over any flock, though he hath submitted formerly to Ordination." Therefore, they concluded, Ordination, "which doth not set a man over a church of Christ, or commit it to his charge, doth not give the essentials of the ministerial office, or of the outward call to office."*

Both parties seem to have identified the ministerial function with the pastoral office. The Independent divines, regarding a Christian minister in the capacity of a pastor or church-ruler, argued, that "it appeared absurd to ordain an officer without a province to exercise the office in." Their opponents viewed the Christian ministry more as an order invested with certain inherent powers,—a faculty, or profession, endowed with peculiar privileges,—the admission into which required to be jealously guarded. And this power and

* "The Preacher Sent: in Answer to *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelii, &c.*" (Lond. 1658.) pp. 240—246.

authority, they conceived, could be transmitted only by those who were of the order. According to this view, the pastor's office is a mere accident of the ministry. All approved candidates for the ministerial office, among the Presbyterians, are ordained without reference to any local charge. Among the Congregationalists, no probationer is ordained till he has been appointed to the pastoral office. The reason of the different practice is obvious. In the one case, the individual is ordained a minister or presbyter; in the other case, he is ordained a pastor. Ordination, in the former instance, is the conveyance of a right or power; in the latter case, a designation to office, or a solemn recognition of the pastoral relation created by the choice of the people.

The power of ordination claimed by the Presbyterian clergy, was not less hostile to "the liberty of prophesying," or the free exercise of the function of public teaching, than a similar power lodged in the hands of diocesans. To provide against its oppressive operation, some of the Independent divines were anxious to invest every particular church with independent powers of Ordination; but, in order to this, it was supposed that such particular church had, *within itself*, a plurality of presbyters or elders, by whom those powers might be legitimately exercised; and thus, as in the case of a civil trust, the requisite number of officers be kept up. In failure of this, the assistance of pastors or elders of other churches was to be called in. But it was not imagined, that the people (that is, private members of the society) could legitimately ordain those whom they might elect; nor was the call or choice of a pastor to be made, otherwise than under the guidance and presidency of the elders.* According to this theory, every complete church includes its own presbytery, and then only can claim independence. Completeness of organization and Independency are collateral conditions of its existence. "To say they are churches, and yet have not in themselves power to attain those ends of churches," says Dr. Owen, "is to speak contradictions. For a church is nothing but such a society as hath power, ability, and fitness to attain those ends

* Owen's True Nature of a Church, p. 176.

for which Christ hath ordained churches. That which hath so, is a church, and that which hath not so, is none."* "It is, therefore, evident, that neither the purity, nor the order, nor the beauty or glory of the churches of Christ can be long preserved, without a multiplication of elders in them, according to the proportion of their respective members, for their rule and guidance. And for want hereof, have churches, of old and of late, either degenerated into anarchy and confusion, their *self-rule* being managed with vain disputes and janglings, unto their division and ruin; or else given up themselves unto the domination of some prelatical teachers, to rule them at their pleasure, which proved the bane and poison of all the primitive churches; and they will, and must do so, in the neglect of this order, for the future."†

It was no tenet of Independency, then, that ordination to office by the hands of the Presbytery is an unimportant ceremony; or that a congregation is at liberty to call to the pastoral office any individual who may offer himself, without reference to accredited qualifications, or to the concurrent sanction of other ministers. "We must take it for granted," says Dr. Owen, "that every true church of Christ (that is so in the matter and form of it) is able to judge, in some competent measure, what gifts of men are suited unto their own edification. But yet, in making a judgement hereof, one directive means is, the advice of other elders and churches, which they are obliged to make use of by virtue of the communion of churches."‡ In all cases where a church had not its presbytery within itself, or a multiplicity of elders, it was supposed that it would act in conjunction with neighbouring churches, and thus supply its deficient organization by an association of pastors and delegates. And, under ordinary circumstances, it was deemed requisite that the concurrence of other parties should be obtained, both in admitting persons to the ministry, and in ordaining them to the pastoral office. Accordingly, in the "Heads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers in and about London," of both denominations, in 1691, we find the following declarations: "In so

* Owen's Inquiry, p. 138. † Owen's True Nature, &c. p. 178. ‡ Ibid. p. 60.

great and weighty a matter as the calling and choosing a pastor, we judge it ordinarily requisite, that every such (particular) church consult and advise with the pastors of neighbouring congregations: that, after such advice, the person consulted about, being chosen by the brotherhood of that particular church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained and set apart to his office over them; wherein it is ordinarily requisite, that the pastors of neighbouring churches concur with the preaching elder or elders, if such there be." . . . "And it is expedient that they who enter on the work of preaching the Gospel, be not only qualified for communion of saints, but also that, except in cases extraordinary, they give proof of their gift and fitness for such work unto the pastors of churches, of known abilities to discern and judge of their qualifications; that they may be sent forth with solemn approbation and prayer: which we judge needful, that no doubt may remain concerning their being called to the work, and for preventing (as much as in us lieth) ignorant and rash intruders."*

By restricting ordination to the pastoral office, and by making election to such office a pre-requisite, the Independent system of church polity provides the best security for the respectability of the official class of public teachers, who devote themselves to the work of the ministry, without rejecting the services of unordained, non-official teachers. In this respect, it claims to have an advantage over the Presbyterian polity, which jealously restricts the function of teaching to the order. The occasional preaching of candidates for the ministry, seems to have been an ancient practice in the Church. "It appears very unaccountable," remarks the Author of a "Comparative View of the English and Scottish Dissenters," "how it first fell into desuetude in the Church of Scotland, and how it was never practised at all in the Secession. This is the more remarkable, as it is a practice distinctly recognised, and thus implicitly required, by our subordinate standards. Thus, in the Directory for the Public Worship of God, we find it explicitly stated, that 'such as

* Heads of Agreement, chap. II. §§ 4, 5, 7.

intend the ministry may occasionally both read the word and exercise their gift in preaching in the congregation, if allowed by the presbytery thereunto.'"^{*} Among the Independents, candidates for the ministry are uniformly so employed; and the auxiliary services of lay teachers have always been more or less sanctioned. Nothing can be more directly opposed, indeed, to the Independent system, than making ordination a pre-requisite for the exercise of the preacher's function, or tying it up to the pastoral office. At the same time, it affords no countenance to the intrusion of self-appointed, incompetent, and erratic teachers, the appointment or sanction of the pastor being insisted upon as needful in all ordinary cases. "Though one who is really gifted for such a work may lawfully, for aught we know," say the Vindicators of the Liberty of Preaching, "especially in some cases, preach without such approbation from a church or others who are able to judge of gifts, yet it may be *inexpedient*, and sometimes it proveth of ill consequence to others, and uncomfortable to himself." . . . "We do not assert, that every man that presumes himself gifted, may assume the office of the ministry, nor that he may preach; much less do we say, that he may do either without a regular call; but we say that such believers as are really gifted, not barely who presume themselves to be so, they have a regular call to preach. And this doth not prostitute either the office or the work unto the wills of men, nor open a door to disorder, it being the declared will of Christ, that such should preach . . . The confusion they (the Presbyterians) speak of, will not be at all avoided by making ordination the only door into the ministry; for such as presume themselves so qualified that they ought to be ordained, if they be denied ordination, yet will they count it their duty to preach without it, when they cannot have it. And so the door is opened as wide to all disorders, and the introducing of all heresies and errors, in the way of ordination, as in the way of the preaching of gifted brethren. And how will our brethren shut this door, or hinder these evils? Either it must be by church censures, or by the civil magistrate, that the mouths of unor-

^{*} Thomson's Comparative View, (1830,) p. 87.

dained men must be stopped, if ordination only giveth power to preach." *

In the Church of England, Hooker says, "Presbyters and Deacons are not by ordination consecrated unto places, but unto functions;" although, in fact, a local *title* is, by the law, made a pre-requisite to admission to orders, "lest the poverty and destitution" of those who have once received ordination, "should redound to the disgrace and discredit of their calling." "The only true and proper act of ordination," says the same learned polemic, "is to invest men with that power which doth make them ministers, by consecrating their persons to God and his service in holy things during term of life, whether they exercise that power or no." Thus, ordination is supposed to convey an indelible character, together with a "power to meddle with things sacred," not a "charge" or specific office; a qualification, rather than authority.† That ordination does not, in the Episcopal Church, confer the authority to preach, or invest the individual with the proper ministerial function, is clear. An ordained deacon still requires a license from the ordinary, before he may preach; and though licensed to preach, he requires to be re-ordained a priest, in order to be qualified to administer the Eucharist. In opposition to his Puritan antagonists, Hooker denies that the faculty of preaching is a necessary qualification of the Christian minister. The Church may, with good conscience, he maintains, choose and ordain "them that may serve to perform the service of public prayer, to minister the sacra-

* "The Preacher Sent," pp. 20; 148—150. "We grant," they say, "that when a man undertaketh to be an officer to, or taketh the charge of, a church of Christ, there ought to be ordination before the exercise of his office. Our question is, whether a man who hath grace and such gifts as render him apt to teach, may exercise those gifts, ordinarily or frequently, without ordination, he being no officer to any church of Christ. Neither is the question, whether any man that thinketh himself gifted, may preach. If some think themselves gifted, who are not, and thereupon preach, we plead not for them. But if a man be really gifted, if really he be apt to teach, &c., our question is, whether he may not publicly do it, though he be not ordained." *Ib.* pp. 19, 20. "Prayer is one work of a minister: will our brethren say, that no man may pray, or give himself to prayer, but he that is in office? Yet, prayer is a work that officers perform, as well as preaching. If they say that prayer is not peculiar to office, we say, no more is preaching." *Ib.* p. 162.

† Hooker, Book V. § 80.

ments unto the people, to solemnize marriage, to visit the sick, and bury the dead, to instruct by reading, although by preaching they be not as yet so able to benefit and feed Christ's flock.* St. Paul, he admits, "requireth more in presbyters than there is found in many whom the Church of England alloweth. But no man being tied unto impossibilities, to do that we cannot we are not bound."† "That, therefore, wherein a minister differeth from other Christian men, is not, as some have childishly imagined, 'the sound preaching of the word of God,' but . . . canonical ordination is that which maketh a lawful minister, as touching the validity of any act which appertaineth to that vocation." But preaching, it appears, neither appertains of necessity to that vocation, nor is restricted to it. In fact, Hooker contends, that, in the Apostolic Church, those who were preachers *par excellence*, were laymen. "Touching prophets," he says, "they were such men as, having otherwise learned the Gospel, had from above bestowed upon them *a special gift of expounding Scriptures*, and of foreshowing things to come. Of this sort Agabus was, and, besides him in Jerusalem, sundry others, who, notwithstanding, are not therefore to be reckoned with the clergy, because no man's gifts or qualities can make him a minister of holy things, unless ordination do give him power. And we nowhere find prophets to have been made by ordination."‡ In like manner, a Catechist is not considered to be of the ecclesiastical order; yet is allowed to preach, under certain circumstances, without ordination. Clemens and Origen in Alexandria, whose preaching attracted numbers of the people, were both, according to Eusebius, catechists, and therefore laics. The same character attaches to others of the most distinguished fathers and doctors of the early ages.§ Hooker says, "an error beguileth many," which arises from "not distinguishing services, offices, and orders

* Hooker, Book V. § 81.

† Ibid. § 81.

‡ Ibid. § 78.

§ See a curious article entitled "Lay Theologians," in *Eclect. Rev.* vol. ix. (3d Series) p. 225. In the writer's "secular catalogue," are found Moses, Isaiah, Daniel, and most of the prophets, Philo, Josephus, Justin Martyr, Minutius Felix, Origen, Lactantius, Jerom, and a host of others, down to Grotius, Newton, Boyle, Locke, Milton, and Leibnitz.

ecclesiastical: the first of which three, and in part the second, may be executed by the laity." "Catechists, *exorcists*, readers, singers, and the rest of like sort, . . . inasmuch as they no way differed from others of the laity longer than during that work of service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tied by irrevocable ordination, we find them always exactly severed from that body whereof those three before-rehearsed orders alone (apostles, presbyters, and deacons) are natural parts." *

It is curious to find the champion of Episcopacy defending lay-preaching, in opposition to the Presbyterians, who identified the function with the ministerial calling. In the Church of Scotland, however, as in the Church of England, licensing to preach, and ordaining to the ministry, are quite distinct. The candidate for Presbyterian ordination is first licensed, and afterwards ordained. And "so pertinaciously is this practice adhered to, that even in the case of missionaries, destined, on finishing their theological course, to go immediately to a foreign land, the formality of license cannot be dispensed with, even although it is to be followed by ordination almost immediately thereafter." † It is then the license, not the ordination, which is to be considered as conveying the authority to preach.

A license to preach or teach must be viewed in the light of a political qualification, rather than an ecclesiastical one. A license was formerly requisite to authorize a person to keep a school: and every department of tuition being prohibited to Protestant Dissenters by various statutes and canons, it is only on condition of qualifying specially, that they are now permitted, under a remedial statute, to exercise these professions with impunity.‡ The canons of the Church forbid all persons to teach or instruct youth without license and sub-

* Hooker, Book V. § 78.

† Thomson's Comparative View, p. 97.

‡ By 23d Eliz. c. i. s. 7, a year's imprisonment is inflicted on every schoolmaster not allowed by the bishop, or not repairing to church. By the 13th and 14th Car. II. c. 4, every schoolmaster neglecting to obtain a license, and to subscribe a declaration of conformity, is disabled to teach, and subjected to imprisonment and fine. By 17 Car. II. c. 2, nonconformists are restrained by similar penalties from teaching any public or private school, or taking any boarders. The 12th Ann, c. 7 (repealed by 5 Geo. I. c. 4,) prohibited Dissenters from educating their own children, and required them to be put into the hands of conformists.

scription; and by the 13th and 14th Car. II. c. 4, any person who instructs or teaches youth before license from the ordinary, and subscription of conformity, is liable to three months' imprisonment for the first offence, and, for every subsequent offence, to the same term of imprisonment, and a fine of 5*l*. By the Toleration Act and other remedial statutes, the magistrate's certificate, obtained on qualification, supersedes the necessity of the Episcopal license. The functions of Dissenting ministers are now exercised under the protection of a certificate; which, though it conveys no ecclesiastical authority, not only exempts from all penalties incurred by the exercise of the clerical function without Episcopal ordination, but secures to them, in their recognised capacity of religious teachers, certain civil immunities. It is still requisite, however, that the *place* be duly certified, as a condition of teaching or preaching, in order to secure the officiating minister against the penalties of unrepealed statutes.*

The press was once subject to similar restrictions; and certainly, if none but licentiates ought to preach or teach, it would seem but congruous, that no unordained or unlicensed person should presume to write upon theological subjects, and thereby to teach even the teachers. The "liberty of prophesying" and the liberty of printing rest upon the same grounds, and cannot be separated in principle. In our own country, printing first escaped from ecclesiastical control; and to the emancipation of the press we are indebted for the security of our religious liberties.

Among the Congregational Dissenters, no license to preach is deemed requisite; for two reasons: First, because, though esteemed a very principal part of pastoral duty, preaching is regarded as only a mode of religious instruction, not differing essentially from other methods which require to be adopted in dealing with the mass of popular ignorance and irreligion, and the teaching of others is viewed as a duty incumbent upon all who possess the competent knowledge and ability,

* Of the registration of a very large proportion of Dissenting places of worship, no legal evidence would appear to be extant, owing to the neglect of the registrars. See Eclect. Rev. Jan. 1837. Art. I.

rather than as the prerogative of an order. Secondly, because a license is deemed a purely civil regulation, a certificate of toleration, rather than a testimonial to competency; and all assumption of political authority, on the part of ecclesiastical persons, is disclaimed and deprecated by the Congregational Dissenters. The only ecclesiastical license in use among Congregationalists, consists of the testimonials given to theological students after examination, and those which certify church-membership, or the fact of an individual having been in communion with a particular society, and having maintained religious consistency of character.

In fact, the Independent or Congregational system, while it fully recognises the scriptural principle, that they who minister the Gospel as their proper business should live by their office, so long as they sustain the relation and discharge the duties of a pastor; at the same time freely avails itself of whatever spontaneous and gratuitous labour can be effectually applied to the purpose of diffusing Christian knowledge. It is, indeed, beginning to be perceived by all denominations, that the moral wants of society can never be adequately met by the utmost strength and activity of an ordained order, or of those who are supported by their official labours; and the extensive and systematic employment of lay agency constitutes a distinguishing feature of the present times. The system of Sunday-school instruction, of Bible distribution, of district visiting, as well as of village teaching,—all carried on chiefly by the gratuitous agency of the laity of all classes,—and thus withdrawing nothing from the funds for supporting the regular ministry,—all this cost-free labour, which nevertheless leads to no depreciation of that which is paid for, because it never enters into competition with it, and never exceeds the demand,—is the production of that spirit which is identified with Protestant dissent. The contrast is most striking, which this free and unlicensed movement of religious zeal throughout the nation, presents, to the jealous ordinances of ecclesiastical authority. In no respect is the spirit of Independency more opposed to that of Presbyterianism, than in its expansive and elastic principle, and its popular character.

II.

The second point upon which the Presbyterians and Congregationalists of the seventeenth century differed, was the political form and constitution of the Church. At the time of the Restoration, the Presbyterians in general approved of an established national Church; and had the Episcopal clergy been willing to come to an accommodation, they would not have refused to concur in a modified scheme of Episcopacy. In this respect, they differed widely, at that period, from the Independents or Congregationalists, who not only objected to the admixture of secular power with ecclesiastical discipline, in an Establishment, but deemed the attempt to make the Church co-extensive with the nation, incompatible on the one hand with civil liberty, and fatal, on the other, to strictness of discipline and the maintenance of the communion of saints. Baxter, though a Presbyterian, has pointed out the necessary tendency of the course adopted by the high-churchmen of his own party to corrupt the true discipline of the Church, by turning the communion of saints into the communion of the multitude; although he complains, that the Independents, in avoiding this evil, were too strict in not taking a man's bare profession of Christianity as credible evidence of his title to church communion. His deeming this unreasonable shows, that he did not very distinctly perceive the essential principle of the Congregational discipline, as having for its object to determine, not what bare profession should entitle a man to the full enjoyment of his civil rights, but what could qualify him to be recognised as a fellow-disciple of Christ, or a holy person. Yet Baxter allows, in one part of his writings,* that "in the beginning, churches were societies of Christians united for *personal communion*; and that if we go beyond these bounds, we may make a church of a nation, or of ten nations, or what we please, which shall have none of the nature and ends of the primitive particular churches." Now the churches of the Congregationalists being strictly societies for personal communion, with reference to objects purely

* Narrative, &c. Part I. p. 140.

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communion together, do by their messengers meet in a synod or council, to consider and give their advice in or about that matter of difference. Howbeit, these synods so assembled are not intrusted with any church-power, properly so called, or with any jurisdiction over the churches themselves, to exercise any censures, or to impose their determination on the churches or officers. Besides these occasional synods or councils, there are not instituted by Christ any stated synods in a fixed combination of churches or their officers, in less or greater assemblies; nor are there any synods appointed by Christ, in a way of subordination to one another." * Such is the language of the Declaration issued by the Elders and Messengers of the Congregational Churches assembled at the Savoy in October, 1658, who formed a congregational synod of the description recognised as scriptural and expedient. It will be seen, that, while anxious to maintain the communion of churches, and to act in conjunction so as to exhibit the unity of their faith, they disavowed and rejected all pretence to coercive power or ecclesiastical legislation, and were jealous of any approach to a permanent jurisdiction.† The distinction which is made, in the Preface to this Declaration, between confessions of faith, properly so called, and articles authoritatively imposed, will illustrate still more clearly the fundamental difference of principle between the Presbyterian polity and the Congregational discipline.

* Order of the Churches, §§ 26, 27.

† The recent formation of the Congregational and Baptist Unions, has given rise to the notion, that there exists among the Nonconformists of the present day a disposition to abandon the principles of strict Independency, and to adopt a new species of machinery or organization more nearly approaching to Presbyterianism. For this idea there is no foundation. These Unions differ in no other respect than in their more extended or comprehensive character, from the county unions, and associations of churches, which have always existed in both denominations for similar objects. They have no relation to a scheme of church-government; their object is not to set up a church, or to create a jurisdiction, but simply to facilitate a general co-operation for common and public objects of a religious nature. The union is based upon a recognition of the distinctive principle of the Congregational system; that all legitimate church-power, for the purpose of discipline, is inclusive in each particular church, and limited to it, so as to be incapable of delegation to any synodical convention or representative assembly.—See *Eclectic Review*, Feb. 1837, Art. "Congregational and Baptist Unions."

“ When Confessions are made by a company of professors of Christianity jointly meeting to that end, the most genuine and natural use of such confessions, is, that, under the same form of words, they express the substance of the same common salvation, or unity of their faith; whereby ‘ speaking the same things, they shew themselves perfectly joined in the same mind, and in the same judgement.’ (1 Cor. i. 10.) ‘ And, accordingly, such a transaction is to be looked upon only as a meet or fit medium, or means, whereby to express that their common faith and salvation, and no way to be made use of as an imposition upon any. Whatever is of force or constraint in matters of this nature, causes them to degenerate from the name and nature of confessions, and turns them from being confessions of faith, into exactions and impositions of faith.”

It is unnecessary to observe, how completely opposed is the spirit of this declaration to the authority exercised by Presbyterian synods and councils, in “ determining ministerially controversies of faith and cases of conscience,” and in issuing “ decrees, which are to be received with reverence and submission.” The Congregational system rejects from the constitution of the Church every political element, trusting wholly to the force of moral sanctions, which, though effective for the purposes of discipline, can never interfere with civil or religious liberty. While the established Churches of England and Scotland may be described as having political organization without discipline, the Congregational churches maintain discipline without such organization, not pretending to any external polity, and leaving all magisterial power to the civil government; agreeably to the remark of Bishop Warburton, that “ the means of civil society are coercive power, which power the religious hath not.”

III.

Thirdly, and as a necessary consequence, the Presbyterians and the Independents differed as to the grounds and limits of religious liberty. To many persons it has appeared unaccountable, that the members of a sect so rigid in its

ecclesiastical discipline, nay, deemed so uncharitable and narrow-minded in its terms of communion, should at the same time have been confessedly distinguished by their tolerant spirit and their abhorrence of religious persecution. The cause for surprise vanishes, when it is perceived, that the most rigid and exclusive system of mutual religious fellowship that is purely voluntary in its principle, does not clash with the recognition of the equal social rights of all the subjects of the civil government. The theory of the Congregational order and discipline assumes, that the rule of political equity, and the law of Christian fellowship, can never assimilate; that, in the very attempt to make them square with each other, either the former must be grossly infringed upon, or the latter be frittered away into a dead letter; that, in fact, every plan for making the pale of society correspond to the pale of church-communion, must, by rendering the latter too broad, or the former too narrow, by excluding too many of the conscientious, or by including the irreligious and licentious, either lead to the most intolerant ecclesiastical tyranny, or induce the abandonment of all that discriminates the church of Christ from the world. Such are the grounds upon which the Independents have constantly protested against the theory of a National Church, which, if it comprehends the entire nation, must do so at the sacrifice of all unity of sentiment and effective discipline, to the mere semblance of uniformity in its constitution; and if it excludes any considerable portion of the nation, it becomes sectarian and unjust. Besides which, they contend, if religious conformity be exacted as an act or test of civil obedience, it must be as much the duty of a conscientious subject in Popish, Mohammedan, or Pagan countries, to conform to the religion of the State, as in a Protestant land. "Infidelity, or difference of religion, does not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience to him."* What is due, therefore, as civil obedience, must be

* Savoy Confession, c. xxiv. § 3.—"I am a churchman, says the Rev. Mr. Stowell, because the Scripture tells me to be subject to the powers that be. This is turning scripture topsy-turvy. Would St. Paul have taught an 'unlearned churchman' to say, I am a Christian, because my religion teaches me to be subject to the powers

due alike to Christian and to Pagan rulers. But such submission to civil rule, in matters of faith, the Scriptures plainly condemn; and to inculcate faith and obedience to Christ's ordinances, on the ground of loyalty or subjection to the Government, or as the condition of civil privileges, is viewed by them as a proceeding opposed alike to the spirit and true interests of Christianity, and to the dictates of sound policy and natural justice.*

Entertaining these views of the limits of civil obedience, the Independents, while they invoked the protection of the Government, consistently declined its support, and rejected its aid in enforcing the censures of the Church. If their principles required them to deny, on the one hand, the authority of the magistrate in matters purely spiritual, those same principles led them also to disclaim every kind of secular power or

that be? Or would he not rather have taught him to say, I am subject to the powers that be, because I am a Christian. The Scripture bases loyalty upon religion; our Churchman makes religion to rest upon loyalty. This is making sad work with both."—*Eclectic Rev.* vol. xii. p. 281.

* An Ecclesiastical Establishment, according to Bishop Warburton, can be defended only on the ground of *civil utility*. Were religion to be established and protected by a test-law, on the mere ground of its being the true religion, and opinions to be encouraged or discouraged *as* opinions, then, argues the learned Prelate, an Establishment would be,—1. "*Unjust*, because the civil magistrate, as such, hath no right to determine which is the true religion; this power not being given him on man's entering into society. Nor could it be given him, because one man cannot empower another to determine for him in matters of religion. Therefore, he not being judge, and there being no other to be found with authority to arbitrate between him and the several schemes of religion, he hath no right to establish his own. Again, it is *unjust*, because, were the magistrate a competent judge of what was true religion, he would yet have no right to reward its followers, or discourage its opposers; because matters of opinion belong not to his jurisdiction. He being, as St. Peter tells us, sent by God for the punishment of *evil doers*, and for the praise of them that *do well*. 2. An Establishment is *absurd*: it being impossible that the end of it should be obtained. This end is the protection and support of *true religion*. But the civil magistrate, who is to establish it, assuming to himself the sole authority of judging which is so, must necessarily conclude in favour of his own, so that the *established religion*, all the world over, will be the magistrate's; that is, for one place where the *true* religion is established, the *false* will be established in a thousand. And whether this be for the interest of true religion, let the maintainers of the hypothesis judge. . . . The clergy's right to a public maintenance being (in that case) for the support of opinions, would be contrary to the fundamental laws of society, by making men contribute to the maintenance of opinions which they reject and think false." Warburton's *Alliance between Church and State*, Book III. c. 4.

jurisdiction on the part of the ministers of religion, and all right of coercive interference with men's secular interests. Their system, while it reserved religion from the temporal supremacy, really gave back into the hands of the civil magistrate the unimpaired and undivided powers of government. In this respect, there is much the same opposition between the Presbyterian polity and the principles of the Independents, that Mosheim points out as distinguishing the views of Zwingle from those of Calvin. The latter reduced the power of the magistrate in religious matters within narrow bounds; but he did so, by claiming for the Church, as a separate and independent body, powers of legislation and government, involving a political authority belonging only to the civil ruler or the State. Zwingle is charged with having given an absolute and unbounded power, in his scheme of ecclesiastical government, to the civil magistrate, and with having placed the clergy in a degree of subjection that was displeasing to many; but he adopted the principle of subordinating the spiritual jurisdiction to the civil ruler, as furnishing the only security of religious liberty against hierocratic encroachments.* In this country, the existence of religious liberty has resulted from the virtual overthrow of the ecclesiastical supremacy, and the abolition of a jurisdiction separate from the civil government, and wholly opposed to the spirit of the constitution.

So long as there was any room to entertain the faintest hope that the terms of conformity would be relaxed, the Presbyterians were more desirous of obtaining a Comprehension; (as it was termed,) than a toleration of their liberty of separate worship. The Toleration Act of 1688, however, while it placed their assemblies under the protection of the State, left them no hope of being taken into the National Establishment. From this time, the two bodies of Protestant Dissenters gradually approximated, the Congregationalists having already laid aside some of their peculiar usages, while the Presbyterians, who retained scarcely any of the primitive forms of their discipline, necessarily conducted the affairs of their

* See page 244.

separate congregations upon the principle of Independency. Thus prepared to coalesce, in 1691, the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers of the metropolis agreed to merge their mutual differences, and to "reduce all distinguishing names to that of United Brethren." The declaration of faith, to which this wise and catholic determination gave birth, has already been referred to. It is entitled, "Hheads of Agreement assented to by the United Ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational." (4to. 1691.) In the Preface to this important document, the views of its framers are thus stated:—

"The favour of our rulers, in the present established liberty, we most thankfully acknowledge; and to them we are studious to approve ourselves in the whole of this affair. Therefore, we declare against intermeddling with the *National Church Form*. Imposing these terms of agreement on others, is disclaimed. All pretence to coercive power is as unsuitable to our principles as to our circumstances: excommunication itself, in our respective churches, being no other than a declaring such scandalous members as are irreclaimable, to be incapable of communion with us in things peculiar to visible believers. And in all, we expressly determine our purpose, to the maintaining of harmony and love among ourselves, and preventing the inconveniences which human weakness may expose us to, in our use of this liberty."

At the time that these Heads of Agreement were printed, they had been already assented to by above fourscore ministers; and the auspicious event was hailed with a unanimous response of grateful joy by ministers of both denominations, in all parts of the country, where similar associations were formed.* This document, though founded on mutual conces-

* In the same year, a general meeting of the ministers of Devonshire was held at Topsham, of which the eminent John Flavel was chosen moderator; and at which the ministers present declared their full satisfaction with the Heads of Agreement, and their thankfulness to their brethren in London. A subsequent meeting of the United Brethren of Gloucester, Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, was held at Taunton in September of the same year, by which this union was ratified. In 1691, Mr. Samuel Chandler, Presbyterian minister at Fareham, Hants, published "The Country's Concurrence with the London United Ministers in their

sions, must be regarded as a virtual renunciation, on the part of the Presbyterian brethren, of the presbyterial model, as well as of the notion of a National church-government, and of the principle of coercive jurisdiction. Upon matters of faith, there existed at this period no differences affecting any fundamental doctrine between the two denominations. The eighth article of the Heads of Agreement, is as follows:—

“*Of a Confession of Faith.*—As to what appertains to soundness of judgement in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice; and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession, or Catechisms, Shorter or Larger, compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.”

In the year 1693, a theological controversy having been raised by the republication of Dr. Tobias Crisp's works, on the subject of the mode and terms of Justification, the United Ministers of London published a tract entitled, “The Agreement in Doctrine among the Dissenting Ministers in London, subscribed Dec. 16, 1692.” In this they declare, “That, in order to the more effectual composing of matters in controversy, we all of us, having referred ourselves to the Holy Scriptures, and the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, the Westminster and Savoy Confessions, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, do subscribe these following propositions as what do most fully provide against the Arminian, Antinomian, Socinian, and Popish errors; and shall always be

late Heads of Agreement, showing the Nature and Advantages of a General Union among Protestants: in Two Discourses, delivered before an Assembly of Ministers in the County of Southampton.” Thus, it appears that the union was very generally recognised; nor did the subsequent rupture among the London ministers lead to any separation among “the united ministers” in different parts of the country.—See “An Historical Inquiry, concerning the Principles, Opinions, and Usages of the English Presbyterians. By Joshua Wilson, Esq.” (8vo. 1835,) pp. 65—83. Similar associations were formed in Cheshire, Lancashire, and other parts; and the Heads of Agreement formed the model on which the Congregational Churches of Norfolk and Suffolk were regulated. *Ibid.* pp. 119—127.

content that any sermon or book of ours be interpreted by the said Articles and Confessions: desiring all others, if they meet with any expressions from any of us that are to them of doubtful signification, they would judge of them and interpret them by the Holy Scripture and the said Articles and Confessions." The propositions, which are arranged under nine heads, are in decided accordance with the Calvinistic doctrines. At the end of them, the subscribers say: "Though we have selected these propositions as conceiving them most accommodated to some points at this time controverted; yet we profess to have an equal respect to all other the main parts of doctrine, contained in the fore-mentioned Articles, Confessions, and Catechisms, as judging them agreeable to the word of God."* Similar declarations are repeated in other papers to which the Antinomian controversy gave rise between 1691 and 1699; and we have the unimpeachable testimony of Dr. Calamy, given in 1717, in his "Brief but True Account of the Protestant Dissenters in England," that, up to that period, notwithstanding differences among themselves on the mode of church-government and baptism, "they generally agree in the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, (which they subscribe,) the Confession of Faith, and Larger and Smaller Catechisms compiled by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the judgement of the British divines at the Synod of Dort about the Quinquarticular controversy."†

* Seventeen names are subscribed, among which are those of Mr. Howe, Dr. Williams, Mr. Chauncey, and other eminent Presbyterian and Congregational ministers; and the document subsequently received the unanimous sanction of the united ministers.—Wilson's *Hist. Inquiry*, p. 78.

† Wilson's *Hist. Inquiry*, p. 101. The author of this volume has laid the religious public under great obligations by the light which his *Inquiry* throws upon the history of the English Dissenters, from the Restoration to the death of Queen Anne, and the true date and origin of that unhappy declension from orthodoxy which subsequently reduced Presbyterianism in England to a *caput mortuum*. One of the earliest avowed Arminians among the Presbyterians was Mr. (afterwards the celebrated Dr.) George Benson, ordained at Abingdon in 1723. In 1729, he succeeded to "a hearty Calvinist," as pastor of a congregation in Southwark.—A Mr. Thomas Newman, who became assistant to Dr. Wright, pastor of the congregation meeting in Carter-lane, in 1718, and afterwards pastor till his death in 1758, "was probably the first Dissenting minister who defended the doctrine generally indicated by the phrase, *the innocence of mental error*, which had

These statements establish three important facts: First, that, at the time referred to, there was a general accordance upon all the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, between the ministers of the Presbyterian and Congregational denominations. Secondly, that the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England were deemed by the great body of Protestant Dissenters in complete accordance with their own theological views, as imbodyed in their received Confessions and Catechisms. Thirdly, that the doctrines alike of the Articles of the Church of England and of the Westminster and Savoy Confessions, were regarded by them as in agreement with the judgement of the Calvinistic divines of the Synod of Dort.

By the provisions of the Toleration Act, all Dissenting ministers were required to qualify for the exercise of their ministerial functions, by subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles, with the specified exception of "the Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth, and those words of the Twentieth Article, viz. (the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith, and yet):" or, in case the subscriber scrupled also the baptizing of infants, except, also, part of the Twenty-seventh Article touching Infant Baptism. This subscription was necessary in order to entitle them to the protection and exemptions extended to them by that remedial Act; and such continued to be the state of the law up to the year 1779; when, by the 19 Geo. III. c. 44, every preacher or teacher of any congregation, scrupling to declare and subscribe his assent to any of the articles, was allowed to make and subscribe, instead thereof, the declaration of Protestant belief,* and was thereby entitled

been maintained in a tract by Dr. Sykes, a clergyman of the Church of England, in 1715." "It was not till Dr. John Taylor, then of Norwich, afterwards theological professor at the Warrington Academy, one of the earliest and most audacious heresiarchs among the Presbyterians, published his 'Scripture Doctrine of Atonement,' in 1751, that Socinian tenets on that essential doctrine were openly broached among the Dissenters of that and perhaps of any other class."—*Ibid.* pp. 102, 104, 173.

* A subsequent statute (52 Geo. III. c. 155,) renders qualifying for the exercise of ministerial functions unnecessary, except in obedience to a legal requisition.

to similar exemptions. In the course of the preceding fifty years, (from 1729 to 1779,) a very marked change had taken place in the opinions, more or less avowed, of the ministers of the Presbyterian body; and the compulsory subscription to the doctrinal Articles, with which their views were irreconcilable, had long been felt by them as an intolerable grievance. It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that the required subscription was deemed a hardship only by individuals of heterodox creed. In the year 1774, the Rev. Dr. Wilton, an orthodox London pastor, published "A Review of some of the Articles of the Church of England, to which a Subscription is required of Protestant Dissenting Ministers;" in which he forcibly urges objections against the Third, the Eighth, the Twenty-third, the Thirty-third, and the Thirty-seventh, upon grounds which have been taken by many other divines of evangelical sentiments; and some of these Articles have been objected against by distinguished clergymen of the Established Church. A few of the Dissenting ministers of the day, fearful lest the relief sought for should encourage the spread of heretical opinions, actually petitioned Parliament that subscription might not be dispensed with. Their conduct was viewed, however, by the majority of their brethren as alike invidious and intolerant; and the Legislature at length passed the Act, though not without strong opposition, by which this restriction upon religious liberty was removed.

In retaining their own symbols, and especially by the use of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, the Protestant Dissenters still, however, testified, far more unequivocally than by a forced subscription to the Articles, their substantial adhesion to the doctrines of the English Church. Up to this time, the custom of requiring confessions of faith at ordinations, was in general use among both Presbyterians and Congregationalists; and it was the frequent practice, as well in London as in the country, for ministers of the two denominations to unite and officiate together on such occasions. The Ordination services, as practised by the English Presbyterians, have, within the last half century, been generally discontinued by their Unitarian

successors;* but, among the Congregationalists, who now form the great majority of the Dissenters, the Confession of Faith forms a very principal and indispensable part of the Ordination service which takes place at the institution of a pastor; and as these services are frequently published, they supply the evidence of an undeviating and unanimous adherence, on the part of the pastors of the Independent and Baptist Churches, to the faith of their ancestors.

The English Nonconformists have always distinguished between exacting a public confession of faith from the candidate for the ministry, and requiring a subscription to creeds and articles as a standard of faith; maintaining the reasonableness of the former practice, and resisting the latter as an infringement upon liberty of conscience. The learned Dr. Chandler, in a tract published in 1748,† combats the arguments advanced by Mr. Bingham, in justification of the imposition of subscription, drawn from the ancient method of examining the candidate by interrogatories. "We did not want to be informed," he says, "that the primitive Church examined the candidates for the ministry, but that they forced them to subscribe to some explanatory articles or creed. . . . Justinian's *Novel* is rather a justification of the manner of ordination amongst the Dissenters, who do not impose their own Confessions on the persons to be ordained, but desire them either to give in their own Confession in writing, or to read it publicly in the congregation before whom they are to be ordained. Thanks to the gentleman for this kind testimony in proof of the antiquity of our method of ordination."‡ Subscription to Articles has been, in some cases, required of theological students in Dissenting academies; but this is now, it is believed, universally laid aside, the applicant for admission being required to give in a confession of faith and testimonials to his religious character, as well as to undergo a personal examination, both on admission and after completing his studies.

* Wilson's Hist. Inquiry, p. 220.

† "The Case of Subscription to Explanatory Articles of Faith, as a Qualification for Admission into the Christian Ministry, calmly and impartially reviewed," &c.

‡ Cited in Wilson's Inquiry, p. 218.

In some of the older trust-deeds of Dissenting chapels, it is required that the Assembly's Shorter Catechism should be taught; and in others, the use of the chapel is restricted to persons holding the doctrines comprised in that summary, which may still be regarded as the acknowledged standard of orthodoxy among the Dissenters. The Larger Catechism, and both the Westminster and Savoy Confessions have silently passed into desuetude; and no public confession of faith is held by the Dissenters of the present day to be authoritatively binding.

A "Declaration of Faith and Order" has recently, however, been put forth under the sanction of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and has met with the general approbation of the Congregational ministers and churches as an exhibition of their principles.* This Declaration consists of twenty articles, of which the following is a syllabus:—

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| I. | Of the Holy Scripture. | Answering to Chap. I. of the Savoy Confession. |
| II. | } Of the Divine Nature and Perfections. | } Ch. II. |
| III. | | |
| IV. | } Of the Fall and Original Sin. | } Ch. IV. VI. and IX. |
| V. | | |
| VI. | | |
| VII. | } Of the Divine Purpose of Redemption. | } Ch. III. and VII. |
| VIII. | | |
| IX. | } Of the Incarnation, Ministry, Vicarious Death, Resurrection, and Intercession of Christ as Mediator. | } Ch. VIII. |
| X. | | |
| XI. | | |
| XII. | Of the Holy Spirit and Regeneration. | Ch. IX. X. and XX. |
| XIII. | Of Justification by Faith. | Ch. XI. |
| XIV. | Of Predestination. | Ch. III. |
| XV. | Of the Perseverance of Saints. | Ch. XVII. |
| XVI. | Of Holiness and Good Works. | Ch. XVI. |
| XVII. | Of Sanctification. | Ch. XIII. |
| XVIII. | Of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. | Ch. XXVIII. IX. and XXX. |
| XIX. | Of the Resurrection and Final Judgement. | Ch. XXXI. II. |
| XX. | Of Christian Fellowship. | Ch. XXVI. XXVII. |

Allotting an article to each general topic, these twenty might be reduced in number to fourteen; or, by consolidating the XIVth with the VIIth and VIIIth, and throwing the

* This document was adopted at the Annual General Meeting of the Congregational Union held in 1833, "with the distinct understanding that it is not intended as a test or creed for subscription." (*See Congregational Magazine*, 1833. p. 377.) It is believed, however, that no minister and no church of the denomination would deny the substance of any of the doctrines.

XIIth, XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth into one, they would be comprised in Nine Articles. The Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, (omitting those which protest against the errors and claims of Popery, and which are negative, rather than affirmative,) arranged under their respective subjects, admit of a corresponding reduction, as under:—

Articles of Ch. of England.		I.	Corresponding Articles of Declaration.
I. V.	Of the Divine Nature and Perfections		II. III.
II.	Of Christ as Mediator.	II.	IX. X. XI.
III.			
IV.			
		III.	
VI. VII.	Of the Holy Scriptures		I.
		IV.	
IX. X.	Of the Fall and Original Sin (and Regeneration.)	IV. V. VI. XII.	
XI. XII.	Of Justification by Faith and its Fruits.	V.	{ XIII. XV. XVI. XVII.
XIII. XIV.			
XV. XVI.			
XVIII.			
		VI.	
XVII.	Of Predestination and Election		VII. VIII. XIV.
		VII.	
XXV. to XXIX.	Of Baptism and the Lord's Supper		XVIII.
		VIII.	
	Of the Resurrection and Final Judgement		XIX.
		IX.	
XIX. XXIII. XXXIII.	Of the Church.		XX.

The Articles not included in the above analysis are:—

XXI. XXII.	Against Romish Errors; viz. General Councils, Purgatory, Latin Service, Denial of the Cup to the Laity, the Mass, and Clerical Celibacy.	X.	
XXIV. XXX.			
XXXI.			
XXXII.			
XX. XXXIV.	Affirming the authority of the Church, of Tradition, the Homilies, and the Book of Consecration, &c.	XI.	{ Rejected by Noncon- formists.
XXXV.			
XXXVI.			
(VIII.)			
XXXVII.	Of the Civil Magistrate, Property, and Oaths.	XII.	
XXXVIII.			
XXXIX.			

This analysis will enable the reader to ascertain the extent both of the agreement and of the disagreement, on points of doctrine, between the Established Church and the Congregational Dissenters. As already shown in the comparative view of the Churches of England and Scotland, the points of difference relate chiefly to matters of ecclesiastical polity and ritual, or to the sacraments. On the subject of Orders and Ordination, as well as on that of Church-courts, the Congregational Dissenters of these kingdoms dissent as well from the Established Church of Scotland, as from that of England. On that of Liturgies, they agree with the Presbyterians; also, in their views of the Sacraments, with the exception of the Antipædobaptists (commonly called Baptists) who reject Infant Baptism.

The extent to which an accordance of religious belief exists between the Episcopal and the Dissenting churches, may be inferred from the books of devotion and other religious works which they use in common. A large portion of the versions of the Psalms and the Hymns that are now sung in the churches and chapels of the Establishment, are the composition of orthodox Dissenters.* Expositions of the Holy Scriptures by learned Dissenting divines, circulate to a great extent among the Established clergy;† and the writings of several eminent Nonconformists‡ rank among the received standards of our common theology. That the modern Nonconformists have not declined, as a body, from the doctrinal standards of other days, is sufficiently evinced by the fact, that their standard theology, their catechisms, and other religious manuals in popular use, remain the same; the same psalms and hymns are still used in their public worship, nor have any of a different doctrinal character been introduced. The steady adherence of the Congregational Dissenters to their acknowledged tenets and principles may appear the more remarkable

* More especially of Dr. Watts, whose compositions have been adopted to a great extent in the various selections. The hymns of the Wesleys, of Dr. Doddridge, of Mr. Montgomery (a Moravian), and others, are also freely used.

† Particularly, Henry's Commentary, Doddridge's Expositor, Pool's Synopsis and Annotations.

‡ Howe, Baxter, Owen, Charnock, Watts, Doddridge, &c.

in a body so jealous of the right of private judgement, and rejecting the imposition of any articles of faith; and still more extraordinary may seem the fact, that, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the same doctrines will be heard from their pulpits without any material variation; a degree of uniformity prevailing in their public instructions, which has not been secured within the Establishment by the rigorous terms of subscription. The exception presented by that portion of the Presbyterian body which has lapsed into Socinianism, only confirms the truth of this representation. That denomination, which once comprised the numerical strength of the Nonconformists, has now dwindled to some two hundred congregations, of which not above half a dozen or half a score can be termed numerous or flourishing. Sustained chiefly by ancient endowments, it has everywhere been deserted by the people; while the other denominations have been extending themselves in all directions. In fact, the English Presbyterians have, for the most part, except in the North of England, merged in the Independent or Congregational body.*

Having so much in common with the Established Churches of England and Scotland, as regards their Protestant testimony, their articles of faith, and their standard theology, the Congregational Dissenters are not severed from those churches by theological differences, so much as by their political predicament. It is the Establishment, not the Church, which creates Dissenters. The Scottish Church Establishment makes the Episcopalians of Scotland, Dissenters. The English Church Establishment makes the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and the Wesleyan Methodists, Dissenters. In the United States, the same diversity of church-government is exhibited by the several denominations, but, as no Church is in peculiar alliance with the State, there are no Dissenters. Of late, the controversy between the Established Church and the other Protestant communions has turned chiefly upon the lawfulness and expediency of ecclesiastical establishments, or

* Nearly one-half of the Unitarian chapels are in the six northern counties and the four adjacent ones, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire. Lancashire contains nearly one-fifth of the Unitarian body.

what has been termed, the alliance between the Church and the State.

In Scotland, more especially, where the bulk of the Dissenters are Presbyterians, whose secession from the Established Kirk was occasioned by no differences relating to either doctrine, ritual, or form of discipline, but purely by the law of patronage and a corrupt administration, the grand controversy relates to the principle of an Ecclesiastical Establishment, as involving the taxing of the whole community for the religion of a part, and the imposing of civil disabilities upon Dissenters on account of their religious belief and profession. In opposition to this principle, it is contended, that every sect or denomination ought, in equity, to support its own ministers and institutions, by means of the voluntary contributions of its members, as in the primitive age of the Church, unaided by any compulsory support or State patronage. The voluntary principle has, of necessity, been always relied upon, in practice, by the Dissenting denominations; and in the constitution of Congregational churches, this principle is distinctly recognised. But the manifest inadequacy of the ecclesiastical establishments of this country for their ostensible object as a provision for the religious instruction of the people, viewed in connexion with the growing importance of those large sections of the community who, besides supporting their share of the public burdens, sustain the whole charge of their own ministers, schools, and colleges, has tended to deepen and extend the conviction, that all such political institutions rest upon mistaken principles of legislation, and are injurious, rather than serviceable to true religion.

That it is the duty of the Supreme Magistrate, and of all subordinate authorities, to employ, in order to the support and diffusion of religion, all the means in their power which do not involve a violation of equity towards others, is not denied; but, conceding this, the question may be raised, whether a State establishment, or the endowment of a privileged order of clergy, is an equitable, scriptural, and efficient means of supporting and diffusing the Christian faith. Those who maintain the negative proposition, urge, that experience

shows the voluntary system to be more efficient in its results than the compulsory mode; and that there are precepts in the New Testament, referring to the institutions and discipline of the Church and Christian fellowship, which cannot be complied with under the constitution of a State Church, and which clearly imply a different constitution of the Church. They adduce as fundamental objections against the principle of an ecclesiastical establishment, that it constitutes Cæsar the arbiter and judge in "the things that are God's," contrary to the Divine rule, Matt. xxii. 21;—that it invests the civil ruler with a "dominion over faith;" a "lordship over God's heritage," which even the Apostles disclaimed (2 Cor. i. 24; 1 Pet. v. 3);—that it converts the "ministers of Christ and stewards of God's mysteries" into an order of magistrates, investing them with that secular authority which Our Lord expressly forbade to be exercised by his disciples (Matt. xx. 25—28);—that it imposes conditions and restraints upon the discharge of the duties of the Christian ministry, which not only trench upon religious liberty, and are a snare to the conscience, but throw serious impediments in the way of the faithful execution of Our Lord's commands;—that it deprives alike the clergy and the people of their most sacred rights as secured by the primitive constitution of the Church;—and finally, that, under the specious pretext of supporting and patronizing a fixed number of Christian teachers as the servants of the State, it both limits the supply, and corrupts the quality of the religious instruction thus provided; while it either absolutely forbids and punishes, or at best discountenances and opposes, the preaching of the Gospel and the instruction of the people by pious and zealous men who do not belong to the favoured sect or order. A State Establishment, while ostensibly a scheme of instruction, is essentially a scheme of government, an engine of secular power. Under the name of a Church, it sets up a jealous and intolerant monopoly, and the worst of monopolies; that of religious instruction. While treating as contraband all other provision, its tendency is to deteriorate what it supplies. Those who decline the benefit, are still made contributory to the support of the system,

which levies a forced payment for the teacher upon those who are not taught.* Such are the grounds upon which Protestant Dissenters object to the principle of State Establishments, without adverting to the sufferings which their pious forefathers, the Nonconformists of other days, endured as the evil fruits of ecclesiastical despotism.

Although these opinions, now held by the vast majority of the English and Scottish Dissenters, have been repeatedly avowed and advocated from the press,—although they are substantially the opinions of Wycliffe, the great Proto-Reformer, and of those who trod in his steps,† and have always been

* These remarks apply to the *theory* of Ecclesiastical Establishments. In point of fact, all such establishments have originated in a compromise with ecclesiastical corporations; and the object of the State has been, to circumscribe the power, restrain the aggrandisement, and secure the good behaviour of the clergy. An Establishment is not a provision for the instruction of the people, but the regulation and control of a provision already made. Property having accumulated in the hands of ecclesiastics, the Crown or the Legislature has interposed, sometimes for the purpose of prescribing the conditions upon which it shall be enjoyed; sometimes to check, as by the Statute of Mortmain, the pernicious abuse of the voluntary principle by priestcraft, or to assume the disposal of a portion of the revenue or patronage. "Simply to have declared null and void every bequest, whether made in the article of death or previously, in favour of religious corporations," remarks the Author of "*Spiritual Despotism*," "would have given a new aspect to Church history." Had a measure of this kind been adopted at the era of the first political establishment of Christianity, it might, it is added, "have saved Europe a thousand years of superstition." (*Sp. Despot.* pp. 260, 261.) But while a State provision, or the fiscal system of an Establishment, may serve to repress sacerdotal extortion or the abuse of the voluntary principle, it has never been found to supersede the necessity for the free contributions of the people, in order to place their actual pastors and teachers in a condition above pauperism.

† Wycliffe, in his work, "*Of Prelates*," ardently contends for the liberty of prophesying and the unfettered ministration of the Gospel. The extent of the reformation proposed by him was, "that none of the clergy be hindered from keeping truly and freely the Gospel of Christ in devout living and true teaching, *on account of any feigned privilege or tradition*." "Worldly prelates," he remarks, "command that no man should preach the Gospel, but according to their will and limitation, and forbid men to hear the Gospel on pain of the great curse." Upon the subject of tithes and ecclesiastical endowments, the great Proto-Reformer ventured to speak with similar boldness; of tithes, as a mode of contribution for which no Divine authority could now be pleaded. "Men wonder greatly why curates are so unfeeling to the people in taking tithes, since Christ and his Apostles took none, as men now take them, neither paid them, nor spoke of them in the Gospel or in the Epistles, the perfect law of freedom and of grace... True it is, that tithes were due to priests and deacons in the old law; and so bodily circumcision was then needful to all men, but it is not so now, under the law of

maintained by the Independent or Congregational churches, yet, it is only of late years that the public attention has been forcibly drawn to the expediency of Ecclesiastical Establishments as a practical question. To the generality of persons, the objections which lie against the Church and State system are new; and Dissenters are charged with having changed the original grounds of their nonconformity. It will be admitted, that the unlawfulness of the imposed terms of conformity, and not the abstract unlawfulness of State Establishments, drove the Puritans and Nonconformists into open separation from the Episcopal Church. And in like manner, the Fathers of the Secession Church in Scotland did not separate from the Established Kirk upon the ground of any abstract principle, but on account of practical evils, arising from the enforcement of the law of patronage, or the settlement of ministers in opposition to the wishes of the people; evils, however, which are now seen to be the inevitable consequence of the alliance between the Church and the State. What was long regarded as an extreme theory involving dangerous consequences, is becoming the deep-seated conviction of masses of the population, distinguished by their intelligence and moral worth. The rapid increase of the Dissenters, their rising political importance, which has rendered it impossible to retain them any longer in the condition of a degraded caste,—their philanthropic exertions, and the vast amount of the fund raised for religious, charitable, and patriotic purposes by

grace . . . Lord, why should our worldly clergy claim tithes and offerings and customs from Christian people, more than did Christ and his Apostles, and even more than men were burdened with under the law?" (Vaughan's *Life of Wycliffe*, vol. ii. pp. 279—281, 288, 289.) Nor did Wycliffe stand alone in these sentiments. Similar protests against prelatical power and the theory upon which Establishments rest, occur in the writings of the early Reformers. In the seventeenth century, Milton and Marvel, Owen and Ainsworth, Penn and Locke, maintained all the principles upon which modern Dissenters ground their opposition to State churches. See also Dr. Watts's Essay "On Civil Power in Things Sacred," published in 1739. "I cannot see," says the learned Nonconformist divine, "any sufficient reason why a State should appoint the peculiarities of any revealed religion, or the special rites and ceremonies of any particular worshippers, or the men who celebrate them, to be supported at the public charge. For these peculiarities are not necessary to the preservation of the state, nor to the common outward civil welfare of a people; and I think the power of the magistrate reaches no further."—*Watts's Works*, vol. iv. p. 196.

voluntary contributions,—these circumstances have changed the character of the ecclesiastical controversy, and converted it into one of much wider scope, embracing statistical inquiries into the results of the opposite systems.

The fact seems to be now clearly ascertained, that, both in England and in Scotland, the members of the Established churches, and those who receive religious instruction from the clergy supported by the State, are nearly equalled by the attendants upon the religious services and public instruction furnished and maintained by the Dissenting churches.

In England and Wales, the total number of churches and chapels in communion with the Established Church, is, according to Parliamentary returns, 11,825; but owing to the parochial division of the country at a time when the population was so differently distributed, as well as so inconsiderable in comparison with the present numbers, these edifices supply in some parts redundant church-room, while in others, and those the most populous districts, the majority of the inhabitants are left unprovided for by the Establishment.* Thus, while in Devonshire, containing a population of about half a

* In England alone, there are 6300 parishes that have an average population of only 120 souls each. The distribution of the revenues of the Establishment is not less arbitrary and unequal. Of 10,719 benefices, nearly a third are under 150*l.* per annum; viz. 297 under 50*l.*; 1629 under 100*l.*; 1602 under 150*l.* In some dioceses, (as London and Rochester,) the average of the benefices is as high as 400*l.* a-year; in others, it falls much below 200*l.*: and in that of St. David's, the average is only 137*l.* But this average value of the benefices does not give the average income of the beneficed clergy, since the 11,331 rectories, vicarages, and chapelries in England and Wales, are actually held by 7190 incumbents: of whom 2885 are pluralists. Of the poorer benefices, according to Parliamentary returns made in 1814, only 92 with incomes under 100*l.* were held without other preferment. The average net income of the clergy, therefore, is about 418*l.*, exclusive of fellowships, parsonage-houses, and incidental and collateral sources of emolument. The scale, however, varies from 50*l.* to 18,000*l.* a-year. The inequality of remuneration is still greater, when we take into calculation the stipendiary clergy. Of 1006 curates returned as employed by resident incumbents, the annual stipend averages only 86*l.*, and of 4224 employed by non-resident incumbents, the average stipend is 81*l.*; those who have to discharge the whole duty being, apparently, paid less than those who assist a resident rector or vicar. It is calculated that 4000 non-resident aristocratical incumbents, and 300 dignitaries, absorb four-fifths of the whole church revenues; while more than 8000 of the clergy, comprising the poorer incumbents and stipendiaries, though for the most part equally well educated and equally respectable in character, reside and discharge all the offices of religion for the pay of an ordinary mechanic.

million, the churches and chapels of the Establishment are 490 in number, and those of the other denominations, 163; in Lancashire, the population of which amounts to 1,337,000, the Establishment numbers only 292 churches and chapels, and the other denominations have 514. Again, in Norfolk, the number of churches and chapels connected with the Established Church is 699, the population being under 180,000; the number of Dissenting congregations is 195. But in Northumberland, the population being 223,000, the churches and chapels of the Establishment are only 85, and those of other denominations, 137. Again, in Middlesex, the population is nearly 1,360,000; the churches and chapels are only 246; but, taking the parishes whose churches are situated within eight miles of St. Paul's, the population thus concentrated amounted, in 1831, to 1,776,556; the churches and chapels of the Establishment to 194, and those of the other denominations to 265. Of these 194 churches and chapels, 66 are within the city, of which the whole population is only 123,000; 30 are in the city of Westminster; while in the borough of the Tower Hamlets, containing a population of 302,500, there are only 22 churches and 68 Dissenting chapels. The Southwark parishes, which cover about 600 acres, and contain a population of about 134,000, have only nine parochial ministers; and Lambeth, with nearly 90,000 inhabitants, has eleven clergy with cure of souls. Portsea, in the same diocese (Winchester), has only four parochial clergy for 42,000 souls. Yet, in other parts of the diocese, the average provision is one minister to every 1000 of the population, or nine times as many in proportion.* The Dissenting ministers are most numerous where there is the largest population; the clergy, where the benefices are rich enough to support resident incumbents with their curates, or in the vicinity of collegiate and cathedral establishments. "The theory of our

* Bishop of Winchester's Charge, 1833. For this dense town population of 223,000, the Establishment has provided 24 ministers; for the remaining 505,000, 503 officiating clergy. In the Eastern division of the hundred of Brixton, county of Surrey, comprising the entire southern suburb of the Metropolis, the population of which in 1831 was 300,000, the Establishment has provided twelve parish churches and five district churches, besides which there are twelve Episcopal chapels; total, 29; while the Dissenting chapels of all kinds are 84.

National Church supposes," remarks the Bishop of Winchester, "that all who have the desire should be admitted to worship, and that provision should be made for their religious instruction, public as well as private, within her pale. Such is, at least, the ideal system on which this part of our ecclesiastical constitution is based . . . How much, however, under the present circumstances of our thickly-peopled community, facts are at variance with the theoretical principle, unhappily, needs no demonstration." But the theoretical principle of the Establishment not only affects to provide for the religious instruction of the entire population; it forbids any other provision to be made. The temporal and peculiar rights over parishes which the ecclesiastical system has established, present formidable obstructions to the erection of additional churches and the planting of new ministries, even in connexion with the Establishment, throughout the length and breadth of the country. At the same time, the same theory as well as the polity of the Episcopal hierarchy, discountenances all provision of public instruction without the pale of the Establishment; and to the present hour, the Established Church refuses to take any cognizance of the ministry of the Evangelical Nonconformists, or of the voluntary exertions made by the Dissenting denominations for the religious instruction of the millions unprovided for by the State.

Within twenty years after the passing of the Toleration Act, the total number of congregations founded by Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists, amounted, in England, to between 1000 and 1100. The greater number of these were erected between 1688 and 1696; and nearly all the Presbyterian chapels now in existence were erected previously to 1719. The case is different with the chapels belonging to the Congregationalists and Baptists, which have been rapidly extending, while the Presbyterian denomination has been declining to the verge of extinction: the larger proportion of their places of worship, as well as of those erected by the Wesleyan Methodists, are of recent foundation.*

* The Rev. Daniel Neal, the celebrated author of the *History of the Puritans*, obtained, in 1716, a list of the number of Dissenting Congregations in England

The total number of the congregations of the orthodox Protestant Dissenters in England and Wales, as nearly as can be ascertained from existing data, is as follows:—

	Congregations.*	Attendants.
Congregationalists	1840	
Baptists	1350	
Orthodox Presbyterians†	60	
<i>Total of Three Denominations</i>	3250	1,300,000
Wesleyan Methodists of all classes	3500	1,400,000
Calvinistic Methodists	124	} 300,000
Welsh ditto	615	
	<u>7489</u>	<u>3,000,000†</u>

The erection of the 7500 places of worship belonging to these several Protestant denominations, cannot have cost less than nine or ten millions sterling. The cost of building varies from 500*l.* to 5000*l.*; but some chapels have cost not and Wales; according to which there were at that time in England, 1107 Presbyterian and Congregational churches, and 247 Baptist churches, making together 1354; in North Wales, 9; in South Wales, 35: total, 1398. Sixty years afterwards, the Rev. J. Thompson employed considerable labour and expense to obtain accurate returns; but his inquiries appear to have been confined to England. The result gave 1118 Presbyterian and Congregational churches, and 391 Baptist: total, 1509. Between the years 1716 and 1776, the declension of the Presbyterians from orthodox sentiments occasioned, in many parts, a striking falling off in the number of churches, while the Baptists appear to have been on the increase. In 1812, Messrs. Bogue and Bennet gave, in their *History of Dissenters*, the following results of fresh returns: viz. in England, 252 Presbyterian, 799 Independent, and 532 Baptist congregations: total, 1583. In Wales, 18 Presbyterian, 225 Independent, and 176 Baptist: total 419. Grand total, 2002.—*See Cong. Mag.* 1827, pp. 681—684.

* Exclusive of 453 preaching stations.

† In the six northern counties of England, there are 101 orthodox Presbyterian congregations. Of these, 51 are in connexion with the Established Church of Scotland, 44 have joined themselves to the United Associate Synod or Secession Church of Scotland, and 6 to the Relief Synod. In London and its vicinity, there are (exclusively of 10 congregations avowedly Unitarian) 12 Presbyterian places of worship; viz. 7 Scotch churches in connexion with the Kirk of Scotland; 3 in connexion with the United Associate Synod; and 2 not classed. In the other counties of England, there are about 120 nominally Presbyterian congregations, but almost the whole of these, with about 80 in the northern counties, are Unitarian. Excluding these and the congregations in connexion with the Established Kirk in Scotland, (which yet rank among Dissenters in England,) we have, as above specified, 56 orthodox Presbyterian congregations. We have added 4 for other counties;

‡ This attendance must be taken as representing a population of from four millions and a half to five millions.

less than 10,000*l.*, 12,000*l.* and upwards. The annual expense of enlarging and repairing them, together with the school-rooms connected with them, and of meeting the inevitable charges attendant on the constant maintenance of public worship, has been estimated at a million sterling, and cannot be much below that amount. The salaries of the Dissenting ministers vary from 50*l.* a year to 600*l.* Taking 110*l.* as the average, and the number of Dissenting pastors and stated teachers at 5000, the aggregate amount will be about 550,000*l. per annum.* Besides these items, most of these congregations have benevolent societies, schools, and other local institutions connected with them; and contribute more or less towards the support of the Bible Society, the Missionary Societies, and others of similar character. The amount thus raised, it is impossible to ascertain with precision, but it cannot be taken at less than between 400,000*l.* and half a million *per annum.* Thus, considerably more than two millions are annually raised by the voluntary contributions of the Dissenting congregations, in support of their religious worship and for the propagation of the Gospel. When it is considered, that the Nonconformist communions are almost entirely composed of persons belonging to the middle and lower classes of society, and that they have been supposed not to possess a fortieth part of the real property of the country, the sum total of their spontaneous contributions must be regarded as a splendid demonstration of the expansive power and efficiency of those principles which have originated, and continue to maintain, the institutions of Dissenting Protestants.* In fact, while the more pompous and costly edifices of the Established Church are, to a great extent, the monuments of ancient Popery, these more modest buildings, which evince the attachment of the people to the pure doctrines of the Reformation, must be regarded as the very trophies of Protestantism.

About 30,000*l.* a-year is annually raised and expended in maintaining the Theological Academies in which students

* See, for the data of these calculations, *Eclectic Review*, March, 1837, Art. "Voluntary and Compulsory Systems compared."

are trained for the Dissenting ministry. Some of these are endowed; but they are chiefly supported by voluntary contributions. Those belonging to the Congregational denomination are:—Homerton College, the origin of which dates from 1730; Coward College, 1738; Highbury College, 1783; Western Academy, Exeter, 1752; Rotherham College, 1756; Blackburn Academy, Lancashire, 1816; Airedale College, near Bradford; North-Wales Academy, New Town, Montgomeryshire. In connexion with the Baptist denomination, there are:—The Bristol Academy, established 1770; Stepney College, 1810; Northern Baptist Academy at Horton, near Bradford, 1804; General Baptist Academy, Loughborough, Leicestershire; South-Wales Academy, Pontypool. To these are to be added, the Academy in connexion with the Village Itinerancy, at Hackney, founded in 1803; and the Newport Pagnel Evangelical Institution, founded in 1783. The number of students in some of these institutions is very small: the total number in all the Dissenting colleges is from 220 to 250.*

The Missionary Societies supported by the Protestant Dissenting denominations, maintain about 320 missionaries at 252 stations, the annual cost of which is about 150,000*l*. The London Missionary Society has missionary establishments at Calcutta and other stations in Bengal, in the Madras Presidency, at Surat, Malacca and Singapore, Batavia, and Canton, in Cape Colony and Caffer-land, in Jamaica and Guiana, in Polynesia, in Siberia, and at Corfu. The Baptist Missionary Society has sent out missionaries to Calcutta and other parts of the Bengal Presidency, to Colombo in Ceylon, Sumatra and Java, and the West Indies. The Wesleyan Missionary Society has stations in the Madras Presidency, Ceylon, Cape Colony, Caffer-land, Western Africa, the British West Indies, Hayti, New South Wales, New Zealand, the Friendly Isles, and Upper Canada.

Such is the energy of spontaneous zeal produced and sustained by what has been denominated, in contradistinction from the genius of the Episcopal polity, popular Protestantism, or,

* The Wesleyans have now a Theological Institution, founded in 1834, and containing 27 students.

to use a more opprobrious term, Dissent; to the spirit of which, in our early Puritans and Nonconformists, according to the admission of Hume, England is chiefly indebted for the achievement of her civil liberties; the same spirit that kept alive the lamp of evangelical truth in this country, when, from the pulpits of the Established Church, the doctrines of the Articles were rarely to be heard, and with which is identified the extraordinary revival of religion dating from the appearance of Whitefield and Wesley;—Dissent, that first kindled, or, rather, was the first to kindle with the missionary spirit, which, caught by one denomination after another, is now shedding a glow of light and glory on our own land, and irradiating the most distant regions of the globe;—Dissent, that has planted the Cross on the shores of every ocean,—that has subdued to the faith of Christ the haughty Brahmin, the ferocious Caffer, and the degraded negro,—that has given the Bible to India and to China, and civilisation to the cannibals of the Pacific;—Dissent, that has, at home, given birth to more than seven thousand evangelical congregations, representing more than a third of the entire population;—Dissent, which has created, or caused the origination of a system of combined and voluntary exertion for religious and philanthropic objects,—a self-acting machinery of moral energy, unexampled in any other age or country;—Dissent, the parent source of the most valuable portion of our standard theology, and the annals of which are adorned by some of the greatest names in English literature; *—Dissent, that, embodying the spirit of religious liberty, which has made our country what it is, has triumphed over intolerance, given its death-blow to colonial slavery, and thrown new life into the decaying forms of our social institutions; yet, which the votaries of the Establishment haughtily denounce as schism and heresy, contemplating its progress with alarm, its achievements with jealous hatred, and its institutions and ministry with unintelligent contempt!

* It is a remarkable fact, that four of the most popular productions of genius in the English language,—*Paradise Lost*, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Watts's Psalms and Hymns*,—are the works of Protestant Dissenters; the first three, of sufferers for their nonconformity. Among theologians, Howe, Baxter, Owen, Charnock, Bates, Watts, Henry, and Doddridge, stand pre-eminent.

SECTION II.

THE SCOTTISH DISSENTERS.

In Scotland, we must rank among Dissenters from the Established Church, not only the Presbyterian Seceders, and the Congregationalists and Baptists, but also the members of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and those of the Church of England communion.

I. PRESBYTERIAN SECEDERS.

1. *The Secession Church*.—The most important secession from the Church of Scotland, is that which originated in the resistance and protest made against a decision of the General Assembly in 1732, by four ministers,* who had been called to account for boldly inveighing against the arbitrary enforcement of the law of patronage, or the settlement of ministers in opposition to the wishes of the people. A few weeks after the Assembly's Commission had declared the four brethren to be no longer ministers of the church, they constituted themselves into a presbytery, afterwards known by the name of the Associate Presbytery; and in Nov. 1733, they published the Reasons for their Secession. The temper of the Assembly of 1734 was more conciliatory. A conviction that undue severity had been exercised, and that it was necessary to check the disposition to carry the most pernicious measures by triumphant majorities, which had obviously characterised the recent meetings of the Assembly, influenced the return of members; and the acts of the preceding Assembly were reversed. The Synod of Perth and Stirling were empowered to invite the four brethren to return to the communion of the church, and to restore them to their respective charges. After mature deliberation, however, the seceding ministers declined to return; waiting to see whether succeed-

* Viz. Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling; Mr. William Wilson, minister at Perth; Mr. Alexander Moncrieff, minister at Abernethy; and Mr. James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven.

ing Assemblies would proceed in the desired reformation. Unhappily, the next two Assemblies confirmed all the grounds of the secession; and in Dec. 1736, the brethren put forth a "Declaration and Testimony," in vindication of their formal and final secession. In 1737 and 1738, four other ministers joined the Associate Presbytery. Having declined to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the existing judicatories of the National Church, when cited to appear before the Assembly, they were at length, in 1740, actually deposed from the ministerial office, and cast out of the Church.

Neither these censures, however, nor the discountenance and reproach which the seceders incurred, prevented the rapid increase of their numbers. Within six years from the enactment of their Declaration and Testimony, the Associate Presbytery consisted of not fewer than twenty ministers. Having divided themselves into three presbyteries, they met for the first time as an Associate Synod, at Stirling, in March 1745. This step proved fatal, however, to the harmony which had hitherto characterised their proceedings. At the very first meeting, a difference of opinion arose as to the lawfulness of taking the Burgess oath, then exacted in several of the royal boroughs. The clause in dispute was as follows: "Here I protest before God and your Lordships, that I profess, and allow with my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof. I shall abide thereat, and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion, called Papistry." One party, who afterwards became distinguished as *Burghers*, maintained that there was no inconsistency in taking this oath, because the religion established in Scotland was the true religion, notwithstanding all the faults in the manner of professing or settling it. The other party, called *Anti-Burghers*, warmly contended, that the oath involved an approval of those very corruptions against which they had protested, and that it could not be sworn by seceders without a renunciation of their testimony. The contention upon this point grew at length so sharp as to produce an open rupture. "Each party claimed to itself exclusively the constitution, the powers, and

the name of the Associate Synod ; and followed up its claims by judicial proceedings against the other, which tended to widen the separation, and to extinguish every hope of reconciliation." *

This rupture took place in 1747 ; and for seventy-three years, the schism, so discreditable to both parties, was obstinately maintained by the two synods. In the mean time, both parties continued gradually to extend and multiply in every quarter of the kingdom, as well as in Ireland and the American colonies ; till (in the words of the late Sir Henry Moncrieff) they have now come to " comprehend a proportion of the population, which neither the nature of their controversy with the church, nor the weight and talents of their original leaders, would have led either their friends or their opponents to anticipate." In the year 1820, the Burgess oath, which occasioned the division between the two bodies of seceders, was abolished ; and on the 8th of September, in that year, the two synods availed themselves of this circumstance to conclude a re-union which had long been felt to be desirable, under the denomination of " The United Associate Synod of the Secession Church." †

2. *The Relief Church*.—Causes similar to those which originated the above secession, led to the formation of another distinct body of Scottish Dissenters, who date their existence from the year 1752, and are known under the name of *The Relief Church*, or *the Synod of Relief*. The immediate occasion of this separation, was the unjust and cruel treatment of the Rev. Mr. Gillespie, one of the most inoffensive, upright, and zealous men of his time, and apparently of more liberal and catholic sentiments than most of his contemporaries. His professed views were, " to hold communion with all who appear to hold communion with the Head, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and with such only ;" and the Relief Synod has deter-

* Testimony of the United Associate Synod, p. 62.

† " Among the more remote and indirect preparations for the union of the two synods, nothing contributed so large a share of influence as the institution of Missionary and Bible Societies. When good men unite to accomplish an important object, many valuable benefits result in the progress of their endeavours, which they did not anticipate."—*Testimony of the United Associate Synod*, p. 64.

mined, "that it is agreeable to the principles of the Synod of Relief, to hold communion with visible saints in the Episcopalian and Independent churches." Many of the members of this body receive the Lord's Supper with equal readiness in the Established Kirk; and they admit to communion Christians of every denomination, who, "as far as they can judge, have a competent measure of knowledge, are sound in the faith, and unblamable in their lives." It appears to be chiefly in their more liberal views of church-communion, that this class of dissidents differ from those of the Secession Church. In regard to doctrines, worship, church-government, and discipline, they adhere, like their brethren of the Secession Church, to the standard and constitution of the Established Kirk; and although their ministers are disavowed by an Act of the General Assembly, they are even unwilling to be reckoned as Dissenters. The Relief Synod now comprises seven presbyteries, composed of upwards of eighty congregations;* and the whole number in communion with the synod is estimated at about 120,000.† A union between the Relief and Secession Churches has been contemplated; and there seems no solid reason for their forming distinct communions.

Sir Henry Moncrieff computed, that, from the congregations of the eight seceding ministers deposed by the General Assembly in 1740, together with those who formed the Presbytery of Relief, there had risen up nearly three hundred and sixty seceding meetings, which, at a moderate computation, in round numbers, contained a fourth or fifth part of the population of Scotland. Since the date of his Tract, upwards of a hundred congregations have been added to the Secession and Relief churches. The reverend Baronet, himself a clergyman of the Scottish Establishment, bears honourable testimony to the character of the dissenting bodies. "The doctrines now delivered in the Seceding meetings," he says, "are in no essential article different from the instruction received in the

* Including the Relief congregations in Newcastle, Wooler, and Berwick-on-Tweed.

† Of these, 30 are large, averaging about 1200 worshippers. Of the remaining 50, several are small, but the average is about 500.

Established churches. It cannot be denied, that, among the ministers belonging to the Secession, there are individuals not inferior to the most respectable ministers of the Establishment; and it ought to be in candour admitted, that their people are, by a great proportion of them, as well instructed as those who adhere to the church." "The ministers who belong to the Secession Church," says another competent witness, "are, in general, men of great moral integrity, considerable learning, and very extensive efficiency as Bible, and consequently as useful preachers. Indeed, I do not know what might now become of the mother church without them. For, though she assuredly retains a supremacy in all the great essentials of a National Establishment, it must be confessed that she requires to be looked after; for she has a kind of natural infirmity about her, which strongly induces sleep; and having sunk for water amidst the depths of worldly wisdom, her pitcher is not always stored with the most wholesome beverage, nor are her children always so ready as she could wish, to use it." *

3. *Cameronians, or Covenanters*.—A small body of Presbyterians who adhere to what they deem the principles of the *first* Reformation in Scotland,† and who "dissent from the Revolution-settlement of church and state," still exists under the appellation of the *old* Presbyterian Dissenters, being of longer standing than any other denomination of separatists from the Church of Scotland. They are the remains of the old sect known under the various names of Covenanters, Cameronians, (from the Rev. Richard Cameron, one of their

* Blackwood's Magazine, Dec. 1820, p. 273. See "Claims of Dissenters on the Government of the Country." By the Rev. Adam Thomson, A.M. Coldstream; a minister of the United Associate Synod. Mr. Thomson states, that, in support of the Home and Foreign Mission, exclusively connected with their own Church, the Secession Synod expended in 1835, upwards of 2300*l*. The Relief Synod has also its mission fund.

† The First Reformation, which dates from the approval of the Confession of Faith submitted to the Estates in Parliament in 1560, and the publication of the First Book of Discipline by the General Assembly, was arrested by the re-establishment of Episcopacy and the enactment of the Five Articles of Perth in 1618. The Second Reformation commenced with the Acts of the Assembly of 1638, condemning Episcopacy, and the framing of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643.

preachers, who fell in an action with the King's troops at Airmoss, in Kyle, July 20, 1680,) Mountain-men, and M'Millanites (from the Rev. John M'Millan, the first minister who espoused their cause after the Revolution). They consist of about twenty-six congregations, forming three presbyteries,* which, since 1810, have been united under the title of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland. About the same time, the Irish presbyteries of the same communion, comprising twenty-one congregations, constituted themselves the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland. The "Old Dissenters" are strict Presbyterians, and strenuous advocates for the binding obligation of the National Covenant of Scotland, and of the Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms, which, as well as the Westminster Confession, they look upon as the confession of their faith; but they believe themselves to be "under the disagreeable necessity of openly entering their protest against national backsliding in church and state." In discipline, they observe much the same forms of process with the other Presbyterian churches of Scotland; and but for their ultra notions respecting what they term "Reformation attainments," as opposed to the principles of "the Revolution church," (as they designate the Kirk of Scotland,) could scarcely have retained the form of a distinct communion. Their numbers are very inconsiderable.†

4. *Bereans*.—Another small offset from the Presbyterian Church consists of the followers of a Mr. Barclay, who took the name of Bereans on separating themselves, in 1773, from the national church, on the exclusion of their leader from succeeding to the benefice of Fettercairn in Kinkcardine. The distinguishing peculiarity of doctrine avowed by these *soi-disant* Bereans, relates to the nature of Faith and *Assu-*

* The first presbytery was formed by Mr. M'Millan and some ruling elders in August 1743.

† A full account of their principles will be found in a pamphlet published at Falkirk in 1806, by authority of the Reformed Presbytery; entitled, "A Short Account of the old Presbyterian Dissenters, under the inspection of the Reformed Presbyteries of Scotland, Ireland, and North America: comprehending also an Abstract of their Principles, intended as an Introduction to the perusal of their Judicial Testimony, and other larger works."

rance of faith; upon which their notions are the extreme opposite of Sandemanianism. Their church-government is neither Presbyterian nor Independent, but a mixture of both; their discipline appears to be lax; and their views have a strong tendency to Antinomianism. This small and obscure society scarcely deserves, indeed, to be regarded as a distinct sect, except that no other denomination would, probably, acknowledge them.

II. GLASSITES, OR SANDEMANIANS.

A secession from the Established Church of Scotland, of earlier date than that which originated the Secession Church, but of inferior importance, was occasioned by the expulsion of Mr. John Glas, minister of the parish of Tealing, near Dundee; who, having given offence to some of his brethren by avowing notions of justifying faith, differing from those of the acknowledged standards, and still more by his views of church-government, was prosecuted before the provincial synod of Angus and Mearns, and ultimately deposed by the General Assembly in 1730. In the course of his examination before the Synod, the following questions were put to him:—*Question*. “Is it your opinion, that there is no warrant for a National Church under the New Testament?” *Answer*. “It is my opinion; for I can see no churches instituted by Christ in the New Testament, besides the Universal, but congregational churches: neither do I see that a nation can be a church, unless it could be made a congregation, as was the nation of Israel.” *Question*. “Is it your opinion, that a single congregation of believers with their pastor, are not under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority of superior church judicatures, nor censurable by them, as to either doctrine, worship, or practice?” *Answer*. “A congregation or church of Jesus Christ, with its presbytery, is, in its discipline, subject to no jurisdiction under heaven.” These views, which constituted the main part of his offence, he stated and defended in a tract published in 1728, entitled: “An Explication of that Proposition,” &c. And in 1729, he put forth a treatise illustrative of his sentiments, under the title of,

"The Testimony of the King of Martyrs concerning his Kingdom:"—referring to Our Lord's answer to Pilate, John xviii. 37. A long controversy ensued; and the works of Mr. Glas, chiefly of a polemical nature, extend to five octavo volumes. After his deposition, he continued the exercise of his ministry, and from among his numerous followers formed a congregation upon his own principles, who assembled first at Tealing, but subsequently erected a church at Dundee. Smaller congregations were, in the course of a few years, "put in church order" upon the same principles, at Edinburgh, Perth, Dunkeld, Arbroath, Montrose, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Paisley, Galastriels, Newcastle, and other places. The only clergymen of the Established Church, however, who so far embraced Mr. Glas's views as to give up their livings, were Mr. Byers of St. Boswell's, Teviotdale, and Mr. Farrier of Largo, in Fife. It is not a little remarkable, that the General Assembly of 1739, without any application on the part of Mr. Glas or his followers, took off the sentence of deposition passed against him for "Independent principles;" "and did restore him to the character and exercise of a minister of the Gospel of Christ; but declaring, notwithstanding, that he is not to be esteemed a minister of the Established Church of Scotland, or capable to be called or settled therein, until he shall renounce the principles embraced and avowed by him that are inconsistent with the constitution of this Church." With whatever views this measure was adopted, it led to no practical result. Mr. Glas died in 1773, at the age of 78.

In the mean time, a powerful coadjutor appeared in Mr. Robert Sandeman, who, having embraced Mr. Glas's principles, and grafted upon them his own peculiar views, published, in 1757, the "Letters on Theron and Aspasio," under the signature of Palæmon, which led to what is termed the Sandemanian controversy. In the year 1760, Mr. Sandeman visited London; and in 1762, a small congregation of his proselytes was formed, which was joined, in 1765, by the Rev. S. Pike, pastor of an Independent congregation in the metropolis, who became their most distinguished preacher.

Some smaller congregations were afterwards formed upon the same principles, in different parts of Yorkshire, at Nottingham, Liverpool, Whitehaven, Newcastle, and other places. These have been denominated Sandemanian, while, in Scotland, the congregations of this communion retain the name of Glassite. Mr. Sandeman went to America in 1764, and collected several congregations in New England. He died there in 1771, at the age of fifty-three, two years before Mr. Glas.

The Glassites, while generally agreeing with the English Independents and Congregationalists in their principles of church-government,* are distinguished from them, not only by maintaining the theological views of their founder, but by a rigid adherence to peculiarities of discipline, in which they aim at a strict conformity to primitive usage. Among their characteristic practices and observances are, the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper; their love-feasts; the kiss of charity; plurality of bishops or elders in the congregation; mutual exhortation; the use of the Lot; abstinence from things strangled and blood; and the pedilavium. They deem it unlawful alike to hold spiritual communion with other churches, or to have any familiar intercourse with excommunicated persons of their own persuasion. They conceive it even unlawful to join in prayer with one who is not a brother or sister; and family prayer, being, as they conceive, not enjoined by any express precept or precedent in the New Testament, is very generally disregarded by them. In some of the above-mentioned practices, they may seem to agree with the Moravians;† but there is little similarity of character between them. Their strict and peculiar discipline has prevented the Glassites from being at any time very numerous; and they are now, with the exception of a few surviving congregations, merged in the Scottish "New Independents" or other Congregational Dissenters.

The following remarks upon the origin and character of the

* Mr. Glas acknowledged himself to be greatly indebted to the writings of Dr. John Owen, for his views respecting the nature of Christ's kingdom.

† See pages 257, 258.

Glassite or Sandemanian schism, from the pen of Mr. J. Haldane, will be considered as a candid and favourable estimate.

“ With all their faults, the Glassites are entitled to the gratitude of believers for the manner in which they exhibited the doctrine of the Atonement, when its glory was much obscured by human systems. Many of their contemporaries, in attempting to explain how it is the duty of men to believe the Gospel, while faith is the gift of God, involved themselves in error and contradiction. They entered into laboured definitions of saving faith, and undervalued the simple belief of the truth, as nothing better than the faith of devils. Saving faith was defined so as to include every holy disposition; and there was no small danger of men being led to establish their own righteousness under the name of faith. Glas and Sandeman boldly opposed the popular doctrine. They vindicated the freeness of the grace of God, affirming that faith is simply the belief of the truth; and with this they connected a far more scriptural view of the nature of the kingdom of Christ, than had been formerly held in this country. They not only maintained that all national churches are antichristian, but proved from the Scriptures, that believers, in every age, are laid under the strongest obligations to be followers in all things of the apostolic churches.

“ The novelty of these opinions excited no small interest in Scotland, where so much attention was paid to religion. As might have been expected, the most eminent and zealous of the Established Church were most opposed to the new doctrine; and, considering the character of man, it is impossible to doubt, that personal and party feelings were mingled on both sides with the love of truth. Although the national zeal for the solemn league and covenant had greatly abated, it was still regarded with veneration by many excellent men; and as it was framed on the Jewish model, it sanctioned the enforcement of a profession of religion, which is completely inconsistent with the Christian dispensation. This was condemned by the Glassites, who were, in consequence, accused of being enemies to practical piety. They retorted, by comparing

their opponents to the Pharisees, who maintained a high reputation among the people by their strictness in what God had not commanded.

“ While the Glassites had, on many points, the better of the argument, it was unfortunate that they were so directly opposed to many who were real Christians, and who, amidst various errors, were truly exemplary characters. This gave a cast to both their doctrine and practice by no means favourable to pure and undefiled religion; for, in both, they proceeded to the opposite extreme from their rivals. Under the idea of magnifying the Atonement, they ridiculed what they termed ‘heart religion;’ and in guarding against self-righteousness, they encouraged, in some respects, a very improper degree of laxity of conduct.”

“ Many writers have adopted an improper style; but Mr. Sandeman stands pre-eminent for his systematic contempt of all his opponents, more especially of those who seemed to be in earnest about religion. He always speaks of infidels and men who made no profession (of belief) with mildness and good humour; but those who differed from him met with no quarter.”*

Mr. Sandeman was desirous that the societies connected with him should be unconnected with all others; and that they should be considered as the only true churches of Christ. In this respect, he carries out the principle of strict communion to an extent of illiberality at once monstrous and ridiculous. Nothing can be more opposite to the genius of Christianity than the spirit of the Sandemanian system, which, as Mr. Fuller remarks, by confounding moral obligations with positive institutions, and giving to both the name of *ordinances*, renders the New Testament little more than ritual, and reduces religion to nearly a round of mechanical performances.

* Haldane's Letters in Reply to Walker, pp. 10—14. See also, for a further account of the Sandemanian system, Andrew Fuller's Works, vol. ii. p. 340, *et seq.* The writings of such men as Flavel, Boston, Guthrie, the Erskines, &c. are represented by Sandeman as furnishing “a devout path to hell;” and the writers as Pharisees, “than whom no sinners were more hardened, and none greater destroyers of mankind.”

III. CONGREGATIONALISTS, OR INDEPENDENTS.

The rise of Independency in Scotland may be dated from the secession of Mr. Glas, in 1728; but it is only within the last forty years, that the Congregational denomination has come to occupy a high and important rank among the Dissenters of Scotland. The churches composing this body, now associated under the name of "The Congregational Union of Scotland," for the most part originated in the labours of a society formed in 1797, under the auspices of Robert Haldane, Esq., for the avowed object of promoting the preaching of the Gospel in those parts of Scotland where the light of evangelical instruction was not found to be diffused.* The recent institution of the Missionary Societies had excited a strong sensation among the pious of all denominations, and given an impulse to religious zeal. Under the influence of this spirit, Mr. Haldane had sold his estates, with the intention of employing his fortune in diffusing among the tribes of Hindostan the arts of civilized life and the blessings of true religion; but, being thwarted in his plans by the jealous restrictions of Government, he resolved to employ his fortune and exertions in propagating the Gospel at home. The formation of the Society was facilitated by the religious discussions which had been excited by several publications, and particularly by the Missionary Magazine, conducted by a minister of the Established Church, who had agreed to accompany Mr. Haldane to India. In this Miscellany, the opinion had been maintained, so startling to the prejudices of rigid Presbyterians, "that it is the right, nay, the paramount duty of every Christian who knows the Gospel, and is duly qualified, to preach it to his fellow-sinners." Acting upon this principle, Mr. James Haldane, Mr. Aikman, and others, traversed the

* "The Society for propagating the Gospel at Home, have all along avowed their sole object to be, the revival of declining religion among their countrymen, and to follow out that object by means which they conceive to be warranted by the word of God, and not in the least contrary to the laws of the country."—*Reply to the Pastoral Admonition of the General Assembly.*

greater part of Scotland, preaching to their countrymen, not without meeting considerable opposition, especially from the Established clergy. They were followed by other labourers, sent out by the Society above mentioned. It was not long before the Messrs. Haldane deemed themselves bound, in conscience, to separate from the communion of the Established Church; and, shortly afterwards, the Rev. Messrs. Innes and Ewing resigned their charges, and united themselves to the new society. Large places of public worship, which were at first distinguished by the name of *Tabernacles*, were erected, at Mr. R. Haldane's expense, in the principal towns. Mr. J. Haldane and Mr. Aikman were eventually fixed at Edinburgh, Mr. Innes at Dundee, Mr. Ewing at Glasgow, and others in different parts of the country; and, to secure a succession of teachers, an academy was founded for the education of young men for the work of the ministry, who, when deemed properly qualified, were to be employed as itinerants, under the countenance of the Society for propagating the Gospel at Home.

The congregations thus formed, were, at first, denominated Haldanites, or Haldanite Independents; but this name of distinction was never acknowledged, and is now laid aside. They were also known as the "Tabernacle Connexion." The principles upon which they were founded, were those of the strictest Congregational Independency; but they differed from the Glassite Independents in several material points; especially in holding more catholic terms of communion, and admitting members of all religious denominations to the Lord's Supper, provided they had reason to esteem them real Christians. Rejecting all creeds and articles of faith, they considered the Scriptures as the only standard; and, in matters of religion, acknowledged no human authority whatsoever. A civil establishment of religion, they judged to be "the very essence of Antichrist."* These views were explicitly avowed and defended in a work by Mr. J. Haldane, entitled, "A View of the Social Worship and Ordinances observed by the First Christians, drawn from the Sacred Scriptures alone :

* Haldane's View of Social Worship, p. 100.

being an Attempt to Enforce their Divine Obligation, and to represent the Guilt and Evil Consequences of neglecting them." This was followed by publications by Mr. Innes and Mr. Ewing on the one side, in defence of the Independent church-government, and several works, on the other side, in vindication of the Presbyterian polity, in which the whole subject of debate was brought fully before the public. Mr. J. Haldane, with his congregation, Mr. Innes, and some others, subsequently embraced Antipædobaptist principles, which has occasioned a division in the body. The Haldanites must now be classed under the head of Scotch Baptists, having also approximated to the views of the Glassites upon matters of discipline; while the Congregationalists of Scotland, discarding some of the extreme views of the Haldanites, have become more closely assimilated to their brethren in England; and having rapidly increased in numbers, now form a very important and well-organized denomination.

The number of churches comprised in the Congregational Union of Scotland, (formed in 1812,) amounted in 1836 to 91. Several of these churches are so poor as to be unable of themselves to raise 30*l.* a-year for the support of the ministry, while their pastors have an extensive range of country and villages as the sphere of their itinerant labours.* These receive aid from the Union, which has for its main object, to promote the preaching of the Gospel in the neglected and destitute districts, and has assumed the character of a Home Missionary Society. The Union now maintains thirteen ministers who preach in the Gaelic language in the Highlands of Scotland, and seven in the Orkney and Shetland Isles. Altogether, about forty laborious ministers receive aid from

* "A large proportion of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, containing a population of upwards of 400,000, requires the ministry of men who can preach in the Gaelic language. Such is the general poverty of the Highland population, their widely scattered state, and the extent of the parishes, (some of which are 60 computed miles in length,) intersected by extensive lakes and arms of the sea, or by almost impassable mountains, that there can be no reasonable prospect of the people enjoying the preached Gospel but by means of itineracies, supported by those who reside in more favourable parts of the country."—*Cong. Mag.* 1836, p. 654. *Ib.* 1835, p. 131.

its funds, some of whom have from eight to ten, and a few from twelve to sixteen stations, making occasional tours to more remote and very destitute parts. In the year 1835-6, 600*l.* was expended by the Union in supporting the ministers stationed in the Highlands and Islands, and an equal sum in assisting the smaller churches and itineracies in the Lowlands. As about one-third of the churches stand in need of aid from their brethren, these sums are raised by the other two-thirds, with the assistance of such contributions as can be obtained for the benevolent object from the religious public.* In connexion with this Union, the Glasgow Theological Institution, under the presidency of the Rev. Mr. Ewing and Dr. Wardlaw, has about fourteen students in training for the ministry in Scotland, besides four or five missionary students, and others from English churches, in all about thirty.†

The Scottish Baptists date their existence in Scotland from the formation of the Baptist church at Edinburgh, under the Rev. Robert Carmichael and Mr. Archibald M'Lean, in the year 1768. In those points wherein they differ from the members of the same denomination in England, they agree, in general, with the Glassites, from whom they originally sprang. Their discipline is strictly Congregational. The number of these churches was, in 1823, about fifteen; but this does not appear to have included those of Mr. Haldane's connexion.‡ The total number of recognised Baptist churches in Scotland, in 1836, was fifty.

We may notice under the general head of Congregational Dissenters, though not strictly coming under this designation, the stations of the Wesleyan Methodists in Scotland. Those in connexion with the Conference, in 1835, were arranged under three Districts: *Edinburgh*, comprising the four circuits of Edinburgh, Dunbar and Haddington, Glasgow, and Ayr; *Aberdeen*, comprising seven circuits, viz. Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Arbroath and Montrose, Banff and Buckey, Inverness, and the Orkney Isles; and *the Shetland Isles*. The number

* Cong. Mag. 1836, p. 655. A list of the churches of the Union is given in the Cong. Mag. for 1830, p. 707.

† Ib. 1836, p. 386.

‡ Adam's Religious World, vol. ii. p. 162.

of circuit preachers appointed to these stations, was twenty-eight; of whom two were stationed in the Orkneys, and six in the Shetlands. The number of congregations may be set down at about thirty: that of members in society did not amount, in 1835, to more than 3810, of whom 1122 were in Glasgow, and about 1300 in the Isles.

IV. EPISCOPALIANS.

In Scotland, where, as we have seen, the Presbyterian churches form four distinct communions, though acknowledging the same doctrinal standards, is exhibited the phenomenon of two branches of "the Episcopal persuasion," standing aloof from each other in a state of separation. One of these is known as the Non-juror Church, the bishops and ministers of which refused to transfer their allegiance to William and Mary at the Revolution, or their successors, up to the year 1792; when, on the death of the Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, they deemed themselves at full liberty to offer their allegiance to the reigning sovereign, George III. On their application to Parliament, the penal laws which had been hitherto in force against them as Jacobites, were repealed, on certain terms, whereby the doors of the Episcopal chapels were thrown open to all ranks of the laity; and many of the most distinguished in the kingdom availed themselves of the privilege. Since that time, the Scottish Episcopal Church has received a great accession, in point of numbers and respectability, from several congregations under the charge of English Episcopal ministers who have joined its communion. But most of the chapels licensed for Episcopal worship according to the forms of the Church of England, have been supplied by clergymen ordained by English or Irish bishops, and not amenable to any episcopal jurisdiction; so that they may be considered as a sort of Episcopal Independents.

The distinguishing tenets of the Scottish Episcopalians are stated to be, the apostolical institution of Episcopacy, and the independence of the Church upon the State in the exercise of those powers which are purely spiritual. At the same

time, an attachment to kingly power, and the opinion, that the only source of power is God, and not the people,—in other words, the principles of the highest Toryism, have always been characteristic of the members of this communion. The clergy are moreover zealous anti-Calvinists; and several of them have been disposed to favour the peculiar doctrines of the learned Mr. Hutchinson.*

The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England had only been partially used by the Scottish Episcopalians prior to 1712: but since then, it has been universally adopted, with the exception of the communion-service. The Scotch Communion Office is formed on the model of the office in the *first* liturgy of Edward VI., and is retained as “more conformable to the most ancient liturgies of the primitive church, than the English form.” In other words, it comes nearer to the Romish missal, retaining the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the “Oblation of the sacramental elements,” in accordance with those notions of the Eucharist which have been generally maintained by high-church divines, as a commemorative sacrifice and a real participation of the body and blood of Christ.† By a concordat in 1731, it is left optional to the Episcopal clergy of Scottish as well as English ordination, to use either this office or that of the Anglican Church.

The Scottish Episcopal Church has its peculiar canons, of which a new code was substituted, in 1811, for the sixteen drawn up in 1743. The bishops are elected by the clergy of the diocese, subject to the approval of a majority of the order.

* In particular, Mr. John Skinner, author of a History of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and his son, Bishop John Skinner of Aberdeen. The first eminent person in Scotland who espoused the Hutchinsonian scheme, was Lord President Forbes. The Hutchinsonian controversy, which was partly philological, and partly theological, occupied a considerable degree of public attention between 1748 and 1756.

† Mr. Alexander Knox, who adopts these notions, and condemns the alterations made in the English service by Archbishop Cranmer, deems it a happy circumstance, that the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. had been used in preparing the Prayer-book for Scotland in 1637; from which the Revisers of Elizabeth's reign adopted the rubrics with a view to restore the doctrine, in a covert manner, which Cranmer had rejected. “Had they felt at liberty, they would have gone further.” —Knox's *Remains*, vol. ii. pp. 154, 168.

Every bishop, as in Sweden, Denmark, and America, is the pastor of a congregation ; and “ they claim no more than the *spiritual* authority derived to them from Jesus Christ, the great Head of the Church,—an authority which is paternal rather than magisterial.” The country was formerly divided into two archbishoprics (St. Andrew’s and Glasgow), and twelve bishoprics. Since the Revolution, the title of archbishop has been dropped ; and one of the bishops (now six in number) is elected *Primus* or Chief Bishop during pleasure. The clergy, including the bishops, are about seventy, with nearly the same number of congregations ; (pluralities and non-residence being unknown ;) and the total aggregate of the Episcopal congregations was estimated some years ago at not more than 40,000. They are chiefly found in the county of Aberdeen and on the eastern coast. Although thus inconsiderable in numbers, they include many of the most distinguished nobility and gentry.*

In relation to the National Establishment of Scotland, the Episcopalians are Dissenters ; and their ministers, being without any State provision, are dependent, like those of other Dissenting bodies, upon the voluntary support of their flocks. They boast of having “ a church in which religion is supported by no authority but her own, and has no interests but her own to support ; ” retaining “ all the essence of episcopacy without its modern appendages ; ” and in these respects coming “ as near the primitive pattern as any at this day in the world.” † Archdeacon Daubeney is stated to have spoken of this church as “ the purest, perhaps, at this day in Christendom ; ” and Bishop Horne thought, that, if St. Paul were upon earth, he would give the preference, above all other communions, to the Episcopalians of Scotland ! Should these encomiums be deemed to savour of partiality and extravagance, still, the reader cannot fail to perceive how much the alleged conformity of the Scottish Episcopacy to the primitive pattern results from its independence of the State.‡

* Adam, vol. i. p. 441.

† Ibid. pp. 437, 440.

‡ If we take the number of Episcopal congregations, Scotch and English, at 80, those of the Congregational Union at 90, those of the Baptists, Glassites, and

SECTION III.

THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS.

Some difficulty occurs in classifying the large and important body of Protestant Nonconformists known as Wesleyan or Arminian Methodists. In point of fact, they are Dissenters from the Established Church in doctrine, ritual, discipline, and government; yet they profess to adhere to its doctrinal standards, and for the most part avow an attachment to the Establishment as an ecclesiastical and political institution. This characteristic feature makes no difference, however, in their legal predicament. Their teachers, in order to screen themselves from the penal clauses of the Conventicle Act, have been compelled to certify as Dissenters. The law has cognizance of them in no other character; nor does the Established Church acknowledge them as belonging to her communion, from which they are, in fact, as a sect, completely separated. Mr. Wesley, their founder, always professed a strong affection for the Church of England, of which he aspired to be a reformer; and he exhorted the societies under his care to attend her services, and to receive the Lord's Supper from the Episcopal clergy. Had it so pleased the rulers of that Church, it would have been very feasible, in the infancy of Methodism, by a slight relaxation of her stern and jealous discipline, to retain the followers of Wesley within the pale of the Establishment; allowing them liberty to maintain their private meetings and peculiar economy under their own leaders, as, in the Romish Church, the several orders of regulars are permitted to govern themselves by their own rule and officers.

In the latter part of his life, however, Mr. Wesley thought

Methodists at 80, and those of the Presbyterian Seceders of all classes at 500, we shall have 750 Dissenting congregations, without reckoning the Roman Catholics. The Rev. Adam Thomson, in his Letter to Lord Melbourne, takes "the Voluntary churches of all denominations" at 800; the Established churches at 1000; but contends, that the latter include a smaller proportion of the population than the former.

proper to assume the functions of the Episcopal office, and not only to ordain several ministers who were sent out to Scotland and to America, but also to consecrate some as bishops. During his life-time, some of the societies petitioned to have preaching in their own chapels in church hours, which was contrary to his original directions, and to have the Lord's Supper administered by the travelling preachers. This request he generally refused to comply with; and where it could conveniently be done, he sent some of the clergymen who officiated at the New Chapel in London, to perform these sacred offices. After his decease in 1791, the same request was renewed by many of the societies, who had the mortification to find that this question was decided against them by lot. The subject continued to be agitated; and the dissatisfaction occasioned by the decisions of Conference, together with some other differences, led, in 1797, to the secession of a considerable body, who form what is termed the Methodist New Connexion. The New Methodists (sometimes called, from their most prominent leader, Kilhamites *) differ from the Old Methodists in the more popular constitution of their church-government, the preachers and the lay deputies chosen by the people being associated in all meetings for business. They are numerous chiefly in the northern counties.

“ That Mr. Wesley never intended to form a separate sect, independent of the Church of England,” say his Biographers, “ is very evident, both from the minutes of the Conferences at which he presided, and from many of his publications. But, what he so much disliked, and by every means in his power resisted, actually began to take place before his death. Many thousands who had joined his Society, had never attended any church previously to their conversion, and therefore could not be expected to have a particular attachment to the Church of England. Numbers had likewise been Dissenters, or the children of Dissenters, before they became

* The Rev. Alexander Kilham was the author of a pamphlet entitled, “ The Progress of Liberty,” which was obnoxious to the Old Methodists, and was one cause of his expulsion by the Methodist Conference of 1796. He died in 1798.

Methodists; who, it may be supposed, had certain objections to the Church of England: and it cannot be dissembled, that many joined Mr. Wesley's societies on account of the immoral lives and erroneous doctrine of several of the clergy of the Establishment, by whom they were persecuted, and with whom they could not in conscience remain any longer in communion. When, therefore, persons in these circumstances became members of the Methodist Connexion, and, in process of time, constituted the major part of it, several of them also becoming leaders and preachers; can it be wondered at, that they should be averse from any connexion with a Church from which (to say the least) they never derived any advantage? Besides, it should also be considered, that, in a number of cases, even those who were attached to the Church were compelled to declare themselves Dissenters, in order to obtain licenses, according to the Toleration Act, to screen themselves from the penal clauses of the Conventicle Act." *

Owing to these causes, the separation of the Methodists from the communion of the Established Church, has of necessity become wider and wider. At the Conference of 1794, the privilege of having the sacrament administered, was conceded to no fewer than ninety-three societies in different parts of the kingdom; and in 1806, thirty-five places petitioned to have the Lord's Supper administered by their own preachers, and had their request granted. According to the "Plan of Pacification" agreed upon between the preachers and the people in 1795, and the subsequent Regulations made at Leeds in 1797, which form the basis of the existing government and discipline of the Societies, not only is the sacrament to be statedly administered in any chapel, on the application to Conference of a majority of the trustees, and of the stewards and leaders; but, wherever there is a society with no chapel, if the majority of the stewards and leaders testify that it is the wish of the people that the Lord's Supper should be administered to them, their desire is to be granted. The sacrament is administered by the superintendent or such of his helpers as are in full connexion, according to the form of

* Coke and Moore's Life of Wesley, p. 497.

the Established Church; but the administrator is at liberty to give out hymns, and to use exhortation and extemporary prayer. No person is suffered on any pretence to communicate, who is not a member of the society, or unless he receive a note of admission from the superintendent, which note must be renewed quarterly. It is obvious that these regulations are wholly incompatible with both the letter and the spirit of the discipline of the Church of England. The Wesleyan societies form, to all intents and purposes, a separate and distinct communion.*

The original idea of the Society, according to its founder, was that of "A company of men, having the form, and seeking the power of godliness: united, in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their own salvation." The first Methodist Society was formed, upon this basis, in 1739.† Mr. Wesley made it his boast, "that there was no other religious society under heaven, which requires nothing of men in order to their admission into it, but a desire to save their souls." In no other religious society, ancient or modern, he affirmed, was or had been such liberty of conscience allowed. When a person is admitted into the society, however, he finds that as many things

* In the "Large Minutes" of Mr. Wesley's Conversations, A.D. 1744—1789, Question 45 is, "But are we not Dissenters?" *Answer.* "No. Although we call sinners to repentance in all places of God's dominion; and although we frequently use extemporary prayer, and unite together in a religious society; yet we are not Dissenters in the only sense which our law acknowledges; namely, those who renounce the service of the Church. We do not: we dare not separate from it. We are not seceders, nor do we bear any resemblance to them. We set out upon quite opposite principles. The seceders laid the very foundation of their work in judging and condemning others. We laid the foundation of our work in judging and condemning ourselves. They begin everywhere with showing their hearers how fallen the church and ministers are: we begin everywhere with showing our hearers how fallen they are in themselves." This attempt to distinguish the Methodists from other separatists, at the expense of the original Nonconformists, is not only destitute of candour, but at variance with fact. Yet, in answer to Q. 46, separation from the church is pronounced allowable: "1. If the parish minister be a notoriously wicked man: 2. If he preach Socinianism, Arianism, or other essentially false doctrine." Is not this laying the foundation in judging and condemning others?

† It is intended to hold a centenary commemoration of this event in 1839.

are required of him as a Methodist, as would be by any other communion, and somewhat more. Each society is divided into smaller companies, called classes, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in every class, one of whom is styled the leader; whose business it is to see each person in his class at least once a week, to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require, and to receive what each is willing to give towards the support of the Gospel. Every member contributes one penny weekly, unless he is in extreme poverty, and one shilling quarterly. It is expected that every member should continue to evidence his desire of salvation, by refraining from—

The taking the Name of the Lord in vain.

The profaning of the Lord's day, either by ordinary work thereon, or by buying or selling.*

Drunkenness; *buying or selling spirituous liquors*; or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity.

Fighting, quarrelling, brawling; brother going to law with brother; returning evil for evil, or railing for railing; the using many words in buying or selling.†

The buying or selling uncustomed goods.

The giving or taking things on usury; *i. e.* unlawful interest.

The putting on of gold or costly apparel.

The taking such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus.

The singing those songs, or reading those books, that do not tend to the knowledge or love of God.

Softness and needless self-indulgence.‡

&c. &c. &c.

Among the duties expected and required of the members, are all sorts of beneficence, diligence, frugality, self-denial,

* No barber who shaves or dresses his customers on the Sunday, is to be suffered to remain in any society. See Superint. of Circuits, Q. 30.

† "Who does as he would be done by, in buying and selling? Particularly in selling horses? Write him a knave that does not. And the Methodist knave is the worst of all knaves."—*Large Minutes*, Q. 13.

‡ Snuff-taking and drams are expressly prohibited.

and attendance on all the ordinances of God; among which is specifically mentioned, Fasting or Abstinence. If any member habitually break any of these rules, he is admonished; and, if he repent not, expulsion follows. "Marrying with unbelievers," and bankruptcy, if the party has not kept fair accounts, are also followed with expulsion.

Each society is managed by its own leaders, with the steward, and the preacher stationed with it. The leaders meet once a week, and pay what money they have collected in their classes to the steward. They likewise take into consideration such circumstances relating to the members in particular, or the society at large, as fall under their cognizance.

A number of these societies united, form what is called a Circuit, which generally includes a city or market-town, with the circumjacent villages to the distance of ten or fifteen miles. To every Circuit, two, three, or four preachers are appointed; one of whom is styled the Superintendent, whose business it is to see that every thing be done agreeably to the Rules of the Society and the Minutes of Conference. The preachers occupy the same sphere not longer, in general, than two years. Once a quarter they meet all the classes, and converse personally with every member, distributing to all who have walked orderly a ticket of commendation.* After the visitation of the classes, a meeting is held of all the preachers, stewards, and leaders of the circuit: this is called a Quarterly Meeting, at which candidates for the ministry are proposed, the collections are delivered to a circuit steward, and other business publicly transacted.

A number of these Circuits, from five to ten, according to their extent, form a District, the preachers of which meet annually, about a month before the General Conference. Each District has a chairman, chosen at the Conference by ballot. These District meetings have authority,—1. To try and suspend preachers who are found immoral, erroneous in doctrine, or deficient in abilities. 2. To determine on the building of chapels. 3. To examine the demands from the

* These tickets, it has been remarked, are somewhat analogous to the *tesserae* of the ancients. Their chief use is to prevent imposture.

Circuits, respecting the support of the preachers and their families. 4. To elect a representative to attend the committee, by which a draught of the stations for the ensuing year is prepared, to be laid before Conference. Minutes of all the proceedings of these District meetings are read at the ensuing Conference, which is the ultimate Court of Appeal.

The Conference, according to the enrolled Deed of Declaration, which gives a legal specification of the expression, "The Conference of the People called Methodists,"* was originally constituted of the Hundred Preachers mentioned in the instrument, who were empowered to elect new members, so as to keep up that number, out of the whole body of Traveling Preachers, according to seniority. Generally speaking, the Conference is composed of the preachers elected at the previous District meetings to be their representatives, the other superintendents of Circuits, and every preacher who chooses to attend; all having a right to vote, whether they belong to the Hundred or not. This annual assembly is held in London, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, or Birmingham, (in rotation,) generally about the end of July. It must sit not less than five days, nor longer than three weeks, and seldom continues more than a fortnight. The Conference chooses its own president and secretary for the year. It is the supreme court of the Society, over which there is no control, and from whose decision there is no appeal. The proceedings of the subordinate meetings are reviewed at these assemblies, the stations of the preachers appointed, and the state of the Connexion at large considered. According to the 14th Rule of the Deed of Declaration, "All resolutions and orders touching elections, admissions, expulsions, consents, dispensations, delegations, or appointments, or acts whatsoever of the Conference," are to be entered in the journals or minutes, and subscribed by the President and Secretary; after which they are to be taken and received as the legal

* The Deed of Declaration occasioned so much uneasiness in the Connexion, that, in order to quell it, all the preachers present at the Conference of 1785, signed a declaration of approval.

acts of the Conference. Since 1819, a Pastoral Letter to the Societies, from the Conference, has been annually prepared and circulated.

A list of the circuits and of the preachers was first given in the *printed* Minutes of Conference in 1765. In 1767, the state of the Society was as under:—

	Circuits.	Preachers.	Supernum.	Members.
In England . .	27	76	1	22,642
Scotland . .	5	7	0	468
Ireland . .	9	18	1	2,801
	—	—	—	—
Total .	41	101	2	25,911
	—	—	—	—

At the time of Mr. Wesley's decease, three-and-twenty years after, the number of preachers, circuits, and members had nearly trebled. The last Conference he attended was that of 1790, at which there were reported 108 circuits, 295 preachers, and 71,668 members. There were also in the United States of America, 97 circuits, 198 preachers, and 43,265 members.*

In 1797, the secession took place, in which originated the Methodist New Connexion. The progress of the two bodies, between 1803 and 1833, will be seen from the following tabular view, drawn up by Mr. Woodhouse, one of the ministers of the New Connexion, and inserted in the "Methodist New Connexion Magazine." The number of attendants upon the Methodist ministry, as *hearers* only, is supposed generally to amount to full two-thirds more than the members.

* Mr. Wesley's first Conference, held in London in 1774, consisted of six persons, five of whom were clergymen of the Established Church. In 1746, the circuits were seven; *viz.* London, (including Surrey and Kent,) Bristol, Cornwall, Evesham, York, Newcastle, Wales. In 1837, the circuits have increased to 384, which are arranged in 33 districts; *viz.* 25 in England, 3 in Wales, 2 in Scotland, and 3 in the British Islands. In Ireland, there are 11 districts, including 49 circuits. The number of regular Travelling Preachers and Supernumeraries, &c., is, in Great Britain, 1001; Ireland, 161; foreign stations and Upper Canada Connexion, 370. Total, 1532.

	1803.			1813.			1823.			1833.		
	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.
England	124	300	88,332	243	564	148,104	280	593	202,824	323	770	254,890
Wales	9	22	2,769	25	61	7,139	18	42	8,634	26	52	12,724
Scotland	7	16	1,179	13	25	2,342	16	26	3,430	15	30	4,434
British Isles	4	12	3,869	5	11	4,418	6	10	4,510	7	15	7,122
Ireland	38	86	24,605	49	112	28,770	43	103	22,039	42	84	24,403
America (United States) . .	...	383	104,020	...	628	214,300	...	1,226	312,500	...	2,200	548,593
Canada . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60	66	16,179
Foreign Missions . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	106	193	45,786
Total		819	224,774		1,401	405,073		2,000	553,937		3,410	914,131
NEW CONNEXION.												
Great Britain and Ireland .	18	29	5,280	23	43	8,067	26	48	10,972	36	63	14,784

* * * The Supernumerary Preachers are not included.

At the date of the first period of this Table, 1803, there were no circuits or preachers in the counties of Bucks, Cambridge, Hereford, Monmouth, Hertford, and Rutland; nor any in the two last counties in 1823. The following remarks are subjoined.

“ 1. It appears that both Connexions had the largest proportionate increase during the first ten years, or betwixt 1803 and 1813; the increase in the United Kingdom being respectively 58 and 53 per cent. The variation of increase during the two latter periods, in both bodies, was trifling; but much less, compared with the former period, in the Old Connexion, than in the New. The average increase of the three periods, making a total of 30 years, has been, in the Parent Body, nearly 37 per cent.; while the average increase in the New Connexion, during the same time, has been abo $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent.

“ 2. The greatest increase in America was also during the first ten years; as, betwixt 1803 and 1813, they more than doubled in number; the increase being 106 per cent.; while, in the two latter periods, the increases were respectively $45\frac{1}{2}$ and $75\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

“ 3. It appears, that, in the sister Kingdom, no progress whatever has been made by the Wesleyans for the last thirty years, the number of members being 24,605 in 1803, and only 24,403 in 1833. In Scotland, the increase has been on a regular advance; but that part of the Kingdom does not number more than 4,434 members, which is not so many as the societies of either Manchester or Leeds contain.”

The present state of the Two Connexions in Great Britain is as under:—

	Trav. Preachers.	Members.
Conference Connexion	1,001	292,693
New Connexion	95	19,899

Since the formation of the New Connexion, other separations from the original body have taken place. The largest of these is the Connexion of “Primitive Methodists,” usually

denominated "Ranters," who profess to adhere more strictly to the original discipline of Methodism, and, in opposition to the decision of the Conference, in 1803, admit of female preachers. From the Minutes of their fourteenth Conference, in 1833, it appears that they had then 552 chapels, 102 circuits, 290 circuit-preachers, 3,514 local preachers, and 48,421 members; the increase of the latter, during the year preceding, being 7,120. Another detached body, called Bryanites, who are found chiefly in the western counties, reckoned, a few years ago, 13,000 members. The "Independent Methodists," who have only lay teachers, rejecting "a hired ministry," consisted of about 4,000 members; and the "Wesleyan Protestant Methodists," a more recent secession, principally at Leeds, at their first Conference, in Sept. 1829, reported 2,480 members.

In the United States, where the parent body is under a species of episcopal government,* a considerable division took place in 1827-8, on the principle of having a Representative Assembly for the government of the church. On Nov. 2, 1830, a convention of 49 ministers and 32 lay delegates, favourable to this plan, assembled at Baltimore, and agreed upon an instrument for "The Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church." The number of its ministers now amounts to about 200, and the members to 30,000. The Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States was composed, in 1834, of—

Bishops.	Preachers & Mission.	White Members.	Coloured.	Indians.	Total.
6	2,625	553,134	83,156	2,494	638,784

We have yet to mention another important schism in the Parent Body in this country, consequent upon the recent expulsion of Dr. Warren and those who took part with him.

* The bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States have no particular dioceses, each being bishop of the general church throughout the United States, and most of their time is occupied with itinerant labours. By mutual arrangements, they so interchange their visits to the several annual Conferences, that each bishop visits each Conference once in four years. A general Conference, composed of delegates from the twenty-one annual Conferences, meet every fourth year.

This body has assumed the title of "The Wesleyan Association." Some overtures have been made with a view to a union between this body of seceders and the New Connexion, which had a similar origin, and is based upon similar principles. Hitherto, however, the desired union has not been consummated. The Wesleyan Association comprises 57 itinerant preachers, 167 chapels,* and 21,275 members in society.†

The DOCTRINES OF METHODISM are avowedly those which are contained in the Articles and Homilies of the Church of England. Among the Minutes relating to Superintendents of Circuits, we find the following in answer to Q. 31: "No person shall, on any account, be permitted to retain any official situation in our Societies, who holds opinions contrary to the total depravity of human nature, the Divinity and Atonement of Christ, the influence and witness of the Holy Spirit, and Christian holiness, as believed by the Methodists.

Upon the points at issue between the Calvinistic and Arminian divines, Mr. Wesley was a zealous and not very candid Anti-Calvinist; imputing to his theological opponents Antinomian tenets, and sometimes maintaining language not easily reconcilable with the Articles to which he professed to adhere.‡ He insisted on General Redemption, reprobated

* Exclusive of 343 preaching places, rooms, &c.

† The total aggregate of Wesleyan Methodists of all classes, in Great Britain, appears to be as under:—

	Congregat.	Members.
Wesleyan Methodists of the Old Connexion	2,850	292,693 (1837)
New Connexion	265	19,899 (1837)
Primitive Methodists	552	48,421 (1833)
Bryanites		13,000
Independent Methodists		4,000
Protestant Methodists		2,480 (1829)
Wesleyan Association	167	21,275 (1837)
		<hr/> 401,768

‡ "Q. 67. What is the direct antidote to Methodism (the doctrine of heart-holiness)? A. Calvinism. All the devices of Satan for these fifty years have done far less towards stopping this work of God than that single doctrine. It

the doctrine of Election, denied the certain "perseverance of the saints," and yet maintained the possibility of attaining to a state of entire sanctification and freedom from sin, which he denominated "Christian Perfection."

Upon the subject of JUSTIFICATION, he is reported to have expressed his opinion in the following language: "We have received it as a maxim, that a man can do nothing in order to justification. Nothing can be more false. Whosoever desires to find favour with God, should 'cease from evil, and learn to do well.' So God himself teaches by the Prophet Isaiah. Whoever repents, should 'do works meet for repentance.' And if this is not in order to find favour, what does he do them for?"* "As to merit itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid, we are rewarded 'according to our works, yea, because of our works.' How does this differ from 'for the sake of our works?' And how does this differ from '*secundum merita operum*?' Which is no more than 'as our works deserve.' Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot." . . . "Does not talking, without proper caution, of a justified or sanctified state, tend to mislead men?" We can scarcely err in pronouncing the above language irreconcilable with the tenets of the Protestant Reformers, and the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles, on the subject of Justification by Faith; and standing, as it does, in the "Large Minutes," which are the authorized exposition of the Wesleyan tenets, it seems to commit the whole body to opinions at variance with that cardinal article of Protestantism.† In point of fact, there prevails a considerable diversity within the Wesleyan body, as among the clergy of the Established Church, upon these points. Although the Wesleyans are

strikes at the root of salvation from sin, previous to glory, putting the matter quite on another issue."—*Large Minutes*. Mr. Wesley speaks, a little further on, of the "Predestinarian poison."

* "Albeit good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgement, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring necessarily of a true and lively faith."—Art. XII. Mr. Wesley is speaking of works done "in order to justification," and unconnected with faith in Jesus Christ.

† See Articles X. XI. XII. XIII. and XVIII.

avowedly Arminian Methodists, acknowledging that distinctive appellation, many of their popular preachers have not scrupled to hold the same language as the evangelical clergy and others of similar views; while, in some parts of the Connexion, the doctrine of Justification by Faith has been either incautiously or more boldly impugned, and views maintained, differing little from the Romish theology.

The theological works of Mr. Wesley contain, however, statements of a very different character; and the following passage may be cited as singularly at variance with the crude remarks in the "Large Minutes."—"In strictness, neither our faith nor our works justify us; *i. e.* deserve the remission of our sins. But God himself justifies us, of his own mercy, through the merits of his Son only. Nevertheless, because by faith we embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins, therefore the Scripture says, that faith does justify; yea, faith without works. And it is all one to say, faith without works, and faith alone, justifies us: therefore, the ancient Fathers, from time to time, speak thus:—Faith alone justifies us. And we receive faith through the only merits of Christ, and not through the merit of any virtue we have, or work we do; therefore, in that respect, we renounce, as it were, again, faith, works, and all other virtues. For our corruption through original sin is so great, that all our faith, charity, words, and works, cannot merit or deserve any part of our justification for us. And, therefore, we thus speak, humbling ourselves before God, and giving Christ all the glory of our justification."*

Upon the nature of FAITH, Mr. Wesley thus expresses himself. "Justifying Faith implies not only a divine *ἔλεγχος*—evidence or conviction that 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself,' but a sure trust and confidence that Christ died for my sins, that he loved me, and gave himself

* Wesley's Works, vol. xi. p. 415. Cited in Warren's "Digest of the Laws and Regulations of the Wesleyan Methodists," p. 266. Elsewhere, Mr. Wesley uses this singular language respecting Justification: "God usually gives a considerable *time* for men to receive *light*, to grow in *grace*, to *do and suffer* his will before they are either justified or sanctified. But he does not invariably adhere to this."—Works, vol. xi. p. 224. Warren, p. 270.

for me. And the moment a penitent sinner believes this, God pardons and absolves him." *

Upon the subject of CHRISTIAN PERFECTION, Mr. Wesley's views are thus explained in his works. "Christian Perfection does not imply (as some men seem to have imagined) an exemption either from ignorance or mistake, or infirmities, or temptations. Indeed, it is only another term for holiness. They are two names for the same thing. Thus, every one that is holy, is, in the Scripture sense, perfect. We may yet observe that neither in this respect is there absolute perfection on earth. There is no *perfection of degrees*, as it is termed; none which does not admit of a continual increase. So that, how much soever any man has attained, or in how high a degree soever he is perfect, he has still need to *grow in grace*, and daily to advance in the knowledge and love of God But we fix this conclusion, in conformity to the whole tenor of the New Testament, that *a Christian is so far perfect as not to commit sin*. This is the glorious privilege of every Christian; yea, though he be but 'a babe in Christ.' But it is only of those who are '*strong*' in the Lord, and 'have overcome the wicked one,' or rather of those who 'have known him that is from the beginning,' that it can be affirmed, they are in such a sense perfect as to be freed from evil thoughts and evil tempers." †

Yet, in opposition to the doctrine of FINAL PERSEVERANCE, Mr. Wesley thus sums up his deductions from a number of texts cited from the Scriptures: "If the Scriptures are true, those who are holy or religious in the judgement of God himself; those who are endued with the faith that purifies the heart, that produces a good conscience; those who are grafted into the good olive-tree, the spiritual, invisible church; those

* Wesley's Works, vol. xii. p. 49.

† Wesley's Works, vol. viii. p. 219, &c. (In Warren, p. 268.) The doctrine of Perfection is one of those points upon which Wesleyan Methodism bears an affinity to Quakerism; although the two systems are in some respects the antipodes of each other. "The Lord shewed me," says Fox, "that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell." Mr. Wesley, however, censured some of his preachers for pushing the doctrine of Christian perfection to this extreme.

who are branches of the True Vine, of whom Christ says, I am the Vine, ye are the branches; those who so effectually know Christ, as by that knowledge to have escaped the pollution of the world; those who see the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and who have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, of the witness and of the fruits of the Spirit; those who live by faith on the Son of God; those who are sanctified by the blood of the covenant;—may, nevertheless, so fall from God as to perish everlastingly. Therefore, ‘*let him who standeth take heed lest he fall.*’”*

In thus rejecting the doctrine of the certain perseverance of the Regenerate, while maintaining what has been termed the doctrine of Assurance, (as included in a justifying faith,) Mr. Wesley combined opinions that have been deemed inconsistent or incompatible. In the former respect, he differed from Hooker† and other divines of the Anglican Church, as widely as from Calvin and Beza; while, in the latter respect, his opinions were in harmony with those of the most rigid Calvinists.‡ With the exception of these peculiarities, the doctrinal tenets of Methodism may be represented as in accordance with those of the Evangelical Dissenters. The views which have prevailed among the Methodists respecting Conversion or Regeneration, must, indeed, be regarded as somewhat peculiar, taken in connexion with the phraseology and practice which have obtained at some of their meetings;

* Works, vol. xiv. p. 428. (In Warren, p. 272.)

† “If the seed of God which containeth Christ, may be first conceived and then cast out, how doth St. Peter term it immortal? How doth St. John affirm, it abideth? If the Spirit, which is given to cherish and preserve the seed of life, may be given and taken away, how is it the earnest of our inheritance until redemption? how doth it continue with us for ever? . . . I grant, we are apt, prone, and ready to forsake God; but is God ready to forsake us?”—Hooker's *Discourse on Justification*, § 26. In a note is added the remark, that if such as have received the gifts and grace of God “might be so far changed by error, as that the very root of faith should be quite extinguished in them, and so their very salvation utterly lost, it would shake the hearts of the strongest and stoutest of us all.” For proof of the contrary, he refers to Beza's *Observations on the Harmony of Confessions*.

‡ In particular, the Scottish Dissenters, called Bereans, who are distinguished by their prominent notions of Assurance.

but it would be difficult to bring those views within precise definition.

The most remarkable institutions of Methodism are the private meetings of the members, known under the name of Class-meetings, Band-meetings, Love-feasts and Watch-nights, which are the life and soul of the system.

The CLASS MEETINGS are weekly meetings, at which the leader presides, who, after singing and prayer, converses with each member, inquires into their personal experience, and offers them suitable advice, concluding with singing and prayer.

The BAND MEETINGS are more private, consisting of four or five members of the same sex, nearly of the same age, and in nearly the same circumstances, who meet once a week for free religious conversation and *mutual confession*: these meetings are, in other respects, conducted in nearly the same way as the class meetings. The "Select Society or Band" was instituted by Mr. Wesley in 1742. The design of the Band Societies was, to meet in obedience to that command, James v. 16, "Confess your faults one to another, and pray for one another, that ye may be healed." The four following questions are directed to be proposed to the members severally at every weekly meeting.

"1. What known sins have you committed since our last meeting?

"2. What temptations have you met with?

"3. How were you delivered?

"4. What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be a sin or not?" *

This system of Confession differs from the Auricular Confession of the Church of Rome in its being *mutual*, and not made in order to obtain sacerdotal absolution. Three directions are laid down for the management of the Bands. "1. Let nothing spoken in this Society be spoken again. 2. Every Member agrees to submit to his Minister in all indifferent things. 3. Every Member will bring once a week all he can spare to a common stock." Further: every one

* Warren, pp. 173, 174.

has an equal liberty of speaking, there being none greater or less than another. In 1821, the Conference issued the following mandate: "We again exhort all our people who have opportunity, to meet in band as an old established usage in our Connexion, and an important means of improvement in personal religion; and the Preachers are directed to hold General Meetings of the Bands in every Society where it is practicable."*

The LOVE-FEASTS are quarterly or occasional meetings of the members of the Band societies, appointed by consent of the Superintendent, and to which no person is admitted without a Society-ticket or a note from the Preacher. It is strictly enjoined, that no person not willing to join the Society shall be admitted to a love-feast more than once, nor then without a note from a Travelling Preacher; and any person detected in lending a ticket to another not in society, incurs suspension for three months. The meeting begins with singing and prayer: after which small pieces of cake or bread are distributed, and water; and all present eat and drink together in token of their mutual Christian love. Then, if any present have any thing particular to communicate respecting their religious experience, they are permitted. When a few have spoken, a collection is made for the poor, and the meeting is concluded with singing and prayer. No love-feast is allowed to last above an hour and a half. "All breaking the cake with one another" is forbidden.† These feasts are observed, not as positively binding upon Christians, but in imitation of the primitive practice supposed to be referred to Jude 12; 2 Pet. ii. 13. They are not regarded as having any relation to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and although they must be acknowledged to bear, in some respects, a strong resemblance to that ordinance, the exclusion of wine indicates that there is no intended reference to the design of the sacred Emblems as showing forth the Lord's death.

The WATCH-NIGHTS, which are somewhat similar to the Vigils of the ancients, are held once a quarter, on the evenings preceding the great festivals. On these occasions, three or

* Warren, pp. 173—176.

† Large Minutes, Q. 43.

four preachers officiate, and a vast concourse of people is often brought together. The service commences between eight and nine P.M. After one of the ministers has preached, the rest pray and exhort, giving out suitable hymns at intervals, in which the congregation join, until a few minutes after midnight, when the service is concluded. These meetings are peculiarly solemn, especially the one held on New Year's Eve, the Methodists making it a point of religious duty, to "begin and end the year with God."

A General Fast is ordained to be held in all the Societies on the first Friday after New Year's-Day, after Lady-Day, after Midsummer-Day, and after Michaelmas-Day. On these days, public prayer-meetings are held in all the chapels, to implore a more abundant effusion of the Holy Spirit on the Societies and Congregations; and the Preachers are directed to speak largely upon the subject in their sermons on the preceding Lord's Day.*

Such is the Wesleyan Rule and Discipline, to which, in deference to the venerated Founder, a voluntary obedience is rendered, equalled only by the submissive homage paid by the brethren of the religious orders of the Romish Church to the Rule of the fraternity and the authority of their superior. Among Protestants, the Moravian Church, from which indeed Mr. Wesley is supposed to have borrowed much of his system, alone presents any similar discipline.

SECTION IV.

THE CALVINISTIC METHODISTS.

The Calvinistic Methodists, so called to distinguish the followers of Whitefield from those of Wesley, are scarcely to be recognised, in England, as a distinct sect. After these two great founders of Methodism separated (about the year 1741), in consequence of their embracing different opinions upon the

* Warren, pp. 79, 80, 102, 162.

doctrines of Free Will and Predestination, Mr. Whitefield gave his whole attention to preaching, without attempting to organize a sect, or to frame any system of discipline for his followers. He died, September 30, 1770, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, at Newbury Port, near Boston, in Massachusetts, on his seventh missionary visit to America. His establishment in Georgia, where he had founded an Orphan House and Academy, he bequeathed to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon; and his chapels in England were left to the management of trustees. His followers composed in 1800, according to Dr. Haweis, an aggregate nearly as numerous as the Arminian Methodists. They were formed into congregations in divers places; but, "though considering themselves as one body, they have not the same union and interchange as the followers of Wesley." Every congregation defrays its own expenses; and they have no general fund. The great chapels in London (the Tabernacle and Tottenham-court chapel) are managed by trustees: but the communion is regulated by the Congregational discipline. They have now few lay preachers, the greater part having been ordained among themselves. In short, in England, they are now scarcely distinguishable from the Congregational Dissenters.

A section of the Calvinistic Methodists, however, still exists as a distinct body, under the name of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion; consisting of the congregations assembling in the chapels erected by Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and vested in trustees. Many of these, in different parts of the country, have, within the past fifty years, become severed from the Connexion, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining a succession of ministers, and have become Independent congregations.*

The original plan laid down for supplying these chapels, was an itinerancy similar to the Travelling Preachers of the Wesleyan Connexion. But of late years, a settled ministry has been generally deemed preferable, to avoid the expenses

* The total number of places of worship belonging to the Calvinistic Methodists was estimated, in 1829, at 124. Those of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion scarcely exceed fifty.

attending a frequent change of ministers, and the evils resulting from the unsettled state of the congregations where such a practice prevails.

The Countess of Huntingdon founded, in 1768, a college for the purpose of educating pious young men for the ministry, at Trevecca, near Talgarth, in Brecon, South Wales. After her death, the institution was transferred (in 1792) to Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, where it still flourishes under the superintending care of the trustees, in whom the absolute management is vested. Fifteen Articles, being the substance of the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, were drawn up for the Connexion at large and this institution in particular; and to these "every trustee, president, and student must give his hearty assent and consent, and departing therefrom is removeable and to be removed." * In other respects, the constitution of the College is very liberal, the young men who are educated in it being left entirely free in their choice of the denomination of Christians among whom they may prefer to exercise their ministry. The present number of students is sixteen. The term allotted for their studies is four years, the maintenance and education being entirely free.

Lady Huntingdon's Connexion is now to be viewed as a trust, rather than as a separate denomination or communion. The original distinction between the Calvinistic Methodists and the orthodox Dissenters has been almost obliterated by a mutual approximation on the points of free communion, the use of the Liturgy, and itinerancy ;† and as they unite without scruple in all religious services, and in the support of various religious institutions, they are, for all practical purposes, one body.

In Wales, the Calvinistic Methodists form a very numerous and compact body.

* Report of Trustees at the Thirtieth Anniversary of the College in 1822, to which the Fifteen Articles are subjoined.

† The Liturgy of the Church of England is still used in public worship in most of the principal chapels, with some modification, but not to the exclusion of extemporary prayer.

The rise of Methodism in Wales dates from the year 1735, and took place in the following manner.

“A gentleman of Trevecca, in Brecknockshire, Howel Harris, Esq., had intended to take holy orders, and for that purpose entered himself a student in one of the colleges at Oxford. He soon, however, became disgusted at the disorderly and immoral conduct which he witnessed there; and consequently returned to his friends in Wales. He was not long at home before he ventured to go from house to house, in his native parish, to exhort sinners; and, gradually, he extended his sphere of usefulness to the adjoining parishes also. His fame soon spread itself over the whole country, and great multitudes attended his preaching. Family worship was now set up in several houses which hitherto had never heard the voice of prayer. . . . In 1736, by the desire of several individuals, he established a school at Trevecca, and thence removed it to the parish church, whither many of the youth flocked to him, to be more largely instructed in the things which concerned their souls. . . . Many were convinced of their sinfulness. This encouraged Mr. Harris to establish regular meetings for religious conversation in several other places; and this was the commencement of those Private Societies which have ever since (taking into consideration the great importance and strictness attached to their observance) formed a principal feature, by which the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists may be distinguished from every other denomination of professing Christians. In 1737, a gentleman of Radnorshire sent for Mr. Harris to preach at his house: this was the means of bringing many of the higher order of that county to hear him, and of causing him to be well received by them. Up to this period, he had continued to superintend the school, although he preached on week nights, on the Sabbath, and on holidays. He was no longer allowed to take care of the school at the parish church. This prohibition turned out for good; for now he was at liberty to go whithersoever he was called, day or night, to preach, which he frequently did three, four, and even five times a day.

“ As he became more and more successful, the opposition against him waxed stronger. The magistrates threatened to punish him ; the clergy preached against him ; and the common rabble were generally prepared to disturb and to pelt him. At this time he was not accustomed to preach from any text, but merely to deliver to the people what the Lord at that instant gave him to say ; generally in a thundering and convincing manner.

“ The cause so greatly flourished, that, by the year 1739, he had established about three hundred societies in South Wales, about three or four years after he commenced his public labours ; as he is stated to have told Mr. Whitefield, in a conversation which passed between them at Cardiff, the 8th day of March in that year. Though these celebrated men were previously acquainted with each other by report, and through the medium of correspondence, yet they had never before this period had the pleasure of converse the one with the other. This interview was the means of greatly enlivening and rejoicing the spirits of both.

“ The first minister of the Establishment who ventured without her walls to assist Mr. Harris, in promoting the Revival among the Methodists, was the reverend and justly renowned Daniel Rowlands, of Llangeitho, Cardiganshire. His popularity and eloquence were such, that persons have been known to come the distance of one hundred miles to hear him preach on the Sabbaths of his administering the Lord's Supper. . . . Soon afterwards, the Rev. William Williams,* and the Rev. Peter Williams, in Carmarthenshire, the Rev. Howel Davies, in Pembrokeshire, and several others in the Principality, left the Church, and attached themselves to the Methodists. They became itinerants through the whole country ; and many arose, of different degrees of usefulness, to exhort the people ; some of very bright talents, and others who preached occasionally ; so that the country

* Mr. William Williams is supposed to have been the first minister who entirely separated from the communion of the Established Church during this revival. He seceded in 1743, having been in deacon's orders for three years. The bishop refused to ordain him priest, because of his disorderly preaching in unconsecrated places.

became greatly moved. . . . This awakening was the means of not only establishing a new sect in Wales, but also of reviving the old sects which had a previous existence there; for, though there were celebrated and useful men among the Independents in the Principality, yet a torpidity and listlessness in spiritual concerns had, to a great degree, crept over every denomination. . . . By the year 1742, ten ministers of the Church of England had become auxiliaries to this Revival.*

In 1747, the first chapel built by the Calvinistic Methodists was erected at Builth, in Brecknockshire. In the following year, two others were built in Carmarthenshire. The cause continued to prosper in South Wales; but, in North Wales, owing to the persecution raised against those who gave reception to the fervid ministry of the irregular preachers, the progress of Methodism was for some time greatly impeded.

At length, in 1785, the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, after having for seven years ministered within the walls of the Established Church, united himself to the Calvinistic Methodists; and to his exertions and influence the societies of this Connexion in North Wales are chiefly indebted for their present organization and flourishing condition. At an Association held at Bala, June 9, 1790, certain Rules were agreed upon, regarding the proper mode of conducting the Quarterly Meetings of the North Wales Association, consisting of "the preachers and leaders;" which Rules form the basis of the present church-government of the denomination. A similar Association had been formed in South Wales fifty years before; monthly meetings of the leaders and ministers being held in every county, and quarterly meetings of the whole body. In 1801, "Rules of Discipline" were first published, explanatory of the order and form of the church-government and discipline; and in 1811, the following additional Regulations (prepared by a committee, of which Mr. Charles was chairman) were unanimously agreed to by the whole Connexion.

* See History, Constitution, &c. of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, pp. 4—10..

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Holy Spirit. 21. Of the Necessity of the Holy Spirit's work in applying Salvation. 22. Of the Calling of the Gospel. 23. Of Union with Christ. 24. Of Justification. 25. Of Adoption. 26. Of Regeneration. 27. Of Sanctification. 28. Of Saving Faith and its Effects. 29. Of Repentance unto Life. 30. Of the Moral Law. 31. Of Good Works. 32. Of Peace of Conscience. 33. Of Assurance of Hope. 34. Of Perseverance in Grace. 35. Of the Church. 36. Of Church Communion. 37. Of the Ordinances of the Gospel. 38. Of Baptism. 39. Of the Lord's Supper. 40. Obedience to the Civil Government. 41. Of Death and the State of Man after Death. 42. Of the Resurrection. 43. Of the General Judgement. 44. Of the Eternal State of the Righteous and Unrighteous. Each of these Articles is supported by marginal references to Scripture texts. The whole forms a theological treatise or concise body of divinity, rather than what might properly be styled a Confession or Creed; and as it was not issued till the denomination had existed for the greater part of a century, it would seem designed to afford information to persons of other denominations as to the sentiments held by the body, rather than to settle or determine the opinions of its members. The doctrines are decidedly Calvinistic, but differ on no material point from those of the Thirty-nine Articles, except in their more refined and elaborate explanations and distinctions.*

It will be seen that the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists (in England as well as in Wales) form a compactly organized body;† in its discipline closely resembling that of the Wesleyans, and, in many respects, that of the Quakers, but, in doctrine, thoroughly opposed to the Arminian tenets held by

* See "The History, Constitution, Rules of Discipline, and Confession of Faith, of the Calvinistic Methodists, in Wales. Drawn up by their own Associated Ministers." 12mo. London. 1827.

† In the "Constitution and Church Government," the concluding article is as follows: "As this body has not been formed by joining several societies or churches together, but, at its formation, already possessing within itself such societies, . . . it cannot, according to the law of its nature, permit any secession from it, by allowing some of its societies to form themselves into distinct independent churches; nor can it suffer that any of its ministers should labour among such seceders."

the English Methodists. Their theological tenets are substantially those of the Evangelical clergy and orthodox Dissenters; but their constitution is equally removed from Episcopacy and strict Independency. Yet, the artificial organization which holds the private societies in subordination to the monthly meetings, and these again to the quarterly associations, is of so slender and delicate a nature, that it could hardly survive any intestine division; and it is not very improbable, that the Connexion will ultimately resolve into the Congregational polity.

There is one peculiar characteristic of the Welsh Methodists, which, though not an article of their creed, or a practice specifically enjoined or encouraged, has prevailed so extensively among them as to give rise to the appellation of *Jumpers*, by which they are frequently designated. The practice referred to is, "jumping, accompanied by loud expressions of praise, during the solemnization of public worship." "It has been supposed," says their Apologist, "that this is deemed a necessary qualification to prove the piety of a member of this denomination: but, when such persons are told, that many of those who are classed among the most consistent and spiritual individuals, have never been known thus to be affected, it is to be hoped that none will in future harbour an idea so erroneous." The prevalence of the practice, however, is not denied; and it is vindicated as the natural expression of great joy. The example of David, 2 Sam. vi. 16, is referred to as a Scripture precedent; and, "if the King of Israel was despised for thus jumping for joy, no wonder," it is urged, "that the poor of Wales should meet with such treatment." Acts iii. 8, is also adduced as a New Testament precedent. At Luke vi. 23, Our Lord himself uses the words, "Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy." "But this body of Christians, together with jumping, break out into loud expressions of praise.* There are many Scriptural precedents," continues their Apologist, "for this." The passages cited are, Job xxxviii. 7; Ezra iii. 11; Luke xii.

* Such as "Gogoniant, Glory! Amen," &c.

37, 39. Further, the example of an English statesman is referred to, "who, when he was informed that his Bill for emancipating Slaves had passed through the Commons House of Parliament, actually jumped off the ground, clapped his hands, and loudly exclaimed, God be praised! or words to that effect. And shall the Welsh mountaineer be branded as an enthusiastic fool, if he jump for joy, when the Holy Spirit reveals to him a way of escape to his own soul from the fetters of sin, and from the power of the destroyer? . . . Who that has frequented the public meetings of the religious societies even in the metropolis of Great Britain, has not heard the stamping of feet, the clapping of hands, and the deafening applause which prevail there. Is this essential? Is this decorous? Surely, those who are guilty of this practice will not, cannot, in future blame their less refined brethren of the Principality for being the subjects of the same emotion in kind, though perhaps a little stronger in degree; and so it should be; for, in England, it is done generally in praise of man; in Wales, always in praise of God."*

This defence of the practice assumes, first, that it is the *involuntary* effect of strong emotion in those who are addicted to it; which may be doubted; and, secondly, that a popular mode of testifying *approbation*, is a suitable expression of devout praise. After all, however, the Writer denies that the Preachers of this Connexion encourage jumping, which is affirmed to be "a mere accident or non-essential of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism." The practice was first observed in the western parts of Wales about the year 1760; and spreading over a great part of the Principality, extended to other denominations besides the Calvinistic Methodists: it is said to have been even practised in some parish churches in South Wales, under the preaching of some of the Methodistic clergy. It is now, however, upon the decline; and the moderated tone

* History, Constitution, &c. of the Calvinistic Methodists, Note G. The custom of testifying applause is very ancient, and it was practised even in churches. "You *clap* the preacher of the word," says St. Augustine, "but I desire the doer of it. Those acclamations are but the leaves of the tree; I desire the fruit of it." —*Serm. 19, de Verbis Apostoli.*

of those who defend it, warrants the expectation that it will soon be altogether exploded.

The congregations of the Calvinistic Methodists are now very numerous; and it is greatly to the credit of the Connexion, that they have erected and supported all their places of worship at their own cost, having in no instance appealed to their Christian brethren in England for aid.* According to a list published some years ago with their *Cyffas Flydd* (Confession of Faith), they had then 360 chapels in North Wales and 212 in South Wales, exclusive of about 20 in Monmouthshire. Since then, upwards of 15 new chapels have been erected. There are, besides, eight or ten in London and other large towns of England; forming a total of about 615 stated chapels, besides a large number of school-rooms, in which religious services are regularly conducted every Sabbath. Many of the congregations are very large; but the attendance at the Associations is generally so numerous as to require to be held in the open air, the largest chapel being too small to accommodate half the hearers, who frequently amount to ten, fifteen, and even twenty thousand persons.

SECTION V.

THE IRISH DISSENTERS.

The Protestant Dissenters of Ireland are chiefly of the Presbyterian denomination, but comprise also, Wesleyan Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, Moravians, Quakers, and Separatists.

The principal Presbyterian body is the General Synod of Ulster, originally a branch of the Established Church of Scotland, which is believed to include in its communion a popu-

* "It is an invariable rule in this Connexion, that each county bear and discharge the expense incurred in building its own chapels, unless it be too poor. In that case, if it be in North Wales, the other northern counties assist it; if in South Wales, the other southern counties act in the same brotherly manner."—History, &c. Note E.

lation of 400,000 of all classes and ages. The number of congregations under the jurisdiction of the Synod in 1835, was 235; of ministers and licentiates, 275. Of the congregations, all but fourteen or fifteen are in the province of Ulster.*

Occupying the same field as the General Synod, and in some respects its rival, is "The Presbyterian Synod," or Church of the Associate Seceders, who number about 123 congregations with the same number of ministers, exclusive of licentiates. This body, which has been formed by secessions from the General Synod, on the ground of the defection of the latter from orthodoxy, is thoroughly Calvinistic, and maintains the same discipline as is usually observed among the seceding Presbyterians of Scotland. There are about eight congregations who form a separate Presbytery in connexion with the Synod of Original Burghers in Scotland; and twenty-four or twenty-five congregations are associated under the title of the Reformed Synod, who hold the views of the Cameronians, or Old Dissenters. Both these small bodies are purely Calvinistic, and maintain a more rigid discipline than that of the other communions.

About a century ago, in the reign of George I., Arianism first found its way across the Irish Channel, and was openly embraced by some of the more speculative of the Presbyterian ministers. Between 1705 and 1725, the theological controversy was carried on with more or less ardour,† which ended in the secession of eight Arian ministers, and the formation of the Presbytery of Antrim. Some ministers who secretly inclined to Arianism had not the courage or consistency to follow the example of their seceding brethren; and the leaven continued to spread among the general body, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, till at length an alarm was sounded, and inquiries were instituted in the Synod, which led to a fresh separation. Of thirty-seven ministers charged with holding Arian or Socinian tenets,

* Five are in Connaught, chiefly around Sligo, and nine or ten in Leinster.

† The learned Dr. Joseph Boyce distinguished himself as the able champion of the evangelical faith.

seventeen had the manliness to secede in a body, in 1830; and they subsequently formed themselves into a distinct Synod, under the name of the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster. With this Synod, the Presbytery of Antrim has become incorporated. These Arian congregations are chiefly situated in the counties of Antrim and Down, in the north-eastern part of the province. In the South of Ireland, there are ten or twelve congregations forming the Synod of Munster, which were also, till within a few years, thoroughly Arian or Socinian; but more recently this body has received some infusion of evangelical truth. The total number of Remonstrant and Socinian congregations is between thirty and forty.

All the several Presbyterian bodies, orthodox and Arian, share in the Government grants known under the name of the *Regium Donum*. This royal bounty was originally dispensed among the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster, in lieu of the tithes, which were taken from them at the Restoration, and bestowed upon the Episcopal conformists. Toward the close of the reign of Charles II., it was withdrawn; but, at the Revolution, letters patent passed the Great Seal of Ireland, granting 1,200*l.* a-year to seven Presbyterian ministers during pleasure, for the use of the ministers of the North of Ireland, to be paid quarterly out of any of the revenues of the kingdom. In the reign of Anne, the grant was renewed under certain limitations. In that of George I., 800*l.* per annum was divided, in equal shares, between the ministers of the Ulster Synod and those of the Southern Association. In 1784, an additional grant was made to the Ulster Synod, of 1000*l.* a-year. In 1792, the grant was augmented to 5000*l.*, to be divided among the ministers of the Synod, the Presbytery of Antrim, the Seceders, the Southern Association, and the ministers of the French Church, Dublin.* In 1803, some fresh regulations were made, by which the distribution of the bounty was taken immediately into the hands of Government, and the Presbyterian clergy were thus rendered

* The sum for the French Church continued to be voted till the accession of the present ministry, although no French minister has officiated for nearly thirty years in Dublin.

more ostensibly, what they had previously been only in effect, stipendiaries of the State. The congregations under the care of the several Synods and Presbyteries were now arranged in three classes, according to the number of families and the stipend of each minister; and the allowance to the ministers of the three classes was fixed at 50*l.*, 75*l.*, and 100*l.* per annum. Advantage was taken of these new arrangements to obtain the extension of the State bounty to the Seceders; but the allowances to their ministers have hitherto been on a smaller scale, ascending from 40*l.* to 70*l.* The usual process for obtaining the stipend, is this:—A certain number of persons designated as heads of families resident in a vicinity, subscribe a document declaring themselves to be Presbyterians, and desiring the settlement among them of a minister of whom they approve. This document is forwarded to the Presbytery, and after it has received their sanction, the congregation and minister are enrolled as having been duly organized, and are returned as belonging to the Presbyterian body. A memorial, attested by the Moderator of the Synod and their lay agent, is then presented by the minister of the new congregation to the Lord-Lieutenant, soliciting the bounty usually granted; the petitioner's having subscribed the oath of allegiance (the required condition) being attested by two magistrates. The minister now receives his 50*l.* or 70*l.* yearly; but, the stipend having once been fixed, no further augmentation is to be looked for, nor, if the higher sum has been granted, is any diminution to be feared, whatever may be the increase or decrease of the congregation. The graduated stipend forms, therefore, no incentive either to ministerial diligence or fidelity, or to the liberality of his flock. On the contrary, in many instances, the members of the congregation feel under no obligation to contribute much, if any thing, to their pastor's support; and he is therefore compelled to have recourse to farming, grazing, or some other secular employment, for the support of his family. The operation of the system is thus, in too many instances, at once degrading to the character of the minister, and prejudicial to his interests, by paralysing the zeal and public spirit of the people; and to its evil

influence, the inefficiency of Presbyterianism in Ireland has, with apparent justice, been ascribed.*

The almost immemorial usage of the Synod of Ulster had been, till very recently, to admit candidates for license without exacting their signature of the Confession of Faith, or with a qualified signature. But in 1834, the ascendant party in the Synod succeeded in carrying a resolution enforcing unqualified subscription; and the liberty of making any exceptions whatever is now denied. The ostensible motive for this arbitrary innovation, is a desire to bring about a closer union with the Established Church of Scotland; the Irish Synod being now so far connected with the State as to form a species of ecclesiastical Establishment; hence, a feeling has been generated in favour of the Established Churches of both countries. A strong protest has been made against this decision by some of the most respectable of the Presbyterian clergy of the Synod, but hitherto all opposition has been overruled.†

* See "The Irish Church and Ireland," (8vo. 1835) pp. 66—68. Also, "A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Associate (Antiburgher) Synod in Ireland and Scotland in the affair of the Royal Bounty. By James Bryce." Belfast, 1816. Mr. Bryce, an Antiburgher minister, distinguished himself by his conscientious refusal to accede to the new arrangements. It appears that the General Associate Synod of Scotland, on being consulted by their brethren of the Secession in Ireland, gave it as their opinion, that the terms of the grant were exceptionable on two accounts: "first, because, while the loyalty of the brethren in Ireland is unimpeachable, and we can have no objection to take an oath of subjection to the civil government of our country, when that oath is duly qualified, and we are regularly called to swear it; yet, the enjoyment of the Donation is now, for the first time, with respect to entrants into the ministry, made to depend on their taking the oath of allegiance. And, secondly, because these terms include a system of classification which introduces an invidious distinction among ministers of a Presbyterian Church, is founded upon views of worldly policy, and calculated to beget jealousy and envy . . . At the same time, taking all things into account, especially the very small stipend of several, and the neglect of congregations in providing for the necessary wants of their ministers, the Synod wish to exercise all tenderness and sympathy towards those who have accepted it." Mr. Bryce, in his Protest against the Synod's advice, assigns among his reasons, "1. Because this Regium Donum has been the *real cause* of the very small stipend of several, and the neglect of other congregations in providing for the necessary wants of ministers; and 2. Because a regular yearly pension from any Government whatever, forms a real and permanent connexion with that Government, whilst such yearly pay or pension shall continue to be officially received."

† See "The Use and Abuse of Creeds and Confessions of Faith. By the Rev. James Carlile, Minister of the Scots Church, Capel-street, Dublin." 8vo. 1836.

From whatever cause, the increase of the Presbyterians of Ireland has borne no due proportion to that of the general population. In 1725, the congregations under the care of the General Synod, amounted to 148; in 1804, they had increased only to 177; in 1830, to 216; and in 1835, to 237. But in 1731, according to Newenham, the entire population of Ireland was little more than two millions; of whom 700,450 were Protestants, and 1,309,768 were Catholics, the former being to the latter as 1 to 2. These present numbers are thus given in the First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction:—

	Places of Worship.	Population.
Established Church	{ 1,338 196	852,064
Presbyterians of all classes	452*	642,356†
Other Dissenters	403	21,808
Roman Catholics	2,105	6,427,712
	<hr/> 4,494	<hr/> 7,943,940

Thus, while the Roman Catholics have nearly quintupled their numbers, the Protestants have barely doubled; being, at present, to the Catholics, as less than 1 to 4, or as 19 to 81. The accuracy of these Tables is not, indeed, implicitly to be relied upon; for it is evident that the Presbyterians in the provinces of Cashel and Tuam must exceed 1,800 souls, if they have 17 congregations or places of worship. The average proportion of the places of worship to the estimated Presbyterian population, is 1 to 1421;‡ and this would give for the 17 congregations in the South, 24,107 souls.

In the Tables of the Commissioners, no distinct notice is

In this masterly pamphlet, the question of Subscription to Articles of Faith is very ably discussed. Mr. Carlile maintains, that such subscription has a direct tendency to supersede the Scriptural mode of examination; that it facilitates deception; and that, instead of acting as a safeguard for the truth, it becomes a protection to those whose orthodoxy, how questionable soever, is attested by this equivocal voucher. See also above at p. 409.

* Viz. 425 in the province of Armagh, 10 in Dublin, 10 in Cashel, and 7 in Tuam.

† 638,073 in Armagh, 2,517 in Dublin, 966 in Cashel, and 800 in Tuam.

‡ Supposing the attendance to comprise two-fifths, this will afford, as the average of the 452 congregations, 568; or, taking it at three-fifths, 752.

taken of the Wesleyan Methodists in Ireland, who, as the number of the members in society exceeds 40,000,* cannot form an aggregate population of less than from 150,000 to 200,000 souls. A remarkable discrepancy, indeed, may be detected on comparing the number of places of worship belonging to Dissenters, estimated at 403, with the total population of the Dissenting sects, which is stated at only 21,808. This would assign a place of worship to every 273 souls. The explanation we presume to be, that the Wesleyan Methodists are classed as belonging to the Established Church, and are included in the 852,000, while their chapels appear under the head of Dissenting places of worship. Up to a very recent date, indeed, the members of the Methodist Societies continued to receive the Lord's Supper only from the Established clergy; and the first instance of a departure from this practice appears to have taken place, with the sanction of the body, in 1809.†

Wesleyan Methodism has never struck deep root, or spread wide its branches in Ireland. In 1814, we find "A Member of the Society" complaining, that "while prosperity marks the progress of Methodism in England, and almost unlimited success accompanies the labours of its preachers in that favoured part of the British empire, it languishes and pines in Ireland, as though it there laboured under the destructive influence of a mortal disease." "Something appears to be wanted," says the writer, "to give a more lively interest in

* Viz. Wesleyan Methodists 25,000, Primitive Methodists 16,000.

† In a letter from Mr. Alex. Knox to Mrs. Hannah More, dated Jan. 1810, a reference occurs to this circumstance, as involving "the adoption of a clear dissenting principle by the Irish Wesleyan Methodists." "The body of Methodist preachers, at their yearly conference last July, having fully heard the matter, were pleased to sanction Mr. A.'s proceedings. So that his violation of the established order, in its most central principles, is now the common act of the fraternity. Knox's *Remains*, vol. iv. p. 232. This appears to have been the first instance of the kind; and in "A Candid and Impartial Inquiry into the present State of the Methodist Societies in Ireland, by a Member of the Society," (8vo. Belfast, 1814,) we find the following remark: "Whether the Methodist body in Ireland will ever possess the resolution, the piety, and the integrity, requisite to the assertion of their undoubted privileges, and the actual assumption of their unquestionable rights in the administration of their own ordinances, is a question which time alone can solve." P. 375.

the support of Methodism, and to check the progress of that apathy and lukewarmness which are evidently spreading their baneful influence over many of our societies."* From the Minutes of 1812, it appears that it had been found impracticable even to raise class-money (a penny a-week from each member) in the country parts of the northern circuits; and owing to this and other circumstances, the Connexion was in a very embarrassed state. In that year, the number in society in Ireland was 27,823; in the following year, it had increased to 28,770; but since then, the number has declined, and in 1833, twenty years later, stood at only 24,400. Into the causes of this declension, it is not our business to inquire: they have doubtless been partly of an external nature, connected with the general state of the country, and partly arising from the ill-furnished ministry of the Irish Methodists, and the inferior education of the people. The New Connexion has not succeeded better. In 1796, the dismissal of a preacher in the Lisburn circuit, in consequence of a local dispute, led to the withdrawal of about 200 members, who invited over some preachers of the party connected with Mr. Kilham; and in 1814, they had three chapels, at Lisburn, Priesthill near Lisburn, and Downpatrick; but were not gaining ground elsewhere.† The Primitive Methodists, however, have made some way; they reckon 16,000 members, and have 40 circuit preachers. "It is to the talents, the qualifications, and accomplishments of our ministers," remarks the writer already cited, "that we must look both for the respectability of our congregations, and the increase and prosperity of our Societies. But the main-spring of all is, a wise, a judicious, and a pious ministry."‡ In Ireland, this main-spring has been wanting,

* "Candid and Impartial Inquiry," pp. 344, 407. Mr. Knox represents the Irish Methodists as becoming "more and more spiritless and formal," in the letter above cited.

† "Candid and Impartial Inquiry," p. 21. To this volume, the reader may be referred for a fuller portrait of Irish Methodism. The writer, an intelligent and zealous member of the Society, ascribes the decline of Methodism very greatly to the untutored character and defective qualifications of the preachers. See pp. 389—401.

‡ Ibid. p. 401.

nor has any provision been made for the education and religious training of ministers, with a view to supply this all-important desideratum.

The Congregational and Baptist denominations in Ireland do not unitedly form a body approaching in numbers to the Wesleyan Methodists, but they exhibit a very different aspect. There are about thirty Congregational churches in Ireland, chiefly of modern foundation, comprising about 1,250 members in church-fellowship.* Some of these are inconsiderable; and the greater part are supported by the Irish Evangelical Society of London; but the labours of their pastors are brought to bear, statedly or more occasionally, upon a large field of exertion. The agents of this Society, to whom the cause of Protestantism is very greatly indebted for the diffusion of Scriptural knowledge, are about 50 in number; half of them are pastors, and the remainder Scripture readers and expositors. The Baptist Irish Society, a kindred institution, maintains six itinerants, and upwards of 50 Scripture readers. There are about twelve churches or congregations of this denomination; but they are all inconsiderable.

Under the general name of Dissenters, there are also included, in Ireland, three distinct bodies of Separatists.

The first of these is composed of the followers of the late Mr. John Walker, formerly a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and at one time a popular preacher in the Established Church of Ireland. Having adopted the tenets of Sandemanianism, he seceded from the Establishment, and formed a small society in Dublin, upon the principle of holding no communion with any other sect: hence their distinctive name of Separatists. They have also been termed Walkerites. Besides the parent society in Dublin, which is very small, there are only a few companies of these Separatists in the country parts; but, in 1820, a church of the same principles was established in London. On all doctrinal points, and in the main features of ritual and discipline, the members

* The more ancient Independent congregations, founded in the time of the Commonwealth, have gradually become incorporated with the Presbyterian communities.

of this isolated communion agree with the Glassites and Sandemanians.*

Mr. Kelly's connexion forms a second class of Separatists, nearly allied to the followers of Mr. Walker in their religious order and discipline, which may be described as Sandemanian, but holding doctrinal views more nearly accordant with those of the evangelical Dissenters. The Rev. Mr. Kelly, well known to the religious world by his popular hymns and sacred melodies, is the son of Judge Kelly, of Queen's County. He seceded from the Establishment, of which he was a minister, and was joined by the Rev. George Carr, of New Ross. Besides Mr. Kelly's chapel in Dublin, there are five or six branch churches in connexion with it, formed upon the same principle of ultra-Independency.

The third class of Separatists is composed of a new body of seceders from the Established Church, who are familiarly known under the name of *Darby-ites*, from the Rev. Mr. Darby, their most prominent leader. Several zealous and pious ministers of the Established Church have joined themselves to this society, the distinguishing principles of which are understood to combine evangelical doctrines with the peculiarities of Millenarianism. Their sentiments are believed to be spreading within the pale of the Irish Establishment.

The Moravians, or United Brethren,† have in Ireland one settlement, (at Gracehill, County Antrim, founded in 1765,) and five congregations, consisting of about 600 members. Including casual hearers and the youth committed to their care for education, it is supposed that a population of between two and three thousand are indebted to them for religious instruction.

The Society of Friends is found scattered over the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster: quarterly meetings are held in each, and a yearly meeting in Dublin. There are meetings for worship at about 42 different places, which may be taken as the present number of their assemblies; and

* The scientific Faraday is a member of this society.

† See page 251.

their total number may be conjectured to amount to about 5,000 souls.

Altogether, these several denominations of Dissenters, *viz.* Congregationalists, Baptists, Separatists, Moravians, and Quakers, in the Report of the Commissioners, are set down as forming an aggregate population of less than 22,000 out of eight millions; and they cannot, perhaps, much exceed that estimate. But if to these we add the Methodists, we shall have an aggregate of at least 200,000, with 400 places of worship; a moderate estimate, since the Presbyterians, with 450 places of worship, are stated to amount to nearly 650,000, and probably exceed that number. If so, the total number of Protestants dissenting from the Established Church must approach to a million of the population. Deducting the Methodists from the number classed as belonging to the Establishment, there will be left as members of the Episcopal Church scarcely 700,000. We have no means of verifying this startling result.

CHAPTER IX.

PROTESTANT SECTS.

Extant Organized Sects in Great Britain.—History, Discipline, and Tenets of the Quakers.—The Swedenborgians.—The Irvingites.—American sects.

UNDER the denomination of sects (agreeably to the explanation offered in the first chapter) are comprised two different classes of religious bodies: those which, having their distinct and peculiar organization, form separate societies, and those which, distinguished only by holding the tenets of a particular theological school, are found within the pale of different communions,—as the Jesuits and Jansenists of the Romish Church, and the Calvinists and Arminians of the Church of England. To the latter might be applied the appellation of *sporadic* (or scattered) sects, to distinguish them from the organized or concentrated sects of the former class, which will first claim our attention.

The only Protestant Sects in Great Britain forming distinct and separate bodies, are, taking them in the order of their origination, the following:—

- I. The Society of Friends or Quakers, who took their rise about 1650.
- II. The Sabbatarians (or Seventh-day Baptists). 1670.
- III. The Sandemanians (or Glassites). 1730. (In England, 1760.)
- IV. The Wesleyan Methodists. 1738.
- V. The Swedenborgians. 1788.
- VI. The Irvingites. 1826.

Of these six sects, the Wesleyan Methodists alone are very numerous, being more than equal to the aggregate of all the others. Though truly and properly a sect, considered

as the followers of Wesley, so slightly do they differ in doctrine and discipline from other denominations of Protestant Nonconformists, that, theologically, they class with them; and we have on this account described their characteristic opinions and usages, in the preceding chapter, in connexion with those of the other Dissenters. The Sabbatarians, who are distinguished by religiously observing the seventh day of the week, are a branch of the English General Baptists, now almost extinct. A single congregation only survives in London, and not more than nine or ten societies in the West of England, which are kept from dissolution by endowments. As they differ from other General Baptists upon no other point, no further account of them as a distinct sect can be requisite.* The Sandemanians, or followers of Glas and Sandeman, can scarcely claim to be any longer enumerated among extant sects, having, in Scotland, become merged in the "Independents," while in England a few obscure congregations alone survive. Their peculiar opinions have already been described, in the account of the Scottish Dissenters. The Quakers, the Swedenborgians, and the followers of the late Mr. Irving, constitute, therefore, the only three English sects which will require a particular notice.

SECTION I.

THE QUAKERS.

The most ancient of the English sects, and in all respects the most remarkable, is that of the followers of Fox, Pennington, Barclay, and Penn, known as the Society of Friends, or Quakers. The rise of this sect dates from the middle of the seventeenth century, when a number of individuals, dissatisfied with all the existing modes of worship, withdrew

* In the United States, there are 32 congregations of Seventh-day Baptists, comprising, according to the latest accounts, 4,258 communicants.

from the communion of every visible Church, to "seek the Lord in retirement." * Among them, we are told, was their "honourable elder," George Fox, who, "being quickened by the immediate touches of Divine love, could not satisfy his apprehensions of duty to God without directing the people where to find the like consolation and instruction." In the course of his travels, he met with many "seeking persons" in circumstances similar to his own, who readily received his testimony. Regarding himself as acting under a Divine commission, he went about preaching not only in fairs and markets, but also in courts of justice and "steeple-houses," as he called the churches, where he denounced the stated worship as superstitious, and warned all to obey the Holy Spirit speaking by him. For these proceedings he was imprisoned at Nottingham in the year 1649. In the following year he was again apprehended, and brought before two justices of the peace in Derbyshire, one of whom (Justice Bennet), scoffing at George Fox for having bidden him and those about him to tremble at the word of the Lord, called them in derision *Quakers*; an appellation which soon became general, and has remained their most usual denomination to the present day. They adopted among themselves, however, and have transmitted to their descendants, "the endearing appellation of Friends." †

Although George Fox was one of the first leaders of the sect since known as Quakers, he was not, strictly speaking, the originator of the Quaker doctrines. By his zeal and courage in maintaining them, however, as well as by the regular discipline which he introduced, and the rigid peculiarities of phrase and custom which he grafted upon those religious sentiments, he gave a new complexion and consistency to the sect which had already sprung up in many parts of

* Hence they were denominated *Seekers*. The sect so named appears to have been widely diffused, however, prior to the rise of Quakerism, which, as well as some other sects, seems to have partly grown out of it. The Seekers afterwards became more generally known under the opprobrious appellation of Ranters, some of whom were chargeable with a licentious fanaticism. Barclay wrote against these Ranters. See page 489.

† Sewell's History of the Quakers, p. 23.

the kingdom. Among other peculiar notions, he conceived himself to have been forbidden by Divine intimation, to put off his hat to any one, high or low, or to address any one except in the singular number; he was not to bend the knee to any magistrate, nor to call any man Master. The refusal to give or accept titles of honour, to take an oath, or to depart from a simple phraseology, Fox and his followers grounded upon a literal interpretation of Our Lord's directions; and for their uncompromising adherence to their convictions in these respects, quite as much as for any theological errors, they were exposed to the most harassing and shameful severities. The history of the sufferings of the early Friends reflects the deepest disgrace upon our national annals. Wild flights of rude enthusiasm, violations of decorum, and even outrages upon decency, were, it is true, exhibited by some individuals among them; and the language in which they indulged, often partook of the grossest fanaticism. But the persecution raised against them was alike indiscriminate and intolerant. "A Christian exhortation to an assembly, after the priest had done, and the worship was over,"* says Gough, "was denominated interrupting public worship, and disturbing the priest in his office; an honest testimony against sin in the streets or markets, was styled a breach of the peace; and their appearing before the magistrate *covered*, a contempt of authority: hence proceeded fines, imprisonments, and spoiling of goods. Nay, so hot for persecution were some magistrates, that, by an unparalleled misconstruction of the law against vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women, of good estate and reputation, merely because they went under the denomination of Quakers."† Another pretext upon which many of them suffered, under the form of law, the most unjust severities, was that of breaking the Sabbath. In frequenting their assemblies for public worship, many of them had to travel a considerable distance; for which, as an alleged breach of the Lord's Day, they were

* This Apologist says, that "*mostly*, though not always, they waited till the worship was ended."

† Gough's History of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 139.

punished by impounding their horses, by distress of goods, by fines, by imprisonment, by whipping, and by sitting in the stocks.* So general was the persecution to which they were exposed, even during the Protectorate, that few of their leaders or teachers, whose travels or services to the Society are upon record, escaped personal abuse or cruel imprisonment.† This persecution they shared, indeed, with the Baptists and other sects obnoxious to the dominant party; but the Quakers were every where treated with peculiar severity. It is probable that their refusing to pay tithes drew down upon them some portion of this vindictive animosity; but it does not appear by any means to have constituted the usual or prominent ground of their being so injuriously dealt with.

Undismayed by these severities, the Friends increased and spread themselves over the kingdom. In the year 1652, they first set up separate assemblies in Lancashire and the adjacent parts. In 1654, "the first separate meeting of the people called Quakers was opened in London, in the house of Robert Dring, in Watling-street. They subsequently opened a public meeting, under favour of the Toleration, at the Bull and Mouth inn in Aldersgate-street, where women as well as men spoke as they were moved."‡ The novelty of this assembly drew great numbers of people thither out of curiosity. Bristol, Colchester, Norwich, and other large towns, were also visited by their preachers; and their opinions must have rapidly spread, since when, after the Restoration, a fresh persecution was raised against them, in violation of the solemn promise of the faithless monarch, 190 persons were imprisoned in Bristol, 270 in Lancaster, in Westmoreland 116, in the West riding of Yorkshire 229, and in the North riding 126. In 1662, George Fox represented to the King, that, since the Restoration, 3,068 of their Friends had been imprisoned. A narrative, signed by twelve witnesses,

* Gough, vol. i. p. 271.

† When a printed account of their sufferings was presented to the Parliament summoned by the Protector, it appeared that 140 were then in prison; and of 1,900 who had suffered during the preceding six years, 21 had died in prison from hardship or ill treatment.—*Ibid.* p. 274.

‡ Neal, vol. iv. p. 138.

attested that 4,200 of the people called Quakers, both men and women, were in prison. Neither age nor sex was respected. Men of seventy and upwards were subjected to all the rigours of a gaol; and even in the city of London, many of them were so shamefully beaten with cudgels, and cut with the swords of the soldiery, as to excite the indignation and compassion of the populace.

The Royal Declaration of Indulgence, in 1663, suspended for a short time the furious persecution of the Quakers; but the Conventicle Act of 1664 fell upon them with peculiar weight, numbers of Friends (and of them only) being condemned to transportation under that Act. In the year 1666, their cause began to derive great support and credit from the distinguished abilities and virtues of the celebrated William Penn, son of Admiral Penn, who, in that year, joined this persecuted Society, and became one of its most eminent advocates. In the same year, the Society had the courage and resolution to erect a new meeting-house in White Hart-court, Gracechurch-street, which, from its central situation, became afterwards the place for their yearly meetings. The regular and systematic establishment of monthly meetings dates from the same period.

Previously to the establishment of the regular discipline and the representative system of management which now exist, there had been many general meetings held in different parts of the nation, for the purpose of providing for the various exigencies of the Society. It appears from Fox's Journal, that some meetings for discipline were settled in the North of England so early as 1653. The first general meeting of which any record exists, was held at Balby near Doncaster in the year 1656; and from this meeting directions and advices were issued, addressed "To the Brethren of the North," and referring to most of the points which now form the chief subjects of Quaker discipline. A general meeting was held at some place in Bedfordshire in 1658, which lasted three days: "there were Friends present from most parts of the nation, and many thousands of persons were at it." A similar meeting was held at Skipton in 1660, "for the affairs

of the church, both in this nation and beyond the seas." It appears to have been a main object of these meetings, to obtain redress for those illegally prosecuted or imprisoned, and to make provision for the poor members, especially those who were reduced to destitution by penal severities or sufferings for conscience' sake. The quarterly meetings, which, in several counties, existed prior to the establishment of monthly meetings, were constituted of Friends deputed by the several meetings within a county, for the same offices, apparently, as the monthly meetings. These were first instituted at the recommendation of George Fox, in 1666, in consequence of the spread of the Quaker opinions and the increasing number of Friends. In 1668, they had become generally adopted throughout the kingdom; and Fox mentions, in his Journal, having written also into Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Barbados, and several parts of America, "advising Friends to settle these men's monthly meetings in those countries, for they had their quarterly meetings before." From this time, the quarterly meetings received reports of the state of the Society from the monthly meetings, and gave such advice and decisions as they thought right; but it was not till ten years afterwards, that a general representative yearly meeting was agreed upon, which has been held with unbroken regularity since 1678 to the present time.*

The persevering efforts of George Fox to establish a regular discipline, "a work in which he was assisted by nearly all those who had been instrumental in gathering the Society," were not unopposed; but proved, we are told, "a great trial of spirits." By not a few, this system was regarded as "an encroachment upon individual spiritual liberty." A schism to some extent was the result (in 1676-7), which left the Society, however, we are told, "in a more healthy state than it found it." Robert Barclay wrote upon this occasion his "Anarchy of the Ranters;" William Penn, his "Liberty

* The yearly meeting held in London, about Whitsun-week, is attended by representatives from Great Britain and Ireland. In the United States, eight yearly meetings are held: viz. New England; New York; Pennsylvania and New Jersey; Maryland; Virginia; the Carolinas; Ohio; Indiana.

Spiritual;" and Stephen Crisp, a tract to the same purport; all designed to prove the necessity of established order and discipline in the Church of Christ.* To this well-contrived system of religious discipline, which certainly does honour to its founder, the Society, undoubtedly, has been mainly indebted both for its moral respectability and its permanence. Under the term discipline, however, are included arrangements and regulations instituted for the *civil* benefit of the members; and the mixed character of the Quaker polity has given to the sect the compact form and perpetuity of a corporation. Unlike other religious bodies, which have trusted for self-preservation to the efficacy of teaching and the seminal vitality of their opinions, the Society of Friends is maintained upon the principle of hereditary membership. Every child of Quaker parents is by birthright entitled to all the privileges attached to the Society. If, on the one hand, this constitution of the Society must be regarded as having the inevitable effect of secularizing its character, by substituting for the spiritual bond of union ties of natural and social relationship, and by converting the religious fellowship of the church into a political association; it has hitherto, on the other hand, prevented the sect from that total dissolution which would probably have otherwise resulted from the decay of zeal and enthusiasm, and from the altered circumstances of general society. For a long time, the proselytes to Quakerism have been very few; and notwithstanding the law of hereditary membership, the sect has been declining in numbers. The very organization that has secured to it the perpetuity of a

* In an account of the origin of the Quaker discipline, put forth by authority of the Society, we find the following statement:—"It cannot be said that any *system* of discipline formed a part of the original compact of the Society. There was not, indeed, to human appearance, any thing systematic in its formation. It was an association of persons who were earnestly seeking, yea, panting after the saving knowledge of Divine truth. They were men of prayer, and diligent searchers of the Holy Scriptures: unable to find true rest in the various opinions and systems which in that day divided the Christian world, they believed that they found the Truth in a more full reception of Christ, not only as the living and ever-present Head of the Church in its aggregate capacity, but also as the light and life,—the spiritual ruler, teacher, and friend of every individual member."—*Rules of Discipline*, Introduction, p. xvi.

corporate body, has tended to check its extension or increase, and to render it at once stable and stationary.

The following more particular account of the system of discipline is extracted from a "Summary of the History, Doctrine, and Discipline of Friends, written at the desire of the Meeting for Sufferings in London."

"A Monthly Meeting is usually composed of several particular congregations, situated within a convenient distance of each other. Its business is, to provide for the subsistence of the poor,* and for the education of their offspring; to judge of the sincerity and fitness of persons appearing to be convinced of the religious principles of the Society, and desiring to be admitted into membership; to excite due attention to the discharge of religious and moral duty; and to deal with disorderly members. Monthly Meetings also grant to such of their members as remove into other Monthly Meetings, certificates of their membership and conduct; without which they cannot gain membership in such meetings. Each monthly meeting is required to appoint certain persons under the name of overseers, who are to take care that the rules of our discipline be put in practice.

"When a case is introduced, it is usual for a small committee to be appointed to visit the offender, to endeavour to convince him of his error, and induce him to forsake and condemn it. If they succeed, the person is by minute declared to have made satisfaction for the offence: if not, he is disowned as a member of the Society.

"In disputes between individuals, it has long been the decided judgement of the Society, that its members should not sue each other at law. It, therefore, enjoins all to end their differences by speedy and impartial arbitration, agreeably to rules laid down. If any refuse to adopt this mode, or, having adopted it, to submit to the award, it is the direction of the Yearly Meeting, that such be disowned.

"To Monthly Meetings also belongs the allowing of mar-

* Their poor require no parish relief. And such was originally the case with the poor of the Congregational churches, who are still, to a great extent, relieved by the alms contributed at the Lord's Supper, and from other church funds.

riages; for our Society hath always scrupled to acknowledge the exclusive authority of the priests in the solemnization of marriage. Those who intend to marry, appear together, and propose their intentions to the Monthly Meeting; and, if not attended by their parents or guardians, produce a written certificate of their consent, signed in the presence of witnesses. The meeting then appoints a committee to inquire whether they be clear of other engagements respecting marriage; and if at a subsequent meeting no objections be reported, they have the meeting's consent to solemnize their intended marriage. This is done in a public meeting for worship, towards the close of which the parties stand up, and solemnly take each other for husband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read, and signed by the parties, and afterwards by the relations and others as witnesses. Of such marriages the Monthly Meeting keeps a record; as also of the births and burials of its members.* A certificate of the date, of the name of the infant, and of its parents, signed by those present at the birth, is the subject of one of these last-mentioned records; and an order for the interment, countersigned by the grave-maker, of the other. The naming of the children is without ceremony. Burials are also conducted in a simple manner. The body, followed by the relations and friends, is sometimes, previously to interment, carried to a meeting; and at the grave a pause is generally made: on both which occasions it frequently falls out, that one or more friends present have somewhat to express for the edification of those who attend; but no religious rite is considered as an essential part of burial.

“Several Monthly Meetings compose a Quarterly Meeting. At the Quarterly Meetings are produced written answers from

* At a very early period, the proper registration of births and deaths, and the provision for other proceedings relative to marriage, were objects which obtained the attention of the Society. “Their principles led them at once to reject all priestly intervention on these occasions; and hence the necessity for their having distinct arrangements in regard to them. In some of the meetings of earliest establishment, regular registers are preserved, from 1650 to the present time. . . . Marriage has always been regarded, by Friends, as a religious, not a mere civil compact.”—*Rules of Discipline*, Introd. p. xx.

the Monthly Meetings, to certain queries respecting the conduct of their members, and the Meeting's care over them. The accounts thus received are digested into one, which is sent, also in the form of answers to queries, by representatives, to the Yearly Meeting. Appeals from the judgement of Monthly Meetings are brought to the Quarterly Meetings; whose business also it is to assist in any difficult case, or where remissness appears in the care of the Monthly Meetings over the individuals who compose them.

“ The Yearly Meeting has the general superintendence of the Society (in the country in which it is established); and, therefore, as the accounts which it receives discover the state of inferior meetings, as particular exigencies require, or as the meeting is impressed with a sense of duty, it gives forth its advice, makes such regulations as appear to be requisite, or excites to the observance of those already made; and sometimes appoints committees to visit those Quarterly Meetings which appear to be in need of immediate advice. Appeals from the judgement of Quarterly Meetings are here finally determined; and a brotherly correspondence, by epistles, is maintained with other Yearly Meetings.*

“ As we believe women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, we also think that to them belongs a share in the support of Christian discipline; and that some parts of it, wherein their own sex is concerned, devolve on them with peculiar propriety.† Accordingly, they have monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings of their own sex, held at the same time with those of the men, but separately, and without the power of making rules. During the persecutions which formerly occasioned the imprisonment of so many of the men, the care of the poor often fell on the women, and was by them satisfactorily administered.

“ In order that those who are in the situation of ministers may have the tender sympathy and counsel of those of either sex who, by their experience in the work of religion, are

* Viz. in the United States. See p. 489, above.

† A meeting of women Friends is mentioned at Bristol as early as 1668; and they had been held in London at a still earlier period.

qualified for that service, the Monthly Meetings are advised to select such under the denomination of Elders. These, and ministers approved by their monthly meetings,* have meetings peculiar to themselves, called Meetings of Ministers and Elders, in which they have an opportunity of exciting each other to a discharge of their several duties, and of extending advice to those who appear to be weak, without any needless exposure. Such meetings are generally held in the compass of each monthly, quarterly, and yearly meeting. They are conducted by rules prescribed by the Yearly Meeting, and have no authority to make any alteration or addition to them. The members of them unite with their brethren in the meetings for discipline, and are equally accountable to the latter for their conduct. It is to a meeting of this kind in London, called the Second Day's Morning Meeting, that the revisal of manuscripts concerning our principles, previously to publication, is intrusted by the Yearly Meeting held in London; and also the granting, in the intervals of the Yearly Meeting, of certificates of approbation to such ministers as are inclined to travel in the work of the ministry in foreign parts; in addition to those granted by their monthly and quarterly meetings.

"The Yearly Meeting of London, in the year 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpose of advising and assisting in cases of suffering for conscience' sake, which hath continued, with great use to the Society, to this day. It is composed of Friends, under the name of Correspondents, chosen by the several Quarterly Meetings, and who reside in or near the city. The same meetings also appoint members of their own in the country as correspondents, who are to join their brethren in London on emergency. The names of all these Correspondents, previously to their being recorded, are submitted to the approbation of the Yearly Meeting. Such men as are approved ministers are also

* "Those who believe themselves required to speak in meetings for worship, are not immediately acknowledged as ministers by their monthly meetings; but time is taken for judgement, that the meeting may be satisfied of their call and qualification. It will sometimes happen, that such as are not approved will obtrude themselves as ministers, to the grief of their brethren; but much forbearance is used towards these, before the disapprobation of the meeting is publicly testified."

members of this meeting, which is called 'The Meeting for Sufferings;' a name arising from its original purpose, and which is not yet become entirely obsolete. The Yearly Meeting has intrusted the Meeting for Sufferings with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock; and, considered as a standing committee of the Yearly Meeting, it hath a general care of whatever may arise, during the intervals of that meeting, affecting the Society, and requiring immediate attention; particularly of those circumstances which may occasion an application to Government.

"There is not in any of the meetings which have been mentioned, any president; as we believe Divine Wisdom alone ought to preside; nor hath any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the rest. The office of clerk, with a few exceptions, is undertaken voluntarily by some member, as is also the keeping of the records. Where these are very voluminous, and require a house for their deposit, (as is the case in London,) a clerk is hired to have the care of them; but, except a few clerks of this kind, and persons who have the care of the meeting-houses, none receive any stipend or gratuity for their services in our religious Society."

The early Friends were not more remarkably distinguished by their constancy in suffering, and by the regularity of their discipline, than by their zeal in propagating their principles. George Fox visited Barbados in 1671; and others, traversing the Atlantic, carried their sentiments into the American colonies. About 1675, William Penn first conceived the project of founding a colony in the western world, where the persecuted for conscience' sake might find an asylum, and diffuse, by example and instruction, the light of Christianity among the barbarous tribes. In 1681, he obtained from the Crown, in acquittance of a debt due to Admiral Sir William Penn, his father, a royal charter conveying to him the tract of country denominated Pennsylvania; and in the same year, he sold to a company of merchants and others, chiefly Quakers, 20,000 acres. In August 1682 he set sail, accompanied by 2,000 emigrants, chiefly of his own persuasion, and

laid the foundations of the city of Philadelphia. To his judicious regulations and the tolerant principles embodied in his frame of government, the rapid increase and early prosperity of this colony must be attributed. Within four years from the date of the royal grant to Penn, the province contained 20 settlements, and Philadelphia 2,000 inhabitants.

On the continent of Europe, also, the Friends exerted themselves to propagate their opinions. Persecution led some of them to take refuge in foreign parts; but instances are on record, of a singular self-devotedness to the enterprise of religious zeal. In (or about) 1661, two women members, "moved with a religious concern to diffuse their principles," took their passage in a ship bound to Leghorn; and, during their stay there, dispersed books, and discoursed with persons of all ranks, without suffering molestation. They afterwards visited Malta, where they fell into the power of the Inquisition, and after suffering imprisonment, with many hardships, for between three and four years, obtained their release with difficulty. Two male members, being in Germany with other Friends, in 1662, felt a concern to proceed into Hungary, to visit some communities holding similar sentiments; and they made a prosperous journey to the nearest body of that people near Presburg;* but subsequently were seized, and cruelly treated as heretics, and their escape appears to have been remarkably providential. Edward Burrough, one of Fox's converts, travelled through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders, in the indefatigable discharge of his religious exercises as a preacher. William Ames travelled much, in the work of the ministry, in Holland and Germany, and was especially successful in the Palatinate, whence many of his converts, emigrating to Pennsylvania, escaped the subsequent devastation of their country. Josiah Coale, in 1658, visited the English colonies in Virginia, Maryland, and Barbados, and

* These *Hortische* brethren, as they are styled, were probably the Saxon refugees who settled in Transylvania at an early period of the Reformation, and whose descendants still form a distinct community under their own municipal laws. See Walsh's *Journey from Constantinople to England*, pp. 307—321. The Russian *Duchobortzi* may have received their tenets from Quaker missionaries. See page 121.

subsequently travelled through Holland and the Low Countries. In these heroic labours, the early Friends discovered a fortitude under peril and suffering, and a fervour of zeal, truly admirable, with whatever fanaticism they were blended; and, by their exertions to propagate their faith, they set an example to other denominations of the Protestant world.

What, then, are the genuine and distinguishing tenets of Quakerism? This inquiry becomes the more interesting at the present moment, in consequence of the intestine controversy which has sprung up within the Society, and the secession which has resulted from it. In the "Rules of Discipline," a work put forth under the sanction of the Society, it is stated, that "the original and immediate ground of the religious fellowship" of the early Friends was, "*union of sentiment in regard to Christ's inward teaching*,—a doctrine which they believed to have been too much neglected by others." * This tenet may, therefore, be regarded as the cardinal article of Quakerism, the precise nature and bearings of which will more especially claim investigation. "It is evident, however," we are told on the same authority, that the early Friends "were firm believers in all that is revealed in Holy Scripture respecting Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; nor would they have allowed that any one held the truth, who denied his coming in the flesh, or the benefit derived to fallen man by his propitiatory sacrifice. Our early Friends not only recognised the Bible as the standard of their religious doctrines, but were particularly careful to adhere to Scripture language in the statement of them. They adopted no creed or confession of faith to be subscribed by their members; yet, when charged with false opinions, they did not hesitate to make a full declaration of their views on any or all of the points of the Christian faith. Thus, when George Fox was at Barbados, in 1671, the Society being accused of denying the outward coming of Christ, he, with some other Friends, drew up a paper in reply to the charge, 'To go forth in the name of the people called Quakers.' Again, in the year 1693, on the occasion of a secession in America, a more enlarged

* Rules of Discipline, Pref. p. vii.

statement of the doctrines of our Society was drawn up and published in London." . . . The subjoined extracts are taken from the latter Declaration.

Extract from a Statement of Christian Doctrine, issued on behalf of the Society in the year 1693.

"We sincerely profess faith in God by his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our light and life, our only way to the Father, and also our only Mediator and Advocate with the Father.

"That God created all things; he made the worlds by his Son Jesus Christ; he being that powerful and living Word of God, by whom all things were made; and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit are one, in Divine being inseparable; one true, living, and eternal God, blessed for ever.

"Yet that this Word, or Son of God, in the fulness of time, took flesh, became perfect man according to the flesh, descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David; but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; and also further, declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the Spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection from the dead.

"That in the Word (or Son of God) was life, and the same life was the light of men; and that he was that true light which enlightens every man coming into the world; and therefore that men are to believe in the light, that they may become the children of the light; hereby we believe in Christ the Son of God, as he is the light and life within us; and wherein we must needs have sincere respect and honour to (and belief in) Christ, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehensible glory and fulness; as he is the fountain of life and light, and giver thereof unto us; Christ, as in himself, and as in us, being not divided. And that, as man, Christ died for our sins, rose again, and was received up into glory, in the heavens. He having, in his dying for all, been that one great universal offering and sacrifice for peace, atonement and reconciliation between God and man; and he is the propitiation not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world. We were reconciled by his death, but saved by his life.

"That Jesus Christ, who sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, yet is he our King, High Priest, and Prophet; in his church, a Minister of the sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man. He is Intercessor and Advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the presence of God for us, being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, sufferings, and sorrows. And also by his Spirit in our hearts, he maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying Abba, Father.

"That the Gospel of the grace of God should be preached in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, being one in power, wisdom, and goodness, and indivisible, (or not to be divided,) in the great work of man's salvation.

"We sincerely confess (and believe in) Jesus Christ, both as he is true God, and perfect man, and that he is the author of our living faith in the power and goodness of God as manifested in his Son Jesus Christ, and by his own blessed Spirit (or Divine unction) revealed in us, whereby we inwardly feel and taste of his goodness, life, and virtue; so as our souls live and prosper by and in him: and the inward sense of this Divine power of Christ, and faith in the same, and the inward experience, are absolutely necessary to make a true, sincere, and perfect Christian in spirit and life.

"That divine honour and worship is due to the Son of God; and that he is, in true faith, to be prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ called upon, (as the primitive Christians did,) because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son; and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers and praises to God, nor receive a gracious answer or blessing from God, but in and through his dear Son Christ.

"That Christ's body that was crucified was not the Godhead, yet by the power of God was raised from the dead; and that the same Christ that was therein crucified, ascended into heaven and glory, is not questioned by us. His flesh saw no corruption, it did not corrupt, but yet doubtless his body was changed into a more glorious and heavenly condition than it was in when subject to divers sufferings on earth; but how and what manner of change it met withal after it was raised from the dead, so as to become such a glorious body, (as it is declared to be,) is too wonderful for mortals to conceive, apprehend, or pry into; (and more meet for angels to see;) the Scripture is silent therein, as to the manner thereof, and we are not curious to inquire or dispute it; nor do we esteem it necessary to make ourselves wise above what is written as to the manner or condition of Christ's glorious body, as in heaven; no more than to inquire how Christ appeared in divers manners or forms; or how he came in among his disciples, the doors being shut; or how he vanished out of their sight, after he was risen. However, we have cause to believe his body, as in heaven, is changed into a most glorious condition, far transcending what it was on earth; otherwise how should our low body be changed, so as to be made like unto his glorious body? For when he was on earth, and attended with sufferings, he was said to be like unto us in all things, sin only excepted; which may not be so said of him as now in a state of glory, as he prayed for; otherwise where would be the change both in him and in us?" *

"Concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the great day of judgement yet to come, beyond the grave, or after death, and Christ's coming without us, to judge the quick and the dead: (as divers questions are put in such terms,) what the Holy Scriptures plainly declare and testify in these matters, we have been always ready to embrace.

"1. For the doctrine of the resurrection . . . We sincerely believe not only a resurrection in Christ from the fallen sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with him hereafter, that when he at last appears, we may appear with him in glory. Col. iii. 4; 1 John iii. 2.

"But that all the wicked who live in rebellion against the light of grace, and die finally impenitent, shall come forth to the resurrection of condemnation.

"And that the soul or spirit of every man and woman shall be reserved in its own distinct and proper being, and every seed (yea, every soul,) shall have its proper body, as God is pleased to give it. 1 Cor. xv.

"2. For the doctrine of eternal judgement. God hath committed all judgement unto his Son Jesus Christ; and he is Judge both of quick and dead, and of the states and ends of all mankind. John v. 22, 27; Acts x. 42; 2 Tim. iv. 1; 1 Pet. iv. 5, &c. &c."

This document must be admitted as a valid refutation of the misconception which has led Mosheim and others to

* This paragraph appears to be designed to vindicate partial dissent from the IVth of the Thirty-nine Articles.

attribute to the early Friends a denial of the facts of the Gospel history, of the Deity of Christ, and of the Resurrection and Final Judgement. Among the American colonists, however, at an early period, theological innovations and errors of a serious kind appear to have found advocates. After the death of Fox, which occurred in 1691, George Keith, one of the most learned members of the Society, who had settled in Pennsylvania, became involved in a controversy with his brethren upon the subject of the human nature of Christ, which terminated, in 1695, in his expulsion from the Society together with his adherents. Upon this, he returned to England, and became a formidable opponent of Quakerism. About the year 1693, he published a work entitled, "The Deism of William Penn and his Brethren;" being professedly an answer to William Penn's "Rule of Faith and Life," first printed in 1673, as an appendix to the first part of "The Christian Quaker."* William Penn being in America at the time of the appearance of this attack, it was answered by B. Coole. The celebrated Thomas Ellwood also commenced a reply, some extracts from which are preserved in his Journal. After citing from Penn's work a number of passages declaratory of his belief in the Propitiatory Sufferings of Christ and the Christian doctrine of Redemption, he says:—"These things, G. Keith certainly knows have been constantly held, believed, professed, and owned by W. Penn, and his brethren, the Quakers in general, both privately and publicly, in word and writing. These things are often testified of in our meetings, and have been so fully and plainly asserted and held forth in our books, that we might call in almost as many witnesses thereof as have frequented our meetings or attentively read our books."

The Yearly Epistles from the general meetings held in London, must also be admitted as evidence of the acknowledged sentiments of the Society in its collective capacity.

* This work is entitled, "The Christian Quaker, and his Divine Testimony vindicated by Scripture, Reason, and Authority, against the injurious Attempts that have been lately made by several Adversaries." The first part was written by Penn; the second by Whitehead.

Those of 1723, 1728, 1732, 1736, 1800, and 1829 explicitly inculcate the perusal of the Holy Scriptures;* and the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting of 1829, contain a distinct avowal of belief "in the inspiration and divine authority of the Old and New Testament," and in the "most important doctrines of Holy Scripture, in their plain and obvious acceptance."†

It must, however, be acknowledged, that Modern Quakerism, as exhibited in some recent publications, differs very materially from the creed of Fox, Penn, Barclay, Pennington, and other early Friends. An anxiety has manifested itself of late, to reconcile the avowed and distinguishing tenets of Quakerism as held by their standard writers, with the Evangelical doctrines; and this has led to the citation of such passages from the works of early Friends as assert a belief apparently in accordance with sound doctrine. But, according to the testimony of a pious Friend who has recently seceded from the Society, "the Epistles from 1828 to 1833," which are distinguished by their evangelical strain, "would give no more idea of the Quakerism of record, than would the address of George Fox and others to the Governor of Barbados." The general tenor of the standard writings of Friends, runs quite contrary to these Confessions of Faith; and, at all events, even if the peculiarities of Quakerism can be reconciled with these Confessions, they are not to be learned from them.‡

* From 1828 to 1833, the tenor of the Yearly Epistles was, generally speaking, of a more evangelical cast than previously. That of 1834 retrogrades into the strain of former years.

† For a further exposition of the tenets of Friends, in accordance with these Declarations of Faith, the reader may be referred to the "Summary of the History, Doctrine, and Discipline of Friends," written at the desire of the Meeting for Sufferings in London, and first published in 1790; to "The Principles of Religion, as professed by the Society of Christians usually called Quakers," by Henry Tuke, which has passed through many editions, and is generally acknowledged to be an authentic exposition of the Quaker tenets; and to the writings of Joseph John Gurney, one of the leading ministers of the Society in this country.

‡ "If a hundred persons unacquainted with the real views of Friends, were asked the meaning of the expression (in G. Fox's Epistle), 'This Jesus, who was

Admitting, indeed, that the documents appealed to furnish unexceptionable evidence of the recognition of those doctrines which they set forth, still it might be presumed, even in the absence of direct evidence, that the early Friends must have maintained tenets, and employed a language, adapted to bring into question their belief in those doctrines. Their exceptionable tenets, if now disavowed by the Society, it would be unfair to exhibit as a portraiture of modern Quakerism; but their writings are still appealed to as a binding authority; more particularly in reference to that doctrine which may be considered as the fundamental principle of the Quaker theology. It is therefore necessary to ascertain the precise nature of their opinions upon this leading point.

That "a union of sentiment in regard to Christ's inward teaching," was the original and immediate ground of the religious fellowship of Friends, is, we have seen, avowed by the Society in their "Rules of Discipline;" and the following extracts will show both the nature of the sentiment, and the fundamental importance attached to it by the Founders of the Society:—

"Being to write of the light of Christ within, the great principle of God in man, the root and spring of divine life and knowledge in the soul; that by which salvation is effected for man, and which is *the characteristic of the people called Quakers, their faith and testimony to the world.*"—Penn's *Christian Quaker*. fol. vol. i. p. 523.

"I have already touched upon their *fundamental principle*, which is as the corner-stone of their fabric; and, to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic or main distinguishing point or principle; namely, the *light of Christ within*, as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order."—W. Penn's *Pref. to G. Fox's Journal*, 3d ed. 1765, p. x.

"By this seed, grace, and word of God, and light, wherewith we say every one is enlightened and hath a measure of it, which strives with him in order to save him, and which may, by the stubbornness and wickedness of man's will, be quenched, bruised, wounded, pressed down, slain, and crucified, we understand not the proper essence and nature of God precisely taken, which is not divisible

the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation,'—probably ninety-nine of them would answer: 'They wish it to be understood that they build on the foundation of the prophets and apostles:' whereas the real meaning is, that, independently of prophets and apostles, Friends considered themselves as building on Christ by immediate revelation."—Wilkinson's *Quakerism Examined*, p. 318.

into parts and measures, as being a most pure, simple Being, void of all composition or division, and therefore can neither be resisted, hurt, wounded, crucified, or slain, by all the efforts and strength of men; but we understand a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible principle, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells; a measure of which divine and glorious life *is in all men as a seed*, which of its own nature draws, invites, and inclines to God; and this some call *vehiculum Dei*, or the spiritual body of Christ, the flesh and blood of Christ, which came down from heaven, on which all the saints do feed, and are therefore nourished unto eternal life. And as every unrighteous action is witnessed against and reproved by this light and seed, so by such actions it is hurt, wounded, and slain, and flees from them, even as the flesh of man flees from that which is of a contrary nature to it. Now, because it is never separated from God nor Christ, but, wherever it is, God and Christ are as wrapped up therein, therefore, and in that respect as it is resisted, God is said to be resisted; and where it is borne down, God is said to be pressed as a cart under sheaves,* and Christ is said to be slain and crucified. And, on the contrary, as this seed is received in the heart, and suffered to bring forth its natural and proper effect, Christ comes to be formed and raised, of which the Scripture makes so much mention; calling it the new man, Christ within, the hope of glory. This is that Christ within which we are heard so much to speak and declare of everywhere, preaching him up, and exhorting people to believe in the light and obey it; that they may know Christ is in them, *to deliver them from all sin.*—Barclay's *Apology*, 7th ed. Pref. pp. v. vi. § xiii.†

The remarkable phraseology in the above extract is important, as indicating the relation which the fundamental tenet of Quakerism bears to the opinions of the ancient mystic schools. As this "Universal Saving Light" is held to be by no means peculiar to those who possess the Outward Revelation of the Scriptures, the Quaker Apologists do not

* An allusion to Amos ii. 13.

† The expression used by Barclay in this passage, *vehiculum Dei*, having been animadverted upon by an opponent, George Whitehead, in his "Divine Light of Christ in Man," (1692,) makes the following reply:—"As to his (R. B.'s) words, 'which we call *vehiculum Dei*,' (speaking of the spiritual body of Christ,) I conceive he speaks in condescension in the person of some of the learned writers or philosophers who have used those terms, and not in the person of the people called Quakers, who are not only esteemed an illiterate people, but are a plain, simple, innocent people, who most affect plain Scripture language, without any school glosses or nice distinctions to deck, adorn, or illustrate their Christian profession of Christ, or of his Divine light within. Nor is Jesus Christ preached among us under those terms, but in Scripture terms, both as he is truly God, and as he is the One Mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus; as having an inward sight, sense, and knowledge of him by his Divine light, Spirit, life, and power. So we shall not need to fall out about the names thereof, but prize the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord above all the world's wisdom; for in him are all the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

scruple to cite heathen testimonies in support of their hypothesis, as "a collateral evidence that there has been a necessity for immediate revelation." This Divine inspiration, or immediate revelation, is, according to the tenets of Friends, a principle distinct from conscience, being "that very principle of life and light which illuminates the conscience;" it is "*in* man, yet not of man, but of God;" it is not any part of man's nature, or any thing that properly or essentially is of man; but it is a free grace and gift of God, freely given to all men, in order to bring them out of the fall, and lead them to life eternal.* "For we affirm," says Barclay, "that, as all men partake of the fruit of Adam's fall, . . . so also many may come to feel the influence of this holy and divine seed and light, and be turned from evil to good by it, though they know nothing of Christ's coming in the flesh, through whose obedience and sufferings it is purchased unto them."† "Many that have wanted the outward (knowledge), have had a knowledge of this inwardly, by virtue of that *inward grace* and light given to every man, working in them, by which they forsook iniquity, and became just and holy."‡

Thus explained, the Inward Light, Universal Saving Light, or Seed, of the Quaker theology, does not appear very much to differ from the *common grace* of the Arminian and Jesuit schools.§ In the "Summary" of the Doctrine of

* Testimony to the Truth of God, by W. Allen, pp. 20, 21.

† Cited by Hancock, "Defence of Immediate Revelation," p. 21.

‡ Barclay, in Hancock, p. 22.

§ The Jesuits maintain, "that the succours of grace are administered to all mankind in a measure sufficient to lead them to eternal life and salvation."—*Mosheim*, vol. iv. p. 192. Conformably to this doctrine, it is stated to have been a leading principle of the semi-Pelagian heresy, "That the grace purchased by Christ, and necessary to salvation, was offered to all men, and that it was not dispensed to one more than another, in consequence of Predestination."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 82, add. note. The doctrine of a *common grace*, vouchsafed to all, is maintained, however, by theological writers of orthodox schools. Thus Howe, in his "Living Temple," (Part II. ch. x. § 10,) says:—"Ever since the apostacy, even upon the first declared constitution of a Redeemer, and in the shining forth of the first cheering ray of gospel-light and grace, 'The seed of the woman,' &c., a promise was implied of the communication of the Spirit. . . . And hereupon some communication of it, in such a degree as might infer some previous dispositions and tendencies to holy life, seems to have been general; and is therefore fitly enough

Friends, we find the doctrine thus guardedly stated:—
 “Further, it is our belief, that, in order to enable mankind to put in practice these sacred precepts, (recorded in Scripture,) many of which are contradictory to the unregenerate will of man, every man coming into the world (John i. 9,) is endued with a measure of the light, grace, or good Spirit of Christ; by which, as it is attended to, he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, and to correct the disorderly passions and corrupt propensities of his fallen nature, which mere reason is altogether insufficient to overcome. For all that belongs to man is fallible, and within the reach of temptation; but that this Divine grace which comes by Him who hath overcome the world, is, to those who humbly and sincerely seek it, an all-sufficient and present help in time of need. By this, the snares of the enemy are detected, his allurements avoided, and deliverance is experienced through faith in its effectual operation; whereby the soul is translated out of the kingdom of darkness, and from under the power of Satan, into the marvellous light and kingdom of the Son of God. . . . Now, as we thus believe that the grace of God, which comes by Jesus Christ, is alone sufficient for salvation, we can neither admit that it is conferred upon a few only, whilst others are left without it; nor, thus asserting its universality, can we limit its operation to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin even in this life.”*

But while, as held and explained by some Friends, the

wont to be called common grace. But then, in that lower degree, it is not only resistible, but too generally resisted with mortal efficacy.” Again, in his Treatise on Luke xix. 41, (“The Redeemer’s Tears,” &c.) the same great writer maintains (ii. 6), “That, by being under the Gospel, men have not only light to understand whatsoever is any way necessary to their peace, but opportunity to obtain that communication of Divine power and grace, whereby to comply with the terms of it.” “There is generally,” he says, “afforded to such (as are under the Gospel) that which is wont to be called *common grace*. I speak not of any further extent of it: ’tis enough to our present purpose, that it extends so far as to them that live under the Gospel, and have thereby a day allowed them wherein to provide for their peace. Now, though this grace is not yet certainly saving, yet it tends to that which is so. And none have cause to despair, but that, being duly improved and complied with, it may end in it.”

* Summary, pp. 15, 16, 19. See also E. Bates, ch. iii. “Of the Universality of Grace.”

Quaker tenet would seem to be only a mystical modification of the Arminian or semi-Pelagian doctrine of Grace, it is evident, that, with this dogma of metaphysical theology, were blended elements of a more imaginative creed, and sentiments more nearly allied to those of the ancient mystics. Thus, in Quakerism, we find combined, the discordant elements of a lofty Platonism and a rude illiterate fanaticism; the Romish metaphysics, and an ultra-Protestant negation of all that is ritual and external in religion; a scholastic rationalism, and an enthusiastic belief in immediate inspiration and perceptible impulses. For this heterogeneous combination, the different education and character of the framers of the system may partly serve to account. All these elements were afloat and at work in society, before they became fixed and embodied in the inward light of Fox, Penn, Keith, and Barclay. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the study of Plotinus, and of the other authors of his sect, was much cultivated in our universities, especially at Cambridge; and in the writings of the learned John Smith, and many of his contemporaries, occur expressions indicating this fondness for the writings of the later Platonists, and which approximate to the language of Quakerism. Thus, for instance, in John Smith's "True Way or Method of attaining Divine Knowledge," we find the following sentiments:—"Were I, indeed, to define divinity, I should rather call it a divine life than a divine science, it being something rather to be understood by a spiritual sensation, than by any verbal description; as all things of sense and life are best known by sentient and vital faculties. . . . To seek our divinity merely in books and writings, is to seek the living among the dead: we do but in vain seek God many times in these, where his truth too often is not so much enshrined as entombed: so, *intra te quære Deum*, seek for God within thine own soul; he is best discerned *νοερά ἱπαφῇ*, as Plotinus phraseth it, by an intellectual touch of him: we must 'see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, and our hands must handle the word of life,' that I may express it in St. John's words. (1 John i. 1.) *Ἔστι καὶ ψυχῆς αἰσθησίς τις*—the soul itself hath its sense, as well as the body; and

therefore, David, when he would teach us how to know what the Divine goodness is, calls not for speculation, but sensation: 'Taste and see how good the Lord is.' (Psal. xxxiv. 8.)"

The learned Author proceeds to show, that "neither was the ancient philosophy unacquainted with this way and method of attaining to the knowledge of divine things." And towards the conclusion of the Discourse he says: "This divine knowledge, as Plotinus speaks, makes us amorous of divine beauty, beautiful and lovely; and this divine love and purity reciprocally exalts divine knowledge; both of them growing up together, like that Ἔρως and Ἀντίρως that Pausanias sometimes speaks of. Though, by the Platonists' leave, such a life and knowledge as this is, peculiarly belongs to the true and sober Christian, who lives in Him who is life itself, and is enlightened by Him who is the truth itself, and is made partaker of the divine unction, and 'knoweth all things,' as St. John speaks. (1 John iii. 20.) This life is nothing else but God's own breath within him, and an *infant Christ* (if I may use the expression) formed in his soul, who is in a sense ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, the shining forth of the Father's glory."*

Thus, divines who were far from embracing the tenets of Quakerism, did not scruple to employ a language which might be mistaken for that of its founders or apologists; nor is there room to doubt, that the way for the grosser mysticism was prepared by these attempts to connect what may be termed the spirituality of heathenism with the doctrines of Christianity. There is, indeed, the strongest internal evidence, that Barclay derived his system from the Platonists. In addition to the very frequent references, in his "Apology,"

* Smith's Select Discourses, pp. 1, 5, 24. Phraseology almost identical with that which occurs in these extracts, will be found in Keith's Immediate Revelation Confuted, as cited in Ball's Holy Scripture the Test of Truth. App. C. And a passage in Keith's Answer to the Apology, looks like a direct reference to the writings of this eminent divine of the Church of England: "All good Christians, as well as the Church of England, do agree, that the inward operations, fruits, and effects of the Spirit, can never be sufficiently known by mere words; but that it is requisite that the things themselves be inwardly felt and experienced."

to the Greek Philosophers, and to the Platonizing Fathers, and the commendations bestowed by him upon the mystic authors, whom he styles highly illuminated persons, we have the fact, that George Keith, who claimed to be the precursor of Barclay in these views, openly refers to the Platonists. That Keith was well read in the philosophy of the schoolmen, is evident; and he seems to have been no stranger to the Cartesian system of innate ideas; while his fondness for the Oriental mysticism, led him to translate into English a celebrated philosophical romance by an Arabian writer, which presents the ancient philosophy in the shape of Mohammedism.* William Penn discovers a similar fondness for the same school; and adopting the notions of the Christian disciples of Plato and Philo-Judæus, he did not scruple to interpret the *Logos* of St. John as denoting "*Right Reason*." "The Divine Reason," he says, (referring to the first nine verses of the 1st chapter of St. John,) "is one in all; that lamp of God which lights our candle, and enlightens our darkness, and is the measure and test of our knowledge." This language, if it did not warrant the imputation of Socinianism, and of deifying Reason, is at least in strict accordance with Socinian notions. Barclay was educated under the care of his uncle at Paris, where, we are told, the Papists endeavoured to draw him over to their religion. Among the serious part of the Romanists, who panted for a more spiritual religion than the gross idolatry around them, Christianized Mysticism had long prevailed. The piety of Thomas à Kempis, it has been remarked, "had fully as much relation to the system of

* Ball's *Holy Scripture the Test of Truth*, App. B. and C. Wilkinson's *Quakerism Examined*, Appendix. "The fortunes of Ebn Thophail's Philosophical Romance, *Hai Ebn Yokdan*, may be selected as a specimen of the place occupied by Mahometanism in the history of Christian ethics. This piece, for which the Jews always entertained the highest veneration, was translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Moses of Narbonne. The original happily escaped from the general wreck of Arabic literature which ensued on the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. . . . The learned Ashwell first gave to the world this beautiful Arabian fiction in an English dress. Its mystical character so recommended it in particular to the Society of Friends, that, at the desire of the community, it was translated into English a second time by George Keith."—Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*.

Pantheism as to the truths of the Bible ;" and in the following sentence, extracted from his celebrated work, we have almost the essence of Quakerism : " If thou withdrawest thy attention from outward things, and keepest it fixed upon what passes within thee, thou wilt soon perceive the coming of the kingdom of God." * It is not surprising that by pious Friends, this writer, as well as William Law and other authors of the same school, have been held in high estimation ; but the circumstance affords additional proof of the affinity between Quakerism and the Romish Quietism. On the other hand, those Apologists for Quakerism whose views are most in harmony with the Evangelical system, would fain identify the theory of the Inward Light with the cardinal doctrine of Regeneration and Divine Grace. Thus, Mr. Gurney commences his exposition of the Quaker doctrine of " the *Perceptible* Influence and Guidance of the Spirit of Truth," by observing, that " it is generally allowed among the professors of Christianity, that the fountain of all true moral excellence in mankind is the Spirit of God. The serious and enlightened Christian," he proceeds to say, " of every denomination, will readily confess, that it is only through the influence of the Holy Spirit that he is enabled rightly to apprehend God, to know himself, and to accept Jesus Christ as his all-sufficient Saviour ; that it is only through such an influence that he is converted in the first place, and afterwards sanctified and prepared for his heavenly inheritance. The differences of sentiment which exist in the Church on this great subject, have respect not to the question whether the Holy Spirit does, or does not operate on the heart of man, (for, on this question, all true Christians are agreed,) but principally, if not entirely, to the mode in which that Spirit operates . . . Some persons conceive that the Spirit of God does not influence the heart of man *directly*, but only through the means of certain appointed instruments, such as the Holy Scriptures and the Word preached. Many others, who allow the direct and independent influences of the Spirit, and deem them absolutely essential to the formation of the Christian character, refuse to admit that

* Cited in Douglas's *Errors regarding Religion*, p. 146.

they are perceptible to the mind, but consider them to be hidden in their action, and revealed only in their fruits. Now, with Friends (and I believe with many persons not so denominated) it is a leading principle in religion,—a principle on which they deem it to be, in a particular manner, their duty to insist,—that the operations of the Holy Spirit are not only immediate and direct, but *perceptible*; and that we are all furnished with an inward Guide or Monitor, who makes his voice known to us, and who, if faithfully obeyed and closely followed, will infallibly conduct us into true virtue and happiness, because he leads us into a real conformity to the will of God.* “A measure of the Spirit of the Son of God,” Mr. Gurney affirms to be “bestowed upon all mankind;” and Mr. Tuke affirms, “that such a portion of the Holy Spirit as is necessary for working out the soul’s salvation, is afforded to mankind *universally*.”†

The refutation of the errors embodied in Quakerism scarcely falls within the design of the present work; yet, as the controversy which has recently sprung up within the Society of Friends, (known under the designation of the Beacon controversy,) relates chiefly to these main points, justice to those who have seceded from the Society, requires that we should enter more fully into the subject. The three points in question are:—1. Immediate Revelation; 2. Perceptible Guidance; and 3. Universal Saving Light.

1. The doctrine of Immediate Revelation so plausibly resembles that which is admitted and held by “the serious and enlightened Christian of every denomination,” that it requires to be very carefully discriminated from the true Scriptural faith. “That God is *able* to illuminate the souls of men with the immediate visitations of spiritual light, the most incredulous metaphysician,” Mr. Gurney remarks, “will not venture to deny. On the other hand, we may readily accede to the principle laid down by Locke, that we can entertain no

* Gurney on the Religious Peculiarities of Friends. 6th ed. 12mo. pp. 33, 34.

† Tuke’s Principles, p. 69. “We apprehend it to be a *degree of the same*,” says this writer, “which the Apostle alluded to, Rom. ii. 14, 15.” See also Bates, pp. 35—37.

reasonable confidence in any supposed inward illumination, further than as we are furnished with evidence that such illumination proceeds from God."* But, while acceding to this principle, Mr. Gurney, instead of admitting that the Holy Scriptures furnish such test, resolves this evidence into, first, the declaration of Scripture, that such an influence shall be bestowed, and secondly, the practical results into which it leads; or, in other words, the Christian must "bring his own *sensations* to the test of experience." In opposition to this virtual denial of the Inspired Rule of Faith, it is contended by evangelical Friends, in common with Christians of all orthodox Protestant denominations, that the Holy Scriptures supply the only test of Truth.†

Immediate Revelation and immediate Inspiration, though the phrases are used as convertible by Mr. Gurney, as well as by Barclay and other Quaker authorities, imply very distinct ideas. By Revelation is to be understood, the supernatural communication of new and otherwise unknown doctrines. All who acknowledge that "God at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake by the prophets," and that the Scriptures contain a Divine revelation, must believe not only in the possibility of immediate revelation, conveyed by different modes, but in such revelation as a fact. The prophets and apostles were not merely inspired or divinely illuminated, but they were made, from time to time, the bearers and instruments of direct communications from heaven, and of revelations at once specific, extraordinary, and authoritative, attested by miraculous credentials. The Holy Scriptures comprise these revelations, and include the whole of Divine revelation. To deny this, is to invalidate the sufficiency of the Scriptures, to shake the foundations of Christian evidence, and to open the door to the Romish doctrine of Tradition, as well as to the claims of fanatical pretenders to revelation. If such claims were allowable in any age of the Church, since the close of the canon of Scripture, how, it has justly been asked, can we deny them to the apostolic and early Fathers? And if we concede the right to them, upon what ground can we

* Gurney, p. 44.

† Ball's Holy Scripture, &c. p. 25.

justify our rejection of the heretical doctrines deducible from their writings?

But the immediate revelation for which Mr. Gurney and other Friends of his class would plead, is not of this high and peculiar kind: still, it is represented as independent of and superior to the Scriptures. "In a certain sense," remarks Dr. Wardlaw, in his *Letters on Quakerism*, "I believe in immediate and divine revelation; that is, I believe, that, in a way which we do not understand, and are warned against expecting to understand, (John iii. 8,) the Holy Spirit operates upon the human mind, in imparting to it the spiritual discernment of the truth, excellence, suitableness, and glory of the testimony of the Gospel contained in the Scriptures; so operates as that, by the experience of the influence of this testimony, the enlightened subject of it comes to have 'the witness in himself' of its Divine original. And this spiritual discernment may, in a modified sense, be called the *revealing* of Christ to the mind."* But, by immediate revelation independent of the Scriptures, something very different from this is intended; otherwise the Quaker doctrine would not differ from that which is held by evangelical believers of other denominations.

A truth may be said to be revealed to us, when we are enabled to perceive its evidence or intrinsic importance in a more striking light than before; and old truths may be brought to the mind with all the freshness of a discovery. But this is not what is generally implied by revelation, which denotes the disclosure, by immediate communications from Heaven, of that which was previously unknown. Such revelation as this forms the very matter of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore is prior to them; but in every instance, those to whom revelations have been made, have been the chosen and official depositories of these supernatural communications, and charged, in their public capacity, to make them known. The prophets were not only inspired or gifted with preternatural powers, but

* Wardlaw's "Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends," p. 42. In this sense, the things taught by Our Lord to his disciples, are said to have been *revealed* to those who with the simplicity of children received his instructions. Matt. xi. 25.

their inspired character was intended to fit them for being the authorized bearers of the immediate revelations from Heaven. Such revelations must, in their very nature, be of public import, concerning all mankind: a private revelation is a moral solecism. In this sense we may understand the words of St. Peter, that "no prophecy of Scripture is of private impulse," "nor was prophecy uttered at the will of man, but the holy men of God spake under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."*

Inspiration, then, is not Revelation, although Divine revelations have always been made through the medium of inspired men. In a certain sense, indeed, even the wisdom of the heathen must be ascribed to "the Father of lights, from whom descends every good and perfect gift,"† natural or supernatural; "who giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding."‡ But this wisdom has never anticipated the immediate revelations of Heaven; and the highest inspiration of the philosopher or poet must be regarded as differing essentially in kind, as well as in degree, from the prophetic gift, the plenary inspiration enjoyed by the apostles, and the miraculous endowments of the apostolic age. Not less widely does the gift of inspiration differ from the Divine principle§ which permanently abides in every one who is born of God. *This* principle is one of spiritual life; but the miraculous gifts have been exercised by individuals whom the Scriptures class with the unregenerate; and we are clearly taught to believe, (what indeed reflection might lead us to suppose,) that the most extraordinary supernatural endowments may consist with an unsanctified heart.

If it be asked, wherein does the lower or more ordinary inspiration differ from the extraordinary inspiration promised by Our Lord to his Apostles, and claimed by them, we should say, in three respects: in its miraculous characteristics, its plenary degree, and its attendant evidence.

First, the Apostolic Inspiration was *strictly miraculous*, sensibly and evidently supernatural, [as respects] both the knowledge imparted to the Apostles, and the faculties with

* 2 Pet. i. 21. "*Non fluxerint ex proprio hominum motu.*" Calv. *in loco.*

† James i. 17.

‡ Dan. ii. 21.

§ Σπέρμα. 1 John iii. 9.

which they were endowed. Unlearned men suddenly became learned: some poor fishermen became suddenly possessed of new powers of mind, and astonished their countrymen by appearing in a new character. Under this miraculous influence, they at once attained, without the opportunity or means of acquisition, without any intellectual process, a knowledge and wisdom transcending what, in all other cases, are the slow result of painful application. And their knowledge was *new*, underived from any pre-existing materials, strictly original in its character, at variance with their own preconceived notions and native prejudices, and so complete, that, to what they became at once and simultaneously qualified to teach, nothing has since been added. The Christian doctrine is found entire in the writings of the New Testament, and is unsusceptible of addition. The matter of the Christian Revelation is thus palpably distinguished from all the results of human discovery.

Secondly, as the Apostolic Inspiration was miraculous in its character, being manifestly distinguishable from the natural endowments upon which it was superinduced, so it was *plenary* in its degree, and *infallible* in its operation. It left them in no uncertainty as to any part of the truth which they were commissioned to teach and promulgate. It dwelt in them permanently as a spirit of knowledge and of wisdom, of which they were at all times able to avail themselves, and which secured them alike against error and disagreement in their doctrine. Otherwise the Church could not have had any certain assurance that all which they wrote was Divinely inspired. The Apostolic Inspiration was not like that Divine impulse with which the prophets seem to have been visited, when, transported beyond themselves, they uttered predictions the import of which they did not fully comprehend. The plenary inspiration under which the Apostles taught and wrote, pervaded their memory, their judgement, and every faculty of their minds, so as to "bring all things to their remembrance" that related to the Christian doctrine, and to impart to their judgement an infallible certainty.*

* Compare 2 Pet. i. 20, 21, and *ibid.* iii. 15, 16.

Thirdly, the Apostolic Inspiration was distinguished *by its miraculous criteria*: "God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost."* Miracles are the requisite credentials of a Divine mission, the seal of Revelation; and they have ceased, because no new doctrine remains to be revealed. A consideration which ought to preclude the expectation of the revival of miraculous gifts in the Church, unless we are looking for a new Gospel or an authoritative addition to the Rule of Faith. On the other hand, a claim to inspired authority, unattested by such credible evidence, must be treated as self-delusion or imposture.

The Inspiration under which the writings of the New Testament were dictated was, then, peculiar, plenary, authoritative. When we say, that the Scriptures are Divinely inspired, we mean, that the prophets and apostles were not merely prompted, guided, and assisted, but specially commissioned and miraculously qualified to communicate the knowledge revealed to them; and that they were enabled to give such evidence of their commission and authority, as rendered it impious to doubt or dispute their claims. The Apostles had a right to say, "He that is of God heareth *us*: he that is not of God heareth not *us*. Hereby know we the spirit of truth, and the spirit of error."† Thus, the reception of the apostolic doctrine is still a criterion of obedience, a test of character. In this high commission they have had no successors. No other teachers could, without presumption, challenge this implicit deference to their instructions.

In what way their knowledge was suggested to the minds of the Apostles, or *how* they were inspired, is of no practical moment. To speak, as some writers have done, of their requiring one sort of inspiration to record historical facts, and another sort to deliver doctrines and precepts, and a third sort to announce predictions, and a fourth sort to compose sacred hymns, is little better than solemn trifling. That there are various degrees and kinds of inspiration, the Scriptures

* Heb. ii. 4.

† 1 John iv. 6.

teach;* but there is no ground for the supposition, that inspiration was imparted in various modes and measures to the same individual, from time to time, to make up the requisite competency for a particular work; and that we are to judge by the writing what sort or degree of Divine assistance was required to produce it. Where, as in the case of the Apostles, the highest kind of inspiration was possessed, it must have included every lower degree; and of the Apostolic Inspiration, it may be safely affirmed, that it was constant, not occasional, rendering them always infallible; that it was strictly supernatural; and that, as miraculously attested, it not only secures and establishes the absolute truth of what they have communicated, but invests it with Divine authority.†

It is upon these grounds that we hold the Scriptures to be a certain, authoritative, exclusive rule of faith, and source of religious knowledge. In this sense, the Church is "built

* So far as the *mode* of the Divine agency can be ascertained from the Scriptures, it has been various and multiform. There have been "diversities of operations" (1 Cor. xii. 6); and God has spoken "in divers manners" (Heb. i. 1). The Jewish rabbies make four degrees of prophetic inspiration, of which the highest is the *gradus Mosaiens* or *ruach hakkodesh*; the lowest degree is called *bath col*. All visions were held to be perfect prophecy; but, with regard to many of the songs found in the writings of the prophets, they considered them as uttered or dictated by the sacred penmen themselves, under the superintendency of the Holy Spirit. And this *hagiographical* inspiration they distinguished from the higher kind which was technically called prophecy. (See John Smith's *Select Discourses*, p. 194.) Whatever may be thought of the propriety of the Rabbinical distinctions, they must be considered as not wholly without foundation as respects the different mode of the Divine influence, and the varied character of the specific instrumentality employed. Superintendence and suggestion are terms adopted by theologians to denote different modes of Divine inspiration; but their import is somewhat vague, and their application equivocal. Much caution is requisite, lest, in giving the common term, Divine inspiration, to mere Providential superintendence, or such assistance and guidance as all pious writers may be supposed to have enjoyed, we divest even the prophetic inspiration of its specific and extraordinary character.

† When we say that the Gospel of St. John, or St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, is an inspired book, we do not mean simply that the Holy Spirit *guided* the Evangelist, and *assisted* the Apostle, but that they were endowed with plenary inspiration, and were divinely commissioned to deliver those inspired communications. In the same way, the inspiration of the Books of Moses is attested by his Divine legation, and that of the prophetic books by the miraculous signature of the Spirit of prophecy.

upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." (Eph. ii. 20.) From this foundation, Quakerism would remove the Church; since it places its "immediate revelation" upon an equality with the Divine testimony which the inspired writers were commissioned to deliver as the foundation of our faith. Thus, Barclay says: "Though we acknowledge the Scriptures to be very heavenly and divine writings, the use of them to be very comfortable and necessary to the Church of Christ, . . . yet we may not call them the principal fountain of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the first adequate rule of faith and manners, because the principal fountain of truth must be truth itself. . . . If by the Spirit we can only come to the true knowledge of God; if by the Spirit we are to be led into all truth, and so be taught of all things, then the Spirit, and not the Scriptures, is the foundation and ground of all truth and knowledge, and the primary rule of faith and manners."* To the same purport is Isaac Pennington's declaration, that "the Scripture was not intended nor given forth by God to be the rule of the children of the new covenant." "The light of God's Spirit is," he says, "a certain and infallible rule, and the eye that sees it is a certain eye; whereas man's understanding of the Scriptures is uncertain and fallible."† William Penn sums up his view of the Scriptures as follows: "In short, the Scripture is much like *the shadow of the true rule*, which may give us some ground to *guess* what the rule itself is, as a chart or map of a country how it lies, yet not be the very place itself; and in this respect it may be a kind of *secondary rule*, carrying with it a *testimonial confirmation*, that what *we are led by* is the true Spirit, because the people of God, in old time, enjoyed the same; as the Eternal Spirit first of all confirms the Divine authority of the Scriptures unquestionably to us, that they are a declaration of the will and pleasure of Almighty God to the sons of men in several ages of the world."‡ In strict consistency with this repudiation of the Scriptures as a primary and

* Cited by Wilkinson, pp. 75, 76.

† Ibid. p. 95.

‡ Ibid. p. 100.

paramount rule, Dr. Hancock says: "I cannot admit that the Scriptures, divine and excellent as they are, and blessed, I trust, as means auxiliary to salvation, to thousands and millions, are to be placed above the teaching of God's Holy Spirit by immediate revelation."* And the Author of "Truth Vindicated," is still more explicit: "When men assert that the writings of other men who lived centuries ago, and wrote under the influence of the Holy Spirit, are 'a higher rule' to me than the influence of the *same* Holy Spirit upon *my own* mind; I am surely not to be dissuaded by an assertion, grounded upon no reason whatever, that these admit of no comparison."† Again: "I cannot see how any higher rule can by possibility exist, than that by which we are led, and in which we are to walk,—even the blessed Spirit of Christ."‡

In consequence of entertaining these notions, the Friends refuse to give to the Scriptures the title of the Word of God, restricting the application of it to Our Lord personally, and to "that holy Principle or Spirit by which he carries on the

* Hancock, p. 8.

† "Truth Vindicated," p. 91.

‡ Ibid. In a valuable writer of the seventeenth century, the doctrine of Quakerism with respect to the Rule of Faith, is thus referred to and refuted. The objection is supposed to be raised: "But if the spirit that is in me, be the same Spirit with that which did write the Scripture, what need I wait on or be ruled by the Word without, or the Scripture any longer?" Reply. "When the Spirit comes, it takes of the things of Christ, and opens them to you; it is sent to open the Scripture to you, not to take away the Scripture from you; it is not sent to be your rule, but to be your help to understand the rule. Because, although ye have the same Spirit which did write the Scripture, yet you have not the same inspiration of the Spirit. All believers in Paul's time had the same Spirit that Paul had; but not the same inspiration of the Spirit; that is very divers: (1 Cor. xii. 11), the Apostle speaking of diversities of gifts: 'But (saith he) all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every one as it pleaseth him.' So that, though a man have the same Spirit wherewith the Scripture was written, yet he may not have the same inspiration. But because people understand not this, therefore they think that, if they have the same spirit, they may lay by the Scripture, as to their rule. But though the Law, and Light, and Spirit within be a great help unto us in our way to life, yet it must be tried by the word written; for if it be not tried by the Scripture, then it must be tried by nothing; but (1 John iv. 1,) he saith, 'Try the spirits whether they be of God or no.' That law, or light, or spirit within you, is Christ in you; but Christ in you is to be tried and examined (2 Cor. xiii. 5): 'Examine yourselves, whether you be in the faith; prove your own selves; know ye not that Christ is in you, unless ye be

work of salvation in the hearts of true Christians."* The latter use of the term is as remote from scriptural usage, as the refusal to acknowledge the Inspired Volume under that appellation is derogatory to the authority of the written word. But the error is the more mischievous, inasmuch as, in order to defend themselves, the Friends are compelled to give a false gloss to many passages of Scripture, in which the inspired writings are designated as the word of God.† A still more unequivocal proof of the inadequate appreciation of the Holy Scriptures by the Society of Friends, is afforded by the systematic prohibition to read them publicly in their places of worship, and the uniform discouragement that is thrown in the way of Bible classes.‡

But what is that Spirit which the Quaker theory substitutes for the word of God as the rule of faith and duty to every individual? We must recollect, that it is a principle which is said to exist in the heathen as well as in Christian men; that it is wholly independent of the light of Scripture, or of a reception of the Christian doctrine. Is it then wholly without reason, that the tenets of Quakerism have been represented as tending to deistical conclusions? The main tenet of the

reprobates?" And if Christ without us, Christ in the days of his flesh, did submit himself to the trial of the Scriptures—"Search the Scriptures (saith he), for they testify of me;" then surely the Spirit of Christ in us will not refuse the same; Christ in us, is not more privileged than Christ without us; but Christ without us was tried by the Scriptures, therefore Christ within us much more. And if all that Light, and Law, and Spirit within us, be to be tried by the Scripture, then surely the Light of the word written is a more excellent Light than that Light which is within."—*W. Bridge*, 1656.

* Tuke, p. 44. "That these writings contain the words of God, we readily admit," says this writer. But as much as this may be said, according to Quaker notions, of the works of Barclay, Penn, &c.: *they* contain the words of God. The effect of this misappropriation of the term is greater, Mr. Wilkinson remarks, than persons who have not suffered under its delusion can readily conceive; "for when it is really taken for granted, it is surprising to find how very many passages of plain Scripture are mystified by it, and rendered nugatory. For instance, Psalm cxix. 9." . . . "If the true meaning were allowed by Friends to very numerous passages in which the word of God and equivalent terms are employed, it would go very far to destroy the illusion in which Quakerism binds the understanding." *Wilkinson*, pp. 54, 108. Compare Mark vii. 13; Luke ix. 11—15; Acts iv. 31, vi. 2; 2 Cor. ii. 17, &c.

† Wilkinson, pp. 384—387.

‡ Ibid. p. 139.

deistical school of Lord Herbert and his followers, is, "That we arrive at the knowledge of Divine things by innate ideas: or, having the law and rule of life written and engraven on our hearts in such plain, visible characters, that whoever looks into himself will clearly discern the great principles and duties of religion, and the several obligations he thereby lies under to obedience." * This unquestionably resembles very closely the inward light of Quakerism. That Penn and other early Friends were falsely charged with intending to inculcate deistical principles,—that they did not see the consequences to which their doctrines led,—will be readily admitted. But the affinity between what may be termed the philosophy of Deism and that of Quakerism, is evidenced by the fact, that the doctrines of Elias Hicks, the American Quaker, which have been embraced by many thousands of the Society in the United States, are nothing better than mystical Deism. Yet the Hicksites find a shelter for their opinions under the authority of the standard writers of the Society.

2. The tenet of *Perceptible Guidance*, though closely connected with that of Immediate Revelation, is yet a distinct article of the Quaker creed, and requires to be separately treated, on account of its bearing upon the Scripture doctrine of Divine grace. According to the sense most commonly attached to the phrase by Friends, "perceptible inspiration" appears to denote not so much the communication of truth to the mind, as the immediate superintendence of the Spirit in the direction of the conduct. It is a belief in *sensible impressions* and *governing impulses*, rather than in what is generally understood by revelation or inspiration, that is indicated by the expression. Thus, William Penn says: "First, by Revelation, we understand the discovery and illumination of the Light and Spirit of God, relating to those things that properly and immediately concern the daily information and satisfaction of our souls, in the way of our duty to Him and our neighbour." And further: "When neither man nor Scriptures are near us, yet there continually attends us that Spirit of truth, that

* See Ellis on The Knowledge of Divine Things, p. 2. Cited by Wilkinson, p. 387.

immediately informs us of our thoughts, words, and deeds, and gives us true directions what to do, and what to leave undone. Is not this the rule of life? If ye are led by the Spirit of God, then are ye sons of God."* In like manner, Mr. Gurney's language, already cited, seems to insist on the perceptible influence of the Spirit, as relating less to the discovery of truth, than to the direction of the life.

Now, of the reality of Divine Influence, whether perceptible or imperceptible, no doubt can be entertained by any believer in the Scriptures; and the reasonableness of prayer depends upon a belief that our minds and hearts are open to the immediate operation of the Spirit of God. The language of the Church of England, in various parts of the Liturgy, is, upon this point, explicit and decisive, and in full accordance with the catholic faith of pious Christians: *e. g.* "O Lord, from whom all good things do come: Grant to us, thy humble servants, that by thy holy inspiration we may think those things that be good, and by thy merciful guiding may perform the same."† "God, who as at this time didst teach the hearts of thy faithful people, by the sending to them the light of thy Holy Spirit: Grant us by the same Spirit to have a right judgement in all things, and evermore to rejoice in his holy comfort."‡ "O God, forasmuch as without Thee we are not able to please Thee: Mercifully grant that thy Holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts, through Jesus Christ our Lord."§

It is then an article of the Christian's faith, a fact of which he entertains an undoubted assurance, that he is dependent upon the teaching, and guidance, and succour of the Holy Spirit, for ability to understand aright spiritual things, and to discharge the duties, and sustain the trials of daily life. The question is, whether the influence or grace communicated to the mind is perceptible; and, if so, whether it is uniformly and certainly perceptible, or only capable of being perceived, and by what means. In other words, are the suggestions or

* Quoted in Wardlaw, p. 116.

† Collect for Fifth Sunday after Easter.

‡ Collect for Whitsunday.

§ Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity.

inspirations of the Holy Spirit distinguishable in our consciousness from the unassisted operations of our own thoughts? Mr. Gurney, while contending for the perceptible nature of this guidance, admits, that "the human imagination is very active and very delusive; and that persons who are superficial in religion, or who are not sufficiently watchful, may sometimes mistake the unauthorized dictates of their own minds for the voice of a Divine and unerring guide." Nay, he is compelled to allow, that there is no infallible means of distinguishing between the true guide and the false guide; and that we are "exceedingly liable to be led about by the dictates of our own imagination."* They are to be discriminated, he contends, in some degree by the *mode* of their operation, "the voice of Christ in the heart being not more pure than gentle;" but chiefly by the fruits which these opposite influences respectively produce. This discriminating process is one of reflection, however, not of perception; and the reasoning from effects, is tantamount to conceding that the operation of Divine influence is not ascertainable by consciousness. Mr. Gurney acknowledges his belief, indeed, that there are persons of real piety, sincerely desiring to follow the guidance of their Lord and Master, who "yet have not learned to distinguish the internal manifestations of the Holy Spirit."† And if by such persons they are not distinguishable, how can it be proved, or reasonably supposed, that they are ever, strictly speaking, *perceptible* by the mind?

Reasoning from analogy, we should be led to suppose that such influences would be imperceptible. Our minds, like our bodies, are continually acted upon by external influences of which we are wholly unconscious. We suffer ourselves to be swayed and guided by direct suasion, by the force of example, by accidental suggestions; yet, in all cases, without any interruption of the conscious power of determining our own conduct, or any perceptible difference in the process of our thoughts. A child is wholly unconscious of the process by which his mind is trained to certain habits,—of the strong but

* Gurney on the Peculiarities of Friends, p. 40.

† Gurney, p. 42.

imperceptible influence exerted over him by parental guidance : why should it be supposed that the teaching and inspiration of the Divine Instructor are more within the cognizance of our perceptions ?* Again, the Scripture warrants the belief, that wilful transgressors are sometimes abandoned to Satanic inspiration ; and the belief in diabolical impulses is deeply rooted in the minds of all men. But, in such cases, there is no reason to suppose that the foreign impulse or influence is perceptible by the unhappy victim ; and it is, indeed, when men are most completely under the ascendancy of an influence congenial with their own minds, that they are the least conscious of it. Persons in general are most apt to suspect that their thoughts originate in infernal inspiration when they are repugnant to their feelings and judgement ; but this is a fallacious inference. The involuntary action of our waking thoughts may sometimes, like our dreams, be at variance with the moral principles, being influenced by the state of the body, by the associations of memory, by the over-wrought or morbid action of the imagination. And whatever tends to fix the attention upon the phenomena of consciousness,—that is to say, not upon the character of our motives and feelings, but upon the mechanism of our own minds,—leading us to pry too curiously into the occult springs of its movements, has an effect the reverse of beneficial. The employment has often proved, indeed, as dangerous as it is unprofitable ; and has sometimes generated mental distemper. The moment that we are made sensible of those processes in the animal system which, in a healthy state, are attended by no sensation and wholly imperceptible, we may infer that disease has begun. Ought we not then to suspect that to be an unhealthy state of mind, which draws our attention to the anatomy of the mental structure, and renders painfully conscious its involuntary action ?

If inspiration did violence to our faculties or tendencies, like a Pythic possession, we must needs be conscious of the suspension of the power of self-control. But the Divine

* We may say, that man is operated upon naturally, that is, *according to his nature*, when most supernaturally as regards the agency or mode of operation.

influences, the heavenly inspiration enjoyed by good men, are congenial with the bent and character of their minds,—with the “Divine nature” implanted in them; and, like the atmosphere when attempered to the frame, are not perceived, *because* they are congenial. In like manner, Satanic inspiration we may probably assume to be in all cases congenial with the mind, and therefore imperceptible. It is not a compulsive or a repugnant, but a *concurrent* impulse, by which, in either case, the mind is moved or led; and therefore, it is not cognizable by consciousness, but only by the process of reflection.

But *how* does the Holy Spirit guide the Christian? As rational beings, we can be guided only by knowledge; and we can be guided aright, only as the matter of our knowledge is Truth. The moral instrument by which the Spirit of God operates upon the heart, is termed emphatically the Word of Truth.* That the “inward Guide or Monitor” communicates any new truth, any thing relating to the will of God that is not contained in the Scriptures, the Quaker will not pretend to say. And yet, with strange inconsistency, he contends, or seems to contend, for a guidance independent of the Scriptures, which are the only written record of accredited inspiration, the “mind of the Spirit,” the instrument of Divine teaching, the only actual source of that knowledge by which the Divine Teacher and Paraclete informs, guides, sanctifies, invigorates, and consoles the mind. It is remarkable, that even Mr. Gurney makes no reference to the Holy Scriptures as the only authoritative test of those dictates by which we suffer ourselves to be guided, as well as the primary fountain of all religious knowledge.† And if such a writer can fall into so serious an error, it may easily be supposed, how very far removed are the notions of Friends in general from a due estimation of the Word of God.

This is not, however, the only error into which Friends

* James i. 18; John xvii. 17.

† The language of Friends confounds the operations of memory with “revelation,” and attributes to the reflex act of meditation upon Scripture the efficacious influence and authority of the word of God itself.

have been betrayed by the hypothesis of Perceptible Inspiration. That watching of their own minds, that silent rumination which is substituted for searching the Scriptures and preaching the Gospel, is also made to serve instead of oral or actual prayer.* In retreating from a religion of outward forms and ceremonies, Friends have involved themselves in a refined and self-pleasing mysticism, which, although allied, in some individuals, to a devotional spirit, is far more fatal to the piety of the many, than any prescribed modes of expression. The neglect of both private and social prayer by the majority of Friends, must be regarded as a principal cause of the spread of practical infidelity in the Society. The Scripture doctrine of Divine Grace, on the contrary, connects receiving with asking, as a necessary condition; leading us to regard fervent and importunate prayer as a prescribed means of our obtaining those gifts and supplies of spiritual influence by which the life of the spirit is maintained.

3. The third peculiarity of Quakerism relates to the *Universality* of that Saving Light which is alleged to be inherent in all men: a doctrine which not only strikes at the necessity of Revelation, and therefore tends to deism, but is in direct opposition to the Scripture doctrine of Regeneration. According to the testimony of the apostolic writers, the seminal principle of spiritual life is *not* inherent in that nature which is "born of the flesh," but is produced by the efficacious operation of Divine truth upon the heart,† and is essentially connected with that faith in Christ which unites the believer morally and vitally to its Divine object. The Quaker hypothesis requires us to believe, either that a man does not stand in need of being born again, or that he may become regenerate without attaining to the knowledge of the truth which saves by giving life; that the Christian doctrine is not the indispensable instrument of regeneration; that faith in Christ is not necessary for justification, or for salvation; and if the knowledge of what the Gospel reveals is not necessary, it might seem almost to follow, (although, by pious Friends, the consequence would be of course denied with abhorrence,)

* See Wilkinson, pp. 446—448.

† John iii; 1 Pet. i. 23.

that the Saving Light might have existed independently of the scheme of salvation by a propitiatory sacrifice which the Gospel reveals. "The great doctrine of Friends," says Mr. Wilkinson, "which may be considered as their distinguishing principle, is this: That, independently of any outward information whatever, every individual human creature may in himself come to the virtual knowledge of the Saviour."* It is not pretended, however, nor can be rationally maintained, that this virtual knowledge includes the knowledge of a single fact or a single doctrine of the Gospel, relating to the Person, or the Sacrifice, or the Mediation of the Son of God. This virtual knowledge would therefore have been as full, and complete, and saving, had Christ never appeared in the flesh and suffered. What the Quaker writers style, "the Christ within," is wholly independent of the truth respecting Christ. It existed in Plato and Socrates, as truly as in Paul and John. How then could it be necessary that Christ should suffer? Or that "Christ crucified" should now be preached? The pious Friends would seek to evade the revolting inference; but Mr. Wilkinson (formerly a minister of the Society) does not scruple to affirm, that "the cardinal doctrine of Justification by Faith in a crucified Saviour never can be held, in its *genuine Scriptural import*, by the Society, unless it give up the very foundation on which it stands; when, of course, it would cease to be the Society of the people called Quakers."†

It is matter of notoriety, that the extensive schism which has taken place in the Society, has arisen from the "incurable hostility" shown by the majority of its members to the preaching of the Gospel, and from the attempts made to silence those ministers who have declared the doctrines of Scripture with evangelical simplicity. The general unsoundness of the body on the cardinal doctrine of Justification by Faith has, unhappily, been too unequivocally evinced by the "crushing

* Wilkinson, p. 148.

† For further proof of this startling representation, the reader must be referred to the fourth chapter in Mr. Wilkinson's work, "Is the Sacrifice of Christ held in proper Estimation by the Society of Friends?"

opposition" exercised towards those who have given prominence to it in their ministry;* and the disclosures made by the many estimable and pious members of the Society who have withdrawn from its communion, compel us to regard the Quakerism of Fox, Penn, Barclay, and Pennington (to which the majority still blindly cleave) as a system of pernicious delusion and anti-scriptural error.

After entering thus at large into the fundamental doctrines of Quakerism, a brief enumeration of its minor peculiarities is all that can be deemed necessary. They relate to the following points:—

1. Divine Worship and the Ministry.
2. Baptism and the Lord's Supper.
3. Observance of Days and Times.
4. Oaths.
5. War.
6. Manners, Dress, Phraseology, and Amusements.

1. *Worship.* Friends "consider silence not only proper, as preparatory to worship, but congenial with the most sublime worship to which we can attain." (Bates, p. 183.) They think "words not essentially necessary, because He who is a Spirit understands the language of the Spirit." Nevertheless they "do not disapprove of the use of words, whether in prayer, praises, or in the exercise of the Gospel ministry, when delivered under the influence of the Holy Spirit." It frequently (and usually) happens, however, that religious meetings held under those impressions, are continued throughout in silence; "a state which," it is affirmed, "when attended with a right exercise of mind, is best adapted to the performance of the solemn duty of Divine worship; for here, every individual who feels his own condition and necessities can secretly pour out his soul unto God, without distraction or interruption;† and here also we can freely partake of those

* Crisis, App. pp. 8, 17, 72. Wilkinson, ch. viii.

† It is deserving of remark, that the defence of silent worship here offered, is substantially the same that has been urged by the Papists in favour of conducting the public service in a dead language. See page 142, note.

Divine influences upon the mind which, when mercifully afforded, constitute the highest enjoyment of man upon earth." (Tuke, pp. 83, 84.) "Much of silence in the time appointed for public worship is the necessary consequence of the principle, that no verbal administrations, except those which arise directly out of Divine impulse, are, on such occasions, to be admitted." This outward silence, when "marred by the influence of worldly thoughts," becomes indeed, it is admitted, a mockery of worship, and "degenerates into a barren and lifeless form;" and a "condition of true internal silence is one of no easy attainment." (Gurney, pp. 216—218.) Yet Barclay boldly affirms, "that the excellency of this silent waiting upon God doth appear, in that it is impossible for the enemy, viz. the devil, to counterfeit it so as for any soul to be deceived or deluded by him in the exercise thereof." (Apol. Prop. XI. sect. 12.) "What," exclaims Mr. Wilkinson, "can be the probable effect on those who, in a state of ignorance, receive such doctrine, but to lull their minds, make them satisfied with their ignorance, and despise the channel through which alone we have the knowledge of the truth communicated to us?" *

With regard to the Christian Ministry, the views of Friends differ from those of other Christians,

"1. In not considering human learning essential to a Gospel minister.

"2. In believing that no individual has a right to assume the exclusive exercise of this ministry in a congregation of Christians; but that all, *both male and female*,† who are rightly moved thereto, may exercise this gift.

"3. That this ministry being, if rightly received, received freely, and without any pecuniary expense to qualify for it, it therefore ought to be freely communicated: and no further support expected by ministers than what is authorized by Christ, and was practised by his apostles."‡ (Tuke, p. 96.)

* Wilkinson, p. 240.

† It is denied that 1 Tim. ii. 11—15, refers to the exercise of the Gospel ministry.

‡ That is, "temporary accommodation while travelling in the work of the ministry." The authority relied upon, as of universal application, is Mark x. 8—14.

Not feeling required to make provision for the support of their own ministers, whose ministry they approve, Friends deem themselves "fully warranted in declining to contribute to the support of others, and of a worship connected with them," from both which they conscientiously dissent: more especially they feel called upon to bear their testimony against "that most objectionable and antichristian mode of support by tithes."

2. *Baptism and the Lord's Supper.* These rites are regarded by Friends as "mere types or shadows, representing in a figurative manner certain great particulars of Christian truth," and not intended to be of permanent obligation. The former, they consider as having merged in and been superseded by the baptism of the Spirit.* And the latter, they conceive to stand on the same ground as the washing of one another's feet enjoined by Our Lord as an emblem of humility. "The emblem may," in their apprehension, "be either used or disused, as Christians may consider most conducive to the real advantage of the church." (Tuke, pp. 125—127.) The "only needful supper of the Lord, according to their apprehension, is altogether of a spiritual nature." The strongest arguments adduced by Mr. Gurney and other Quaker writers for the disuse of these rites, is drawn from their having been "the means of leading multitudes into gross superstition." The reliance upon the Eucharist as a *viaticum* or saving ordinance, and the dangerous tenet, that the rite of baptism is regeneration, are adduced by Mr. Gurney as reasons for concluding, "that ordinances so peculiarly liable to abuse, and which have been the means of exciting endless divisions and many cruel persecutions, cannot truly appertain to the law of God: they are persuaded, on the contrary, that the spirituality of that law is opposed to the continued observance of any typical religious rite."† Thus, to escape from the

* Mr. Gurney goes so far as to affirm, that there is no part of the New Testament in which the observance of baptism *in water* is either commanded or declared to be necessary. The inaccuracy of this statement is ably exposed in a tract by an evangelical Friend, recently published, "Water Baptism an Ordinance of Christ. By Isaac Crewdson."

† Gurney, p. 115.

abuse originating in the strong and universal tendency to merge the spiritual in the ritual, Quakerism substitutes for the ritual the false spirituality of mysticism.

3. *Observance of Days and Times.* Friends consider all holy days as "shadows," which ceased with the shadowy dispensation of the law; and that neither the first day of the week nor any other possesses any superior sanctity;* but, as a Society, they have never objected to "a day of rest for the purpose of religious improvement." The following is the language of Barclay upon this point: "We, not seeing any ground in Scripture for it, cannot be so superstitious as to believe, that either the Jewish Sabbath now continues, or that the first day of the week is the antitype thereof, or the true Christian Sabbath, which, with Calvin, we believe to have a more spiritual sense; and therefore we know no *moral obligation* by the *fourth commandment*, or elsewhere, to keep the first day of the week, more than any other, nor any inherent holiness in it. But, *first*, forasmuch as it is most necessary that there be some time set apart for the saints to meet together to wait upon God; and, *secondly*, it is fit at some times that they be freed from their outward affairs; and, *thirdly*, reason and equity doth allow, that servants and beasts have some time allowed them, to be eased from their continual labour; and, *fourthly*, it appears that the Apostles and primitive Christians did use the first day of the week for these purposes; we find ourselves sufficiently moved, from these causes, to do so also, without superstitiously straining the Scriptures for another reason: which, that it is not there to be found, many Protestants, yea, Calvin himself, upon the fourth command, hath abundantly evinced. And though we

* In this opinion, the Quakers do not stand alone. The notion, that one day is intrinsically holier than another, or that its sanctification is more than a means subordinate to the moral end, is a Jewish prejudice. "Keep it holy," said Luther, "for its use' sake both to body and soul. But if any where the day is made holy *for the mere day's sake*,—if any where any one sets up its observance upon a Jewish foundation, then I order you to work on it, to ride on it, to dance on it, to feast on it,—to do any thing that shall remove this encroachment on the Christian spirit and liberty." This is language too liable to be misunderstood and perverted from the great Reformer's meaning; but it was dictated by a well founded jealousy of the Sabbatical superstition.

therefore meet, and abstain from *working*, on this *day*, yet doth not that hinder us from having meetings also for worship at other times." (*Barclay's Apol.* Prop. 11, § 4.)

Seeing, moreover, that the appellations of days, months, and times are of idolatrous and superstitious original, Friends esteem themselves bound to follow the example of their worthy elders, in denominating the months and days "according to the plain and scriptural way of expression."

4. *Oaths.* The Gospel dispensation, it is thought by Friends, has superseded the use of oaths. The primitive Christians, for the first three hundred years, Barclay maintains, considered it unlawful to swear; and they contend, that Our Lord's precepts (Matt. v.) extend to even judicial swearing. The first affirmation allowed by the Legislature to be received instead of an oath from members of the Society, was a declaration, "In the presence of Almighty God;" but "this not affording universal relief, the Legislature afterwards indulged us," says Mr. Tuke, "with the present form of attestation, in which there is no use of the Sacred Name."

5. *War.* The Society of Friends believe, that war is altogether inconsistent with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel: and they urge, that the primitive Christians, during two centuries, maintained the unlawfulness of war. Upon similar principles, the Society bear their testimony against capital punishments; also, against the nefarious slave-trade and slavery, as utterly inconsistent with the unalienable rights of the human race, and still more obviously so with the dictates of Christian love.

6. *Manners, &c.* Friends feel themselves bound by their principles to abstain entirely "from profuse and extravagant entertainments—from the unnecessary frequenting of taverns and public-houses—from excess in eating and drinking—from public diversions—from the reading of useless, frivolous, and pernicious books—from gaming of every description, and from vain and injurious sports (as hunting and shooting for diversion)—from unnecessary display in funerals, furniture, and style of living—from unprofitable, seductive, and dangerous amusements (among which are ranked dancing and music)—

and, generally, from all such occupations of time and mind as plainly tend to levity, vanity, and forgetfulness of our God and Saviour." (*Gurney*, pp. 277, 278.) A plainness of speech, behaviour, and apparel has always been one of the most obvious of their characteristics. Bowing and uncovering of the head to man, they deem unlawful, regarding them as acts of worship; and they object to all those salutations and "flattering titles" which make up the complimentary intercourse of fashionable life.*

In many of these characteristics, the Friends will be acknowledged to set an excellent example to Christians of other denominations; but it is remarkable, that a rejection of all outward rites should be accompanied, in their practice, with so rigid an adherence to outward peculiarities, and that so singular a uniformity in their dress and manners should be attended by so wide a latitude in their opinions.

The Friends are not an increasing sect. From the last annual "Account of the Times and Places of holding the Meetings for Worship," published by the Yearly Meeting, it appears that there are 383 such meetings in England, 5 in Scotland, and 42 in Ireland; making a total of 430. Some of these consist, we believe, of very few members; and we can hardly take a higher average than 50 for each, which would amount to 19,400 for England and Scotland, and 2,100 in Ireland. Including children and non-attendants, the aggregate may, perhaps, be set down at not far short of 30,000, which is as high an estimate as Friends have usually formed.

In the United States, they amount to about 220,000; but of these, a majority † have embraced the tenets of Elias Hicks, which, though professedly built upon the doctrines of early

* Bates, ch. xiv. Tuke, ch. x. The texts adduced in support of these views are, Matt. xxiii. 6—10. Job xxxii. 21, 22.

† At the time of the great schism, which took place in 1828, when the evangelical or orthodox Friends separated from the Deistical Quakers, the respective numbers of the parties at three of the Yearly Meetings were as under:—

		Orthodox.
Philadelphia, Y. M.	18,141	7,134
New York	13,341	5,921
Baltimore, about	12,000	300
Ohio	1,423	

Friends, are, in fact, undisguised deism. At a Yearly Meeting of Friends, held at Philadelphia in April 1828, a Declaration was agreed upon respecting the proceedings of those who had lately separated from the Society, in which the Hicksites are represented as having been led into "an open denial of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion." The extracts given from the writings of Hicks and his followers, amply support this statement; showing that, "under the specious appearance of a refined spirituality," they impugn the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and reject the divinity of Our Lord, the Atonement, and the very notion of Redemption, denying that mankind sustain any loss through the fall of Adam. "Belief is with them no virtue, and unbelief no crime; and however at times they may make high pretensions to the Divine Light, it is evident that the guide which they follow is their own benighted reason." What heresy has not commenced with rejecting or invalidating the testimony of the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures?*

SECTION II.

THE SWEDENBORGIANS.

The Swedenborgians derive their origin and their name from Baron Swedenborg, a learned Swede, born at Stockholm in 1688, and who died in London in 1772. In the year 1743, the Baron asserts, "the Lord manifested himself to him in a personal appearance, and at the same time opened his spiritual eyes, so that he was enabled constantly to see and converse with saints and angels." He shortly afterwards began to print and publish the revelations obtained by intercourse with the world of spirits. His "*Arcana Cœlestia*," or "Heavenly Mysteries," (forming 8 vols. 4to.) were published between the years 1749 and 1756: they contain an exposition of the internal, spiritual sense of the books of Genesis and

* See Crewdson's Beacon to the Society of Friends, 12mo. 1835, in which the Hicksite heresy is fully developed.

Exodus. In 1758, appeared (in 1 vol. 4to.) his Treatise "*De Cælo et Inferno*," or "on Heaven and Hell, from things heard and seen, containing a particular account of both kingdoms;" and between 1758 and 1766, several other mystical performances. In 1771, he published, at Amsterdam, (in 1 vol. 4to.) what appears to be an exposition of his entire system, under the title of "True Christian Religion, or the Universal Theology of the New Church." Besides these, the Baron published several smaller treatises, the most remarkable of which, and the first of his works which attracted attention in an English translation, was, "A Treatise on Influx, or, concerning the Commerce of the Soul and the Body."* The Translator, the Rev. T. Hartley, Rector of Winwick, in Northamptonshire, was one of the first persons in this country who avowed himself a believer in the mission and supernatural illumination of the New Prophet. This translation appeared in 1770, and was followed, a few years after, by a translation, from the same hand, of the "Heaven and Hell;" in the preface to which Mr. Hartley combats the objections to the Baron's spiritual communications.

Swedenborg was now dead; and his theological writings began to attract much more notice than they had obtained in his life-time. To this, no doubt, the zeal of his disciples powerfully contributed. The curiosity awakened by the publications of Mr. Hartley, produced a demand for several editions, and led to the translation, by degrees, of all the Baron's other theological works. Voluminous and unintelligible as they are, they have found numerous readers; and, what is scarcely credible, no fewer than fifty clergymen of the Established Church of England are stated to have become satisfied of the truth of Swedenborg's revelations.† The most zealous propagandist of these notions was the late Rev. J. Clowes, Rector of St. John's Church, Manchester, who published an "Affectionate Address," warmly recommending the serious perusal of them to his brethren, and organized a

* A new edition was published in 1832, under the title of "The Nature of the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body," &c. 12mo.

† Adam's Religious World Displayed, vol. ii. p. 242.

society among his friends at Manchester, for the purpose of circulating the Baron's works and tracts in agreement with them. A similar society was established in London in 1810. Mr. Clowes, strange to say, continued to hold his benefice, and to frame his discourses in the parish church in agreement with the Swedenborgian notions,* till his death, in 1831.

It does not appear to have been the wish or intention of the Baron himself, who was nothing worse than a learned, amiable, self-deluded visionary, that any distinct sect should be formed by his followers. Accordingly, the "numerous body of the clergy, together with many individuals of their respective congregations," who are represented to have received these doctrines, thought it "proper to continue in the use of the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and under the episcopal government."† It is hardly conceivable, however, that such persons should have embraced the whole of the Baron's theological dogmata, which are in direct opposition to the doctrines of that Church: otherwise their conduct would be alike unaccountable and dishonourable. The Baron affirms, in his "True Christian Religion," "that there is not a single genuine truth remaining in the Old Church, but what is *falsified*" by his revelations.‡ About the year 1788, however, a number of the disciples of Swedenborg formed themselves into a distinct religious society, under the name of the New Jerusalem Church; and at "a General Conference of the Members," held in London, in April 1789, a Summary of the doctrines of the New Church, extracted from the Baron's writings by a committee of his followers, was adopted as the authentic exposition of their creed. A general liturgy has since been drawn up for the use of the New Church, with forms of ordination, consecration, &c. A general conference is now held annually, to which each congregation has the privilege of sending one, two, or three lay delegates, according to its numbers, all the ministers of the New Church being members *ex officio*. At the fifteenth conference, held in Manchester, in August 1822, there were 8 ministers and 37

* Noble's Funeral Discourse for Clowes. London. 1831.

† Adam, vol. ii. p. 242.

‡ Propos. 32 of Summary.

delegates, representing 24 congregations. The number of recognised members in Great Britain was at that time estimated at between 2,500 and 3,000; but the number of attendants and general favourers was far greater. In Lancashire, where they are most numerous, they were supposed to amount to 10,000. In London, they have now three chapels.

In the United States, there are about 4,000 of this strange persuasion. In Sweden, there are a few who have embraced the new doctrines, but they are not allowed the public exercise of their worship; and other believers in Swedenborg are scattered over the Continent. By many of these, however, the discoveries of Swedenborg would seem to be received as a system of philosophy, rather than as a religious creed; or as an esoteric doctrine which may be held consistently with an outward conformity to the vulgar faith.

That the distempered reveries of this learned monomaniac should have been received as the creed of a sect, so as to bring Swedenborgism into the catalogue of heresies, is one of the most extraordinary instances of contagious credulity in the modern annals of human folly. Common sense and piety are alike outraged by the blasphemous claims to more than prophetic authority, which are set up on behalf of the Baron by his deluded followers. The following Propositions are taken from the Summary above referred to:—

“ That the last judgement was accomplished in the spiritual world in the year 1757; and that the former heaven and the former earth, or the Old Church, are passed away, and that all things are become new. That now is the Second Advent of the Lord, which is a coming, not in person, but in the power and glory of the spiritual sense of his holy word, which is himself. That this second coming of the Lord is effected by means of his servant Emanuel Swedenborg, before whom he hath manifested himself in person, and whom he hath filled with his spirit, to teach the doctrines of the New Church, by the word, from him.”

According to Proposition 12, the books of the word are those only which have the *internal sense* first discovered by the Swedish Mohammed. Among these are included 29 of

the Old Testament, but, in the New Testament, only the four Gospels and the Revelation. The other books, "not having the internal sense, are *not* the word." In this way, the Apostolic Epistles are boldly set aside; and in fact, nothing can be more entirely subversive of the apostolic faith, than many of the propositions of the new doctrine. It will be necessary only to give a few more specimens.

"Prop. 4. That to believe redemption to have consisted in the passion of the cross, is a fundamental error of the Old Church; and that this error, together with that relating to the existence of three Divine Persons from eternity, hath perverted the whole Christian Church, so that nothing spiritual is left remaining in it. 7. That the doctrines universally taught in the Old Church, particularly respecting three Divine Persons, the atonement, justification by faith alone, the resurrection of the material body, &c. &c. are *highly dangerous* to the rising generation; inasmuch as they tend to engraft in their minds principles diametrically opposite to those of the New Church, and consequently hurtful to salvation. 25. That in proportion as man is regenerated, in the same proportion his sins are removed; and that this removal is what is meant in the word by the remission of sins. 33. That now it is allowable to enter intellectually into the mysteries of faith; contrary to the ruling maxim of the Old Church, that the understanding is to be kept bound under obedience to faith."

It is satisfactory to find that this eccentric variety of fanaticism does not pretend to found itself upon the Christian Scriptures, either in their canonical integrity, or in their obvious and acknowledged import. The "True Christianity" of Swedenborgism has not even the speciousness of a Christian heresy. It is altogether a new Revelation, unsupported by either miraculous or other rational evidence; "another Gospel," at palpable variance with that which St. Paul taught; and to which there can be no hesitation, on the part of any believer in the apostolic doctrine, in applying the awful anathema, Gal. i. 9, "If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed."

SECTION III.

THE IRVINGITES.

As the followers of the late Edward Irving, notwithstanding the melancholy consciousness avowed by their master in his last moments, of having been under a delusion, appear likely for a time to maintain their existence as a separate body, they seem to claim a brief description. Yet we should hesitate to concede so much importance to an ephemeral form of fanaticism, the vague and delirious elements of which have not been, like those of Swedenborg, reduced to a permanent and coherent system, did it not present a specimen and illustration of a generic heresy which has at different periods prevailed, attended by very similar phenomena.

The origin of the sect has been traced to the meetings held in 1826, at Albury Park, at the invitation of the opulent proprietor of that seat, Henry Drummond, Esq. who may claim, perhaps, the equivocal honour of being its real founder.* The ostensible object of these meetings was to inquire into the import of the unfulfilled prophecies relating to the restoration of the Jews and the Millennium. It was not long, however, before other discussions were grafted upon the prophetic inquiry, and germs of those extravagancies of opinion began to discover themselves, which afterwards became the distinguishing and prominent characteristics of Mr. Irving's followers. Among these, the repulsive dogma of the peccability of the human nature of Christ, is stated to have been first broached at Albury Park; and this heretical notion, as well as the turn assumed by the discussions, so much shocked and alarmed many even of the professed Millenarians, that they withdrew from all connexion with the Albury Park fraternity.

* Mr. Irving, in the Dedication prefixed to his volumes entitled, "Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed of God," acknowledges himself to have derived his views of Prophecy from Hatley Frere, Esq., the author of a new system of interpretation. "Only," he says, "*the Lord accounted me worthy to receive the faith of those things which he had first made known to you his more worthy servant.*" This was in March 1826.

In the mean time, a cognate spirit of fanaticism had shown itself in Scotland, in connexion with what has been denominated the Row* or Gairloch heresy, from the parish in which it originated. The germ of this heresy is to be found in the novel opinions first propagated by Thomas Erskine, Esq., Advocate, respecting the nature of Faith and the universality of the Divine Pardon; opinions which combined the opposite tenets of the Berean and Sandemanian schools, accompanied, unhappily, with the exclusive pretensions and censorious spirit which are generally attendant upon dogmatic extravagancies.† Of these new views, the Rev. Mr. Campbell of Row became the zealous propagator; and a controversy was the result, which, in 1830, produced a great number of publications, chiefly on the side of orthodoxy. The excitement would, probably, have died away; and the peculiar notions of Mr. Erskine have proved harmless, had it not been for the collateral circumstances connected with the pretensions of a young woman, named Mary Campbell, at Fernicarry, on the banks of the Gairloch; which gave a fresh impulse to fanaticism. The way had been paved for this young prophetess by the unusual degree of personal interest attaching to her as the sister of Isabella Campbell, whose "Letters and Memoirs," published in 1829, had acquired extensive popularity; which was not a little increased by the circumstance, that, about the time of its appearance, both the brother and sister of Isabella exhibited symptoms of the same fatal complaint. From what was supposed to be her dying bed, Mary Campbell addressed her visitors with a fervour and fluency which appeared preternatural, and which she was herself led to ascribe to inspiration. Contrary to all expectation, she began to

* Row, the parish in which the heresy was first broached, is situated near Gairloch in Ross-shire.

† This gentleman had previously laid the religious public under no small obligations by his volume on the "Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion," published in 1821. In 1822, he published his "Essay on Faith," which, though inclining to Sandemanianism, contained much that was excellent. In 1828, his Essays "On the Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel," first betrayed the injurious warp of his sentiments. In 1830, he avowed as his creed, what has been styled the Row heresy; for an analysis of which, see *Eclectic Review*, 3d Series, vol. iv. p. 62.

recover; and with the prospect of returning health, she resolved to devote her future life to the conversion of the heathen. Conceiving herself specially called to the service, she felt warranted to pray for requisite qualifications; and, in answer, received, as she supposed, the gift of speaking in unknown tongues, and writing in unknown characters, although the gift of understanding or interpreting the language uttered was withheld. To this imaginary endowment was soon added, a pretension to the power of working miracles, the cessation of these gifts in the Church being ascribed, by the credulous votaries of "the Maid of Fernicarry," purely to the want of faith! It is grievous, that such a man as Mr. Erskine should have shared in this infatuation.

It was not long before the scene of these miraculous pretensions was transferred to the English Metropolis; and the "gifts" were now confined to the congregation of the Rev. Edward Irving, then a minister of the Scottish Kirk. Those individuals who conceived themselves to have received the gift of tongues, soon assumed also that of prophecy, uttering their warnings, professedly under the constraining influence of a supernatural power, partly in what they called *the tongue*, and partly in English. These manifestations were mostly confined to the early prayer-meetings. The "tongue" burst forth from the gifted person "with an astonishing and terrible crash," so suddenly and with such loud and rapid vociferation, that the hearer could scarcely recover from the shock before the English commenced. These performances had continued for nearly three months, when on Sunday, October 9, 1831, a brother, after speaking *in tongue*, concluded with these words in English: "O Britain! thou anointed of the Lord! thy destruction is at hand! Fear not, ye people of God." Mr. Irving, after the solemn service which invariably succeeded these movements, gave thanks to God for having raised a prophet in the Church, and commented on the prophecy. The delusion gained strength, and other gifted persons became the subjects of "the power." One of the principal performers, who has since had his eyes opened to the true character of these manifestations, has published an ingenuous Narrative of

Facts connected with the fanatical proceedings,* from which it appears that the speakers imagined themselves to be the passive and involuntary instruments of the power which used them. Under this influence, the writer describes himself as having been made to speak for two hours and upwards, with very little interval, giving forth what were regarded by all as prophecies concerning the church and nation. One of these related to the development of the mystical man of sin in the person of the young Napoleon! Another notable prediction declared, that God was about to seal and send forth his two witnesses, Preaching and Prophecy; and that within 1,260 days, or three years and a half from the 14th of February, 1832, judgements were to be poured out upon this kingdom; the King and Queen were to resign their crowns, the House of Lords to be abolished, and the Duke of Wellington to assume the dictatorship. Nor does the failure of these predictions appear to have cured the believers in *the power*, of their credulity and folly. But it was not long before the prophets began to give utterances of a contradictory character. One of them, in the midst of the congregation, reviled Mr. Irving himself, and this "false utterance" was declared by a gifted sister to be from Satan. Upon this, doubts arose in the mind of the individual above referred to, (Mr. Baxter,) one of the principal prophets, whether they had not all been speaking by a lying spirit, and whether the whole might not be accounted for "as a chastisement of God sent for the correction of heresy." Mr. Irving, however, to whom he disclosed his rational misgivings, replied, that it was impossible God could have sent upon them such strong delusions, for that was his final judgement upon the wicked; nor was he able to see any force in the considerations which had convinced Mr. Baxter, whom he had acknowledged as a prophet, that they had reason to suspect the whole of the supernatural manifestations to be a Satanic "mimicry of the gifts of the Spirit."†

* R. Baxter's "Narrative of Facts characterizing the supernatural manifestations in members of Mr. Irving's congregation, and other individuals in England and Scotland, and formerly in the Writer himself." 12mo. London. 1833.

† See some curious disclosures in "The Errors of Irvingism exposed, by Benjamin Shillingford, formerly connected with that sect." 12mo. London. 1836.

At length, Mr. Irving's heretical notions having been brought under the cognizance of the judicatories of the Scottish Church, he was, in March 1833, tried by the Presbytery of Annan, and suspended from his office as a minister of the National Church. On the morning upon which he was, in pursuance of this sentence, shut out of the church in Regent-square, in which he had hitherto officiated, he pronounced a curse upon the place, and declared that it should never again prosper. A new and elegant chapel, fitted up in a peculiar style, with an elevated tribunal, thrones for the elders, and lower seats for the subordinate dignitaries of the New Church, was subsequently opened and consecrated, in Newman-street, Oxford-road. On the same night, he presented his infant child for baptism, and gave it the name of Ebenezer, in token that the Lord had thus far helped him. In a short time, the child sickened; and when it was dying, the prophets and elders were summoned into the chamber, when one of the gifted persons declared it to be the will of the Lord, that the child should not die. While they were in the act of praying and commanding it to revive, it expired; upon which another manifestation burst forth, that it was the will of the Lord, it should be restored to life. But the spirit would not come again at their bidding; and the child was entombed under the very church which its father had a short time before cursed!

On being summoned to appear before the General Assembly, Mr. Irving repaired to Scotland; but, instead of waiting to receive the sentence passed upon his errors, he stood up and angrily denounced his judges, declaring that the fearful judgement of God would fall upon them for resisting the work he was engaged in, and so left them; still upheld in his delusion by the assurances of his prophets.* Very shortly afterwards,

* Shillingford, pp. 16—18. Both this Writer and Mr. Baxter bear witness to Mr. Irving's honesty of purpose. "It was," says the former, "the lying prophets who harassed him to death." "I believe him," says the latter, "to be a man of God, sincerely searching after truth, though, for the casting down of high thoughts, and for vindicating his own truth, God has suffered him to be led away of delusion . . . He is confident in his own honesty of intention in all that he has done, not being sufficiently versed in the deceitfulness of the heart, and the

he was seized with fever and the fatal symptoms of consumptive malady. In spite of confident predictions to the contrary, he expired in the land which he was to have astonished with his power; and his remains repose under one of the churches the ministers of which he had threatened with awful judgments. He died at Glasgow, Dec. 6, 1834, in his 43d year.

Besides the principal chapel in Newman-street, the Irvingites have (or had) six others in and near London, "named after the seven churches of Asia," and having "their apostles and pillars of apostles, prophets and pillars of prophets, angels and pillars of angels, elders, evangelists, deacons," &c. As their meetings are for the most part private, little is known of what takes place at them. Mr. Drummond is the angel of the church at Albury, from which the husband of Mary Campbell, Mr. Caird, was sent forth as an evangelist. He afterwards presided over a church gathered, under the episcopal auspices of Mr. Drummond, at Brighton. A foreign mission also has been undertaken by some members of the society, in emulation of the proceedings of the early Friends. What is not a little remarkable, some members of the Society of Friends have embraced the tenets of this sect, which rest upon claims to Immediate Inspiration strikingly similar to those that form the basis of Quakerism.

Fanatical pretensions and epidemic delusions of the same generic character, have at various periods made their appearance in the Christian Church. The case of the Montanists towards the close of the second century, described by Eusebius, in many of its characteristic features, forms the type of the modern manifestations of the same spirit of fanaticism.*

subtlety of that pride which clothes itself in the garb of holy zeal, and plumes its own crest under the name of contending for the truth of God. His mind is so imaginative as almost to scorn precision of ideas." Starting as the haughty and bitter censurer of the evangelical preachers, (in his "Four Orations," &c. 1823,) he shone awhile as the fashionable pulpit orator; then, embracing the reveries of Frere, he became a zealous Millenarian; then a prophet and heresiarch; at length, a credulous believer in Mary Campbell and the unknown tongue; and closed his brilliant, but eccentric career in the darkness of a bewildered mind. His course presents an affecting lesson.

* See "The Modern Claims to the Extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit stated and examined by the Rev. William Goode, M.A." 8vo. London. 1833. This

The "Holy Maid of Kent," Elizabeth Barton, was a prophetess of as unimpeachable character as Mary Campbell; and Cranmer himself at one time gave credit to her pretensions, believing her to be divinely inspired. Very similar to this was the case of Thomas Munzer, Nicholas Stork, and others, commonly called "the Celestial Prophets," who appeared in Germany at the commencement of the sixteenth century. About the middle of the seventeenth, the prophecies and revelations of Christopher Kotter, Christina Poniatowsky, and Nicholas Drabicius, found a pious editor and zealous defender in the excellent John Amos Comenius, a bishop of the Church of the United Brethren; who lived, however, to see and acknowledge his error.*

Towards the close of the same century, commenced the still more extraordinary manifestation of contagious fanaticism among the Protestants of the South of France, which afterwards spread to this country; and for a time met with extensive credence and support. The first of these French prophets (commonly called the Camisars) was one William du Serre, the inhabitant of a village in Dauphiné, who began to exert his miraculous gifts in 1688. His inspirations[†] became so infectious that, in a very short time, the country was overspread with a number of prophets; and in the Cevennes and Lower Languedoc alone, they were computed at 8,000 souls. Most of the inspired were young persons, some of them little boys and girls, who, falling into violent agitations of body, uttered large discourses, pious exhortations, and predictions of the approaching ruin of mystical Babylon. These supposed prophetic gifts were also said to be supported by many miracles. The moral and religious character of

volume contains an able historical view of such pretensions, and is a valuable treatise upon the whole subject. In chap. iii. the case of the Montanists is reviewed, and in chap. iv. the various similar cases since the Montanists.

* See Goode, pp. 152—159. Kotter was banished Silesia in 1627 as a false prophet. In that year, Christina began to experience ecstasies and visions, which lasted till the beginning of 1629, when they ceased upon her so called resurrection after a temporary state of death. She afterwards married. Drabicius was a minister of the United Brethren. His revelations lasted from 1657 to 1663. He was at last taken up, and, after his right hand had been cut off, cruelly burned together with his prophecies.

these poor fanatics was irreproachable; and their sincerity was put to the severest test, that of cruel martyrdom. Under the express direction of the lying spirit of inspiration, they at length took up arms against the king's troops, and began the war for the defence of their religion. In a few years, however, they were miserably exterminated by the sword, and all their prophecies were proved to be fallacious. A few of the principal survivors came over to this country in 1706; and, still undeceived themselves, they succeeded in obtaining many followers: among these were Mr. Lacy, a gentleman of fortune and previously deemed a man of good sense and piety, and Sir Richard Bulkely, a person of high character and some learning. The same inspirations and revelations took place here, that had been witnessed in France, all delivered as if the persons had been passively acted upon; and here, too, children were the subjects of the prophetic influence. One prominent feature was their claiming to speak by inspiration in languages unknown to them. Many instances are narrated of their power to work miracles, especially of healing; and they were not afraid to utter various predictions so specific that their falsity was soon made apparent by the event. In short, the pretensions and proceedings of the French Prophets were in all respects the counterpart of those of the Irvingites of the present day. It having been confidently predicted by several of the sect, that a Dr. Emms, who had died December 22, 1707, was to be raised to life on the 25th of May following, so extraordinary an excitement prevailed, that guards were stationed at the place of his burial, to prevent imposture. But the Doctor remained in his grave; and the sect were put out of countenance by the failure. Mr. Lacy published "Reasons why Dr. Emms was not raised;" but, gradually, the delusion appears to have died away.*

The case of the Shakers (or Shaking Quakers) forms another chapter of the same lamentable history. This sect, though now confined to the United States, had its rise in Lancashire;

* Good, pp. 160—187. See also Calamy's *Life and Times*, vol. ii. pp. 71—78; 94—114. Mr. Lacy fell into gross immorality, forsaking his wife for a prophetess, and persisted in his prophetic notions and irregular life till his death in 1730.

and appears to have grown out of a combination of the enthusiasm of the French Prophets with Quakerism. According to a statement authorized by themselves, the founders of the sect were, James Wardley, a tailor by trade, and Jane his wife; and the work under them began at Bolton and Manchester about the year 1747. They had belonged to the Society of Friends, but, receiving the spirit of the French Prophets, and a further degree of light and power, they continued for several years disconnected from every denomination. During this time, they received, by vision and revelation, the testimony, that the second appearance of Christ was at hand, and that the Church was rising in her full and transcendent glory, which would effect the final downfall of Antichrist. A small society was at length formed under their special ministry, which held its meetings alternately at Bolton and Manchester. "Sometimes, after assembling together and sitting awhile in silent meditation, they were taken with a mighty trembling, under which they would express the indignation of God against all sin. At other times, they were affected, under the power of God, with a mighty *shaking*; and they were occasionally exercised in singing, shouting, or walking the floor under the influence of spiritual signs, swiftly passing and repassing each other, like clouds agitated by a mighty wind." From these strange exercises, the people received the name of Shakers, which, though intended in derision, they acknowledged to be properly applied to them. The work went on under Wardley till the year 1770, when a new impulse was given to the society by the testimony of Anne Lee or Leese. This woman, a native of Manchester, was the daughter of John Lee, a blacksmith; and her husband, Abraham Stanley, was of the same craft: she was herself a cutter of hatters' fur. She had joined the society about 1758, and, "by her perfect obedience to all that she was taught, attained to the full knowledge and experience of those who stood in the foremost light." She was now recognised as the leader of the sect, "the Elect Lady," and "the Mother of the Elect,"—"the first spiritual parent in the line of the Covenant;" and to such as addressed her by her proper

name, she would reply, "I am Anne, the Word." These blasphemous arrogations having been made the subject of a criminal prosecution, she was committed to prison, and afterwards confined in a mad-house. In the spring of 1774, to escape from persecution, she set sail for New York, with her husband and brother, and other followers; and in that State, this strange sect has found the means of perpetuating itself. "Mother" died in 1784. She is stated to have been latterly addicted to intoxication, and her character is not free from serious imputations in other respects. She professed to carry on a continual intercourse with the invisible world, and to talk as familiarly with angels as Count Swedenborg. She claimed also the power to work miracles and to speak with tongues.* And these pretensions, unsustained by any intellectual superiority or sanctity of character, found credence among the besotted votaries of an ignorant, drunken, profane, and peevish old woman sprung from the dregs of the people! Let it, however, be observed, that the annals of the Romish Church exhibit many instances of not less degrading credulity.

Among ourselves, the case of Joanna Southcott presents the nearest parallel. This ignorant and vulgar visionary, while living in service at Exeter, persuaded herself that she held converse with the devil, and communion with the Holy Ghost; and, strange to say, though faithfully warned of her delusion by a dissenting minister, she found some clergymen credulous enough to countenance her pretensions.† In 1792, she assumed the character of a prophetess and of "the Woman in the Wilderness," and began to distribute among her followers sealed papers, which were called her seals, and were supposed to have the virtue of charms. They are said to have been applied for by thousands. Her predictions were delivered both in humble prose and doggrel rhyme, and related, besides some personal threatenings against her opponents, to impending judgements upon the surrounding nations and the speedy approach of the Millennium. Being at length seized with symptoms which simulated pregnancy, she fancied that

* Dwight's Travels in New England, &c. vol. iii. pp. 137—157.

† Williams's Dictionary of all Religions.

she was about to bring forth, by miraculous conception, a second Shiloh; and costly preparations were made by her deluded votaries for the event. In her last moments, she was attended by Ann Underwood, her secretary, Mr. Tozer, her high-priest, Colonel Harwood, and some other persons of property; and so determined were many of her followers not to be undeceived, that neither her death, nor dissection, could convince them of their delusion. Her resurrection was still looked for; and so lately as 1819, some of her votaries were found assembling in the neighbourhood of London. A remnant of this sect still survives, it is believed, in Devonshire.

The State of New York has been still more recently the theatre of a display of imposture and fanaticism, which, in its origin and many of its characteristics, very closely resembles the case of the Irvingites. The first indications of mental error were in like manner connected with the indulgence of a censorious spirit and exclusive pretensions to holiness; then came extraordinary gifts in the interpretation of prophecy; and finally, the claim to the power of working miracles through faith. The prime mover was, in this instance also, a young lady, the daughter of a pious clergyman, who soon became the centre of a select coterie, at which both sexes spoke as they were moved by the Spirit. This began about 1825, almost contemporaneously with the incipient movements of the Albury prophets. The excitement and the monomania rapidly increased, till at length, in May 1832, a stranger introduced himself to the disciples of the new faith,—a tall man, with the beard of a patriarch, professing himself to be the Matthias of the New Testament, who had risen from the dead, and who was also the angel spoken of in Rev. xix. 6, 7, and the forerunner of the Second Advent. The impostor was received with eagerness by individuals whose minds had been prepared for any extravagance;* an elegantly furnished residence was placed at his disposal; and his disciples washed his

* The Sibyl in whose fanaticism the movement commenced, and who remained the guiding spirit through the whole progress of the delusion, disapproved of the pretended prophet, and refused to acknowledge him.

feet in token of their humility. A system of plunder, in which several individuals were concerned, was now commenced; and matters proceeded so far, that the friends of some of the parties obtained warrants of lunacy, upon which Matthias (alias Robert Mathews) and one of the leaders, were for a time confined in asylums; but both were released by a writ of Habeas Corpus. The delusion still gained strength, until the victims became embarrassed in their circumstances, and one of them failed nearly 50,000% in debt. The death of one of the principal dupes, under very suspicious circumstances, in 1835, led to the apprehension and trial of Mathews on a charge of murder. In the absence of sufficient evidence, he was acquitted; but the exposure put an end to the cheat, so far as he was concerned.* Still, it did not effect a cure of the delirious fanaticism which had led to this tragical result; for, in one of its ramifications, it is said to be still flourishing and at work in the city of New York; in the same manner as neither the exposure made by Mr. Baxter, nor the dying admonitions of poor Irving to his deluded disciples, have arrested the progress of a similar delirium in this country.

All these cases of fanaticism, which have served to swell the catalogue of Protestant divisions, are marked by a common type, which may be traced in Montanism, the ecstasies of the Romish visionaries, early Quakerism, Swedenborgism, and the latest instances of similar delusion. Protestantism is unjustly reproached on account of its fruitfulness in heretical factions. "The same reproach," it is justly remarked by the eloquent Author of "Fanaticism," "unquestionably attaches, and in an equal degree, to the Ancient Church, and especially in the era of its highest secular prosperity . . . The very same minds which, during the first four centuries, or among ourselves, would have headed a faction, and given their name to a hostile and separate communion, have, under the fostering care of the papacy, lent their extravagance to the Church itself, and have proved its most efficient

* Matthias and his Impostures. By William L. Stone, 18mo. New York, 1835. Eccl. Rev. (3d Series), vol. xv. p. 30 *et seq.*

supporters."* What is a sect among Protestants, would, in the Romish Church, be but a new order. George Fox, had he been educated within the Romish pale, would have ranked with St. Francis, and Edward Irving with Prince Hohenlohe. Mother Leese might have founded a new order of nuns; and Mary Campbell have been received into the goodly company of saintly virgins whom the Church of Rome delights to honour. Their miracles would have been vouched for; their visions have been ascribed to angelic visitations; their heresies treated as harmless varieties of opinion. Fanaticism and imposture, when working for the authority of the Church, not against it, have been rewarded with the honours of canonization.

If Protestantism is not justly chargeable with peculiarly abounding in sects and heresies, (having borrowed its mysticism, its fanaticism, and its very sectarism from the Church of Rome,) still more utterly unfounded is the allegation, that the unrestricted circulation of the Scriptures has tended to multiply heretical divisions. In every instance brought under review in the present chapter, it will be seen, that, on one pretence or another, the sufficiency and exclusive authority of the Divine Revelation contained in the Scriptures, have been practically contravened, and the Inspired Rule of Faith set aside for Immediate Revelation, Allegorical Interpretation, new Scriptures, another Gospel, visions, dreams, signs, and prophecies. The habit of devout deference to the Scriptures as the only *evidence* of truth, being once thrown off or lost, imagination easily takes the place of faith; and when it has obtained the ascendancy, a waking delirium ensues, in which the mind is incapable of distinguishing between the real and the spectral, or of perceiving the incongruity of its own ideas. It is then closed, as in sleep, against all external impressions from argument and reasoning, and no longer asks, to sustain its convictions, any other evidence than sensation. The judgement is in abeyance, sometimes as completely as in cases of actual insanity; and the moral phenomena thus assume the character of physical disease. Yet,

* Fanaticism, p. 326.

fanaticism is not madness, nor the result, at least in many cases, of distemper. The aberration has its origin in religious error. The mind has shaped out for itself a creed, and then worshipped it—the idolatry of speculative minds; the law of religion has been broken in the very act of doing homage to its forms; and the great lesson to be learned from all such pitiable cases, is, that it is infinitely dangerous to deal with religious verities except in the spirit of obedience.

SECTION IV.

AMERICAN SECTS.

In the United States of America, the asylum of emigrants and refugees of all religious denominations from almost every country of Europe, a great diversity of creeds and professions might be expected to exist; and the perfect civil equality enjoyed by all sects in the absence of any State Establishment, has tended to bring this diversity more broadly into view. Yet it will be seen from the following statistical view of the population, that the great body of the people are comprehended within the Presbyterian and Congregational, the Baptist, the Wesleyan Methodist, and the Episcopalian communions; that the sects are for the most part insignificant; and that scarcely any of them are indigenous, the most eccentric varieties having been transplanted from the mother country or father-land of the original settlers.

	Ministers.	Churches.	Communicants.
Presbyterian Body	2,040	2,530	227,560
Congregationalists	1,100	1,250	155,000
Baptists	4,160	5,926	416,930
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7,300	9,706	799,490
Episcopalians	845	700	50,000
Methodist, Episcopal	2,625	2,625	640,000
Other Methodists	400	400	50,000
Other Presbyterians	150	280	28,000
Other Baptists	540	834	41,300
Lutheran and Reformed (Dutch and German)	560	1,600	140,600
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carried forward	12,420	16,145	1,749,390

	Ministers.	Churches.	Communicants.	Supposed Numbers.
Brought forward	12,420	16,145	1,749,390	—
Roman Catholics	312	338	—	550,000 (Attendants.)
Quakers . . .	—	462	—	220,000
Unitarians . .	150	170	—	—
Jews	—	—	—	15,000
Universalists .	350	550	—	—
Mennonites . .	—	200	—	—
Shakers . . .	—	4	—	5,000
Dunkers . . .	—	1	—	600
Swedenborgians .	—	—	—	4,000

The total population of the United States is about thirteen millions, of whom two millions are slaves. Five millions of the free population are concentrated in New England and New York. The Presbyterian body, if not the strongest in numbers, is certainly so by standing and consideration. Its strength, however, is chiefly in the Middle States; as, in the six States of New England, the Congregational order prevails. "The common understanding has been, that, on passing the geographical line which divides these States, the party shall yield his distinctive opinions on church government so far as to unite with the prevailing profession; and he is passed from one church to another by the ordinary certificate. This compact includes ministers as well as laymen, and there are consequently scarcely any Presbyterian churches in New England;" as there are few Congregational churches south of that line, except in the State of New York.* The fraternal connexion between the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies has also been recognised by the reception of delegates to sit in the principal conventions of each. The Plan of Union, by which Congregational churches were thus brought into complete union with the Presbyterian church, was formed in 1801; but, after existing for six-and-thirty years, it has been annulled by the last General Assembly, held in 1837, on the ground that the Congregationalists had become so strong as to overrule by their votes the Presbyterians, and in effect to govern the church. But the Assembly profess, in this ecclesiastical separation, to retain the most cordial esteem and fraternal affection for their Congregational brethren.

* Reed and Matheson's Narrative, vol. ii. p. 80.

The Baptists rank next, numerically, to the Congregationalists in New England; but their strength lies in the west and south, where their numbers are greatly swelled by the large accessions made from the slaves: hitherto, a great proportion of their ministers have had little education. The Methodists, who are spread over most of the States, have fewer ministers, but show a larger number of communicants, including also a considerable proportion of slaves.* Like the Baptists, they are beginning to take decided measures to secure an educated ministry. The Episcopal Church is the smallest of the five leading denominations; but it is considerable in point of influence, and is making rapid advances, if we may judge from the great increase in the number of its resident clergy. In most of the principal towns, there are highly respectable congregations of this denomination; but there are none in the country parts. The congregations have a voice in the appointment of their pastors, and the bishops are elected in a convention of pastors and lay delegates. In other respects, the forms and polity of the Church of England are adhered to. Like the parent church, this body is divided into two parties, the high church and the low church, the Arminian and the Evangelical.

Of the 170 Unitarian congregations, 130 are concentrated in the State of Massachusetts. In the principal towns of the eastern part of that State, the Unitarians embrace most of the wealth and literary and political influence. In Boston, their stronghold, they have twelve societies, averaging about 600. Elsewhere, their congregations are very small, not averaging more than 100; and their influence is scarcely felt except in a few counties round Boston. This sect is, in fact, rapidly declining.

Among the miscellaneous sects, the Universalists alone are numerous. The doctrine which gives name to this denomination, was held by Origen in the third century, and has found modern advocates in many learned and speculative men of

* In 1834, of 638,784 members, 553,134 were whites, 83,156 coloured, and 2,494 Indians. See above, p. 453.

different theological views in other respects.* It asserts, that the plan of salvation embraces the eventual restoration of all mankind. The theory of Universal Salvation has been expounded upon very different principles. A Mr. James Rely, at one time a follower of Whitfield, and a popular preacher, having adopted this sentiment, became separated from that connexion, and formed a small congregation in London, to whom he preached till his death in 1778. He was joined by Mr. Cudworth, another of Whitfield's preachers. One of this society, a Mr. Murray, emigrated to America, and there preaching the same doctrine, founded societies of "Philadelphian Universalists." Between 1785 and 1798, an earnest controversy upon this subject was carried on by some American divines. The Rev. Elhanan Winchester, who visited this country about 1790, was another zealous advocate of this doctrine; but, we are told, "he was an Arminian, not a *Rellyan* Universalist."† Of the societies which now bear this name, little seems to be known. Their distinguishing tenet allows of a great latitude of theological opinion, and probably covers a variety of creed ranging from Antinomianism to philosophical deism.

The Shakers, or Shaking Quakers, have their chief settlement at New Lebanon, in the State of New York. The number in the village was, in 1820, about 500, but, including the neighbourhood, they amounted to 1,500.‡ They possess about 3,000 acres of land, and are distinguished by their industry, order, and neatness. Their property is all in common; and, as the unlawfulness of marriage is one of their fundamental principles, the establishment resembles a monastic institution, except that the male and female members are not separated from all intercourse. The sect is kept up entirely by proselytes. To the unfortunate, to widows and

* Among others, by the Chev. Ramsay, Dr. Cheyne, Dr. Hartley, Lavater, Dr. Chauncy of America, Dr. Huntington, and Elhanan Winchester.

† Williams's Dictionary of all Religions.

‡ Dr. Dwight mentions *four* establishments in different parts of the Union, and supposes that there were others; but whether they are in existence now, does not appear. Their total numbers are supposed to be about 5,000.

orphans, and persons who know not how to gain their livelihood, the institution offers an asylum; and to others of fanatical temperament, the tenets may present an attraction.* “Incredible as it may seem,” says Dr. Dwight, “one is tempted, from the apparent sincerity of these people in other cases, to believe them sincere in the adoption of those mental vagaries by which they are distinguished as a religious society. They profess and appear to believe, that they are regularly inspired in their worship; that they are enabled to speak and to sing in unknown languages; that they derive their sentiments, their knowledge, their devotion, their unnatural actions, and even their tunes, from the same divine source. . . . In their worship, they practise many contortions of the body and distortions of the countenance. The gesticulations of the women were violent, and had been practised so often as to have made them goggle-eyed. . . . The power of working miracles they still claim. . . . They declare that they have visions of the invisible world, and that spirits converse with them. They hold all books to be useless.”† Natural affection they deem sinful; but the most implicit obedience is exacted to their elders. Their morality appears very questionable, as they have been taught to believe that the end sanctions the means, and that falsehood and perjury are lawful in a good cause. Formerly, their practices were in flagitious violation of decency;‡ but it is believed that the grosser and more ridiculous improprieties are gradually passing away. A sect perpetuated by fanaticism cannot, however, long outlive the pruning down of its extravagancies; and the Shakers probably owe their continued existence at present to the property which has been accumulated. It is curious to find, in the nineteenth century, so extraordinary a combination of the Quaker enthusiasm, the monastic rule and discipline of

* A law of the State of New York enables married persons who wish to join them to become divorced, on condition that the party declining to join them retains the children and the property.

† Dwight's Travels, vol. iii. pp. 146—152.

‡ Dr. Dwight affirms that, antecedently to 1793, the men and women, on a variety of occasions, danced naked; and flagellations were enjoined upon proselytes, or practised upon them, in a state of nudity.

popery, and the frantic worship of the howling and whirling dervises and fakeers of the East.

Nearly allied in outward manners and discipline to the Shakers, are the Dunkers, (Dippers,) or Tumblers; a small society of German Baptists, founded by Conrad Peysel, a German, at Euphrata, within 50 miles of Philadelphia, in 1724. In 1777, their numbers did not exceed 500; but they have since increased. Their rule is monastic, the men and women having separate habitations and distinct governments; but those who are disposed to marry, are allowed to do so, and to preserve their connexion with the society, but must remove from the settlement. The Dunkers abstain from eating flesh, except upon particular occasions, and observe in other respects a monkish austerity, believing in the expiatory efficacy of penance and mortification of the body. They wear a dress similar to that of the Dominican friars. They are said to hold the leading tenet of the Universalists, and the Quakers' scruples with regard to resistance, war, slavery, and litigation; they practise trine immersion, and their worship and church government resemble those of the Mennonites. Such are the chief characteristics of "the harmless Dunkers."

The Mennonites are still numerous in Pennsylvania. Some years ago, there were supposed to be more than 200 Mennonite churches in the United States, some containing no fewer than 300 members. They are chiefly the descendants of German emigrants.* Many of them, as in Holland, have lapsed into Socinianism or Deism.

Upon the whole, the United States do not exhibit a greater variety of sect than England, Holland, or Russia; nor has unendowed Protestantism any thing to fear from a comparison of the state of things, in respect to religion, in America, under all the disadvantages of a new and thinly peopled country, with the religious condition of any part of the Old Continent.

* Ward's Farewell Letters, Lett. 19—22. See above, p. 276.

CHAPTER X.

PROTESTANT CONTROVERSIES.

The Arian and Socinian controversy.—The Calvinistic controversy.—The Antinomian and Sandemanian controversy.—The Baptist, Hutchinsonian, and Millenarian controversies.—The Ecclesiastico-political controversy.

IN order to complete our survey of the Christian world, it only remains to take a brief view of those leading diversities of theological opinion which are common to different communions or denominations of Protestantism, and are found, indeed, beyond its pale; which, therefore, are to be regarded as distinct schools, rather than as religious sects. Most of them have already been incidentally referred to; and all that will be attempted in the present Chapter is, to classify them in relation to the controversies out of which they spring, and to take a brief historical review of their rise in connexion with the Protestant faith.

I. Opposite views respecting the Person of Christ, have given rise to the Arian and Socinian controversy; producing the various sects or schools of Arians, Semi-Arians, Sabellians, Socinians, and modern Unitarians or Anti-Trinitarians.

II. Opposite views of the Christian scheme, in relation to the purpose of God, and the actual condition of man, have given rise to the Predestinarian or Calvinistic controversy, in which have originated the denominations of Pelagian and Augustinian, Calvinist and Arminian, Sublapsarian and Supralapsarian, Baxterian, Necessitarian, and various others.

III. Differences of sentiment as to the nature of Justification, of Faith, and of the requirements of the Gospel, have produced the Antinomian, the Sandemanian, and some minor

controversies which have contributed to swell the catalogue of unmeaning distinctions.

IV. Three distinct controversies,—the Baptist controversy, the Hutchinsonian, and the Millenarian, are grounded upon differences of Biblical interpretation: the former two are partly philological, while the third involves both criticism and theory.

V. Opposite views of the nature of the Church and the Scriptural form of church government have given rise to the denominations of Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Independent, &c., and to the controversy upon the subject of ecclesiastical establishments.

I. *The Arian and Socinian Controversy.*—The Arians take their name from Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century. In the fifth century, the proscribed creed of the Arian party found protection under the Christian Vandals and Goths; and after their expulsion from Spain and Italy, it was revived under the dominion of the Lombards and Burgundians. Gradually, the name, if not the heresy, became extinct; and it was not till the sixteenth century, that the controversy respecting the Person of Christ was revived by Lelius and Faustus Socinus, the founders of that modification of the Arian school called Socinian. Shortly after the Reformation, Arian tenets found supporters in this country. Strype, the ecclesiastical historian, speaking of the transactions of 1550, says: “Arianism now shewed itself openly, and was in such danger of spreading further, that it was thought necessary to suppress it by using more rugged methods than seemed agreeable to the merciful principles of the Gospel.” An injunction issued by the archbishops and bishops in 1560, directs, that incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or Free-will-men be imprisoned and kept to hard labour till they repent of their errors. Two Arians suffered under the writ *De Hæretico comburendo*, so late as the reign of James I.

After this, although opinions approximating to Sabellian or Semi-Arian found their abettors, (and the illustrious Author of *Paradise Lost*, in his posthumous work on Theology, advo-

cates such views,*) we hear little of Arianism as the subject of controversy, till it was revived, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, by the learned and eccentric Whiston, Mr. Emlyn, and Dr. Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's. The former two avowed what is called low Arianism, which runs into Socinianism; reducing Our Lord (though without denying his pre-existence) to the scale of angelic beings. The latter was a high or Semi-Arian, his views coming within a shade or two of Nicene orthodoxy. Mr. Whiston was, on account of his avowed Arian principles, deprived of his professorship of mathematics at Cambridge, and banished the university, about the year 1710. His publications subsequently brought upon him the vehement censures of the Convocation; but he was protected by the Court against penal proceedings. Dr. Clarke was also threatened, and manifested less firmness or integrity than Whiston. He found a powerful antagonist in Dr. Waterland, who is chargeable, however, with statements verging upon Tritheism, and with a spirit of unbecoming haughtiness and asperity. The other principal supporters of the Arian hypothesis have been, Dr. Price, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Hallet, Dr. Chandler, Mr. Henry Taylor, Dr. Harwood, Dr. Kippis, and Dr. Carpenter; most of them English Presbyterians. But Arianism has proved itself to be but a transitive heresy, a creed of one generation, becoming Socinianism in the next; being itself but a subtle hypothesis, more staggering to reason than the doctrine it attempts to explain, and showing, by its very gradations from Semi-Arianism down to naked Unitarianism, that it presents nothing settled, or certain, upon which the mind can rest with satisfaction. It is now almost an extinct opinion.

Sabellianism, which is more ancient than Arianism, and older than Sabellius whose name it bears, (who flourished in the third century,) is in like manner too vague and shadowy to

* The Right Rev. Editor and Translator of Milton's Treatise on Christian Doctrine, remarks, that "the opinions of Milton were in reality *nearly Arian*, ascribing to the Son as high a share of divinity as was compatible with the denial of his self-existence and eternal generation, but not admitting his co-equality and co-essentiality with the Father." Such is, in fact, the theology of *Paradise Lost*. But he differed from Arius in maintaining that the Son is "consubstantial with the Father." See *Ecl. Rev.* vol. xxv. (2d Series), pp. 1, 114.

furnish proper materials for a permanent heresy.* Hence it has never been maintained by any large number of adherents, although modifications of it have subsisted in various succeeding heresies. By Paul of Samosata, Sabellianism was reduced almost to the low level of Socinianism. But, in its more plausible form, it teaches, that the Godhead subsists under three *modes* or characters, but that there is but one Divine Person, which became manifested in Christ Jesus. This has sometimes been termed "the indwelling scheme." Some individuals of decided piety have glided into it, without being aware that they were departing from the truth which they had formerly maintained. Such was, probably, the case with the amiable and excellent Dr. Watts, who appears to have adopted "the indwelling scheme" towards the close of his life; and Dr. Doddridge is supposed to have inclined to the same opinion: still, more recently, some individuals once esteemed for their piety, setting out with the adoption of these Sabellian views, have gradually declined still further from the scriptural doctrine. Sabellianism is embodied, in its grossest shape, in the mystic creed of the Swedenborgians.

Socinianism, in its original form, as taught in the Racovian Catechism and in the writings of the Polish divines, admitted the miraculous conception, and inculcated the worship of Christ. It was first openly avowed in this country by John Biddle, in the time of the Commonwealth, who was prosecuted for his opinions, and died in prison in 1662. Like Arianism, the primitive heresy has become almost extinct; and the modern Unitarians have some ground for disclaiming an appellation which implies the ascription of a higher degree of religious honour and homage to the Son of God, than is consistent with a creed which reduces him to the level of a fallible and peccable man, whose sufferings and death are to

* The opinions of Origen, the first who attempted to Platonize the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, may be considered as akin to Sabellianism, if not its fountain. "Wherever Christianity has been remodelled upon Platonism, the heresy generally termed Semi-Arian has prevailed, such as Dr. Clarke in later times supported; in which the Messiah is considered not absolutely God, but 'God of God,' and the Holy Spirit is considered as a still more derivative emanation."—Douglas's *Truths of Religion*, p. 186.

be considered in the same light as those of any other martyr in the cause of Christianity.

Such was the avowed creed of Dr. Priestley, the founder of the modern Unitarian school in this country; in which, as in the creed of the Neological and Anti-supernatural schools of Germany, all the distinguishing doctrines of the Christian faith are explained away, and all that is mysterious expunged from the Scriptures. Dr. Priestley began his career, according to his own account, as an ultra-Calvinist; he became first an Arminian; but, before he left the theological academy in which he learned to doubt, he had exchanged an unqualified for "a qualified belief" of the Atonement. It was not long before he arrived at the persuasion that that doctrine, "even in its most qualified sense, has no countenance either from Scripture or reason." Pursuing his philosophical inquiries, he was easily led to believe, that the mission of Christ "did not require more natural power, physical or moral, than that of other men, and that nothing is gained by thinking him more." The divine inspiration of the Scriptures was of course soon set aside as a barrier to free inquiry; and Priestley then "thought himself at liberty to consider the account given by Moses of the creation and the fall of man as the best that he could collect from tradition," but, in his opinion, "a lame account." The doctrine of a proper supernatural influence upon the mind, Priestley boldly affirmed to be "false." The immateriality of the soul, he considered as unphilosophical. Yet, he retained his belief in one article of the Christian faith, and only one—the resurrection of the body. His language in his last moments evinced him to be a Universalist. "We shall all meet finally," he said: "we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for our final happiness." He maintained also the doctrine of philosophical necessity; and his notions of the Deity approximated to Pantheism. Dr. Priestley retired to the United States in 1794, and died there in 1804.

To the writings and influence of this great heresiarch, the progress of Socinian principles during the latter part of the last century must be chiefly ascribed. Among his principal

coadjutors may be mentioned, the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, a beneficed clergyman, who, having for some years previously been a disbeliever in the Deity of Christ, at length, in 1773, resigned his living, and afterwards preached to a congregation of his own principles in Essex-street, Strand. "The attendance, composed chiefly of persons of opulence, (among whom the Duke of Grafton made the principal figure,) was at no time very numerous; and no similar society was formed from among the members of the Established Church in any part of the United Kingdom." In fact, it has been justly remarked, "the utmost that the efforts of Lindsey, Priestley, and others effected, was, to convert the teachers of Arianism among the Dissenters into Socinians, who exerted themselves with tolerable success to disseminate their principles in their respective congregations; so that the boasted triumphs of Socinianism consist in sinking that section of the Dissenting body who had already departed from the faith, a few degrees lower in the gulf of error." * Of the places occupied by Socinian or Unitarian congregations throughout England, amounting to 206,† only thirty-six, or little more than a sixth, have been erected by persons of those sentiments. The greater part are maintained by old Presbyterian endowments; and out of the whole number, not more than six can boast of large congregations. The Unitarians have been affirmed, by one of their own partizans, to be "the richest body of religionists in the kingdom; yet they contribute least to religious objects." "Perhaps one half of the insignificant stipends paid to their ministers, proceed from the charity of preceding ages. In many instances, the whole of the salary," and "generally the chief part of the tiny sum received by the minister, proceeds from endowments." Many of the old chapels are in a pitiable state, the number of hearers not averaging more than thirty, the salary of the minister not more than 70*l.* per annum. "Few beings are

* Hall's Review of Belsham's Memoirs of Lindsey, Works, vol. iv. p. 200. See above, p. 406, Note †. Several other clergymen, however, having embraced Unitarianism, resigned their situations, and became zealous votaries of their new creed; viz. Drs. Chambers, Jebb, and Disney; Messrs. Hammond, Gilbert Wakefield, and Stone.

† See above, page 413.

more to be pitied than a Unitarian minister placed in such circumstances." These are the admissions of writers lamenting the state of things which they describe. In the Metropolis, the Arians and Unitarians calling themselves English Presbyterians, are reduced to ten congregations, of which all but three or four are very inconsiderable.* Their colleges at Hackney, Exeter, and Warrington are all extinct; and that at York, which alone survives, is sustained by orthodox endowments.

The modern Unitarian Creed is presented in a compact and authentic form, in the "Calm Inquiry" of Mr. Belsham, the successor of Mr. Lindsey at Essex-street chapel, and generally regarded as the ablest interpreter and vindicator of the system. It comprises the following propositions:—

1. That Jesus of Nazareth was "a man of exemplary character," but "constituted in all respects like other men, subject to the same infirmities, the same ignorance, prejudices, and frailties; appointed by God to introduce a new moral dispensation into the world, the design of which was to abolish the Jewish economy;" "in other words, authorized to reveal to all mankind the great doctrine of a future life in which men shall be rewarded according to their works."

2. That he "suffered death publicly upon the cross, not to appease the wrath of God, not as a satisfaction to Divine justice, not to exhibit the evil of sin, nor in any sense whatever to make an atonement to God for it, but as a martyr to the truth, and as a necessary preliminary to his resurrection." That "he was raised to life by the power of God, agreeably to his own predictions;" by which "he not only confirmed the truth and divinity of his mission, but exhibited in his own person a pattern and a pledge of a resurrection to immortal life." That, after forty days, "he was in a miraculous manner withdrawn from their society; and that in a few days after this event, the Holy Spirit was communicated to his apostles

* See "State of Unitarianism in England," reprinted from the *Eclectic Review*, 1830. *Manchester Socinian Controversy*, 1825. *Cong. Mag.* 1836, p. 268. The extant statutes excluding Socinians from the benefit of the Toleration Act were repealed in 1813, so that they have since then stood on the same footing, in a civil respect, as other Dissenters.

in a visible symbol on the day of Pentecost, by which they were endued with the gift of speaking various languages which they had never learned, and were furnished with many other gifts and powers by which they were qualified to propagate the Gospel in the world, and to exhibit a most satisfactory proof of the resurrection of their Master from the dead." *

3. "That Jesus and his apostles were supernaturally instructed, as far as was necessary for the execution of their commission," and (together with "others of the primitive believers") "were occasionally inspired to foretell future events; but that supernatural inspiration was limited to these cases alone; and that when Jesus or his apostles deliver opinions upon subjects unconnected with the object of their mission, such opinions, and their reasonings upon them, are to be received with the same attention and caution with those of other persons in similar circumstances, of similar education, and with similar habits of thinking."

4. "That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and especially the latter, contain authentic records of facts and of Divine interpositions;" but Unitarians "utterly deny the universal inspiration of the writers of those compositions;" "and they judge of the genuineness of the meaning, and of the credibility of those works, exactly in the same way as they judge of any other ancient writings."

5. "That Christ is appointed to raise the dead and to judge the world;" but the part assigned him "will be no more than what may properly be allotted to a human being, and in the execution of which his apostles and disciples will be associated with him."

6. That "while they regard the character of Christ as the most complete and the most interesting that was ever exhibited to the world, and feel themselves under indispensable obligation to obey the precepts of his Gospel, Unitarians disavow all those personal regards to Christ, and direct

* Many of the Unitarians believe that Jesus continued to maintain, occasionally at least, some personal and sensible connexion with the Church during the apostolic age; but "it is believed, that he is now withdrawn from all sensible intercourse with this world."

addresses to him, either of prayer or praise, which properly fall under the definition of religious worship, as in a strict and proper sense *polytheistical and idolatrous*." *

From this summary of the Unitarian doctrine, it must be inferred by necessary deduction, that, if Unitarianism be indeed Christianity, Unitarians are the only Christians in the world, all others being polytheists. In this case, the Moham-medans, who agree with the Unitarians in almost the whole of these articles, are better Christians than those who hold the evangelical faith; and Mohammedism must be regarded as a reformation of Christianity.† Further, it is evident, that for those who hold the evangelical faith to acknowledge the Unitarians to be Christians, is virtually to acknowledge themselves to be polytheists and idolaters.

It is clear, however, that Unitarianism is not the religion of the Bible, because it is the only system which requires for its support, the rejection of the inspiration and Divine authority of the sacred writings, the impeachment of the genuineness of the text, and the theory that Our Lord and his apostles might be mistaken.

But, viewing Unitarianism as an anti-christian heresy, it becomes, in that character, an important corroboration of the truth of the Scriptures. If there were no mystery in the Scripture doctrine, there would be no necessity for that Divine teaching or spiritual illumination without which both Our Lord and his apostles declared that it would not, and could not, be received.‡ Unitarianism is the natural, as it is the *predicted* result of despising these inspired warnings, of maintaining the absolute sufficiency of reason, and ridiculing faith as fanaticism. Thus, as every Jew is a living attestation of the truth of the Prophecies, every Unitarian is an unconscious witness to the

* Belsham's *Calm Inquiry*, pp. 291—299.

† It may be added, that, upon the Unitarian theory, the Jews were perfectly justified in putting Our Lord to death; or at least excusable, as having murdered him under a mistake. This argument is urged with irresistible force by Abbadie, in his admirable work on the Divinity of Christ. See also Douglas's *Truths of Religion*, Part IV. § 4.

‡ See especially Matt. xi. 27; xvi. 17. John vi. 44, 45. 1 Cor. ii. 14; xii. 3. 1 John iv. 2.

truth of the apostolic Scriptures, and to the Divine origin of the doctrine which, in the pride of intellect, he impugns.*

In classing modern Unitarians with Deists, rather than with Christians, evangelical believers are but acting in self-defence, and cannot be fairly charged with any breach of charity. Among those who have ranked as avowed Deists, rejecters of the Christian name, and deniers of Revelation, have been found many learned, ingenious, and amiable men. That there are Unitarians exemplary in all the relations of life,—upright, benevolent, and actively useful, cannot be denied. But we can no more allow this circumstance to entitle the individuals to be regarded as Christians, than in the case of the Deist or the Mussulman, who are equally, in the assumed sense, Unitarians. A twofold impropriety, however, attaches to this use of the term. First, it assumes that those who believe in the Divinity of Our Lord, are not to be considered as holding the Unity of the Godhead. Secondly, it conveys the idea, that Unitarianism consists *mainly* in a rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity, (in which respect it agrees with Arianism in its various modifications,) whereas it involves, in fact, a disbelief of all the essential doctrines of the Christian faith. It goes beyond Socinianism in rejecting from its negative creed the miraculous conception of Our Lord, the worship of Christ, the existence of the Devil, and the eternity of future punishments, all which were held by the early Socinians. Most of the more distinguished Unitarians have held the doctrines of Materialism and Philosophical Necessity, and have been, like their great master, Priestley, Universalists. It is singular that they should have escaped having fixed upon them the specific and appropriate appellation of Priestleians. But, as the term Unitarian has now acquired a specific meaning, it would answer no purpose to rob them of the appellation. "From Socinianism to Deism," say the French Encyclopædists, "there is but a very imperceptible shade."† Unitarianism forms the chromatic interval in the descending scale.

* See "Is a Unitarian entitled to the Appellation of Christian?" Cong. Mag. 1834, p. 569.

† "Du Socinianisme au Déisme il n'y a qu'une nuance très imperceptible." This was said of the Socinianism of Geneva; and again: "Le respect pour Jesus Christ

II. *The Predestinarian or Calvinistic Controversy.*—The controversy between Calvinists and Arminians relating to Divine Predestination and Grace, is but a revival or continuation, under another name, of that which originated in the Church of Rome long anterior to the Reformation, and gave rise to the opposite schools of Augustine and Pelagius. The origin of the Predestination controversy may be traced indeed to the Stoical and Peripatetic schools of heathen wisdom. All its elements, “the elements of this world,” as St. Paul justly styles them, are to be found in the writings of Aristotle; and the period at which the Aristotelian philosophy displaced the Platonic, may be assigned as the era from which we are to date the introduction into theology of those metaphysical questions relating to fate and free-will which succeeded to the Arian or *Homousian* controversy. It was about A.D. 397, that Augustine first developed his theological opinions in a systematic form, at least ten years before the opposite opinions of Pelagius had awakened any public controversy.* In the writings of that great luminary of the Western Church are found all the doctrines subsequently expounded with equal learning and elegance in the Institutes of the great Reformer of Geneva. Whatever difference may have subsisted between Luther and Calvin on the subject of the Divine decrees, no language can be stronger than that in which Luther insists upon the moral impotence of man’s depraved nature, in opposition to the Pelagian notion of free-will. In fact, the terms Calvinistic and Calvinism have usually been employed, in this country, to designate, not the doctrines upon which Calvin and the Helvetic divines differed in any degree from the other Reformers, but chiefly those upon which all agreed. Calvinistic has the same meaning as Augustinian, in opposition to Pela-

et pour les Ecritures sont peut-être la seule chose qui distingue d’un pur Déisme le Christianisme de Genève.” See above, p. 270. Priestley, speaking of President Jefferson, writes: “He is generally considered as an unbeliever: if so, however, he cannot be far from us.”

* See, in proof of this important fact, a very valuable Comparative View of the Lives and Systems of Augustine and Pelagius, by Prof. Neander, extracted from his General History of the Church, in the Biblical Repository (Andover, U. S.) No. IX. Art. 3. The Jansenist controversy is very closely related to the Calvinistic. See above, p. 171.

gianism, of which Arminianism is a modification. Not that Arminius himself maintained those latitudinarian views which soon became the characteristics of the sect called by his name.* Episcopius, the second father of that sect, modified still more boldly the doctrines of Original Sin and Divine Grace. Limborch and Curcellæus advanced still further towards Pelagianism; and in the famous Le Clerc, the downward tendencies of the rationalizing theology became still further developed, his opinions, though cautiously expressed, containing the seeds of the German neology.†

The "five points" which give name to the Quinquarticular controversy between the Calvinistic and Anti-Calvinistic divines of Holland, relate to—1. Predestination or Election; 2. The Extent of Redemption; 3. Moral Depravity and Impotency; 4. Effectual Calling; 5. Final Perseverance of the sanctified. The questions involved (to state them briefly) are, whether the Divine Predestination is absolute or conditional; whether the redemption effected by the death of Christ is "general" in its intention, or "*particular*," as comprising actually only the elect, or those who it was foreseen would be saved; whether or not the corruption of human nature consequent upon the Fall, is total and by mere human effort remediless; whether Divine Grace is irresistible, or not; and whether the perseverance of the saints is certain, so that those who are united to Christ cannot finally fall.

Calvinists are understood to maintain, that Predestination is absolute, Redemption limited, Moral Impotency total, Grace irresistible, and the salvation of the believer certain. In maintaining these propositions, many divines have gone to lengths in consequential reasoning, and have employed a strength of language, which few theologians of the present day would approve or imitate. Among Calvinistic, as among Arminian

* "Arminius himself, to use the language of the present times, was merely a moderate Calvinist, and moderate too in a very limited degree; for, on most points, he seems to have been altogether as strenuous as Calvin himself."—*Prof. Stuart on the Creed and Life of Arminius*, Bibl. Repos. No. II. Art. 2, p. 304.

† "The Arian had always an Arminian pioneer," says Mr. Douglas. "Errors of Religion," p. 184. This is true of modern Arianism. See above, p. 365.

divines, there are more than shades of difference, indicated by the terms high Calvinist and moderate Calvinist, sublapsarian and supralapsarian, &c. The doctrine of Reprobation, the dark shadow thrown by that of Absolute Election, has been again and again explicitly disavowed by modern Calvinists; and the dogma of Particular Redemption is abandoned, as implying a mistaken view of the Atonement, by some distinguished divines of the Calvinistic school. Scholastic Calvinism and Popular Calvinism, which may be described as the Augustinian theology strained off from its metaphysics, differ so materially, that Bishop Horsley felt it necessary to admonish his clergy to beware how they aimed their shafts at Calvinism before they knew what it is and what it is not; a great part of what ignorantly goes under that name being "closely interwoven with the very rudiments of Christianity." By Calvinism, nine persons out of ten understand the doctrines of Justification by Faith and the Necessity of Regeneration, which are known to be the main topics of the Calvinistic preaching; and the popular outcry, unhappily encouraged by the "orthodox" party in the Establishment, has for its real source, a deeply rooted disaffection to the humbling doctrines of the Gospel.

The great Prelate above named, though he did not adopt the whole of the Calvinistic tenets, has, in his sermon upon Providence and Free-Agency, laid down principles which establish all that philosophical Calvinists contend for; and "we may solace ourselves," says the late Principal Hill, "under the scorn of many superficial writers in the Church of England, who condemn what they do not understand, with the countenance of this respectable auxiliary, who, without declaring himself a partizan, has lent his assistance in clearing that strong ground which every sound and able Calvinist will now occupy."* By the majority of the English clergy, how-

* Hill's Lectures on Divinity, vol. iii. p. 209. It is remarkable that Bishop Copleston, in his "Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination," in which he closely treads in the steps of Archbishop King, discovers no acquaintance with Bishop Horsley's profound reasoning in the sermon above alluded to, which is a complete answer, by anticipation, to all that he has advanced on the

ever, orthodox divinity is identified with the mild Arminianism of Tillotson and Whitby, or the Semi-Pelagianism of Laud; and among divines of this school, Bishop Tomline's "Refutation of Calvinism," though as feeble in reasoning as it is arrogant and uncandid in its treatment of opponents, still passes for a theological authority.* This boasted Refutation drew forth two able works in vindication of Modern Calvinism, by the Rev. Thomas Scott, the venerable author of the "Commentary," and Dr. Edward Williams, the theological tutor of Rotherham College. Since then, the Calvinistic controversy has almost slumbered.†

III. *The Antinomian and Sandemanian Controversies.*—The Antinomian heresy, which denies that the law is a rule of life to believers, is distinctly combated in the apostolic writings; and there can be no doubt, therefore, that this licentious abuse of the Christian doctrine sprang up in the earliest period of the Church. At the same time, as the apostolic doctrine of Justification by Faith was falsely charged with this pernicious consequence, we may expect to find Antinomianism imputed as a reproach to many divines who neither held the heresy, nor were chargeable with countenancing any notions hostile to morality. Luther himself, who first applied this term to Agricola, a professor of Wittenberg, and his disciples, was, by his enemies, charged with teaching doctrines derogating from the necessity of good

subject. Dr. Copleston's work was reviewed at length, and its sophistry exposed, in *Eclectic Rev.* 2d series, vol. xvii. p. 385; vol. xix. p. 18.

* See above, p. 366. Principal Hill thus justly characterises it: "It contains hardly any general reasoning; it is chiefly a collection and exposition of texts which have been often brought forward by Arminian writers, and a repetition of that abuse which they are in the habit of pouring forth on those who differ from them."—*Lectures*, vol. iii. p. 199.

† See above, pp. 454—459. The most eminent of the English divines of the Arminian school are, Jeremy Taylor, John Goodwin, Barrow, Tillotson, Archbishop King, and Warburton; to which must be added the founder of Wesleyan Methodism, and Fletcher of Madeley. Among the Calvinistic divines may be mentioned, Hooker, Bishops Hall, Hopkins, and Davenant, Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Howe, Matthew Henry, Watts, Gill, Toplady, Andrew Fuller, and Jonathan Edwards. The Translator of Mosheim affirms it to be "certain, that the most eminent philosophers have been found, in general, among the Arminians;" in proof of which he lays claim to Newton, Locke, Clarke, and Boyle. Against

works.* Arnsdorf, who maintained tenets approaching to Antinomianism, or mistaken for it, was yet a rigid disciple of Luther. No sect has ever acknowledged the appellation; but the VIIth Article of the Church of England, on the binding nature of the Moral Law, shows that, prior to the Reformation, there were parties chargeable with maintaining the heresy which it was deemed necessary to disclaim and to guard against. In the time of the Commonwealth, some of the obscure sect of Ranters appear to have been Antinomians of the worst description, carrying out their speculative notion of freedom from the moral law into practical libertinism. The Author of the "Pilgrim's Progress" refers to some of these licentious Ranters, who seem to have been the victims of the grossest fanaticism.

The Antinomian controversy, properly so called, was occasioned by the writings of Dr. Tobias Crisp, who first gave a systematic shape to the hideous compound of hyper-Calvinism and Mysticism which form the modern scheme. He was Rector of Brinkworth, Wilts, and, according to Grainger, was originally of Arminian sentiments, from which he at once passed to the opposite extreme. In 1642, he removed to London, where his avowal and advocacy of Antinomian speculations involved him in a personal controversy, which was cut short by his death in the following year. He printed nothing during his lifetime; but shortly after his decease, three volumes of his sermons appeared, which were eagerly purchased by his admirers. He is stated to have had a number of followers; and several of the ministers of the day adopted and propagated his sentiments. Their spread was favoured by the excitement of the civil wars, which matured and expanded every heretical

these may fairly be balanced, Leibnitz, who struck at the very foundation of the Arminian system, and his disciples, Wolfius and Wyttenbach; Howe, whose Letter to Boyle is a masterpiece of metaphysical reasoning; Horsley; and, the great American metaphysician, President Edwards, whose "power of subtile argument," (in the words of Sir James Mackintosh,) "perhaps unmatched, certainly unsurpassed among men, was joined with a character which raised his piety to fervour."

* See above, p. 217. The heresy has also been styled *Solifidian*, as teaching that nothing is required of a man but faith.

extravagance that happened to be thrown upon the English soil. "When I was in the army," says Richard Baxter, who distinguished himself by his zealous opposition to Antinomianism, "it was the predominant infection. The works of Dr. Crisp, Paul Hobson, Saltmarsh, Cradock, and such like, were the writings most applauded. . . I confess, the darkness of many preachers in the mysteries of the Gospel, and our common neglect of studying and preaching grace, gratitude, and love, did give occasion to the prevalency of this sect, which God, no doubt, permitted for our good, to renew our apprehensions of those evangelical graces and duties which we barely acknowledged, and in our practice almost overlooked."* This sect, which had seemed at one time so prevalent, Baxter proceeds to speak of as having become suddenly extinct, so as to have made no noise for many years. But in the year 1689, the republication of Dr. Crisp's works, with additions, by his son, Samuel Crisp,† occasioned a renewal of the controversy. Baxter, now verging on the close of his career, put forth a volume, in which he describes a hundred of the errors contained in Dr. Crisp's writings. A small work of a more popular character, by the Rev. Mr. Flavel, was published under the sanction of the London Dissenting ministers, entitled, "A Blow at the Root, or the Causes and Cure of Mental Error." For more than seven years this controversy was carried on with much acrimony.‡ In 1692, a third edition of Dr. Crisp's works was issued; upon which Dr. Daniel Williams, the friend of Baxter, and founder of the Redcross-

* Orme's *Life of Baxter*, vol. ii. p. 320. Saltmarsh was a mystic and fanatic who sported the most incoherent rhapsodies, and is believed to have been half-crazed. Hobson was a military captain and Baptist preacher. Cradock was only a high Calvinist.

† A document attesting the genuineness of the works, but which, unhappily, was naturally construed into a sanction of the publication, was subscribed with the names of twelve London Dissenting ministers, among whom was Howe himself. Seven of the twelve, however, afterwards disclaimed the intention of approval.

‡ "The best account of this controversy," says Mr. Orme, "both as carried on within the Church and among the Dissenters, (for it was not confined to one party,) is given by Nelson in his *Life of Bishop Bull*."—*Life of Baxter*, vol. ii. p. 329.

street Library, published his "Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated." The statements in this work were, in turn, attacked by Dr. Chauncey and other hyper-Calvinists, as turning the Gospel into *a new law*,* because the author maintained the necessity and obligation of faith as the required condition of justification, and as the subject of precept or command under fearful sanctions. Hence, the term *Neonomian*, which was invented by the divines of Dr. Crisp's school, by way of retaliation upon those who had described them as Antinomians. The controversy at length exhausted itself; but it was again revived in 1745, by the Rev. Dr. Gill, a learned Baptist minister, who, in that year, republished Dr. Crisp's works with notes, in which he justified some of the peculiar expressions, and apologized for others. The authority of Dr. Gill in his own denomination, favoured the rapid spread of his doctrinal notions; and to arrest their progress, the late Andrew Fuller, one of the ablest theological writers of his day, entered the field against the revived heresy. His writings operated as a very powerful check and antidote, and may be considered as having contributed to produce an extensive theological reformation among the Baptist churches.†

From time to time, a few individuals had obtained notoriety by propagating from the pulpit and the press, the startling paradoxes and coarse extravagancies of the hyper-Calvinistic school; among whom William Huntington, a man of low extraction, but considerable powers of mind, rendered himself most conspicuous:‡ but Dr. Hawker, Vicar of Charles, near

* In Dr. Is. Chauncey's *Neonomianism Unmasked*. See Calamy's *Life and Times*, vol. ii. p. 323.

† Mr. Fuller more especially combated, in his "Gospel worthy of all Acceptation," the monstrous fallacy which denied it to be the duty of all men to believe in Christ, and which gave rise to a protracted controversy on this "modern question," from 1737 to 1790.

‡ His real name was Hunt. Originally a coal-heaver, his strong natural powers, quickened by religious enthusiasm, enabled him to assume with success the character of a religious teacher; and having acquired popularity, he came up to London, and, for many years, preached to crowded auditories at his chapel in Gray's-inn-lane. His writings, which obtained a large circulation among his admirers, form twenty octavo volumes. As a polemic, Huntington is arrogant, dogmatic, coarse, and virulent, betraying the vulgarity of his manners and the

Plymouth, was, it is believed, the first of his school who avowed himself an Antinomian, and gloried in the name. To the influence of his preaching and writings may be ascribed the spread of these opinions in the West of England, chiefly within the pale of the Established Church, which led, in 1818, to the secession of several clergymen from the Establishment, who formed themselves into a distinct body of separatists.* Gradually, however, the discordance of views and of character among these separatists, broke up their union. Some returned into the bosom of the Church; one or two, having become more moderate and sound in their notions, have continued to minister to separate congregations; while others, lapsing into grosser error and extravagance, have sunk into insignificance. The school is not extinct; but the controversy seems to be at present laid to rest.

It is somewhat difficult to define a creed at once ambiguous and mystical, and presenting itself under such various modifications. Flavel, in his "Blow at the Root," sums up the creed of the Antinomians of his day in the following ten propositions: 1. That the justification of the elect is eternal; that is, the act of God from all eternity. 2. That justification by faith is no more than a manifestation of eternal justification. 3. That men ought not to doubt of their faith. 4. That believers are not bound to confess or mourn for their sins, because they are eternally pardoned. 5. That God sees no sin in believers. 6. That God is not angry with the elect. 7. That, by God's laying our iniquities upon Christ, he became as completely sinful as we, and believers as completely righteous as Christ. 8. That believers need not fear their own sins, nor do any duty for their salvation. 9. That the new covenant is not made with us, but with Christ; and that faith, repentance, and obedience are conditions on *his* part, not on ours. 10. That sanctification is no evidence of

true spirit of the heresiarch. In his pulpit exhibitions, he was also occasionally chargeable with gross impropriety; yet, in some of his sermons and writings, the better elements of his creed and character were alone suffered to appear.

* A review of the publications to which these circumstances gave rise, will be found in Ecl. Rev. 2d series, vol. ix. pp. 401, 528.

justification, but rather darkens it. Each of these revolting dogmas is either given in the words, or supported by citations from the works of Saltmarsh, Crisp, and the New England Antinomians. Some of them may appear almost identical propositions, as the fifth and sixth; but there are nice shades in error, and the creed in question is held with variations. Eternal Justification and Imputed Sanctification are, however, the two main and central articles of the system; and the fourth and tenth dogmas are inferences inseparable from those articles, although all who have espoused the creed, have not gone the length of the divines who have broadly stated and blasphemously defended them.

Of a heresy which, in its mildest form, excludes repentance towards God, and substitutes Eternal Justification for the Atonement as the matter of faith and basis of hope,—which destroys all sense of accountableness, and converts religion into a heart-withering speculation adapted to foster all the selfishness of the human heart,—of such a system as this, it seems impossible to speak in terms of too strong reprobation. Yet it is proper to bear in mind, that its framers were not licentious men, nor has it been ordinarily adopted as a cloak for sensual indulgences. That its tendencies are licentious, is undeniable; but, in itself, the Antinomian creed is not libertinism, but fanaticism. It has been styled, “the Stoicism of Christianity,” both because it builds upon the distorted doctrine of Necessity, and because it seeks to evade the realities of our moral condition, and to effect a disjunction between the understanding and the active powers by means of abstract speculations, which minister to a dreamy and inane intellectual quietism. In the Antinomian scheme, religion resolves itself into the knowledge and contemplation of extrinsic and unchangeable relations. The spiritual principle and its opposite, “the new and the old man,” are considered as agents, and the man himself as not an agent, but a passive spectator of their conflicts. His infinite interests are no longer his own concern, nor do the interests of his fellow-sinners concern him. Prayer is no longer a reasonable service; and the Antinomian can pray only when he forgets his system. Yet,

there is scarcely a doctrine of the Scriptures which may not be held by him in form, though wrested in its application. The process by which, in the minds of some individuals, errors are substituted for the truths which they counterfeit, is analogous to what takes place in the production of some petrifications: particle by particle, the living matter is replaced by stone, while the outward shape remains the same. The incipient Antinomian has not changed his creed, but he has undergone or is undergoing a change, as the result of which certain sentiments naturally dry up and fall off as foreign to the mind of which they once formed a part. But, when once the system gains entire possession of the mind, it drinks up the sources of the affections and passions; and the Antinomian is harmless and irreproachable only in proportion as he is cold, quiescent, and insensible.

Flavel assigns, in his "Blow at the Root," four causes of Antinomianism: viz. 1. The anguish of a perplexed conscience leading persons to snatch at the relief held out by such doctrines. 2. Zeal against popish errors relative to the doctrine of Justification. 3. Separating the Spirit from the word. 4. Injudiciousness meeting with zeal. Spiritual pride, in combination with religious ignorance, has been a very chief source of these pernicious exaggerations of doctrine. In some persons, indeed, the predisposing cause has been a passion for the extravagant and paradoxical;—theirs has been a want of the imagination, which the simple exhibition of the Gospel message was found insufficient to satisfy; by others, the misty dogmas are implicitly received on the faith of some theological oracle; while, in not a few, this creed has been taken up from the necessity of the case, which required such a mode of faith to square with the practice. On the other hand, candour compels us to admit with Mr. Fuller, that "many good men have been deeply tinctured with these principles, though it is not from them that their goodness has proceeded."*

The Sandemanian controversy may be considered as a

* Fuller's Works, vol. ii. p. 598. See also, for further details relating to the Plymouth Antinomians, Ecl. Rev. 2d series, vol. xxii. p. 508.

branch of the Antinomian. Sandeman's main position, that justifying faith is nothing more than a simple *assent* to the Divine testimony passively received by the understanding,—seems, indeed, diametrically opposed to the Antinomian assurance of eternal justification; but, in rejecting repentance towards God and the *principle* of faith as terms of salvation, the two extremes of opinion meet. In both systems, man is viewed as wholly passive in his belief; and in both, the creed is adapted to stifle and repress the natural emotions. The practical effect of both systems is also strikingly similar, in weakening the sense of accountableness, and in producing a sectarian narrowness of spirit combined with a lax morality. The essential character of Sandemanianism is, like that of Antinomianism, a callous selfishness; generating a spirit litigious, censorious, and bitter, towards all who do not embrace it, and especially hostile to devout men. It is, assuredly, not the faith that “worketh by love.” “Towards worldly men, indeed, who make no pretence to religion, the Sandemanian system,” as Andrew Fuller remarks, “seems to bear a friendly aspect, but it discovers no concern for *their* salvation. It would seem to have no tears to shed over a perishing world, and even looks with a jealous eye on those that have, glorying in the paucity of its numbers.”*

Mr. Erskine, in his Essay on Faith, has correctly pointed out the source of this spurious orthodoxy. “There is,” he remarks, “a belief in Christianity as a subject of controversy, which deserves a severer censure than merely that it is incapable of doing any moral good. The great facts of Revelation are not the object of which this belief is the impression. The real object of faith in a believer of this order, is, that his view is right, and that of his opponents wrong. The impression from this object is, naturally, approbation of himself and contempt of others.” Men are not saved by subtleties of opinion; and the polemic who is occupied with the metaphysics of religion, is no better employed than the formalist who is occupied with its ceremonies.

* Fuller's Works, vol. ii. p. 444. See above, p. 435.

IV. *The Baptist, Hutchinsonian, and Millenarian Controversies.*—We class these together, because they arise out of a various interpretation of the text of Inspired Scripture, and embrace questions of Biblical criticism.

1. The Baptist controversy, so far as relates to the *mode* of administering the rite, hinges upon the proper interpretation of the Greek terms (*βαπτίζω, βάπτισμα*) rendered, *to baptize*, and *baptism*; while, with respect to the *subjects* of baptism, that is, whether Christian parents are warranted in presenting their offspring to be received into the Church by baptism, the question is partly to be determined by exegetical criticism, partly by inferential reasoning.

Differences of opinion upon both these points arose at a very early period; and with regard to the *mode*, there has existed a remarkable diversity in practice. The Oriental Churches have constantly adhered to the practice of immersion, while that of aspersion or affusion, which seems always to have been allowed by the Western Churches, has gradually superseded the former mode throughout the Roman pale, (the Church of Milan excepted,) and has been generally adopted by the Protestant churches. Even the Mennonites, who reject Infant Baptism, deferring the rite till the age of puberty, administer it by affusion. Among those who adhere to this mode, there is, however, a difference of opinion as to the authority for the practice; some learned persons admitting it to be a deviation from the primitive usage, warranted by the non-essential character of the mode, and recommended by expediency; while others entertain the conviction, that the Scripture evidence is in favour of baptism by pouring or sprinkling, and that immersion was a departure, originating with the Eastern churches, from the Apostolic usage.*

* F. Brenner, a learned Roman-catholic writer, asserts that, for thirteen hundred years, Baptism was generally performed by immersion, and only in extraordinary cases by affusion; and for sixteen hundred years was the person to be baptized, whether by immersion or affusion, entirely divested of his garments. Revolting as the custom may seem, it is as certain as testimony can make it, that all candidates for baptism, men, women, and infants, were completely stripped in order to be baptized. The practice was pleaded for and insisted upon, because it was believed to be apostolic. Cyprian, however, (A.D. 240,) gave his opinion, that baptism by affusion was legitimate and valid in case of necessity; first, be-

Tertullian is the earliest ecclesiastical authority that can be adduced as discountenancing Infant baptism. His opinion was, that "it is best to delay baptism, especially in the case of little children, till they were able to know Christ."* Gregory of Nazianzen gives similar advice; and it is known that the parents of St. Austin, St. Jerome, and St. Ambrose did not baptize their children before they were thirty years of age. Opposite conclusions have been drawn from these facts as to the apostolic origin of what was undoubtedly at this period the general practice.† But, without going into the merits of the controversy, we may safely infer, that the difference of opinion and of practice was allowed to exist without any breach of ecclesiastical concord. The same division of sentiment without breach of unity existed among the early Protestants.‡ St. Augustine appears to have first insisted, in his controversy with Pelagius, upon the necessity of Infant Baptism; and from his time, the practice of adult

cause he did not think that the contagion of sin is washed away by the rite, or that its benefits depended upon the mode; and secondly, because the Holy Spirit says by Ezekiel, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you," &c. And again, in Numbers xix., it is said, "The water of sprinkling is purification." Hence, he argues, it appears that "sprinkling is of like value with the salutary bath." Duns Scotus allows, that a minister may be excused from practising trine immersion, "in case he should be feeble as to strength, and there should be a huge country fellow (*unus magnus rusticus*) to be baptized, whom he could neither plunge in nor lift out." Ecclesiastical authority is a doubtful guide, for its sanction may be equally pleaded, not only for the indecencies anciently connected with the rite, but also for unction before and after baptism, trine immersion or affusion, the sign of the cross as part of the ritual, and other ceremonies, all which were practised by the ancient churches. See authorities in Stuart on the Mode of Baptism. See also above, pp. 73, 87, 113, 256.

* "*cunctatio baptismi utilior est, precipue tamen circa parvulos . . . Fiant Christiani cum Christum nosse potuerint.*"

† Jeremy Taylor, in his "Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying," has with singular candour stated "the Case of the Anabaptists," drawing "a short scheme of plea for each party." On the one side, he cites the language of Justin Martyr: "The children of pious parents who bring them to be baptized, are accounted worthy by baptism;" and the testimony of Origen: "The church has received it by tradition from the Apostles, to baptize little children." On the other side, he adduces the advice of Tertullian; and he proceeds to state the argument of the "Anabaptist" in so plausible a manner, that he found himself afterwards compelled to subjoin an answer to his own concessions. His learning and his charity are, however, more admirable than his reasoning.

‡ See above, p. 380.

baptism came to be regarded as akin to heresy.* Other circumstances, about the period of the Reformation, contributed to bring odium upon those who scrupled or opposed the baptism of infants. About 1522, the Anabaptists of Germany, so called from their rebaptizing their adult converts, began to attract attention; and unhappily, with these views of baptism were blended, at least in those who became ringleaders of the sect, fanatical opinions of the most dangerous and seditious character. Hence, the term Anabaptist came to be one of reproach; and all who opposed infant baptism became objects of suspicion or persecution. The Mennonites of Holland are the descendants of the German Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. In Switzerland, those who held these views were sternly opposed by both Zwingli and Calvin; and in England, they met with the most inhuman treatment. In the reign of James I., (1611-12,) two Anabaptists were burned at the stake; the last who suffered this cruel death in England.† During the reign of Charles I., the Baptists first began to attract attention as an English sect;‡ and between 1649 and 1676, the Baptist controversy was carried on with intense earnestness and discreditable acrimony. Richard Baxter distinguished himself upon the Pædobaptist side. His chief antagonist was John Tombes, B.D., minister of Bewdley, who, between 1652 and 1657, produced his “Antipædobaptism, or no plain or obscure proof of Infants’ Baptism or Church Membership,”—forming two very thick closely printed quarto volumes. In this voluminous work, he undertakes to reply to Baxter and twenty-one other Pædobaptist writers. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, the question of Infant Baptism was debated with much learning and acuteness by Dr. Wall, Vicar

* Hence the mistaken notion, that those who oppose Infant Baptism deny original sin; whereas no denomination of Christians have held this tenet more decidedly than the Calvinistic Baptists. The Calvinistic Pædobaptists would, however, equally deprecate the notion, that original sin is washed away in baptism, or that any expiatory or saving efficiency attaches to the rite.

† See above, p. 380.

‡ The first General (Arminian) Baptist church was formed in London in 1607; the first Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist church in 1616. In 1650, the Baptist churches began to form themselves into associations. See above, p. 381.

of Shoreham, on the one side, and Dr. Gale, an erudite Baptist minister, on the other. Still more recently, Dr. Edward Williams, in his "*Antipædobaptism Examined*," and Mr. Abraham Booth, in his "*Pædobaptism Examined*," may be regarded as having almost exhausted the controversy. To enumerate all the writers upon either side would, however, be next to impossible; and the reflections of the excellent Biographer of Baxter upon this interminable controversy may fitly close this brief review of its history. "On no one point of Christian practice has so much been written, and on both sides to so little purpose, as the parties seem nearly as far from agreement as ever. It has tended greatly to injure the cause of religion among the Dissenters, having divided their affections, and reduced their strength in almost every place. Of the same mind on every other topic of importance, it is lamentable that a difference of opinion respecting one ordinance, and that of a personal nature, affecting each individual but once in his life, should cause greater strife and injury than all other subjects of difference together. The doctrine of free communion, however, as far as baptism is concerned, promises fair, in the course of time, to extinguish a controversy which all the books that have been written upon it have entirely failed to determine."* At least, it may extinguish the practical evils resulting from a difference of judgement.

There are several theological questions connected with the rite of Baptism, which do not properly fall under the present head. The question relating to Baptismal Regeneration,† the discussions relating to the salvation of Infants as affected by the rite or by their relative condition,‡ and the dispute upon the terms of communion, which has divided the Baptist churches, do not belong to what is generally understood by the Baptist controversy.

* Orme's *Life of Baxter*, vol. ii. p. 349.

† See above, p. 346.

‡ The learned Dodwell held the strange notion, that the principle of immortality is communicated to the infant in baptism. The general necessity of baptism for salvation has been very extensively held, but is universally repudiated by Nonconformists who practise Infant Baptism. See an "*Essay on the Salvation of all Dying in Infancy*," by the Rev David Russell of Dundee. 12mo. 1828. Also, an article in *Ecl. Rev.* (2d Series.) vol. xviii. p. 216; and above, p. 350.

2. The Hutchinsonian controversy derives its name and origin from the philosophical and philological opinions of John Hutchinson, Esq., a learned layman, born at Spennythorn, in Yorkshire, in 1674. In 1724 and 1727, he published his work entitled, "Moses's Principia," in which he controverted the Newtonian system as at variance with the philosophy taught in the Hebrew Scriptures; regarding these as comprising a complete system of physical science as well as of theological truth. In 1748, his philosophical and theological works, including some posthumous treatises, were published by two of his disciples in 12 vols. 8vo.; and some Oxford divines, having zealously espoused the Author's principles of philosophy and Biblical criticism, became distinguished by the name of Hutchinsonians.

The main principles of this school are, that the Hebrew language contains in its etymological construction and radical terms, the most important hidden truths; that it is the only language capable of adequately expressing the essence of Jehovah; that the Scriptures of the Old Testament are to be interpreted in a typical sense, according to the radical import of the Hebrew expressions; that the word *Aleim* (*Elohim*), for instance, means, *The Covenanters*, in allusion to the covenant entered into by the Three Persons in the Godhead for the redemption of man; and the word *Berith* should be translated, *The Purifier* (or *Purification*) *for man*.* Several other terms are treated in the same cabalistic method. Mr. Hutchinson discovered also, upon examining the Hebrew Scriptures, that they nowhere ascribe motion to the body of the sun, nor fixedness to the earth; that they describe the created system to be a *plenum* without any *vacuum* at all, and reject the assistance of gravitation, attraction, or any such occult qualities for performing the stated operations of nature, which are carried on by the mechanism of the heavens, in their threefold condition of fire, light, and spirit or air, the material

* In this mystical manner of expounding the Old Testament, especially the Psalms, the Hutchinsonians follow the system of John Cocceius, a celebrated Dutch divine, born at Bremen in 1608, appointed professor of Hebrew in that University in 1635, and subsequently professor of theology at Leyden. He regarded the whole of the Old Testament as typical, and was also a Millenarian.

agents set to work at the beginning;—that the heavens, thus framed by Almighty Wisdom, are an instituted emblem of Jehovah-Aleim, the co-equal and co-adorable Trinity in Unity; and that, from their being made emblems, they are called in Hebrew, *Shemim*, the names or representatives. Another term of mysterious import in the system is *cherubim*. In the cherubic form, the ox, the lion, and the eagle are, according to Mr. Hutchinson, typical of the trinity of nature—fire, light, and air; while the junction of the lion and man in this emblematic figure, points to the union of the human nature with the divine in Him who is styled “the Lion of the tribe of Judah.” Such are some of the etymological discoveries of the learned Founder of the Hutchinsonian school of interpretation.

It was not to be expected that this new system of philology and philosophy, though ushered into the world with all the pomp of learning, and patronized by some of the Oxford heads of houses, should pass unquestioned. Archdeacon Sharp, in 1750, entered the lists against the Hutchinsonians, and attacked the main pillars of the system,—the alleged meaning of the words *Elohim* and *Berith*, the antiquity of the Hebrew language and character, and the exposition of the word *cherubim*. He was replied to by several Hutchinsonian divines; and the controversy was carried on till the end of 1755. Besides the two Editors of Mr. Hutchinson’s works, the Rev. Julius Bate and Mr. Spearman, Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Horne distinguished himself as a zealous defender of the scheme, in reply to the anonymous author of “A Word to the Hutchinsonians,” in 1756. Among the other eminent advocates of the system may be mentioned, Mr. Parkhurst, the Lexicographer; Mr. Pike, author of “*Cosmographia Sacra*,” Mr. Catcott of Bristol, author of a work on the Deluge, who also wrote a defence of the Hutchinsonian system in Latin; Dr. Hodges, Provost of Oriel College; the Rev. W. Jones of Nayland; the Rev. Mr. Romaine; the Rev. Dr. Glasse, one of his Majesty’s chaplains in ordinary; Lord President Forbes; Mr. John Skinner, the historian of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and his son, Bishop Skinner of Aberdeen. From the very nature of the principles upon

which the system is based, they could be intelligible and attractive only to the learned; and it must be admitted, that this school has to boast of many very eminent and pious men. The late Bishop Horsley, in his posthumous translation of the Psalms, has adopted, to a considerable extent, the Hutchinsonian (or Cocceian) principles of Biblical interpretation; and he repeatedly cites Mr. Hutchinson with respectful approbation, although, in philosophy, the learned Prelate was no Hutchinsonian. Notwithstanding this array of names, however, the whole scheme must be regarded as a theory resting upon no solid basis of evidence; and it is gradually fading away before more rigid and solid principles of philological analysis and Biblical hermeneutics.

3. The Millenarian controversy is as old as the second century, the notion of a Millennium having its real origin in Jewish Tradition. It was a favourite notion of the Talmudists, that the world would last seven thousand years, typified by the seven days of the week. As God created the world in six days, and rested on the seventh, so it was believed that he would work out the redemption of mankind in six millenniums, (a thousand years being with the Lord as one day,) and that the seventh would be a millennial sabbatism.* This allegorical interpretation of the Mosaic record of creation, though it receives no countenance from the Old Testament, was so established and favourite a tradition, that it passed into the Christian church, and was generally adopted by the early

* According to the Chronology of the Septuagint, which agrees with that of Josephus, and with the received opinion of the Christian church during the first six centuries, the world is now in its *eighth* millennium; and there is strong ground for believing that the Jewish Rabbies *put back* the time-piece which had measured the ages of the world, by falsifying the data in the Hebrew text. See Russell's *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, vol. i. pp. 79—122. *Ecl. Rev.* (3d Ser.) vol. xi. p. 442. The early Christians, so far from shortening the period from the Creation to the coming of Christ to about 4000 years, yielding to the belief that the Sabbath of the world was at hand, extended that period to nearly 6000 years. Julius Africanus (A.D. 221) reduced it to 5500 years; and Lactantius, assuming that to be the year of Redemption, predicted, in 320, that two centuries from that time was the limit of the world's existence. It was not till circumstances had proved the fallacy of the Millenarian hypothesis, that an abbreviated chronology was adopted. According to Dr. Russell, the present year (1838) answers to A.M. 7279; Dr. Hales makes it 7249.

Fathers, who gratuitously identified it with the thousand years spoken of, Rev. xx. 1—7. Yet, that the Millennium of St. John could not be the same as the seventh and closing cycle of the Jewish tradition, might have been inferred from the representation, that it is to be succeeded by *another* period, during which Satan is loosed; an intimation quite irreconcilable with the Rabbinical notion of the Great Sabbath. The thousand years during which the dragon is to be bound, might therefore synchronize with some other chiliad of the series,—with the fifth or the sixth. Had not this passage been interpreted according to preconceived notions, it never could have suggested the Millenarian hypothesis. Before the middle of the second century, however, many wild and ridiculous notions, savouring altogether of Judaism, had become blended with the doctrine, which was thus rendered a stumbling-block to many, and even brought into suspicion the authority of the Apocalypse itself. These judaizing views appear to have been for the most part embraced by Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and other early Fathers; while notions of a still more extravagant and even licentious kind are attributed to Cerinthus. Origen and his disciples distinguished themselves by standing up against this medley of Jewish notions with the Christian faith; but unfortunately, in doing so, they gave allegorical interpretations to all the ancient prophecies. To confute the allegorists, Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, about A.D. 240, wrote a work in defence of the Millenarian doctrine, agreeably to the Jewish ideas. This work was answered by Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria (about A.D. 247), in a work “On the Promises,” in which (according to Jerom) he “derided the fable of a thousand years and the terrestrial Jerusalem adorned with gold and precious stones, rebuilding the temple, bloody sacrifices, sabbatical rest, circumcision, marriages, lyings-in, nursing of children, dainty feasts and servitude of the nations; and again, after this, wars, armies, triumphs, and slaughters of conquered enemies, and the death of the sinner a hundred years old.”* From this passage we must infer, that such

* The passage is given by Lardner, Works, vol. ii. (8vo.) p. 703. “If we understand the Revelation literally,” says Jerom, “we must judaize; if spiritually

were the gross expectations of the Chiliasts of those days; and the opinions of Lactantius appear to have gone to this length in absurdity.* Dionysius was answered by Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, who followed the Jewish ideas of the Millennium in their full extent; against whom Epiphanius wrote under the seventy-seventh heresy.

The same differences were renewed among Protestant divines subsequently to the Reformation. One party, "in imitation of the Papist divines, and upon the same foundation that crept in among Christians out of the school of the Jews, pretend that some allusions found in the Book of the Revelation, obliged them to apply all the oracles of the old Prophets to the Millennium. So that, without the least hesitation, they apply to the time of the Messiah, a great number of prophecies which had their accomplishment before the coming of the Lord. As the Jews afford them no small assistance upon those places of the Old Testament, so it happened, that they also embraced one part of the Jewish system with regard to the second coming of the Messiah. They adopted a temporal reign of the Messiah, a re-establishment of Jerusalem, of its temple, of its sacrifices, a kingdom of the Jews in the land of Canaan; and they pretend that these hypotheses, which had their rise in the bosom of the Synagogue, since it rejected the true Messiah, are sufficient means to make them embrace him, when he shall reveal himself to call all the nations of the world to his communion."† The greater part of the Protestant divines, however, rejected these notions, together with the opinion of Jerom (generally followed by the Romish divines), that the Ten Tribes never returned into their own country. But, to free themselves from this erroneous opinion, many of them

(or figuratively) as it is written, we shall seem to contradict many of the ancients, particularly Latins, Tertullian, Victorinus, Lactantius; and Greeks likewise."

* See Hamilton on Millenarianism, p. 295.

† To oppose the revival of this opinion, that of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, and Apollinaris,—but which he deemed of very dangerous consequence,—the learned Dr. Allix wrote his "Confutation of the Hope of the Jews concerning the last Redemption," in the shape of Remarks upon the English Treatise of Rabbi Sahadias upon that subject. The remarks in the text are taken from the dedication of this highly learned and valuable treatise to the Bishop of Ely.

put an allegorical interpretation upon most of the oracles which relate to the return of the Ten Tribes, and of the Two Tribes under the empire of Cyrus and of his successors, that they might apply them to the times of the Gospel. Others, seeing that the terms of the prophecies relate to temporal advantages which the primitive Christians never enjoyed, adopted the opinion of Theodoret; that the oracles which the Jews at present refer to the time of the Messiah, had a literal accomplishment under Zerubbabel and his successors. The Millenarian notions were generally rejected by the Reformers in the sixteenth century, not merely as a speculative, but as a dangerous practical error. "For," remarks Michaelis, "the expectation of a kingdom, in which pure saints should rule over the unregenerate children of the world, began to excite a spirit of sedition; . . . and for this very reason, the Augsburg Confession condemns the doctrine of the Millennium in express terms. Further, according to the representations of the ancient Chiliasts, offerings and offering festivals were to be celebrated in this kingdom. But such notions are inconsistent with St. Paul's doctrine concerning the imperfection and abolition of the Levitical law."*

As these opinions are to be traced to a Jewish source, so their revival in modern times has originated in a desire to promote the reception of Christianity on the part of the Jews. This was the great design which the learned Mr. Mede had in view, in his "*Clavis Apocalyptica*" (1627), in which he combines the allegorical method of interpreting the Old Testament prophecies with the Rabbinical, adopting and defending the theory of a political restoration of the Jews, and a Millennial reign of the saints on earth. By modern Millenarians he is regarded as the father of their school of interpretation. Similar is the avowed object of the learned Jew or Jesuit, Ben Ezra, alias Lacunza, in his curious and elaborate defence of the Jewish doctrine of the Millennium, translated by Mr. Irving.† As Mr. Mede relies greatly upon the Targum, the Talmud,

* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 542.

† "The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty," 2 vols. 8vo. 1827. A notice of this work will be found in Ecl. Rev. (3d Series) vol. i. pp. 208—215.

and the apocryphal book of Tobit, so, Ben Ezra's strong-holds are, "the famous prophecy of holy Tobias," the prophecy of Baruch, and the second book of Maccabees; and he draws some of his most cogent arguments from the Canticles. In like manner, the second book of Esdras is cited by his Translator as inspired Scripture! The other principal advocates of the Millenarian theory are, Dr. T. Burnet, Bishop Newton, Dr. Gill, Dr. Priestley; and, in the present day, Mr. Irving and the Writers in the Morning Watch, Mr. Cuninghame, Mr. Nolan, Mr. Bickersteth, and other evangelical clergymen, who have, to a great extent, embraced the views of this prophetic school. The principal anti-millenarian writers are, Bishop Hall, Baxter, Dr. Whitby, Vitranga, Mr. Lowman, Dr. Allix, Mr. Scott the Commentator, Mr. Biddulph, Dr. Hamilton, Mr. Vint, and Mr. Gipps.* By Whitby, Vitranga, Lowman, and most of these writers, "the first resurrection," spoken of Rev. xx. 5, is understood of a spiritual resurrection; and the reign of the risen saints as being not on earth, but in heaven. But by many writers, both ancient and modern, the opinion has been maintained, that the Millennium is past. The strange hypothesis, that the phrase, "a thousand years," is to be understood of the brief period during which miraculous powers were exercised by the Church, and terminated with the first general persecution, was advanced by Andrew, Bishop of Cæsarea, A.D. 500; it has been advocated by Lightfoot, Usher, and others, and has been recently revived by Professor Lee of Cambridge. A different view has been taken by Grotius and other expositors, who held that the Millennium commenced with Constantine, and terminated at the capture of Constantinople. An acute American writer has recently endeavoured to identify the Apocalyptic Millennium with the most calamitous period of the Church;† but he conceives

* A tolerably complete list of writers on both sides is given by Mr. Bickersteth in his *Practical Guide to the Prophecies*, pp. 364—392.

† From A.D. 450 to 1453. Of course, Mr. Bush considers those whom the Prophet saw "on thrones," to be not the souls of the martyred, but their oppressors. So Witsius interprets. See *Ecl. Rev. (3d Series)* vol. ii. p. 101. In this article, the first resurrection is interpreted, not spiritually, but of an actual prinital resurrection.

that an unlimited futurity of advancing prosperity awaits the Church on earth. This, however, it has been remarked, is but the Millenarianism of philosophy substituted for that of Judaism. Some expositors have extended the imaginary Millennium to a thousand years of days, or 360,000 years!*

As the Millenarian hypothesis has found zealous advocates, in almost every age of the church, among some of the most learned, eminent, and pious men of their day, it would be the height of presumption and uncharitableness to deny that the opinion is in itself one which may be held conscientiously and devoutly by individuals whose creed is scriptural, and whose views, in other respects, are free from any tincture of fanaticism. Yet, as a matter of historical fact, it is undeniable, that the prevalence of such opinions has always been attended with fanatical consequences. At Arsinoe in Egypt, the Millenarian delusion is said to have gained such ground among the Christians at the beginning of the third century, that "it banished from their thoughts the most important precepts of their religion:" and in alliance with the gross doctrines of Cerinthus, and the puerilities of Papias and Nepos,† it had the most

* The commencement of the past Millennium is fixed by Archbishop Usher, A.D. 4; by Grotius and others, A.D. 306. Johannes de Rupescissa predicted in 1349, that it would commence in 1370. Brightman fixed it in 1546. Alsted, the champion of the Millenarians at the beginning of the seventeenth century, asserted confidently that it would commence in 1694. Jurieu, in 1687, predicted that the approaching deliverance of the Church would, according to all appearance, take place between 1710 and 1715. Ness, in 1679, fixed, more cautiously, upon 1865, which is the period adopted by a living writer, Faber. John Archer, in 1642, fixed on 1700 for the commencement of Christ's personal reign. The Rev. John Mason, Rector of Water Stratford, Bucks, confidently asserted that the Millennium would commence in 1694; adding, contrary to Alsted's opinion, that it would be a personal reign of Christ on earth. So firm were his convictions, that he declared that he should never die; but his death took place before the close of that year. Beverley, in 1688, with equal confidence, fixed it in 1697. Bp. Lloyd endeavoured to prove to Queen Anne from Daniel and the Apocalypse, that in four years the popedom would be destroyed. Mede dated the commencement of the Millennium from 1716; Frere, from 1793; Dr. Hales removes it to 1880; Bp. Newton to 1987; Sir Isaac Newton to 2036.

† Ben Ezra divides the ancient Millenarians into three classes; the followers of Cerinthus and other heretics; the judaizing Millenarians, whose principal leaders were Nepos and Apollinaris, whose ideas were embraced by "innumerable followers;" and the catholic and pious, including Justin, Irenæus, and Lactantius. There is not the slightest evidence, however, that Nepos, whose piety and Biblical knowledge are eulogised by Dionysius, went at all beyond the last mentioned class.

unhappy effect upon the Church at large. In the tenth century, the prevailing notion, that the end of the world was at hand, contributed to produce and inflame the epidemic frenzy of the Crusaders. Since the Reformation, the notion of the saints smiting the ungodly and taking possession of the earth, has always had its advocates, from the German Anabaptists downwards; and "above all," Mr. Douglas remarks, "in times of civil changes, as when Venner, with his small but determined band, proclaimed the fifth monarchy, filled the whole of London with alarm, and fought with a courage which has never been surpassed, and scarcely ever equalled, except by some fanatic warriors among the early Moslems."* The Author of "an Examination of the Modern Claims to Miraculous Gifts," has also pointed out the instructive fact, that, "in almost all the claimants to inspiration for some centuries past, the great burden of their prophetic message has been, that the second coming of Christ, and the establishment of the Millennium, were just at hand; to which most of them have added, the doctrine of Christ's personal reign on the earth."† In the present day, Millenarianism has strikingly discovered its constant tendency to incorporate itself with dangerous error, in the bold and extravagant opinions of the Irvingites and other "Students of prophecy." The denial of the consciousness of the separate spirit,‡—the depreciation of evangelical preaching,§—the blasphemous attribution of evil to the Divine will and working,||—the Antinomian heresy,—the claim, on the part of more than one of its doctors, to inspiration,—and the crowning folly and impiety of one of their writers, that the day of judgement is past;¶—such are the opinions avowed by

* Douglas's "Errors of Religion," p. 290.

† Goode's "Modern Claims," &c. p. 198.

‡ See Ecl. Rev. (2d. Ser.) vol. xxx. p. 205.

§ "The doctrine of the atonement hath swallowed up every other doctrine, and become the great indulgence of ignorance and idleness." Irving's Fast Sermon, p. 18. "Satan will never be made to give up his reign by any preaching of the Gospel."—*Dial. on Prophecy*, iii. 176. "More truth is to be found in Popery, buried under the rubbish with which it has been smothered, than in Evangelicalism."—*Def. of Stud. of Prophecy*. See also Irving's "Last Days," *passim*.

|| See Vaughan's "God the Doer of all things."

¶ Thom's "Three Questions," p. 88. See Hamilton on Millenarianism, pp. 96, 334.

some leading Millenarians of our own time. The grosser errors alluded to would be strongly reprobated by the better men of the same prophetic school; still, they are found in intimate combination with the Millenarian doctrine.*

"The personal reign of Christ upon earth," Mr. Douglas remarks, "rests upon no evidence."† But to admit any article of belief without evidence, is to open the door to fanaticism. The most dangerous feature of Millenarianism is the erroneous method of Biblical interpretation to which it owes all its plausibility. If the doctrine be fallacious, the principles of interpretation by which it is maintained, are fallacious also, and must tend to sap the foundations of truth.

Every scheme of prophetic interpretation, however, conducts us to the conclusion, that "the night is far spent," the day draws on; while it is not less clearly indicated, that there are "things that must first come to pass," and that the end is not immediate. To the individual believer, indeed, death will be the end of prophecy, the great revealer of secrets; and we may well question the tendency of any views which interpose the gaudy illusions of earthly colouring between the eye of faith and the things which are unseen and eternal. But the expectations of the Church will have a practical influence upon her exertions. With an imaginary Millennium before her, she may even go to sleep, and dream of thrones and a long reign of secular prosperity. But, if she is "looking for and hasting towards the day of God," then must she gird on her armour for the final conquest, under the animating assurance, that no other kingdom shall arise to dispute with "Him who is faithful and true" possession of the uttermost parts of the earth. Every thing in the aspect of the times calls upon Christians to advance, in the spirit of faith, to re-occupy the ground which has been lost to superstition and heathenism,

* An extraordinary migration of German Millenarians to Georgia, (where they believed that the personal reign of Christ would commence,) took place about twenty years ago, and terminated most tragically.—See *Pinkerton's Russia*, pp. 143—152.

† Not only so, but it seems directly at variance with those passages of Scripture which relate to Our Lord's exaltation and reign at the right hand of God. Psal. cx. Acts ii. 33, 34. Eph. i. 20—22. Heb. i. 3. x. 12, 13. Rev. v. 6.

and to proclaim throughout the ancient seats of infernal dominion the reign of the Lord. The empire of darkness is giving way on every hand. We need not look into the book of prophecy to ascertain that every pagan power exists but by the sufferance of the Christian world; every Mohammedan kingdom is wasting away; every form of anti-Christian corruption is losing ground; and new principles of social polity are displacing the ancient despotisms which maintained themselves by war, priestcraft, and oppression. But, lest the contemplation should seduce us into a forgetfulness of our transitory connexion with this sublunary state, the voice of Prophecy is heard, like a trumpet, sounding above all the din of political commotion, "Behold, he cometh with clouds. . . . He who testifieth of these things saith, Surely I come quickly."

V. *The Ecclesiastical Controversy.*—In the chapter upon the Anglican and Scottish Churches, the reader has had laid open to him the great debate upon church polity between the Prelatists and the Puritans, which commenced in the earliest days of the Reformation, and has been perpetuated by the advocates, respectively, of Diocesan Episcopacy and the Presbyterian Model to the present day. The controversy between the Presbyterian and Independent divines associated in the Westminster Assembly, has also been shown to relate to points of church polity which still divide the Presbyterian from the Congregational churches. In Scotland, the Presbyterians themselves have split into various subdivisions, entirely through disputes relating to the law of patronage, the prerogative of the State in church matters, and other nice questions. The Glassite or Sandemanian controversy, though partly of a theological, is chiefly of an ecclesiastical character. The controversy respecting terms of church communion, and of inter-communion between different churches, which has employed the pens of two such distinguished men as the late Robert Hall and Dr. Mason of New York, claims also to be mentioned as classing under the same head.* Lastly, we have to

* The controversy which gave occasion for Mr. Hall's masterly work on "Terms of Communion," has divided the Baptist denomination, almost from its

notice the great question at present agitating this country, with regard to the duty and province of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, the lawfulness and expediency of Ecclesiastical Establishments, and the comparative efficiency of the Compulsory and Voluntary Principles in providing for the support of the Christian Ministry. Having elsewhere touched upon these exciting topics, we here restrict ourselves to this brief recapitulation; simply adding, that not fewer than between twenty and thirty different appellations, which are often mistaken for names of *sects*, originate in these minor controversies.*

It may be regretted that the subject of church-government should have occasioned more angry controversies and more hostile divisions among Protestants, than all their theological differences; but the reproach which is cast upon their Religion, as if it caused or sanctioned these political disputes, proceeds from wilful ignorance. To many slenderly informed persons, it will perhaps be strange intelligence, that the same individual may be a Prelatist, a Dissenter, an Arminian, a Hutchinsonian, and a Pædobaptist, being a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church; that another may be an Episcopalian, a high Calvinist, an Antinomian, a Millenarian, and a Church-of-England man; while a third may be a Nonconformist, a Congregationalist, an Independent, a Pædobaptist, a Dissenter, a Voluntary, in theology a Calvinist, a Trinitarian, and an Evangelical; add to which, he is a Protestant and a Christian. And yet, what does this string of appellatives amount to? Instead of belonging to so many different sects, each individual is a member of one Protestant communion. Such is the tautology of our ecclesiastical dialect!

origin, into strict communionists and the favourers of open or mixed communion. The former, denying the validity of infant baptism or of any other mode of baptism than immersion, refuse to admit to communion at the Lord's Table any persons not of their own views, treating them as unbaptized. The latter, among whom the celebrated John Bunyan deserves honourable mention, have adopted the principles so eloquently vindicated by Mr. Hall, and which are of far more general application than to the immediate case of Baptist discipline.

* *Ex gratia*: Prelatist, Puritan, Brownist, Conformist, Nonconformist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Independent, High-Churchman, Low-Churchman, Dissenter, Seceder, Erastian, Cameronian, Covenanter, Burgher, Antiburgher, Separatist, Methodist, &c. &c.

It has been one main object of the Writer, in this survey of the grand divisions and subdivisions of the Christian Church, to reduce the evil of diversity of creed to its proper dimensions, by classifying the perplexing multiplicity of distinctions, and tracing them to their real origin in sources extrinsic and foreign to the Inspired Rule of Faith; yet, he has not affected to treat as unimportant or doubtful the varieties of belief in reference to essential and fundamental truths, or to disguise by a false charity the real character of anti-scriptural error. Latitudinarian opinions are not charity, though often substituted for it. But the Apostle has at once defined the bond of Christian unity, and fixed its limits, in his farewell salutation, "Grace be with all them who love Our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. Amen."

CHAPTER XI.

MONOTHEISTIC RELIGIONS.

Judaism, Magianism, and Mohammedism.

WITHOUT the pale of Christianity, we find three religious professions intermediate between the Christian faith and the grosser creeds of Polytheism, as agreeing in the recognition of one Supreme Being, and bearing some relation to the True Revelation. These are, Modern Judaism; Magianism, or the ancient religion of Zoroaster, as still held by the Persian Guebres and Indian Parsees; and Mohammedism, or the religion of the Koran. The present chapter will comprise a brief analysis and comparison of these three monotheistic systems.

SECTION I.

JUDAISM.

Christianity, considered as the religion of the Bible, is but the development of primitive Judaism, and includes in it the entire faith of the ancient Hebrews. But modern Judaism unites the character of infidelity, as regards the faith of Christ and the doctrines of the Gospel, with that of a gross superstition, resting upon the authority of traditional dogmas and Rabbinical comments, which have been superinduced upon the ancient Jewish code.

The system of the Rabbinists rests upon the ancient *Targumim*, or Commentaries upon the Hebrew Scriptures;*

* Of the eight Targums now extant, the chief are, the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, upon the Law of Moses, and that of Jonathan Ben Uzziel upon the Prophets; both regarded by the modern Jews as of authority nearly

the *Mishna*, or Traditional Oral Law; with the *Gemaras*, or Annotations, which, with the *Mishna*, form the *Talmud*;^{*} and the *Cabbala*, which consists of a body of metaphysical speculations, mystical interpretations of Scripture, and magical charms, exhibiting the *ne plus ultra* of Rabbinical dotage and superstitious absurdity. Differences of opinion, however, exist among the Jews, with respect to these repositories of recondite lore; but almost all the Rabbies for the last five centuries have given their sanction to the Confession of Faith drawn up for them, in the twelfth century, by Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon (or Maimonides), the most judicious of their learned men. It has been publicly adopted as the authorized creed of the Synagogue, and has been inserted in the prayer-books, as a formula which all Jews are required to repeat daily. It consists of the following thirteen articles:—

I. I believe with a true and perfect faith, that God is the Creator, (whose name be blessed,) Governor, and Maker of all creatures; and that he hath made, maketh, and shall make, all things for ever.

II. That the Creator (whose name be blessed) is One; and that such a unity as is in Him can be found in none other; and that He alone hath been our God, is, and for ever shall be.

III. That the Creator (whose name be blessed) is not corporeal, not to be comprehended with any bodily properties; and that there is no bodily essence that can be likened unto Him.

IV. That the Creator (whose name be blessed) is the first and the last; that nothing was before Him, and that He shall abide the last for ever.

equal to the Mosaic text. The other six are, that on the Pentateuch, falsely ascribed to Jonathan; the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch, (imperfect, of late date, and in little esteem;) that of Joseph the Blind on the Psalms, the Proverbs, and Job; and three, by unknown authors, on other books of the Prophets and Hagiographa.

* From there being two *Gemaras*, there are two *Talmuds*; the one consisting of the *Mishna* and Babylonian *Gemara*, which is in the highest esteem among the Jews, and extends in some editions to twelve or thirteen volumes, folio; the other, the *Mishna* and Jerusalem *Gemara*, which is more ancient, and contains fewer absurdities. The *Mishna* itself, compiled at the beginning of the third century, is held equally sacred with the Scriptural law, which is expounded and limited by the Oral.

V. That the Creator (whose name be blessed) is to be worshipped, and none else.

VI. That all the words of the Prophets are true.

VII. That the prophecies of Moses our Master (may he rest in peace!) are true; that he was the father and chief of all wise men that lived before him, or ever shall live after him.

VIII. That all the law which at this day is found in our hands,* was delivered by God himself to our Master, Moses; God's peace be with him!

IX. That the same law is never to be changed, nor any other to be given us of God, whose name be blessed.

X. That God (whose name be blessed) understandeth all the works and thoughts of men: as it is written in the Prophets; "He fashioneth their hearts alike; he understandeth all their works."

XI. That God will recompense good to them that keep his commandments, and will punish them that transgress them.

XII. That the Messiah is yet to come; and although he retard his coming, yet I will always expect him till he come.

XIII. That the dead shall be restored to life, when it shall seem fit to God the Creator, whose name be blessed and remembrance celebrated, world without end, Amen.

Of these articles, (of which every Jew is required to profess his belief on pain of excision from the communion of Israel in this world, and condemnation with the wicked in the world to come,) the first five, the tenth, and the eleventh, which assert a belief in One God, the Creator and Governor of all things, Eternal, Incorporeal, the Only object of worship, omniscient, who will award to every man according to his works,—are in entire harmony with the Christian faith; as are also the sixth and the thirteenth, relating to the truth of the prophetic writings, and the restoration to life of the dead. The four articles peculiar to modern Judaism, and anti-Christian, are, the seventh, eighth, and ninth, which assert the ultimate

* This is intended to include the Traditional, as well as the Written Law; it being contended, that the explication of the law of Moses, which they hold by tradition, came all from the mouth of God to Moses.

authority and supremacy of Moses,* the divine origin of the Traditional Law,† and the perpetuity of the Law itself;‡ and the twelfth, which denies, by implication, that Jesus Christ was the Messiah.§ Not one of these articles is supported by the Inspired Scriptures of the Old Testament. The expectations of a future national restoration cherished by the Jews, correspond to the views of the Millenarians.

In regard to the terms of acceptance with God, the Rabbinical doctrine is, that, as to the Jew, a perfect conformity to the law of Moses will ensure his salvation; and that, for every violation of the Divine precepts, whereby eternal life should seem to have been forfeited, no other atonement or expiation either is or ever was required by the Almighty, than sincere repentance. "Repentance," says Maimonides, "expiates all transgressions."||

The precepts of the Jewish religion are divided into 248 *affirmative*, and 365 *negative*; together, 613. The latter are deemed obligatory on every Jew at all times. Of the former, the observance of some is optional; some are restricted to certain seasons and certain offices; and others can be performed only within the limits of Palestine. These precepts are deemed binding only on Jews, the Sinaitic covenant being confined to their nation. But men of other nations, it is generally admitted, may be saved, provided they observe as divine commands the Seven Precepts affirmed to have been given to the sons of Noah: viz. 1. Not to commit idolatry. 2. Not to blaspheme the name of God. 3. To maintain justice to all persons. 4. Not to commit incest or adultery. 5. Not to kill or hurt our neighbour. 6. Not to rob, steal, or deceive. 7. Not to eat flesh with the blood thereof.¶

* Contrary to Deut. xviii. 15, as urged by St. Stephen, Acts vii. 37. This notion is specifically combated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. iii. 3—6.

† Contrary to Our Lord's declaration, Matt. xv. 3—9.

‡ Contrary to the reasoning of the Apostle, Heb. vii. 11—28.

§ That Messiah is yet to come, "*a second time*," is an article of Christian belief. See Heb. ix. 28; x. 37.

|| The Jewish notion of the law, and of the meritorious efficacy of observing it, as deduced from their most approved doctors, is fully expounded by the learned John Smith, Discourses, pp. 312—335.

¶ The first, fourth, and seventh correspond to the directions, Acts xv. 29.

The Jews still circumcise all their male children on the eighth day, and redeem their first-born, except those supposed to be descendants of Aaron. All the males are reckoned to enter the state of manhood, and to become their own masters in all things civil and religious, at the age of thirteen years and one day, when they are declared "Sons of the Precept," as being thenceforward obliged to observe the precepts of the law.* The observance of the sabbaths, festivals, and fasts, is still rigidly maintained. The festival of the Passover is kept, but not the sacrifice: instead of the Paschal Lamb, they have the roasted shank-bone of a shoulder of lamb or kid, and eat a piece of unleavened bread in remembrance thereof. The ninth day of Ab is kept with great strictness, as the anniversary of the destruction of the Second Temple.

The Jewish liturgical service used in the synagogue worship, is affirmed to be of high antiquity.† The most solemn and indispensable part of it consists of the *Shemoneh Esrah*, or the Eighteen Prayers. The *Kiriath Shema*, or reading of the Shema, (the three portions of Scripture read in the daily service are so called as beginning with that word,) is also considered as an important part of their religious worship, being a declaration of the Unity of God, and of the duty to love and adore him. This must be repeated twice a day, and is generally attempted to be recited by a Jew, as a confession of faith, in his last moments. When in the article of death, those around him will repeat the first verse, and "Jehovah is God," till he expires, that he may be said to die in the faith. Public prayer requires that at least ten men be present. They generally sit, their heads covered, except during the recitation of the Eighteen Prayers and some others, when they stand with their faces towards the land of Canaan, and their feet close together. Those who have not time to go to the synagogue, must say their prayers at home thrice a day; *i. e.* morning, afternoon, and night. The Jews pray for the

* "Answering in some measure," says the Rev. R. Adam, "to our Confirmation." And at the circumcision, there is required "a god-father."

† There are three liturgies, those of the German, the Portuguese, and the Italian Jews, but all in Hebrew.

dead, believing in a Purgatory; and the doctrine of Metempsychosis is said to be very extensively adopted among them.

The ecclesiastical government of the Jews is exercised by a presiding Rabbi in every town, who associates with himself two other Rabbies, who form with him the *Beth-din* (house of justice), a tribunal in religious causes and private disputes. The term *cohen-gadel*, high-priest, is an exploded one, the priesthood having ceased with the temple; and the choice of Rabbi is not confined to the tribe of Levi. Those who are believed to be descended from the priests, have, notwithstanding, some trifling distinctions paid to them in the synagogue service: they are called *Cohenim*, perform the benediction, personate the priest in the ceremony of redeeming the first-born, and enjoy a complimentary precedence. With all this, the presiding Rabbi has nothing to do, unless he chance to be of the tribe of Levi. He is simply a spiritual director, an "instructor of the foolish,"* a solver of difficulties; he occasionally preaches; he also performs marriage, (but may do it by deputy,) and superintends divorces. He is generally allowed a competent salary, which renders it unnecessary to engage in any secular business, but other Rabbies may follow any worldly occupation.†

Such are the general and leading features of modern Judaism, as extant among the great body of the nation in European countries. As in ancient times, different sects are found to exist, but these are for the most part confined to particular localities; whereas the Rabbinists, or Talmudical Jews, are to be met with all over the world. The principal Jewish sects are: 1. The Karaites. 2. The Chasidim. 3. The Zoharites. 4. The Samaritans. 5. The Reformed Jews.

* Rom. ii. 20.

† Among the Polish Jews, many of the Rabbies gain their livelihood by writing talismans, which they sell at an enormous price to the deluded multitude. "Dupes of the most absurd superstitions, and destitute of those principles which alone are able to curb human depravity, the Jews are naturally abandoned to the perpetration of crimes, the turpitude and demerit of which are modified or palliated by rabbinical sophistries and the powerful influence of cupidity and pride."—*Henderson's Bibl. Researches in Russia*, p. 228.

1. The Karaite Jews, of whom a colony has been settled at Djufut-Kalé, (Jew's fort,) in the Crimea, for upwards of five centuries, are supposed to be a sect of high antiquity; and the notion at one time obtained, that they are a remnant of the ancient Sadducees; for this opinion, however, there seems no solid foundation.* They maintain that the genuine succession of the Jewish Church has been preserved only among them; and they produce a regular catalogue of their doctors in succession from Ezra. The Karaites of the Crimea, who number about 250 families, have a tradition that their ancestors emigrated from Damascus; and the language of their ancient books approaches to the Osmanli, rather than to the Oriental Turkish. According to one of their own writers, the founder of their sect was Judah Ben Tabbai; and it underwent a reformation by the celebrated Rabbi Anan, who came from the East, under the khalifate of Abu Djafar Mansoor, about the middle of the eighth century, bringing with him copies of the law. His great learning, and the favour he enjoyed with the khalif, gave him peculiar advantages in his disputes with the Talmudists, whom he taxed with the introduction of usages contrary to those inculcated in the sacred Scriptures; and it appears from the statements of both Macrizi and Abulfeda, that Anan, as well as some of his followers, spoke with the highest respect of Jesus of Nazareth, and condemned the Jews for treating him as an impostor, and putting him to death without weighing his claims of excellence.† The first place where a Karaite synagogue was established after the destruction of Jerusalem, is alleged to have been Grand Cairo, in which city they have always maintained themselves as a separate community.

The principal point of difference between them and the Rabbinists or Pharisaical Jews, consists in their rejection of the Oral Law, and their rigid appeal to the text of Scripture as the exclusive and only infallible source and test of religious

* Mr. Wolff told a Karaite, resident at Jerusalem, that he had heard the Karaites were the followers of Sadok. "God forbid," was the reply: "how can we be Sadducees when we believe in Moses and the Prophets?"—*Wolff's Missionary Journal*, vol. i. p. 251.

† Henderson's *Bibl. Res.* p. 318.

truth. It is on this account that they are called *Karaites* (or *Karaim*), *Scripturists*,* which name they glory in, as clearly and honourably expressive of the fundamental peculiarity of their creed. But while they do not admit that the Talmud has any binding authority over their consciences, and there are many things in it of which they cannot approve, they do not altogether neglect to consult it. Another remarkable point of difference between them and the Rabbinists, is their different method of expounding the Scripture. While the Talmudist chiefly applies the Cabbalistic art to bring out recondite and mystical meanings, the Karaite maintains that the sense of Scripture is to be determined by the grammatical meaning and the scope of the context. The necessary consequence of this attachment to the letter of the law is, that they are more strict and conscientious in their observance of the law of the Sabbath and other duties than the Rabbinists, who are never at a loss for a gloss to evade the binding nature of a precept. They are also free from many of the superstitions which prevail among the Jews in general; such as the transmigration of souls, and the power of talismans. In their persons, they are more cleanly; in their domestic discipline and arrangements, more exemplary; and their dealings with others are characterized by probity and integrity. In the South of Russia, where they are best known, their blameless conduct is proverbial. By the Rabbinists they are bitterly reviled and execrated, as ranking *below* the Christians. The Karaim, on the contrary, though they reject with abhorrence the traditions of the Rabbinists, never speak of their persons with hatred or contempt, but acknowledge them as brethren.†

* From *Kara*, Scripture. They are also called *beni-mikra*, sons of the text, and *baalā-mikra*, masters of the text; while the Rabbinical Jews are styled *baalā-mishna*, masters of the Mishna.

† Henderson's *Bibl. Res.* pp. 319—324. An interesting account is given by the learned writer, of his visit to their synagogue in the town of Lutsk, and of the Karaite service. It is a highly remarkable fact, that the celebrated prophecy, Joel ii. 28—32, cited by the Apostle Peter on the day of Pentecost, forms part of the Pentecostal service of the Karaite Jews; from which Dr. Henderson infers, that it was probably, in the apostolic age, the *haphtorah*, or lesson for the day, those who selected the sections from the prophets to be read in the synagogues having been divinely guided to choose this passage for the festival on which it was to receive its proper fulfilment.

The total number of this interesting remnant of the Jewish nation, it is difficult to estimate. About the middle of the seventeenth century, there existed, according to the results of an inquiry on the subject, 2,000 in Poland, 1,200 in Theodosia, 70 in Constantinople, 300 in Cairo, 200 in Damascus, 30 in Jerusalem, 100 in Babylonia, and 600 in Persia; but whether these numbers are to be understood of individuals or of families, is doubtful. Saadia, a Karaite resident at Jerusalem, stated that there were some thousands in the Crimea and Poland, a thousand in Egypt, a few at Damascus, and some in India and Abyssinia. Only three families were then left at Jerusalem. Dr. Henderson states, that they are now found in different parts of Russia, Poland, Lithuania, the Caucasus, Austria, Turkey, Egypt and Abyssinia, and India, but that their numbers have not been ascertained.

2. The *Chasidim*, or Pietists, are a fanatical sect of Rabbinical Jews, which dates its origin from the year 1740, and had for its founder a famous master of the Cabbala, Rabbi Israel Baalshem, of Flussty in Poland. Having acquired fame as an exorcist, this Rabbi at length gave out, that he alone was possessed of the true mystery of the Sacred Name; that his soul at certain times left the body, in order to receive revelations in the world of spirits;* and that he was endowed with miraculous powers, by which he was able to control events, both in the physical and the intellectual world. His followers were taught to look to him for the absolution of every crime they might commit; and they are accused of having been guilty of gross immorality. To their Rabbies, whom they honour with the name of *Zadik* (Righteous), they pay almost divine honours. Their religious services are distinguished by extravagances similar to those of the Shakers. Working themselves into ecstasies, they break out into fits of laughter, clap their hands, and jump up and down the synagogue in the most frantic manner. They are at enmity with all other Jews, but are the bitterest enemies of the Christian faith. They are taught to expect the hourly appearance of

* This notion is quite Oriental. The Sipasee philosophers of India are described as possessing the power of separating themselves from the body at pleasure; and their knowledge as acquired in the ninth heaven.

the Messiah, who is to effect their deliverance from all evil. This sect has so greatly increased of late years, that, in Russian Poland and European Turkey, it is reported to exceed in number that of the Rabbinists.

In the government of Mohilef, there exists a small body of Jews, distinguished by the appellation of *Habadim*, whom Dr. Henderson characterizes as Jewish Quietists, yet considers as a subdivision of the *Chasidim*, having for its founder a Rabbi Solomon. Their distinguishing peculiarity consists in the rejection of external forms, and the complete abandonment of the mind to abstraction and contemplation. They make no use of oral prayer, confining themselves to mental ejaculation and silent worship.

3. The *Zoharites*, so called from their attachment to the book *Zohar*, are said to hold a creed strangely compounded of Jewish, Mystical, and Christian ideas. They regard the letter of Scripture as the mere shell of a mystical interpretation; recognise a Trinity of *Parzufim* (Persons) in Elohim; reject the expectation of a temporal Messiah and a political restoration; but strangely hold that God became incarnate in Adam, and will again become incarnate in the Messiah, who will atone for the sins of the world. This sect is supposed to be a branch of that which owes its origin to the famous *pseudo-Messiah*, Zabbathai Tzevi;* but had for its immediate founder (about the year 1750), Jacob Frank, a Polish Jew, who enjoyed the protection of the Polish Government, and was patronized by the Bishop of Kamenetz, in whose presence he held disputes with the Rabbinical Jews. On the death of the Bishop, he and his followers were driven into the Ottoman dominions; and being there persecuted by the other Jews, he resolved to conform to the rites of the Catholic Church. Frank at last found a place of rest at Offenbach, whither his followers flocked by thousands to visit him, and where he died in 1791. They are still to be met with in different parts of Hungary and Poland.†

* This impostor made a great noise in the East towards the close of the seventeenth century. He was born at Aleppo, and eventually professed Mohammedism, to save himself from a violent death.

† Henderson, pp. 236, 237.

4. The Samaritans, though of ambiguous origin, may be classed as a Jewish sect. A very small remnant still exists at Nablous, the ancient Sichem, in the valley between Ebal and Gerizim, and at Jaffa; comprising, a few years ago, not more than thirty families, or two hundred individuals. Possessing the Samaritan Pentateuch, they acknowledge no other part of the Hebrew Scriptures, and despise alike the Talmud and the Mishna. They still observe the Paschal sacrifice, with all its rites, and have a high-priest (*Khacam*), as they believe, of the family of Aaron. They allege that they spring from the true Israelites, and are of the tribe of Joseph. They will not intermarry nor even eat with the Jews, and are distinguished by a peculiar turban from all other sects and nations. In prayer, they turn their faces towards Mount Gerizim. They obscurely expect a Messiah, or Prophet, whom they call *Hathab*, but say that there is a great mystery in regard to him.*

5. *The Reformed Jews.*—A feeling of dissatisfaction with the Talmudical system and the antiquated ceremonies of the old Rabbinical service, has led to many recent attempts at reform. In the year 1796, some of the Amsterdam Jews formed themselves into a new community called *Adath Jeshurun*, and organized a consistory, which sent deputies to the Sanhedrim of Paris in 1806; but this society has since been dissolved, and its members have rejoined the old synagogues. During the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia, a wealthy and eminent Jew, named Jacobson, was appointed president of a Judaic consistory, by whom a new arrangement of the liturgy and synagogue service was enacted, and other reforms projected; and a new synagogue was opened at Cassel, in 1810, upon these principles, to which was attached a public school or college. Similar attempts at reform have been made by the Jews of Berlin, Copenhagen, and Hamburgh. In the service adopted by the reformed Jews of the latter city, the principal daily Hebrew prayers are retained, with the exception of those imploring a speedy return to Jerusalem,† as well as all impre-

* See Mod. Traveller, Palestine, pp. 248—253; Wolff's Miss. Journal, vol. i. pp. 199—204. Adam's Relig. World, vol. ii. p. 323.

† Many of the Continental Jews, looking to a permanent settlement in their

cations upon their enemies. All the poetical or mystical prayers or rhapsodies introduced by the later Rabbies, which occupy a considerable portion of the festival services, are banished ; the old method is modernized ; hymns are sung, accompanied on the organ ; the reading of the Scriptures is subdivided into smaller portions, so that the public reading of the Pentateuch occupies three years, instead of being completed in one ; and a sermon on moral or religious subjects is delivered in German. Upon this plan, new synagogues (called temples) have been opened at Berlin, Leipsic, Vienna, Carlsruhe, Breslaw, Koenigsberg, and other places. By the general mass of Jews, these innovations are naturally regarded with disdain and animosity ; and the sentiments of these Reformers are not without reason considered as anti-judaical, involving a renunciation of the hope of Israel.

There is no individual to whom the modern Jews are so deeply indebted for the promotion of their education and social improvement, as the celebrated Moses Mendelsohn, called the Jewish Socrates ; who was born at Dessau, in Anhalt, in 1729, and died at Berlin in 1786. In conjunction with the chief Rabbi of Berlin, in obedience to a royal mandate, he compiled a digest of the Jewish code, which was published in 1778, under the title of "Ritual Laws of the Jews." He was also the author of a German translation of the Pentateuch, a metrical translation of the Psalms, a Commentary on Ecclesiasticus, a work entitled, "Jerusalem ; or on Ecclesiastical Power and Judaism ;" besides various other literary works. He was altogether a phenomenon,—neither a Rabbinist nor a Sadducee ; patriotically attached to his nation, yet not to their superstitions ; avowing his respect for Christians and for Christ, with a reserve which might delight or confound a Socinian :—he would have venerated his character, "if he had not accepted of the homage which is due to the Most High alone." Standing between the Romish idolatry on one side, and Protestant infidelity on the other, he clung to the ancient faith, and, in his celebrated correspondence with Lavater,

respective countries, have discovered that the prophecies do not import, as hitherto supposed, a literal return to Palestine, and a literal rebuilding of the temple, but only a moral regeneration of the descendants of Abraham.

denied, with the incredulity of his forefathers, that undoubted miracles are any criterion or moral evidence of a Divine mission.*

The total number of the Jews throughout the world has been very variously estimated, some accounts rating them at three millions, and others at thrice that number. In the Russian dominions there are about a million; in the Prussian, 150,000; in Holland, 50,000; in other Continental countries, about 800,000; in Great Britain, 25,000; in the Ottoman dominions, 600,000; in Persia, India,† China, and Tartary, upwards of 500,000; in Barbary, Abyssinia, and other parts of Africa, 500,000; and in America and the West Indies, about 5,000. These numbers must be regarded (except in some of the European states) as a conjectural approximation to the fact; but altogether, the remnant of Israel cannot be estimated at much less than four millions: M. Malte Brun sets them down at five. Dispersed through all nations, they everywhere preserve the aspect of strangers and foreigners; nor has an exile of seventeen centuries been sufficient entirely to wean them from the land of their fathers. Whatever be the political destiny which awaits the Jewish nation, that they are reserved for a moral restoration, is too distinctly intimated by the pen of Inspiration to be doubted. In the mean time, there is something adapted to command respect blended with compassion, in the constancy with which, under every variety of fortune, and every form of persecution, they have fondly and blindly adhered to the tattered shreds and meagre semblance of their ancient faith and polity. And "if the casting away of them has been the reconciling of the world, what shall the restoration of them be but life from the dead?" ‡

* See Samuel's Memoirs of Mendelsohn, London, 1825. *Ecl. Rev.* 2d Series, vol. xxiii. p. 512.

† At Calcutta, Surat, and Bombay, there are several Jewish families; on the coast of Malabar are two remarkable colonies, distinguished as the White Jews and Black Jews; (see Buchanan's Researches;) and more recent researches have discovered indubitable traces of a Jewish origin in the Karens of the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

‡ Rom. xi. 15.

SECTION II.

MAGIANISM.

An impenetrable obscurity hangs over the history of Zoroaster, the supposed founder of the Magian religion, and the authorship of the sacred books which are regarded by the Parsees and Guebres as containing the doctrines of their faith and the ritual of their worship. The Zend-Avesta, which comprehends all the writings now extant that are ascribed to Zoroaster, does not belong to the age of history, and it is the sole surviving specimen of the Zend tongue.* The Parsee writers (all of whom, however, are of modern times) allege, that, originally, the work consisted of twenty-one books. One only has been preserved entire; the *Vendidâd*, which is said to have been the twentieth; besides which, a few fragments of the others compose what are called the *Yesht-Sadeh*, the *Yesht-i-Vispered*, and the other prayers known by the name of *Khurda Avesta*. There seems to be no satisfactory ground for ascribing the composition of the work to Zoroaster; and several learned authorities concur in the opinion, that a higher antiquity cannot fairly be assigned to the Zend writings, than the reign of Ardesheer Baubegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty and restorer of the Magian religion; under whom, we are told, the imperfect remains of these holy volumes were collected from the memory of the priests, and committed to writing.†

The greater part of what is extant, consists of a series of liturgical services and prayers for various occasions. The compilers appear to have been desirous that religion should mingle in every concern of life. Some of these services are to be performed on certain solemn days; some are addressed to the guardian angels of the sun and planets, and some to the various good genii that preside over the different elements

* There is strong ground to believe the Zend to be either the Suraseni or some other cultivated dialect of the Sanscrit: the system of its alphabet is Sanscrit, although its characters are *Pehlevi*, or Median.

† The revolution which restored the empire of Cyrus and the religion of Zoroaster, took place B. C. 226.

and productions of the earth. There are services for purifications, for marriages, for every situation in which religion is usually introduced, for every occasion of life, and every function of nature. They are filled with the petitions and praises appropriate to such services, and with repetitions beyond even the usual license of such compositions. Directions for the order of the service are frequently intermixed in the Guzerattee language; but these are no part of the holy writings, having been added in India for the benefit of the priests, who are ignorant of the original tongue. The only portion which presents any thing like a continuous narrative is the *Vendidad*, throughout the whole of which Ormazd is interrogated by Zertusht (Zoroaster), and answers his questions. Nothing can be more loose and unconnected than the whole structure and arrangement, the questions and answers being apparently suggested by circumstances occurring at random.* In many

* The *Vendidad* commences with an obscure account of the chief cities and districts of Persia. It then passes to the origin of evil, which is ascribed to Ahriman. A short history of former times is next given, in which Jemsheed acts a distinguished part. Then follow injunctions not to defile the earth; to cultivate the soil; to watch against the deevs; to adhere to bargains, to be just, and to abstain from violence; to give the priests their dues. There appears a pecuniary compensation for crimes. Directions are given for the construction of *dokhmehs*, or places of sepulture; for the performance of numerous trivial ceremonies; for the recital of prayer on the death of relations. Minute instructions are given to cherish dogs of all descriptions; to watch against and combat the demons; all snakes, frogs, and gnats are to be killed. Adultery is prohibited under severe punishments. Physicians are to receive their honoraries; but are enjoined to try their experiments first on infidels. The instruments and vessels of the priest, the arms of the soldier, and the husbandman's tools are described. Prayers and minute observances are enjoined on cutting the hair and nails, the omission of which is a heinous offence. Particular injunctions follow, never to be without the *kusti*, or sacred cord; to address invocations to the sacred fire, which is to be fed at particular times; and to cherish the domestic cock and hen as representatives of the vulture, the prime minister of the guardian angel of the earth. Then follow some mythological details. Ahriman was vanquished in the beginning by Ormazd, who pronounced the *honover*, or holy word. On the birth of Zoroaster, Ahriman wished to destroy the prophet, but was repulsed. The first who protected and promoted the pure law before the days of Zoroaster, was Feridoon. The good and evil go to the bridge Chinevad, which the just pass accompanied by celestial spirits, and are welcomed to heaven by the angel Bohman on his throne of gold. Prayers are to be addressed to the celestial bull and to the rain, which spreads beauty and abundance over the earth. After Ormazd had created the pure earth, the great serpent Ahriman perceived him, and produced 99,990 evils, which Zoroaster was to remove by the promulgation of the law, and

parts, there is a striking resemblance to the ceremonies and expressions of the Hindoo books ; but the cosmogony is not less strongly marked as being of Chaldaic origin. The liturgies in general are of a mixed character, though more Chaldaic than Indian.

That the liturgies of the Zend Avesta, if any part of them was really taken from the writings of Zoroaster, were reduced into their present shape by another compiler, is sufficiently proved by numerous addresses to Zoroaster, to his *ferwer* or soul, and to his descendants. We find in them such expressions as, " May your name be famous as that of Zoroaster!" " I invoke Zoroaster, holy, pure, and great!" " May your life be long as that of Zoroaster!" and many similar. In various passages, Zoroaster seems to be alluded to as different from the author of the work.

The leading duties of the Parsee religion, as deduced both from oral communications and from their sacred books, are, to adore Ormazd (or Oromazes)* as the author and worker of all good ; to preserve purity of thought, word, and action ; to reverence all the angels and subordinate spirits and agents of Ormazd, with which Nature swarms in all her elements, and to pay them honour. For this purpose, endless prayers must be repeated, as contained in a tedious liturgy, which prescribes the solemn words to be used not only on great and important occasions, but even on the most common and vulgar operations and functions of life. Numerous vain and frivolous ceremonies are prescribed, some to be performed by the priest, and others by the laity themselves. As the language of the Zend Avesta is known to none of the vulgar, and to few of the priesthood, the stated prayers contained in the ritual are mumbled over with incredible velocity, and are considered as charms and incantations, producing effects by their sound, rather than as in any degree fixing the mind on its object, or elevating it to the Father of Spirits.

by doing homage to the pure and holy blessings bestowed by Ormazd.—*Trans. of Lit. Soc. of Bombay*, vol. ii. pp. 322—324. No part of the Zend Avesta, the learned writer remarks, possesses any portion of literary merit.

* Written by Sir John Malcolm, Hormuzd.

The whole system is founded on the supposition of a continued warfare between good and evil spirits, which fill all nature; and religion is the art of gaining the aid of the former, and, by observance of the law, of inducing them to assist the votaries of Ormazd.

The great visible objects of veneration are the Elements, and especially Fire. Light is regarded as the best and noblest symbol of the Supreme, who is without form. In consequence of this veneration for light and fire, the sun, moon, planets, stars, and the heavens themselves, are objects of peculiar respect; and, in praying, they delight to turn to them, especially to the rising sun.* They have no temples, considered as the residence of God or of superior beings, nor any images or paintings of Ormazd or his angels. Their *atesh-kadehs* (fire-mansions) are merely edifices for guarding the holy fire undefiled and unextinguished. In all their temples, (if they can be so called,) the sacred fire is kept for ever burning, and it is approached with the greatest reverence. Their most awful ceremonies are performed before it. There are two species of the sacred fire in India, the *behrâm*, which ought to be composed of a thousand and one different species of fire,† and the *adirâm*, composed of at least fifteen or sixteen kinds. The *behrâm* fire, to which high reverence is paid, is found only in three temples in India; at Udvari (or Oodipoor),

* "The beauty of the esplanade (at Bombay) every morning and evening, is greatly heightened by these votaries of the sun, who crowd there, in their white flowing garments and coloured turbans, to hail his rising, or to pay respect, by their humble prostrations, to his parting rays. On this occasion, the females do not appear."—*Lord Valentia's Travels*, vol. ii. p. 174. The devotees are most numerous during sun-rise, when they line the beach skirting the esplanade. The performance occupies about a quarter of an hour. Mr. Wolff met a Guebre at Shiraz, from whom he obtained information in general accordance with the above account. "During prayer," said this disciple of Zoroaster, "we loose the girdle round our loins, and turn our face towards the rising of the sun, with the hand on our breast." He stated, that they had *mobeds* at Yazd, Kerman, and Bombay. At Yazd, the Guebres have about 500 families, and 12 fire-temples. A Guebre at Ispahan, said: "We sacrifice a lamb once every year, on the feast of the sun (*aed Jamshed*)."
Here is another trace of Jewish ideas.—See *Wolff's Journal*, vol. iii. pp. 69—76, 96.

† An expression often used for an indefinite number. Some of these various kinds are enumerated; as fire generated from rubbing two pieces of wood, from a kitchen fire, from a funeral pile, &c.

a town near Domaun, at Nausari, and at Bombay. The *adirâm* fires are much more numerous, there being five or six in Bombay alone, and many in other places. Each temple has only one sacred fire, before which the daily prayers and certain others are read. There are occasional services; as if a person wishes the *Yesht*, *Vespered*, or *Vendidâd* to be read for the benefit of a living or dead person, and, for more solemnity, that it should be in the fire-temple. In such instances, any fire is brought from without, placed in the temple, and, if it be a *behrâm* fire-temple, is removed again when the business is over: if an *adiram*, it is placed below the *adirâm* fire. These fire-temples are always covered, and so constructed that no rays of the sun can fall directly on the sacred fire which they contain. The fire is usually fed with any dry wood. The prayers are muttered through the teeth, with a kind of inarticulate noise, without opening the lips. In reading the *Avesta*, the passages containing the directions inserted by the *mobeds* (priests) are perused in total silence. Much use is made, in the public prayers, of the consecrated water called *zor* (force), which is supposed to be powerful in repelling demons, and to impart peculiar efficacy to the sacred rites. The *hom* also is deemed of important use in the Parsee ritual: this is the consecrated juice of a particular shrub, which is brought from Persia, and pounded and prepared with many ceremonies: a drop of it is given to a new-born infant, to cleanse it from impurity; and to persons at the point of death, to purify the departing soul.

When a child is born, a name is given to it with little ceremony. The chief solemnity takes place on investing a child, whether male or female, with the *kusti*, or consecrated coat or girdle, and the *sadra*, or sacred shirt. He receives them between the ages of seven and fourteen, never laying them aside till his death, except to change them, or for temporary purposes. The *kusti* is made of seventy-two threads of camel's hair or of wool. The *sadra* is worn below the *kusti*, and next to the skin. These are considered as the armour of a Parsee against the temptations of Ahriman, the Author of Evil. The assumption of them must not be delayed beyond the age of

fourteen years and three months, at which age the young Parsee is considered as a reasonable creature and answerable for his sins. It is attended with a grand purification, continued for ten days, during which he remains apart.

Besides the occasional prayers or ejaculations that the Parsees are taught to repeat in particular circumstances, every Parsee ought to pray five times a day; viz. between sunrise and noon, between noon and the middle point, between that point and sunset, between sunset and midnight, and between midnight and sunrise. They pray in all situations, public or private, frequently interrupting their prayers to scold or give directions.

There are two classes of clergy; the *destûrs*, who are the doctors and expounders of the law; and the *mobeds* (or *andârus*), the officiating priests who read the holy books in the temples, and superintend all religious ceremonies, but who, being in general unlearned, seldom understand the meaning of the books they read or the prayers they recite, these being in Zend or Pehlevi. There is an inferior order, called *hirbeds*, who have the immediate charge of the sacred fire, and sweep and take care of the temple. The priests are a peculiar tribe, the priesthood being hereditary. They have no fixed salary, but are paid for their services. Many of them follow secular employments. There is no acknowledged high-priest (*mobed-mobedan*) in India. The priests are under no restrictions as to marriage.

Something like auricular confession and absolution form parts of the Parsee ritual; and in the *Vendidad*, certain sins have their compensation specified in money and offerings; others are to be punished with stripes, for which, however, pecuniary commutation is allowed; but, in practice, this discipline has fallen into disuse. The Parsee religion imposes no fasts; but, as to their diet, all birds and beasts of prey, with the dog and hare, are forbidden; and in India, they generally abstain from beef. No Parsee can eat or drink out of the same vessel with a person of a different religion. Their reverence for the elements makes them careful in no manner to defile them. No impurity is allowed to be thrown into

either fire or water: hence, they never bury their dead, for fear of defiling the earth, but expose the corpses in *dokhmehs* (round towers of peculiar construction), to be consumed by birds of prey. Meat and drink are placed near the body for three days, during which the soul is supposed to hover around, in hope of being re-united to the body. On the fourth day, the angel Seriosh appears, to conduct the spirit to the bridge of *Chinevad*, which leads from earth to heaven. The angel Rashnerast, standing on the bridge, weighs its merits and demerits: if the former preponderate, the bridge, which is narrow as a hair, widens for its passage, and the celestial dog which guards it, allows the spirit to proceed: if the latter, it is precipitated into hell. There is believed, however, to be a middle state (*hamestan*), where the souls of those whose good and evil actions are evenly balanced, remain till the Judgement.*

The Parsees are taught to expect that, when the third millenary period of the world is past, during which the influence of Ormazd and that of Ahriman are equally divided on earth, the fourth three-thousand will commence, during which Ahriman will obtain the ascendancy, and mankind will be reduced to the last degree of suffering and misery. At the end of that period, Ormazd will be finally triumphant; the resurrection will take place; and each element will give up what it holds of man. The blazing star *gurshee* will fall on the earth; the hills and mountains will melt with fervent heat; and all mankind will pass through the liquid boiling mass. The just will feel it only milk-warm; the wicked will suffer excruciating agony, but it will be the last of their sufferings. Ahriman will return to hell; according to some opinions, to be purified in boiling metals, preparatory to his restoration; but the popular opinion is, that Ahriman and all his deevs and demons will be annihilated. Upon this, as upon most other doctrinal points, there is a diversity of opinions, the only certain and invariable part of the Parsee religion being its usages and ceremonies.

* The angel Sosiosh is represented as the final judge.

As to the moral effect of this religion, Mr. Erskine (speaking from personal observation of the character of the Parsees of Western India) affirms, that, whether from the ignorance of the priests, and the little respect in which they are held, or from whatever cause, it seems to have very little influence of any kind, except of a social and political nature, arising from the connexion of caste. " Their religion, if we may judge from their practice, has but little connexion with morals at all : it is a religion of ceremonies and of prayers ; and the prayers, being in a dead language, and their meaning unknown to those who repeat them, cannot be supposed to have much influence on the conduct of life. The priests are generally not only disliked, but despised. They are, for the most part, poor, except a few who engage in trade. The Parsees have little regard for their religion as such : if they show an attachment to its rites and usages, it is as to those of their tribe or caste. . . . They have little regard for the opinions of any out of their caste, and appear totally insensible to any of the remoter sanctions of religion. They are bold, active, enterprising, intelligent, persevering in the pursuit of wealth, and successful in it. On the other hand, where they have power, they are tyrannical and regardless of the feelings and rights of others ; they put no value on truth, and, among themselves, are not the less valued for lying or falsehood, which they regard as very good worldly wisdom. Hence they exhibit no shame, when detected in fraud or deceit : it is only the fate of war. They are, however, no niggards of their wealth, which they habitually spend lavishly in ministering to their fancies, their vices, and especially their voluptuousness ; and sometimes generously in assisting each other. . . . They are said formerly to have been eminent for their charity, which of late has not been conspicuous, or is shown chiefly in feeding a number of useless dogs.* . . . They do not attend to learning of any kind ; but, take them all in all, they are probably the

* The dog and the cock are held in high regard, as they are supposed to give intimation of the approach of evil spirits. From this superstition, they are careful to have a dog close by the dying, to alarm and chase away the infernal assailant.

most vigorous, the most active, and the most intelligent class of natives in India." *

The remarkable correspondence between the superstitions and religious usages of the modern Parsees and those of the ancient Persians, as described by Herodotus and other writers of antiquity, proves them to have been derived from an origin anterior to the commencement of profane history. Zoroaster, the founder or reformer of the Magian religion, is supposed to have been born at Ooroomia, in Ajerbijan, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes (the Gushtasp of Persian history), whose accession is fixed by chronologists, B. C. 521. For twenty years, he is said to have lived in profound retirement in the recesses of Mount Elborz; and his first successes as a religious teacher were in his native province. Dean Prideaux, following the learned Hyde, maintains that Zoroaster was of Jewish origin; and it is conjectured that he may have been a servant of one of the prophets of Israel, which must have been Daniel. He was at all events thoroughly versed in all the books of the Old Testament then extant; and he is imagined to have borrowed the idea of the sacred fire in the fire-temples from the shekinah. He pretended to have no other object, in the reform which he introduced, than to bring back the religion of the Persians to the purity of the Abrahamic faith; and he speaks of that prophet, as well as of Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, with the highest veneration. His object seems to have been, to graft the Jewish faith upon the Magian superstition, by introducing the doctrine of a Supreme Being, superior to both the Good and the Evil Principle, the Light and the Darkness of the old Theology. This "hint," Dean Prideaux supposes he might derive from Isaiah xlv. 5—7, in which there is an obvious allusion to the Magian doctrine. Accordingly, although, in the Parsee liturgy, all the superior intelligences who preside over different provinces of the material world, are occasionally addressed, they are never worshipped as deities, but only, we are told, "as the media through which praise is conveyed to the Supreme Being, to

* Transactions of the Literary Society at Bombay, vol. ii. Art. XV. "On the Sacred Books and Religion of the Parsis, by William Erskine, Esq."

whom all adoration is ultimately addressed." The same apology is offered for the invocation of saints in Christian liturgies; and the worship of fire is disowned by the Parsees in the same way in which the charge of idolatry is rebutted by the worshippers of images: "they worship not the fire, but God in the fire." If, then, the creed and ritual of the Parsees must be regarded as idolatrous, it cannot be properly styled polytheistic; and we have therefore classed their religion with Judaism and Mohammedism.

That Zoroaster was not the originator of the symbolic worship of the sun and fire, or of the mythological system in which the Good and the Evil Principle are personified under the names of Ormazd and Ahriman, seems to be certain. The worship of the sun was common to the Magian superstition and the Sabian idolatry, which is believed to have been the more ancient religion of Persia; but the two sects were not only distinct, but mutually hostile. From a passage in the prophecies of Ezekiel,* it appears that, a hundred years before the time of Zoroaster, many among the Jewish nation had adopted this species of idolatry. The discrepancies which obscure the history of Zoroaster, have led many writers to contend that there were two of the name. Justin makes him to have been a king of Bactria, contemporary with Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian empire; while Ferdoosi, the Persian historian, ascribes the introduction of fire-worship to Hoo-shung, a king of Balkh (Bactra), of the first Persian dynasty, who is probably the personage referred to. Before the age of Zertusht (Zoroaster), according to the Parsee writers, certain distinguished saints had instructed mankind in the will of heaven; such as Hom, Jemsheed,† and others; but the whole law was at length promulgated by Zertusht.

The notion of a Good and an Evil Principle warring against each other, and opposed as Light and Darkness, seems closely related to the revealed truth, that our world is the theatre of

* See Ezek. viii. 16. Ezekiel prophesied in the fifth and sixth years of the captivity of Jehoiachim, B.C. 595 and 594.

† Jemsheed appears to be an honorific title: it is possible that Solomon may be referred to.

an awful conflict between the Serpent and the Seed of the Woman,—the Destroyer and the Redeemer of our race. Like all other heresies, this primitive error arose from the endeavour to accommodate truth to the vain wisdom of philosophy, or to the gross conceptions of the vulgar. In like manner, the Gnostic system, which combined the Platonic theory of Emanations with the Magian demonology and the doctrine of Two Original Principles of good and evil, was but a clumsy attempt to graft the revelation of the Bible upon the devices of men. In the Manichæan heresy, the commixture of the Magian philosophy with Christian ideas is still more palpable. Speaking of Mani, the learned Beausobre remarks, that “his heresy in general was, properly speaking, a philosophical system, the grounds of which he found in the philosophy of the magi, and which he accommodated as well as he could to the revelation of Jesus Christ. In all times, we have seen philosophers whose minds were filled with the notions and ideas of Plato and Aristotle, which, under slight pretexts, they have mingled with Christian truths, and erected into articles of faith.”* The Manichees, according to Augustine, “held two principles, different and opposite, eternal and co-eternal, and two natures and substances, the one good, the other evil, following herein other ancient heretics.” By this scheme, according to the same learned father and other authorities, Mani endeavoured to free God from being the author of evil.† The self-existent Evil Principle is Matter; and the Devil, who was not properly eternal, was represented to be formed by the violent and irregular motion of Eternal Matter! The Manichees are moreover said to have worshipped the sun; and it appears certain that they turned towards the sun in their worship; while, in other respects, they held notions very closely resembling, if not identical with those of the Parsees. Believing matter to be essentially evil, they denied that Our Lord really assumed the human nature;

* Cited by Lardner, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 348.

† Cited by Lardner, who judiciously adds: “Indeed, this difficult question, of the origin of evil, was the ruin of these men and of many others. They perplexed and confounded themselves, and they endeavoured to puzzle and confound all other people.”—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 353.

believing him to be God, but not man. Hence they denied that his death was a true sacrifice or a real transaction, ascribing salvation to the effect of his doctrine, and substituting this imaginary "knowledge of things" for faith. In such a system, Christ is nothing more than the Ormazd of Zoroaster. The Christian heresy and the ancient superstition agreed in substituting a philosophical fable in place of Revealed Truth; and by so doing, they not merely blended the true with the false, but deprived the truths which they disguised of all the authority of evidence, the only basis of the rational obedience of faith. Besides which, the notion which identified the Evil Principle with Matter, took away from sin all its essential turpitude. Man, according to this false philosophy, is no longer a criminal, but only a victim; sin is mere defilement, guilt but misfortune, and repentance weak compunction or unavailing regret. It is thus that every doctrine which is subversive of faith, infallibly tends to the destruction of all morality.

SECTION III.

MOHAMMEDISM.

The Mohammedan world must be considered as comprising all who acknowledge the divine mission of Mohammed, and the authority of the Koran as a revelation from heaven. But the diversities of creed and practice which exist within the pale of Islam,* are not less various or essential than those which divide the Christian world. The Romish faith does not differ more widely from that of the Reformed Churches, than the Mohammedism of the Persian sects does from the Turkish orthodoxy.

The religion of the Koran, in its primitive form, has a specious simplicity, which has obtained for it the admiration of modern Deists. The two leading articles of its creed are, the Unity of God, and the Prophetic Mission of Mohammed. The divine inspiration of the Koran is an article of faith which

* Islam, *i. e.* the religion of Mohammed, implies devotion, or rather devotedness; hence, Moslem, a professor of Islam—in the plural, Musselminn.

follows by necessary inference ; and as that volume recognises the mission both of Moses and of Christ in the character of prophets, bearing testimony to both Judaism and Christianity as of divine origin, such general recognition of the basis of the Christian faith may be said to belong to the Mohammedan creed, which recognises also the doctrine of a future state of retribution. The religion of the Koran prescribes or adopts the following institutions and observances.

1. Circumcision.—This institution, though not mentioned in the Koran, is universally observed as a divine institution ; but is deferred, agreeably to the custom of the ancient Ishmaelites, till about the age of puberty, or “any convenient time between the ages of six and sixteen.”

2. The four grand points of religious practice : prayer (with ablution) five times a day ; fasting ; alms-giving ; and the pilgrimage to Mecca.*

3. Abstinence from the use of wine ; from the eating of swine’s flesh, things strangled, or killed by a blow, or dying naturally, and blood ; from gaming and usury.

4. The religious observance of the fifth day of the week, (chosen as the day on which Mohammed fled from Mecca to Medina, A. D. 622, the Mohammedan era). At noon on Friday, every species of employment is suspended, and the faithful repair to their mosques to hear prayers read, and the Koran read and expounded. The law declares, that “he who, without legitimate cause, absents himself from public prayer for three successive Fridays, is to be considered as having abjured his religion.”

To these articles of faith and practice may be added, as points essentially characteristic of the Mohammedan creed:—

5. The acknowledgement of the spiritual supremacy of the legitimate khalif, or imâm, the successor of the Prophet.

6. The lawfulness and duty of extirpating idolatry by the sword, and the meritoriousness of fighting under the Prophet’s banner.

* The saying is attributed to the khalif Omar Ebn Abdalaziz : “Prayer carries us half way to God ; fasting brings us to the door of his palace ; and alms procures us admission.”

7. The lawfulness of a limited polygamy.*

8. The existence of a sensual paradise appropriated to the faithful.

9. Fatalism.

"What was new in the Koran to Mohammed's contemporaries," it has been remarked by an elegant and philosophical writer, "was not his assertion of the Unity of the Godhead, but his vehement suppression of idolatry, and his earnestly contending that God had no companions; while the most enlightened of those who opposed him, were desirous that the adoration of idols should be associated with the worship of the Deity, on account of the gain and political influence they derived from the rites of superstition. . . . Though Mohammedism has some slight connexion with Christianity, it has a nearer alliance to Judaism;† and is derived less from the Bible, than from the misrepresentations of tradition and the reveries of the Rabbins." "The paucity of its dogmas is amply atoned for by the plentiful allusion to fables, so that there is ample scope for the credulity of his followers; and a commentary upon the Koran may nearly take in the whole round of Arabian fiction."‡

"The Mohammedans," remarks the Abbé Fleury, "are neither atheists nor idolaters. On the contrary, their religion, false as it is, has many principles in common with the true

* Mohammed's law of polygamy, while it permits a Mussulman to take four wives, indirectly recommends him to marry only one; and in imposing this law upon his countrymen, he narrowed, rather than enlarged, the immemorial license of the Arabians. An unlimited polygamy is sanctioned by the Talmudists; and Mohammed, in disregarding his own limitations, only availed himself of the provision of the Rabbinical code, which indulged the Head of the State in an extraordinary license.

† The ritual analogy of Mohammedism to Judaism is observable throughout its institutions. The legal postures of the ritual are Jewish; its *kebla* is in imitation of the Jewish point of prayer; its fasts and festivals are adopted from the Jewish calendar; the annual pilgrimage to Mecca corresponds to the ascent to Jerusalem; and Islamism has also its great national sacrifice, its "passover," and its high-priest. The sacrificial rites performed during the pilgrimage to Mecca, as well as the pilgrimage itself, and the honours paid to the Kaaba, with its Black Stone, and the other sacred places, were, however, of immemorial usage among the Arabians, and were adopted by Mohammed in accommodation to the ancient customs of his country.

‡ Douglas's Errors of Religion, 8vo. pp. 61—63.

one. They believe in One God Almighty, Creator of all, just and merciful; they abhor polytheism and idolatry; they hold the immortality of the soul, a final judgement, a heaven and a hell, angels good and bad, and even guardian angels; they acknowledge a universal deluge; they honour the patriarch Abraham as the father and first author of their religion; they hold Moses and Christ to have been great prophets sent from God, and the Law and the Gospel to be sacred books." In contrast with the corrupt forms of Christianity, which to a great extent Islamism displaced, it admits of being viewed to still greater advantage. It may be said to have embodied more truth and less error than the Romish superstition in its grosser form. Saladin's was a more Christian faith than that of Cœur de Lion; and Mecca was the scene of a purer worship than Rome. Wherever Mohammedism spread, it expelled idolatry: the pseudo-Christianity adopted and perpetuated it. The Moslems denounced, and sometimes extirpated the image-worshippers: the orthodox, on the plea of heresy, destroyed their brethren. The religion of the Koran, sensual as are the future rewards it holds out to the faithful, was not more unfavourable to virtue, than that which dealt in absolutions and indulgences: the former postponed to a future state the gratification of the passions, to which the latter gave loose in this. Nor were the pretensions of the Prophet more impious than those of the Pontiff: if the Arabian Impostor promised paradise to the faithful, the Roman Impostor sold heaven to the highest bidder, and fixed a price on the pains of hell. The morality of the Koran is purer than that of the canons; and the devotion of the mosque partook more of the character of worship than the unmeaning ceremonial of the Romish demonolatry. In Spain, the two systems came fairly into opposition; and had the Arabian empire been able to maintain itself in the Peninsula, as the Ottomans have been suffered to occupy the other extremity of Christendom, the Inquisition would never have kindled its flames, and the progress of the Reformation would have had less to contend against. But, had the Christianity of that age corresponded to the faith of the New Testament, it would

have been morally impossible that it should have yielded to either the Koran or the sword of Mohammed.

"Let the Arabian Prophet be called heresiarch and impostor," remarks the eloquent Author of *Fanaticism*; "yes, but a Reformer too. He kindled, from side to side of the Christian world, an extraordinary abhorrence of idol-worship, and actually cleansed the plains of Asia from the long settled impurities of polytheism. Did he overthrow Christianity in Syria, in Africa, in Spain? No; Superstition only, for Christianity had died away from those countries long before. A respect for man, for nature, for God,—a respect not characteristic of the frenzied zealot,—was shown in the injunction so strictly laid upon the Moslem armies, not to destroy the fruits of the earth, not to disturb the labour of the husbandman, not to cut down the palm or the olive, not to poison or to stop the wells, to spare the old and the young, the mother and her babes, and, in a word, to abridge war, as far as might be done, of its horrors. In reading these military orders, and in following the march of the khalifs who received them, it is impossible to exclude from the mind the recollection of wars waged by Christian, 'most Christian' kings, not against distant and equal foes, but upon their own unoffending and helpless subjects; wars which left nothing behind them but smoking ruins and a blood-sodden wilderness. Call Mohammed fanatic or impostor; but language wants a term—or, if it might afford one, the rule of Christian propriety forbids it to be used—which should fitly designate the Philips, the Ferdinands, the Louises of our modern European history."*

But, if the comparison between the religion of the Koran, embodying the first elements of theology, and the polytheism or corrupt and ambiguous Christianity which it displaced, is so far to the advantage of Mohammedism, yet, when viewed in contrast with the religion of the Bible, it is seen to be as destitute of internal evidence as of external authority, and to bear the broad marks of that wisdom which "descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish."† *Originat-*

* *Fanaticism*, pp. 230, 231.

† James iii. 15.

ing in imposture, and propagated by violence, the fruits it has borne have been pride and intolerance, impurity and fanaticism.

In order to judge how far these effects are attributable to the system, it will be useful to place before our readers the negative characteristics of Mohammedism as opposed to the Christian faith.

1. The Mohammedan Creed rejects the doctrine of a Propitiatory Intervention, and of Pardon through an Atonement. The phrase, "God will favour the true believers, and forgive their sins," frequently occurs in the Koran; but the doctrine of free pardon is no where defined, nor is the way to obtain a sense of forgiveness pointed out. Final salvation is made to depend upon a precarious and unascertainable preponderance of personal merit over personal delinquency.*

2. Mohammedism, while it holds out no atonement, requires no repentance, and produces no contrition. Its true character in this respect has been strikingly portrayed by the writer last cited. "The Koran does indeed teach and inspire a profound reverence towards God; and it has actually produced among its adherents, in an eminent degree, that prostration of the soul in the presence of the Supreme Being, which becomes all rational creatures. But, at this point, it stops. Moslem humiliation has no tears; and, as it does not reach the depths of a heartfelt repentance, so neither is it cheered by that gratitude which springs from the consciousness of pardon. . . . No other religious system has gone so far in quashing that instinct of guilt and shame which belongs to man as a transgressor, and which impels him to look for some means of propitiation. The Divine favour is secured by the Koran to whoever makes hearty profession of the unity of God and the apostleship of Mohammed. Alms-deeds, punctuality in devotions, and, above all, valour in the field, exclude every doubt of salvation. No sentiment found a place, that could open

* At the last day, "they whose balances shall be heavy with good works, shall be happy; but they whose balances shall be light, are those who shall lose their souls, and remain in hell for ever."—*Koran*, ch. 23.

the heart to the upbraidings of conscience. Islam is the religion of pride,—the religion of the sword.”*

3. Mohammedism, which substitutes the advent of its war-like Founder for the great promise of the Paraclete, leaves the moral impotency of man without a remedy. It provides no means of regeneration, nor supposes it to be possible in this world. It supplies no interior principle of virtue or sanctity, but leaves fallen man to his own unaided resources. As it reveals no Saviour, no Mediator, so it discovers no Sanctifier, no Comforter.

4. Mohammedism, while it insists upon the abstract truth of the Divine Unity, and the inexorable justice of the Divine Being towards the reprobate, presents no model of pure philanthropy in the love of God, and holds up no perfect Example as the object at once of homage and affection and of imitation. Mohammed's life is, in many points, a forbidden example to his followers; and no affection blends with the reverence in which his name is held. The Koran teaches humanity towards the weak and defenceless, and kindness even to the animal creation; it admits, in fact, of the formation of all the *natural* virtues; but those of the Christian character are above nature, both in their source and in their standard. Its humility, its purity, and its good-will to man as man, are the production of a faith which no other doctrine can originate but that of the Gospel; the doctrine or message

* Fanaticism, pp. 234, 235. In the character of the Pasha of Suliemanian, as portrayed by Mr. Rich, we have presented to us a very striking exception, which confirms the truth of the general statement. “His very countenance,” says Mr. Rich, “is indicative of purity, of candour, and simplicity. *I never expected to meet with such a man in the East.* . . . It must be recollected, that all grief is reprobated by the Mahometan religion; and excess of feeling for a woman or a child is universally despised by the followers of Islam, which preaches only apathy and sternness. The Pasha has become *more really religious than any Oriental I ever knew*; yet, it has not made him fanatic or unfeeling. *His better nature has risen above the degrading doctrines of Mahommedism.*” The Pasha himself narrated to Mr. Rich a very remarkable instance of his deliverance from anticipated death, in answer to his prayer, as a fact illustrative of the advantage of placing our confidence in God; and his exclamation, “Alas! what an account shall I have to give him at the last day!”—indicated a tone of sentiment and character of piety so foreign from the spirit of Mohammedism, as to present an almost inexplicable, but most interesting phenomenon.—See *Rich's Residence in Kourdistan*, vol. i. pp. 324, 144.

from Heaven, "God so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him might not perish, but have everlasting life." *

The fundamental article of the Christian system, the death of Christ upon the Cross, is not simply rejected by the Mohammedan creed, but the very fact of his having been actually crucified, is denied. The following statement occurs in the Koran: "They (the Jews) have spoken against Mary a grievous calumny, and have said, 'Verily we have slain Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary, the Apostle of God;' yet they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented by one in his likeness: and verily they who disagreed concerning him were in doubt as to this matter, and had no sure knowledge, but followed only an uncertain opinion. They did not really kill him, but God took him up unto Himself; and God is mighty and wise." † Of this absurd legend, Mohammed was

* We cannot resist the temptation to introduce, in illustration of the remarks in the text, the following eloquent testimony to the moral power of the *central* doctrine of the Christian faith, which the humblest evangelical teacher carries along with him into the cottages of the poor,—the doctrine of the atonement of Jesus Christ for the sins of all men. "A doctrine the most wonderful and powerful of all the doctrines in the creeds of the human race;—a doctrine which entwines itself with the tenderest feelings of affection in the breast, by images of blended benevolence and suffering, the ideal of dignity combined with gentleness unspeakably endearing and affecting;—a doctrine which, by representing the perfection of moral excellence in the object of an infinite gratitude, the Patron of every virtue in the sacrifice for every sin, sways the moral feelings of every one who vitally believes it to the imitation of so bright and beloved an example;—a doctrine which comes to the mind, when tost and agitated by the convictions of conscience, like the Saviour over the breakers to the sinking apostle, giving safety and calm;—a doctrine which, to the joyful and marvelling heart that first opens to a perception of it, is the focus or centre, in which the designs of God in the eternity of the past, meet their accomplishment in human salvation throughout the eternity of the future;—in which the Godhead forms a union with manhood; and where the hopes and beliefs of all ages in time, and of every tribe of men, join with the grand gratulations of celestial spirits. Dark indeed must the heart and history of man be to that mind in which this doctrine has not been studied and appreciated; and whatever may be the difficulties investing it, the modifications of it existing in different sects, and the scepticism with which it may be regarded by some cultivated intellects, without a profound study of it, no man can understand either the philosophy of the nature, or the philosophy of the history of man. It is the most powerful thing in the world: it has been the most wonderful thing in history."—*London and Westminster Review*, October 1837, p. 222.

† Koran, ch. iv.

not the inventor, for, in the earliest age of the Church, there arose heretical teachers who maintained that Our Saviour had suffered in appearance only.* In the apocryphal Gospel of Barnabas, it is affirmed, that the traitor Judas was crucified in his likeness, and in his stead; and this opinion has been embraced by some of the Moslem doctors; while others are said to be inclined to admit the truth of the narrative in the canonical Gospels. The Resurrection of Christ, a doctrine inseparably connected with Our Lord's having really come and "suffered in the flesh," and represented by the Apostles as the very key-stone of the Christian faith, is also by consequence and in fact denied by the followers of Mohammed. In other respects, its negative characteristics, as well as its primary article of faith, constitute a striking approximation to modern Unitarianism and Judaism.†

5. Once more, the political character of Mohammedism stands out in striking contrast to that of the kingdom of Christ. "Christianity," remarks the learned Historian of the Ottoman Empire (Von Hammer), "never deluged kingdoms with blood, until it was made use of by ambitious popes and princes, in a way contrary to the original spirit of its institu-

* To these early heretics, St. John is supposed to point in his General Epistle, chap. i. vers. 2, 3. The *Docetæ* are said to have held, that Jesus Christ was a mere *φάντασμα*, destitute of a real body. Such was also the notion held by the Manichees.—See above, p. 618.

† The recognition of the doctrine of the Resurrection in the Koran, has been adduced as an incontestable proof, not merely that Mohammed had access to the means of Christian instruction, but that he was a believer in one of the most distinguishing doctrines of the faith of Christ. But he went beyond this; acknowledging Jesus, the Son of Mary, to be the Word proceeding from God, and the Messiah of the Jews; recognising also his immaculate conception, his office in heaven as mediator and intercessor, and his final supremacy as the appointed judge of all. The fabulous puerilities of the Koran and its expositors concerning the life and miracles of Our Lord, are rarely of Mohammedan invention, being traceable, in almost every instance, to the apocryphal gospels; while the ridiculous legends blended with the doctrine of the Resurrection and other fragments of Christian truth, are drawn from the Rabbinical writers. In almost every deviation from Christianity, the Koran approximates to Judaism. Some of its theological errors and absurdities were indeed borrowed from the ancient Christian heresies; and a very free use appears to have been made of the works of Ephrem the Syrian. The belief inculcated by the Koran and its commentators, that Christ did not suffer on the cross in his own person, but only in appearance, was nothing more than the revival of the Gnostic notion.—See Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*, vol. i. pp. 365, 366, 394.

tions. Entirely different was the case with Islamism, which, being founded as much on the sword as on the Koran, united in the person of the imam and khalif, the dignity of pontiff and the power of sovereign. Hence its history presents more numerous and more murderous wars than that of any other religion. Hence, in almost all the sects, the chief ground of the schism is the contested succession to the throne; and hence there is scarcely one of any importance, which has not, at some period, proved dangerous to the reigning family as a political faction." * The Divine wisdom forbade the union of the sacerdotal and the regal office in the same tribe: it was the policy of Mohammed to concentrate all power in the supreme ruler, and to render him independent of any sacerdotal caste; but, in guarding against the struggles for ascendancy between different powers, the Arabian legislator was conscious that he had left the empire he bequeathed open to all the danger of a disputed claim to the sceptre. His death was the signal for a contest between two factions for the privilege of electing the Commander of the Faithful. Ali, the husband of Fatima, the Prophet's only surviving child, and himself the hereditary prince of Mecca, was compelled to forego his claims in favour of Abubeker. On his death, Omar succeeded to the khalifate without opposition, but fell beneath the hand of an assassin. Othman, who was next raised to the supremacy, met a similar fate. Ali accepted the offer of the vacant khalifate from his murderers, not without suspicion of having favoured the conspiracy, but he was not allowed to enjoy an undisputed throne. Moawiyah raised the standard of revolt against the son-in-law of Mohammed and the alleged murderer of Othman. The cause was not, however, decided by trial of battle: Ali was assassinated in the mosque of Kufah; and his two sons, Hassan and Hossein, successively perished by treachery.

In the house of Moawiyah, the khalifate was made hereditary, and the succession was unbroken for nearly a century; but in A.D. 750, an insurrection was made in favour of the great-grandson of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, which

* Von Hammer's History of the Assassins, p. 23.

terminated in a general massacre of the descendants of Moawiyah. One prince of the house alone escaped, to become the founder of an independent kingdom in Spain; while real or nominal descendants of Ali and Fatima possessed themselves of the thrones of Egypt and Morocco. The divided khalifate gradually declined under the reign of the Abbassides, till, in 1258, Bagdad, the metropolis of Islam, with its unhappy sovereign, fell into the hands of the Mogul conqueror. The spiritual supremacy, however, was perpetuated for three centuries more, in the second dynasty of the Abbassides, without the slightest vestige of secular power; till, when the Emperor Selim conquered Egypt in 1517, he took captive Mohammed XII., the last of this dynasty, who formally surrendered at Constantinople the shadowy and dangerous supremacy, which has ever since, upon this doubtful title, attached to the Ottoman Sultans, investing their firmauns with a sacred character.

The ancient feud between the partizans and the enemies of Ali is perpetuated in the grand schism which divides the Persian *Sheahs* (sectaries) from the *Soonites* or orthodox Moslems, who recognise the Ottoman Emperor as the khalif and spiritual head of Islam. The Sheahs utterly execrate as usurpers the three khalifs who intercepted the indefeasible right of Ali; and the name of Omar is expressive of all that is detestable. By the Soonites, on the contrary, Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali are alike recognised as legitimate successors of the Prophet, but the lowest degree of sanctity is assigned to the Husband of Fatima. The four orthodox sects into which the Soonite believers are subdivided, do not differ from each other more widely than the several orders of the papacy, and create no disturbance of the political unity which reigns within the Turkish pale. Two principal causes have contributed to produce an opposite state of things in the great Eastern division of the Mohammedan Church. As the primary ground of separation was the disputed right to the prophetic succession, the indefeasible claims of Ali being a very principal article of the Persian faith, so, the natural consequence has been, that, in tracing the descent from Ali downwards, fresh disputes have arisen, and a pretext has been afforded for rival

sects, each of which has felt itself at liberty to shape its own creed, and in many of them, scarcely a trace remains of the doctrines of the Koran.* But a further cause is found in the reluctance with which the Persian nation submitted to the yoke and creed of the Arabian Prophet. Hence, the Magian doctrines, together with the Sooffee mysticism, continued to be held in secret, and have from time to time, under various modifications, re-appeared in the shape of Mohammedan heresies. The first khalif of the Abbassidan dynasty vainly endeavoured to eradicate with the sword the "libertinism" of these sectaries. In the reign of the khalif Mansour, the *Rawendi*, who maintained the doctrine of the transmigration of souls as taught by Abu Moslem, revolted; which probably denotes that they were persecuted. Twenty years after (A.D. 778), arose Hakem Ben Hashem, surnamed Mokannaa (the Concealed) from his wearing a golden mask, who grafted on the doctrine of metempsychosis as taught by Abu Moslem, that of incarnations of the Divine nature, or *avatars*, in the persons of successive Imâms. Babek Khurremi, a licentious and sanguinary heresiarch, raised the standard of rebellion against the khalif about A.D. 820; and for twenty years filled the whole circuit of his dominions with carnage and ruin. Being at length taken prisoner, he was put to death in the khalif's presence. Twenty years after this, the Karmathites, issuing from the eastern provinces of the Arabian Peninsula, menaced the khalifate with utter destruction. Under commanders of military genius, they took and pillaged successively, Baalbee, Kufah, and Bagdad. Nor did they spare the holy city, Mecca, where, after committing cruel slaughter among the

* The Abbassidan khalifs rested their title to the throne on their descent from Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet; but an attempt was made to strengthen their claim, by making the *imâmat*, or true pontifical succession, pass from Ali to Mohammed Ben Hanfie, brother of Hassan and Hossein, and thence, by bequest, to the founder of the dynasty. The Fatimite sultans of Egypt laid claim to all the honours of the pontificate in virtue of their alleged descent from Ali and Fatima, through Ismail, the Son of Sadik. These rights were long and violently contested by the Abbassidan khalifs and the courtly jurists of Bagdad. Under the Fatimite sultans, Egypt became the fountain-head and nursery of all sorts of wild and pestilent heresies, all more or less connected with the claims and attributes of actual, deceased, or imaginary imaums.

faithful, they set fire to the temple, and carried off the aërolite which formed its palladium. This took place A.D. 920. Karmath, whose real name was Ahmed, the son of Eshaas, proclaimed himself a reformer of Mohammedism, denouncing the pomps and vanities of the court of Bagdad, yet relaxing the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage, and permitting the use of both wine and pork. He taught that the text of the Koran was not to be understood literally, but had an inner and mystical sense;* that religion did not consist in external observances, but in the internal feeling (*bathin*); and that the *imâmat* resided in the person of a blameless prince, the Imâm Maassum, not yet revealed, whom they pretended to seek or look for. For a whole century, the warlike adherents to this mystic faith maintained a sanguinary contest against the sovereigns of Bagdad; and the khalifate, convulsed to its centre, was never again perfectly settled in peace.†

The doctrines propagated by Karmath appear to have been substantially the same as those held by various sects that have appeared in different parts of Persia, Syria, Arabia, and Africa, if we are not to consider them as the same sect disguised by different appellations.‡ Karmath is supposed to have been himself a disciple of Abdallah, the son of Maimun Kassah, a native of Ahwas in Persia, who, having been educated in the ancient faith of the Persians, is supposed to have aimed, under the mask of a religious teacher, at the overthrow of the Arabian creed and empire. There can be no doubt that political designs were blended with the insidious schemes

* "Every thing depended upon the interpretation (*terwil*), without which the whole word (*tensil*) of the Koran had neither meaning nor value."

† Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, c. lii. Mills's *Hist. of Mohammedism*, p. 168. *Hist. of the Assassins*, p. 29.

‡ Von Hammer detects the same formidable sect under the appellations of *Sebiin* (the Seveners, so called not only from their acknowledging only seven imâms, but from their adopting throughout their system a seven-fold arrangement), *Batheni* (or Batanians, i. e. the Esoteric), *Mutewilin* (the Allegorizers), *Sindik* (the Libertines), *Mohammere* (the Red), *Mobewese* (the White); also, the Karmathi, Mobareki, Jenabi, and Saidi, from their four leaders, Karmath, Mobarek, Jenab, and Said. They are also reckoned a branch of the *Imamie*, the other branch being the *Esnaashrie*, or Twelvers, who make the series of revealed Imaums end with Mohammed Ben Hassan Askeri. But the latter are generally called Imamites, and the *Sebiin*, or Seveners, Ismailites.—*Hist. of the Assassins*, p. 20.

of the several heresiarchs who attempted either openly or covertly to undermine the influence of the Koran; and advantage was taken of national antipathies to accomplish the objects of ambition. This was especially the case with that branch of the Ismailites* who rendered themselves so formidable under Hassan Subah, the founder of the order of Hassassins, and historically known under the once terrible name of the Shiekh of the Mountains.† For two centuries, the petty dynasty established by this daring adventurer upon the basis of an atrocious fanaticism, maintained itself in its strongholds, in defiance alike of the power of the Seljookian princes and the Arabian khalifs, till it was swept away by the inundation of the Moguls under Chenghiz Khan.

From the beginning of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, the history of Arabia consists mainly of the squabbles of petty chieftains, and the rise and fall of different shiekhdoms or principalities. But about 1747, Abd-ul-Wahheb undertook to restore the Mohammedan faith and worship to their pristine simplicity and purity. Supported by the Bedoween tribes of Nedjed and the provinces bordering on the Persian Gulf, he declared a war of reformation against the corrupters of the faith, which was carried on by his successors with exterminating fury. In 1801, Imaum-Hossein, a town near Bagdad, so named from containing the splendid mausoleum of the grandson of the Prophet, was taken by storm and reduced to ashes, with horrible butchery of the inhabitants.‡ In 1803, Mecca was entered by the Wahhabite general; the holy places were plundered, and the splendid tombs destroyed; but the inhabitants were not personally injured. In 1804, Medinah, with the accumulated treasure of ages, became a prey to these ruthless banditti of the desert, and the Tomb of the Prophet shared the fate of those of his descendants. The power of the Porte was in

* So called from their maintaining Ismail, the seventh in descent from Ali, to have been the last imâum. They are a subdivision of the Imamites.

† *Shiekh-el-djebel*, improperly translated, Old Man of the Mountain.

‡ No male was spared; a Wahhabite doctor directing the massacre by exclaiming from the top of a tower, "Kill, strangle all the infidels who give companions to God."

vain exerted to protect the annual caravan of pilgrims to the holy city, or to curb the inroads of these fierce and austere barbarians; and it was reserved for the present Pasha of Egypt, to give the first serious check to the Wahhabees by measures as ferocious as those which they had themselves employed to establish their power. Justly is it remarked by Mr. Mills, in his History of Mohammedism, that "no wars which ever desolated the Christian world, have caused half the bloodshed or wo, or have been so strongly stamped with the character of implacable hostility, as have the political and religious controversies of the Mohammedan sectaries. The history of every age of the Hejira teems with details of horror; and the Turks and Persians, the representatives of the two sets of opinions, have, in most ages, emulated each other in mutual detestation. In the rancour of their feuds, not only were the Christians and Jews held in comparative esteem, but the destruction of a single individual of the adverse party has been accounted a more meritorious action than the slaughter of seventy individuals of any other description."*

The radical difference between the *Soonee* or orthodox doctrine of the Western Mohammedan Church, and that of the Persian Shei-ites or Sheahs, has already been explained. Not only do the latter regard the first three khalifs as impious interlopers, but, conceiving the true ecclesiastical succession to have been inherent, by Divine right, in the family of the Prophet, they reject and condemn the *Soona* or oral traditions which rest upon the authority of the four great imaums or doctors, Haneefa, Malik, Shaffei, and Hanbal, the four pillars of the Soonee faith, restricting the sacred title of imaum to the twelve immediate descendants of Mohammed. The last of these, Mohammed Ben Hassan Askeri, (styled the *Mehdee*, the Saviour,) is supposed by them to be not dead, but only

* Mills's Hist. of Mohammedism, p. 374. Such is not, however, the genuine spirit of the Mohammedan creed, but rather the effect of national hatred. The Turk does not hate the Persian because he is a Shei-ite, or the Persian the Ottoman or Arab because he is a Soonee, but the Persian hates the Soonee doctrine because it is held by the Turks, and the Turk abhors the Persian heresy because it is Persian; each finding an excuse for his national hatred in the alleged heresy of the other. National animosities have been an element of all religious warfare.

concealed; and he is expected to appear near the last day, when Jesus is to descend from heaven, and all the world is to receive the faith of Mohammed. Among the Soonites, on the contrary, it is a dogma, that there must always be a visible imaum or father of the Church.

The Sheah schism had long maintained itself in Persia, but had never obtained a decided ascendancy, when, in the last year of the fifteenth century, Ismail, the first monarch of the Sefi (or Sooffee) dynasty, ascended the throne, and proclaimed the Sheah creed to be the national religion;* ever since which time, a regard for the Sheah doctrine has, throughout the empire, been identified with loyalty, patriotism, and orthodoxy. Surrounded as the Persians are by nations professing the Soonee doctrine,—Ottomans, Arabs, Tatars, and Afghans,—this creed has afforded a watch-word of talismanic force, a bond of political union, and a source of martial enthusiasm. Nadir Shah, indeed, on ascending the throne, insisted upon the formal abjuration of the Sheah doctrine by his Persian subjects, and his mandate was ostensibly obeyed. But the moolahs still cherished in secret their attachment to the ancient creed; and on the death of the Shah, the whole nation returned to its allegiance to Ali and the Twelve Imaums.

“The difference which exists on these points between the Soonee and the Sheah sects,” remarks Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia, “is at once rancorous and irreconcilable. It is one in which the passions are easily arrayed; for it relates to no speculative or abstruse points of faith, but is interwoven with the history of their general religion. Names which are never mentioned but with blessings by one sect, are hourly cursed by the other. The hypocrisy, ingratitude, and disobedience of the first three khalifs, are the essential dogmas of the Sheah doctrine; while the leading principle of the Soonee, is, that, next to the Prophet, these rulers were, beyond all others, the most entitled to the regard and vene-

* Seven Turkish tribes, originally transplanted from Anatolia by Timur Leng, stood forward as the sworn defenders of the Sheah King. These soldiers of the faith, from the red cap by which they were distinguished, afterwards came to be known by the name of *Kuzel-bashee*, or golden-heads. The tribe of Kujur, to which the present reigning family belongs, was one of the seven.

ration of posterity. The differences in their mode of worship and customs are slight, and have wholly arisen out of the hate they bear to each other, and their dislike to have any usage in common. These consist in the mode of holding the hands, of the mode of prostration, and other forms equally immaterial.* The Soonites are accused, moreover, of making the tops of graves convex, instead of flat, (the shape ordered by tradition,) for no reason but opposition to the Sheahs! The Persian doctors endeavour to give further importance to these differences, by defaming the imaums of the Soonites, ascribing to them every doctrine which has been propagated by the most absurd or visionary of their followers.† Both sects have their respective traditions, written and unwritten, to which they appeal, as the Jews to the Talmud, and the Papists to the Church, for the authorized interpretation of the Koran. But the Sheahs ascribe to their imaums, not merely infallibility, but impeccability.‡ In many respects, there is a striking correspondence between the Sheah system and that of the Romanists. Both have their *pontifex maximus*; both, their traditions; both, their "queen of heaven;" for Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, occupies much the same place and rank in the Sheah creed that the Virgin does in the Romish Church. To the saints of both communions is ascribed the power of working miracles. Both have their pilgrimages, their purgatory, their relics, and their hermits. The principal thing in which they differ, is, that the Sheah reject the use of images. Further, both deny that their respective sacred books can be understood by the common people.§ Once more,

* Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii.

† "As to the interpretations of Mocatib, Zamakhshari, and the like," says the learned Sheah opponent of Henry Martyn, Mohammed Ruza of Hamadan, "we say, that they are not in conformity with the true religion, as professed by the Sheah, the followers of the Twelve Imaums, who have received the true interpretation of the Koran by tradition from the descendants of Mohammed himself, all of whom had the power of working miracles."—Lee's *Persian Controversies*, p. 355.

‡ "Our belief," they say, "in the Prophets, Apostles, Imaums, and Angels is, that they are pure and holy; that they commit no sin either great or small." "Every one of the prophets was, from the day of his birth to that of his death, wholly free from sin."—*Ibid.* p. 358.

§ The Moollah above referred to contends, in his reply to Henry Martyn, that the number of expressions in the Koran which may be fully understood by human

both the Romish Church and the Persian Church have their mystics and their schoolmen, for the Sooffees unite in themselves both characters. Of these mystics, there are various sects, whose tenets range from pure metaphysical deism or pantheism to the wildest fanaticism.

"The progress of Sooffeeism," Sir John Malcolm informs us, "has been of late years very rapid in Persia. Its tenets were mixed with those of the Sheah sect, when it was established as the national faith by the first of the Suffavean kings; and some of the monarchs of that race gloried in professing tenets which they inherited from their pious ancestor, Shaikh Hyder, who is deemed one of the most celebrated of the Sooffee teachers in Persia. The orthodox hierarchy have, from the first, made an open and violent war upon this sect; but... the Sooffees were never actively persecuted before the reign of the last monarch of the Suffavean race, Shah Sultan Hussein, who gave himself into the hands of priests of the orthodox religion, and allowed them to exercise every severity towards all who departed from the forms of established worship." * On the accession of the late sovereign, Futteh Ali Shah, the fierce persecution of the Sooffees was revived at the instigation of the moollahs of Isfahan and Kermanshah; but these violent measures are thought only to have increased their numbers, as every Sooffee who was put to death was esteemed a martyr. They are conjectured now to amount to between two and three hundred thousand persons. The greater proportion, however, are not to be distinguished from the other part of the Mohammedan population. They are, in fact, directed, when in the first ranks of the mystic faith, to conform to the established religion; and owing to the persecution they have suffered, it has become a tenet with some sects of Sooffees, not to confess their religion.

As Sooffeism is not a Mohammedan heresy, but a system of philosophy more nearly allied to the Indian pantheism than to any other religion which recognizes a Revelation, the illus-

investigation is very small. The far greater part can be fully comprehended by none except the Prophet himself, or the descendants of his house."—*Ibid.* p. 392.

* Malcolm's Persia, vol. ii. p. 388.

tration of its doctrines does not belong to this chapter. Sir John Malcolm remarks, that "it is itself no religion: wherever it prevails, it unsettles the existing belief, but it substitutes no other of a defined and intelligible nature." It teaches those who embrace it to consider an attention to all the forms of religion they follow as a mere secular duty, from which they are to be emancipated by an increase of knowledge or of devotion. It is performing within the pale of Islam, the office which Infidelity has been fulfilling within the Romish Church, undermining the hold of the dominant superstition upon the public mind; but it offers nothing better in its stead, than a cold and barren speculation, a heart-withering mysticism, an opium-dream of the slumbering intellect, or a frantic possession of the fancy.

Of the various Sheah sects confounded under the opprobrious name of the *Ghullat* (Exaggerating), which maintain, under some modification or other, the doctrines of deification and metempsychosis in reference to the series of Imaums, revealed or concealed, it would be alike tedious and fruitless to attempt a particular account.* But there are three or four ambiguous sects, which, although, like the Sooffees, they may not all strictly class under Mohammedan heresies, claim a brief description, and may be conveniently noticed in this place. These are, 1. The Druses. 2. The Anzairies. 3. The Yezidees. 4. The Zabians.

1. *The Druses*.—The singular tribe known under this name, are in possession of a mountainous territory in the range of Lebanon, south of the *Nahr el Kelb* or Lycus, and are also spread over the plain of the Haouran or Auranitis. They are probably descended from emigrants or refugees from the Arabian peninsula, their dialect being pure Arabic; and they retain a veneration for places in Yemen of the same name as several of their towns. Their present creed, however, is of

* Some of these, Von Hammer says, recognise but one Imaum, as the Jews admit but one Messiah, and attribute to Ali divine qualities, as the Christians do to Jesus. Some distinguish in him two natures, the human and the divine. Others believe that the perfect nature of Ali has transmigrated into his successors in the imâmat. The deification of the first imâms is the distinguishing feature of all these sects, which are deemed impious.—*Hist. of the Assassins*, pp. 18—20.

Egyptian origin, and dates no further back than the beginning of the eleventh century. The founder of the religious sect to which they belong, was Mohammed Ben Ismael, surnamed *El Durzi*, from whom they are supposed to take their appellation. This heresiarch, in the reign of the third khalif of the Fatimite dynasty, the execrable Hakem b' amr Allah, distinguished himself by promulgating the doctrines ascribed to Karmath; and, to conciliate the favour of the tyrant, he is stated to have recognised him as an imaum and an incarnation of deity. A disciple of his, named Hamza Ben Achmed, is said to have propagated these tenets among the Syrian mountaineers: it is more probable that his disciples took refuge from persecution in the strong country of Lebanon.*

The Druses are divided into two classes or orders, the *akkals* (intelligent or initiated) and the *djahels* (ignorant). By the latter, the tenet is still devoutly held, that the Deity was incarnate in the person of the khalif Hakem, and that he will shortly re-appear. One of the questions put to the learned traveller Burckhardt, by a Druse sheikh of the Haouran, was, "Is the *Mehdee* (the Saviour or Leader) yet come, or is he now upon the earth?" This evidently referred to the Sheah doctrine, that the Twelfth Imaum (*Mehdee*) is not dead, but only concealed.† The *akkals*, who form the sacred order,

* In the Royal Library at Paris there is said to be an Arabic manuscript, entitled, "The Book of the Mysteries of the Unity, collected by Hamza Ben Ahmed, high-priest of the Druses." It is addressed to all those who are incorporated under the Arabic word *Daraz*. Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed are introduced as predecessors of the Maoula or Hakem, who is Mohammed Ben Ismael, and who has sealed and put an end to all other laws. And he "whose divinity has concealed itself under the human nature of our Maoula," it is said, will reveal himself in the form of a sheep or lamb; a notion perhaps related to Christian ideas.—See *Mod. Trav. Syria*, vol. i. pp. 95—100.

† The expectation of an Imaum yet to come, or of the re-appearance of the last Imaum, from whatever source derived, prevails all over the East, and has given rise to several impostures. A sect in India, called *Mehdivis*, take their name from believing their *Wali* or saint to have been the promised *Mehdi*. This pretender, who claimed to be descended from Hossein, the grandson of the prophet, was born at Joonpore, near Benares, A. H. 847, and declared himself to be the *Mehdi* at the Black Stone at Mecca, about A. H. 900. He died of a fever in Khorasan, A. H. 910. After his death his disciples dispersed, but did not abandon their faith in their deceased *Mehdi*, and they underwent a persecution under

(in number about 10,000,) assemble to perform their sacred rites every Thursday evening. Their ceremonies are enveloped in profound mystery; and it is said that any *djahel* intruder would, upon discovery, be put to death. This secrecy has given rise to injurious suspicions; but, from various testimonies, it would seem to be nearly certain, that a main part of their worship consists in the adoration of the image or symbol of their *Maoula* or Hakem, concealed in a silver chest. The *djahels*, who form by far the most numerous class, observe no religious rites, except when circumstances oblige them to conform to the established worship of the mosque. It was a direction of their Hakem, to embrace the worship of those who had power over them; that is, to adopt virtually the religious practices of the country in which they reside; a tenet also of the Sooffee sects. Hence, whenever they mix with Mohammedans, they enter the mosques, and observe all the prescribed rites. "In private, however, they break the fast of Ramadan, curse Mohammed, indulge in wine, and eat food forbidden by the Koran." * The *djahels* believe in the transmigration of souls; another indication of their affinity to the Persian sectaries. Circumcision is not practised by the Druses; a remarkable fact, considering their Arabian descent; but in this respect they follow the directions of their Hakem, whose object was, under the guise of a reformer, to overthrow the Mohammedan faith. Their other national peculiarities, not connected with their religious tenets, it does not fall within our design to notice.

2. *The Anzairies*.—The Anzairies, who occupy a mountainous canton in the north of Syria, extending from the *Nahr el Kebir* to Antioch, are clearly a branch of the Karmathian *Sheahs*, their tenets being a mixture of Mohammedism with the Persian mysticism. They style themselves *Mumen*,

Aurangzebe. They are still found in Gujerat, the Deccan, and Sindh, where they form small *dairas* (circles) or communities. For an account of the tenets of the Mehdivis, see Trans. of the Lit. Soc. of Bombay, vol. ii. Art. 14. "It is the opinion of many learned men," we are told, "that the two Imams, Jesus Christ and Mehdi, will appear together."

* Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. 201. The Druses, this traveller says, are extremely fond of raw meat.

and ascribe to Ali divine honours; associating with him Fatima, Hassan, and Hossein, and the Orphans of the latter. They appear to hold both the doctrine of Incarnations, and that of Metempsychosis; but their religious notions are veiled, in their sacred writings, in an unintelligible mystical jargon. As they are at variance with the Ismailites inhabiting the same territory, who acknowledge only seven Imaums, it is probable that the Anzairies may, as reported by Niebuhr, acknowledge Twelve, the last of whom, Mohammed el Mehdee, is believed by them to have taken up his residence in the Sun. They are said to hold Soonees, Jews, and Christians in equal detestation, but, like the Druses and Sooffees, outwardly conform to the religion of those they mix with. Maundrell, after describing them as "such Proteuses in religion, that nobody was ever able to discover what shape or standard their consciences are really of," adds: "All that is certain concerning them is, that they make very much and good wine, and are great drinkers."

Burckhardt and Volney represent the Anzairies as subdivided into three sects; *Kelbia*, *Shamsia*, and *Mokladjia* or *Kadmoosia*; which are interpreted to mean, dog-worshippers, sun-worshippers, and idolaters of an abominable sect; but it is possible that these appellations may simply denote the districts they inhabit. Otherwise, the honours paid to the dog, as well as to the sun, might seem to indicate that the original creed of these Anzairies was the Magian idolatry. Burckhardt was told, that the Anzairies "maintained from time to time some communication with the East Indies, and that there was a temple belonging to their sect, to which they occasionally sent messengers." They were greatly surprised at his mentioning this; and "their countenances seemed to indicate that there was some truth in the assertion." This may refer to the Parsees of Bombay; but more probably to the Ismailites of Malwah, whose chief *moollah* resides at Oojein, and who, under the name of Borahs, carry on the chief trade in European articles. According to Sir John Malcolm,* this enterprising mercantile body are of the tribe of

* Central India, vol. ii. p. 112.

Hassanee (or Hassassins), "once so dreaded in Egypt and Persia for the acts of murder and depredation which they perpetrated in blind obedience to their spiritual lord," the Sheikh of the Mountain. We may conclude that those Persian Ismailites who escaped the Mogul sword, took refuge, some in the Anzairie mountains, and others in India. That the *Kadmoosia* of Volney and the *Mokladjia* of Burckhardt are the Ismailites of Niebuhr, there is strong reason to conclude;* and the mortal feud between the Anzairies and the Ismailites may not arise from any material religious differences. At all events, they may differ only as subdivisions of the Sheah sect of Imamites, of which the followers of Hassan Subah were a branch. The opinion which identifies the Anzairies with the Assassins, is not, therefore, erroneous, although the two appellations have nothing in common as to their origin and import; and they were doubtless the "Assassins" whom the Crusaders met with in marching from the Orontes towards Libanus. Their name Pococke supposes to be derived from that of the ancient inhabitants of this part of Syria, called by Pliny, *Nazerini*. There are stated to be Anzairies also in Constantinople and Anatolia; and among the Koords and Turcomans, sects are said to exist, to whom are attributed secret rites of the same abominable character that are reported to be practised by some of these Syrian mountaineers, and which were charged in like manner upon the ancient Gnostics; but the information rests upon the suspicious hearsay reports of the Soonee Moslems and the Oriental Christians.

3. *The Yezidees*.—The name of *Yezid*, accursed, is given by their Mohammedan neighbours to a sect, or rather tribe, which forms a considerable part of the population in the pashaliks of Mousul, Amadia, and Jezira. Their chief town is Baadli, the residence of the hereditary head of their tribe.† The name *Yezid* is never used by themselves, being one of reproach. It has been supposed to denote their being followers of *Yezid*, the son of *Moawiyah*, who slew the two sons

* One of the principal Ismailie castles is named *El Kadmous*.

† Rich's *Kourdistan*, vol. ii. pp. 69, 86. The Emir hadji, or Pope of the Yezids, is said to be descended from the Ommiades.

of Ali; but for this opinion there seems no foundation; nor does it accord with the tenets ascribed to the Yezidees as "devil-worshippers." The Turkish historian, Hajji Khalfah, gives the following account of them:—"The Yezids reckon themselves disciples of Sheikh Hadi, who was one of the Merwanian khalifs. The Yezids were originally Sooffites, who have fallen into error and darkness. They buy places in Paradise from their Sheikhs, and on no account curse the Devil or Yezid. The Sheikh Hadi has made our Fast and Prayer a part of their abominable faith . . . They have a great enmity to the doctors of the law." The shrine of this Sheikh Hadi, or a place named from him, is still the central object of attraction to all Yezids. It is situated in the heart of the mountains, and is said to have been a Christian church dedicated to St. Thaddeus, the resemblance of whose name to Hadi is not a little remarkable. "The sanctuary is still perfectly distinguishable. There is a spring of water in it, which is received into a basin, and used by the Yezids for baptizing their children, whom they dip three times, but say no prayers on the occasion." * Prayers, however, are read by their *peer* or sheikh, at Sheikh Hadi, to which every one at intervals responds Amen. Some barbarous remains of Christianity seem therefore to be blended with their other notions, which have evidently an affinity to the Magian faith. Thus, Mr. Rich informs us, that "when the sun just appears above the horizon, they salute it with three prostrations. They will not spit into the fire, or blow out a candle with their breath." They pay adoration, or a sort of worship, to the figure of a cock, placed on a kind of candlestick, which is produced for this purpose once a year. They admit both baptism and circumcision, and believe in the metempsychosis; never saying, "such a one is dead," but, "he is changed." On entering a Christian church, they kiss the threshold, putting off their shoes. When taxed with having no religious books, they reply, that it is because God has so enlightened their minds as to render books and a written law unnecessary. Their alleged reverence for the Devil is evidently derived

* Rich's Kourdistan, vol. ii. p. 70.

from some obscure Manichean notion, or from the Magian belief respecting Ahriman, the Evil Principle. It is remarkable, that a rocky amphitheatre near the Chaldean convent of Rabban Hormuzd, (supposed to have been founded in the third century,) exhibits the appearance of having served as a *dokhmeh* or cemetery of the Old Persians.* There can be no doubt, at all events, that the creed of Zoroaster once prevailed in this region, upon which an imperfect Christianity seems to have been grafted. The Yezids appear a lively, brave, hospitable, good-humoured race, but are "even greater drinkers than the Christians."†

4. *The Zabians*.—Another singular remnant of an ancient and obscure sect, is found at El Merkab in Syria, and in the neighbourhood of Bassora, who are known under the various names of Zabians, Mendæans, Galileans, Nazareans, and Christians of St. John. In ecclesiastical history, they are also known by that of *hemero*-baptists, from their daily ablutions. They are said to acknowledge John the Baptist as their founder, exalting him above Our Lord, whom they own as a prophet, but not as the Son of God. They are in possession of sacred books, written in a peculiar dialect, and containing Gnostic, mythic, and philosophical speculations similar to those of the Zendavesta.‡ In their present shape, they are, in part at least, of more recent date than the rise of Islamism; as Mohammed and his followers are referred to: still, Professor Gesenius thinks, their language, as well as the ideas and historical allusions, point to a more ancient origin of the principal contents, and would seem to belong to the earlier centuries of the Christian era. The peculiarities of the dialect may be explained, by assuming the rise of the sect to have been, according to their own tradition, in Galilee, and under the Chaldee jurisdiction. The forms are now Syriac, now Chaldee; the idiom is peculiar; and many words have been adopted from the Persian. Of their ancient language, all

* Rich, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70.

† Ibid. p. 95.

‡ Of their five books, *Diwan*, *Book of Adam*, *Book of John*, *Kholasteh*, *Book of the Zodiac*, the second has been published entire by Professor Norberg, of Göttingen; and extracts from some of the others have appeared in the Continental literary journals.

except the priests and a very few others are entirely ignorant. Their religious notions appear to be of the most vague character. They dedicate to John the Baptist four festivals in the year, and are said to invoke him in their worship, eating honey and locusts "sacramentally" in honour of him. That they have no claim to be classed as Christians, is evident; nor can they be ranked among Mohammedan sects. Their real founder was, probably, one of the many Gnostic impostors who attempted to combine into a new system materials borrowed from the Jewish and Persian schools; and they owe their existence at the present day to the sacred books in which their ancient language and mystic faith are at once embalmed and entombed, but with which their minds have no more communion than the present inhabitants of the Thebaid can hold with the mummies of the antique dead.

Such are the sectarian divisions and bewildering heresies that have overspread those regions of the East, where the faint rays of Tradition or spurious Revelation, struggling with the outer darkness of heathenism, form a sort of twilight between Christianity and the Polytheistic systems. But all these forms of error are losing their hold upon the human mind. "The fastnesses of falsehood, as well as the strong-holds of tyranny, are mouldering away," and "whatever is gained for knowledge," to adopt the fine remark of Mr. Douglas, "is gained for Christianity."

CHAPTER XII.

POLYTHEISM AND PANTHEISM.

Early Religion of India allied to Magianism.—Origin of the Brahminical idolatry.—The Buddhists and Jains.—Who was Buddha?—Polytheism and Pantheism characterized.—Actual nature of Idolatry as now practised.—The Vedas.—The Pooranas.—The Tantras.—Reformed Sects.—The Sikhs.—Lamaism.—Religion of China—Of Japan—Of Birmah and Siam.—Illiterate Superstitions.

ADHERING to the principle laid down in the first chapter, that there are to be reckoned so many Religions as there are Revelations, real or pretended, we have now to give a succinct account of the Two Religions which, at the present time, divide the heathen world: the Brahminical, or that of the Hindoo mythology, which is essentially polytheistic; and the Buddhic, which, though its worship is idolatrous, is more nearly allied to Pantheism; the system which regards God as the soul of the universe, the one and only true existence, yet without attributes, alike incomprehensible and undefinable, perfectly quiescent, an Infinite Element into which all being ultimately resolves itself. In India, both these Religions have existed from time immemorial, and have come into hostile collision. Each has become subdivided into numberless diversities, so that it would occupy a volume to give an account of the extant sects of the heathen world. But all the various modifications of idolatry may be comprised under one of these two grand divisions.

The question has given rise to much learned discussion, whether Brahminism or Buddhism can claim a superior antiquity. But, in speaking of the two systems, we must guard against the fallacy of ascribing to the terms a precise and unchangeable meaning. Each has undergone, at different periods, more than one revolution. Brahminism, if it had

any relation, originally, to the worship of Brahma as the Creator, has long ceased to exist. Who the *Brachmanes* of ancient India were,—whether they bore a nearer affinity to the modern Brahmins, or to the votaries of the rival system, is precisely the point to be determined. The present sects of Buddhists and Jains may be comparatively modern, and yet they are certainly of higher antiquity than the existing forms of Hindooism. Primitive Brahminism, the religion of the Vedas, appears to have been closely allied to Magianism;* and its supposed derivation from Bactria, where the religion of Zoroaster had its fountain-head, agrees with this idea, which receives indirect confirmation from the affinity of the Zend to the Sanscrit.

According to Mr. Colebrooke, whose opinion is entitled to much weight, “the earliest Indian sect of which we have any distinct knowledge, is that of the followers of the *practical* Vedas, who worshipped the Sun, Fire, and the Elements, and who believed in the efficacy of sacrifices for the accomplishment of present and future purposes. It may be supposed that the refined doctrine of the *Vedantis* or followers of the theological and argumentative part of the Vedas, is of later date; and it does not seem improbable that the sects of Jina and of Buddha are still more modern. But I apprehend that the *Vaishnavas*, meaning particularly the worshippers of Rama and of Crishna, may be subsequent to these sects, and that the *Saivas* also are of more recent date.”†

For a considerable period, the rival sects must have flourished contemporaneously; and the persecution of the Buddhists, which terminated in their expulsion from Hindostan and the Peninsula, did not take place till the Brahminical faith had assumed a very different character from that which Mr. Colebrooke considers as its primitive form. He supposes

* “The first duty of a Brahminist of the first degree is, (between eight and sixteen years of age,) to assume the *zenar*. This is the initial ceremony. He next learns the *gayteree*, which consists of certain words in praise of the sun.”—*Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 511. The *gayteree* or *gayutree* is explained in Rammohun Roy’s Translation of the Veds, pp. 116, 117. The worship of the sacred fire is expressly enjoined in the Yajur Veda.—See *Ibid.* p. 103.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 293.

it to have commenced with the *Vaishnavas* and *Saivas*; the rise of these sects consequently must have been subsequent to the era at which Buddhism appears to have prevailed over the whole of India from Bamian to Ceylon, and to which era must be referred the stupendous excavations at Ellora. The Brahminical caves are all dedicated to the obscene symbol of the *Saivas*, indicating their later execution. The remains of stupendous works evidently executed by the Buddhists, are found scattered over the whole extent of country at present in the possession of the followers of the Brahminical religion; and in many instances where no Buddhist is known, at any recorded period, to have existed. The absence of the institution of caste among the Buddhists, has been adduced as a proof of their higher antiquity; but it is, perhaps, rather an indication of a diversity of national origin. There seems strong reason to believe, that the Buddhic faith was the prevalent creed of the Bheel tribes, as well, probably, as of the Tamul nations, who seem to have the strongest claims to be regarded as the aborigines of Central, Eastern, and Southern India; while the Brahminical system was an exotic, and, together with the yoke of caste, was introduced into India by northern conquerors. The Jains or *Joiniis*, who agree with the Buddhists in the essential characteristics of their faith, but differ from them in recognising the distinction of castes, as well as in having adopted many of the practices and observances of the Hindoos,* were, in all probability, not only of posterior origin as a sect, but, as a race, more closely related to the great Hindoo family; and many of their tribes are of Rajpoot descent.

* The essential character of the Hindoo institutions has been deemed to be the distribution of the people into four great castes, which is found existing among the Jains, but with this marked difference from Brahminism, that their priests are selected from different castes, and do not marry. A distribution of society into four orders was not peculiar to the Brahminical legislator. Jemsheed is said to have divided the Persians into four classes; and it appears from Herodotus, that such a distinction existed among the Medes at the commencement of the monarchy. It obtained also among the Colchians, Iberians, Athenians, Egyptians, and Peruvians. What is most peculiar about the Brahminical law of caste, is the wide and impassable distance which the laws of Menu place between the Brahmin and the rest of his countrymen.

When the Buddhist tribes gave way before their conquerors, the Jains appear to have connected themselves with the prevailing faith by the ties of caste, and, probably, by frequenting the religious ceremonies of the Brahmins; as is still customarily done by the Jain Banians of the northern parts of Gujerat. They secretly preserved their ancient doctrines, however; and even in the countries in which they were most persecuted, gradually formed themselves into separate religious associations. In the South of India, Kanara, Gujerat, and Marwar, they seem always to have preserved some political consequence, and exist in great numbers; and in the latter countries at least, the Jains and Hindoos intermarry.* In some instances, till very recently, both in some parts of Gujerat and in the Mahratta country, where they were in more complete subjection, their temples were underground, to escape the observation of the Brahmins; and materials are said to have been kept in readiness for filling up the entrance, or covering the images, in case of suspicion. Their connexion with the Brahmins has gone so far as to induce them, at some of their temples, to admit into the sacred enclosure certain gods of the Brahmins; Vishnoo, Gunesh, and Kartikeya, and to new-model some of their religious books to suit the change. But this laxity appears to be quite unauthorized by the more pure and ancient religion both of Jains and Boodhists." †

The traditional chronology of these two sects assigns nearly the same period to their founder, namely, about B.C. 600. Mr. Colebrooke supposes the sect of Jains to have been founded by Pars'wanatha, and thoroughly established by Mahavira,

* Mewar, Col. Tod says, has from the most remote period afforded a refuge to the followers of the Jain faith, and "the noblest remains of architecture are Buddhist or Jain." One of the best preserved monuments is a column, 70 feet high, elaborately sculptured, and dedicated to Parswanath, at Chitore. "Rajasthan and Saurashtra are the cradles of the Buddhist or Jain faith. The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers from Lahore to the ocean. More than half of the mercantile wealth of India passes through their hands." "The pontiff of the *Khartragatcha*, one of the many branches of this faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India." The Jains are termed in reproach *Vediavan*, or magicians.—*Trans. of Roy. Asiatic Soc.* vol. ii. p. 282.

† *Trans. of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 502. It may be questioned whether these subterranean temples do not owe their origin to fear of the Mussulmans.

both of whom have been venerated by their followers as deified saints (*Jinas*),* and are so worshipped by the sect to this day. Mahavira is said to have had eleven disciples, eight of whom became the heads of distinct sects (*guchch' has*), the remaining three forming a ninth; and these nine have in course of time become subdivided into eighty-four.† The two grand subdivisions, however, are into *Swetambaras* (white-robed) and *Digambaras* (unclothed): the former are most numerous in Gujerat, the latter in Rajpootana and northern Hindostan. The *Digambaras* separated from the general body about A.D. 552: the chief points upon which they differ from the *Swetambara* Jains, are stated to be, their representing their gods without clothing, their denying the deified rajahs or saints to be supreme gods, their requiring their *sadhus* or ascetics to deny themselves clothing and any other article of equipment than a fan of peacock's feathers and a cup, and their allowing only the ten *Mula Sútras* of the holy books of the Jains to be original, rejecting all the rest. According to the *Swetambaras*, the sacred books are forty-five in number, and are divided into four classes: metaphysical, or those which treat of motion, vacuum, life, and matter; ethical, those which treat of the duties of *sád'hus*, the rules of the ascetic life, and the steps to the attainment of *mócsha* (absorption); cosmographical; and the histories of the saints. A sect of reformed Jains, called *Luncas*, who separated from the main body A.D. 1475, acknowledge only thirty-two *sutras*, and reject the worship of images and pilgrimages, as not being prescribed by the original and authentic *sidd'hantus* or sacred books.‡

The language in which the Jaina *sútras* are written, is the *Magadha-bashee* or Pali; and according to their historical records, they were first committed to writing 980 years after Mahavira, or about A.D. 380.§ The most ancient Jain

* The word Jaina is a regular derivative from Jina, in the same manner as Baudh'ha is from Budd'ha.

† Trans. of Roy. Asiatic Soc. vol. iii. p. 358. On the Jainas of Gujerat and Marwar, by Lieut.-Col. Miles.

‡ Trans. of Roy. Asiatic Soc. vol. iii. pp. 369, 343, 364.

§ Ib. p. 346.

temples are stated to have been founded about a hundred years before. This appears to give the origin of the Jains in Western India; but their religion must previously have existed in the Eastern provinces of India; and the dialect in which their sacred books are written, sufficiently warrants our regarding them as a branch of the Buddhists. Gaudama (or Godama) Buddha, the deified *moonee* or saint who is the object of worship with all the Buddhist tribes, appears to have been an ascetic philosopher of the royal house which reigned in Magadha (or South Bahar) from B.C. 700 to 300, when the last Buddhist sovereign of the dynasty was deposed and put to death. The apotheosis of Gaudama Buddha took place B.C. 543. The Buddhists, in common with the Hindoos of the Brahminical sects, believe that the earth is now in the fourth age of its existence; that each age has had its lawgiver; and that another age is yet to come. Gaudama, with whose appearance the *kali-yuga* commences, has had three predecessors, whose names appear disguised under different titles and a various orthography. There is, however, little discrepancy as to the appellation of the third Buddha, who appeared in the *dwapar-yuga* (brazen age), and was born, according to some accounts, at Benares. His patronymic appears to have been Casyapa (by the Birmans pronounced Kathapa); and he is also styled *Sakya-moonee*, a title sometimes given to Gaudama. With regard to his predecessors, there is much obscurity.* But, as there seems no reason to doubt that they were actual historical personages, the origin of the Buddhist faith is carried back by the tradition into times of remote antiquity. The term Buddha, like Brahma, is applied to the Supreme Being; and, when used as a title, implies the ascription of divinity to the saint so designated. It appears, however, to have been also assumed, like the names of other

* The name of the first Buddha, or deified moonee, is variously written, Kaukathan, Kaukason, Kakoosandeh, Karkutchand; and he is styled Maha-moonee. That of the second is written, Gaunagon, Gonagom, Kanaka, Konagammeh, and Chanda-moonee. According to the Nepalese Buddhist writings, both of these appeared in the *treta-yuga*, and were preceded by three others who appeared in the first age, the *satya-yuga*, named Vipasya, Sikhi, and Viswa-bhú or Visabhu.—*Trans. of Roy. As. Soc.* vol. ii. pp. 41, 239.

deities, as an honorific title, by monarchs of a particular dynasty; and in the Hindoo genealogies, Buddha, the son of Chandra (the Moon), appears as the ancestor of the Yadu tribe, styled *Chandra-vansi*, or children of the moon.* The deity so designated is the Mercury of the Hindoo astronomy, to whom the fourth day of the week is sacred, (the Woden of the northern nations,) and must be regarded as having no connexion with the Buddhic faith; the characteristic distinction of which is, that, while the Brahminical mythology presents as the objects of worship anthropomorphous gods, the gods of the Buddhic system are deified men. This peculiar feature of the system would countenance the notion of its Scythic origin.† If the first Buddha was the national patriarch, the origin of the Buddhic idolatry might be traced to that veneration for the souls of deceased ancestors which is one of the most ancient sources of false religion. This superstition is generally considered as of less remote origin than the worship of the heavens and elements; but traces of it are found in the earliest historic records; and it has been suggested, that it may have begun in some superstitious respect to rude images made in remembrance of the dead. "Such," remarks Mr. Douglas, "appeared to be the state of Laban's family, who acknowledged the True God, though a superstitious and culpable homage towards the domestic images of their ancestors was evidently springing up among them. Such, no doubt, was the origin of the teraphim among the Jews, as well as of the household gods among the Gentile nations. Though generally small as well as rude in their carving, one of these teraphim, which was placed by Michal in the room of David, must have been about the size as well as the shape of a human figure. The progress from being the

* Trans. of Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. ii. p. 299. Arrian mentions a *Budæus* among the ancestors of the Pandus, whom Col. Tod would identify with this Buddha. Who is the Buddha whom the *Pooranas* recognise as the ninth avatar of Vishnoo, it is not easy to determine. He was doubtless an historical personage who lived subsequently to the era of Bala Rama; but whether Gaudama is intended, seems very doubtful.

† Mr. Wilson supposes the original Buddha to have been a Scythian sage, who flourished B.C. 1000.

guardian of a family to becoming the protecting deity of a nation, was easy." *

The deification of conquerors or ancient heroes has, however, originated a superstition specifically different from the deification of heresiarchs or saints. The former has always blended itself with mythology, the hero being regarded but as an *avatar* of the POWER which is the abstract object of superstitious fear, and which it is sought to propitiate by means of piacular rites, with the aid of sacerdotal mediators. The deified teacher or saint is worshipped, not as an *avatar* of power, but as an emanation from the Fountain of Deity, the all-pervading soul of the Universe. Hence, this species of idolatry has rejected the fables of mythology, to ally itself to the speculations of the pantheistic mysticism; and for piacular rites, it substitutes penances that have for their object to subdue the senses, and to purify the mind from material delusion and defilement. Thus, while Polytheism has multiplied its gods, and embellished its temples with storied legends and fables, taxing invention for new rites to captivate the senses or excite the imagination, Pantheism has multiplied its sects and schools, its saints and doctors, its rules and dogmata, contemplation being its only devotion, and self-mortification its worship. "Genuine Buddhism," it has been remarked, "never seems to contemplate any measures of acceptance with the Deity, but, overleaping the barrier between finite and infinite mind, urges its followers to aspire by their own efforts to that Divine perfectibility of which it teaches that man is capable, and by attaining which man becomes God. Genuine Buddhism has no priesthood; the saint despises the priest; the saint scorns the aid of mediators, whether on earth or in heaven." †

The Buddhic philosophy was unquestionably the source from which Pythagoras, Plato, and Zeno derived their oriental wisdom; ‡ and the Sooffee mysticism may be traced to the

* Douglas's Errors of Religion, p. 16.

† Hodgson's Sketch of Buddhism. Trans. of Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. ii. p. 254.

‡ In the opinions of Lao Tseu, a Chinese philosopher of the sixth century B.C., M. Rémusat has pointed out the essential dogmas of the Orphic and Platonic philosophy.—*Melanges Asiat.* tom. i. pp. 96, 97.

same origin. It is remarkable too, that as, in Persia, the Sooffee tenets have blended with the Sheah faith in the doctrine of a series of inspired Imâms, the Buddhic creed presents a counterpart to the tenets of the Imamites, (if we may not rather say the original from which they have been borrowed,) in the deification of the four Buddhas. The remark, that Sooffeism is in itself no religion, although, wherever it prevails, it unsettles every other false belief, will equally apply to Buddhism under its various modifications. Whatever precepts it inculcates, it exerts no power over the heart, either to excite to active virtue, or to restrain from vice. Its esoteric doctrine is a transcendental theism which differs in no practical respect from atheism. Its exoteric creed, it is more difficult to characterize, since it accommodates itself to various forms of superstition; but the principal feature of the vulgar faith, is the doctrine of metempsychosis. As Buddhism knows no sin, so, it holds out neither a heaven nor a hell. Fate cannot be propitiated; necessity cannot be evaded; and where the sense of accountableness is extinguished, there can be no repentance, no fear, no gratitude, no hope. Knowledge is the only virtue; apathy the highest bliss. Yet, even such a religion as this, which is the negation of all religion, and the annihilation of the moral sense, appears harmless and rational, in comparison with the terrible superstition of the Hindoo pantheon, which differs from Buddhism as insanity does from idiocy.

In proceeding to give a rapid sketch of the Polytheistic system, we are happily enabled to avail ourselves of the statements of a learned Hindoo, thoroughly versed in the literature of his country, who cannot be supposed to have exaggerated the evils of the popular system. The late Rajah Rammohun Roy, having been led to forsake idolatry for the worship of the True God, zealously exerted himself to convince his countrymen, that the theism he had embraced was the original meaning of their own sacred books. "Some Europeans," remarks the learned Theist, "indued with high principles of liberality, but unacquainted with the ritual part of Hindoo idolatry, are disposed to palliate it by an interpreta-

tion which, though plausible, is by no means well founded. They are willing to imagine that the idols which the Hindoos worship, are not viewed by them in the light of gods, or as real personifications of the Divine attributes, but merely as instruments for raising their minds to the contemplation of those attributes which are respectively represented by different figures. Many Hindoos also, who are conversant with the English language, finding this interpretation a more plausible apology for idolatry than any with which they are furnished by their own guides, do not fail to avail themselves of it, though in repugnance both to their faith and to their practice. The declarations of this description of Hindoos naturally tend to confirm the original idea of such Europeans, who, from the extreme absurdity of pure unqualified idolatry, deduce an argument against its existence. It appears to them impossible for men, even in the very last degree of intellectual darkness, to be so far misled as to consider a mere image of wood or of stone as a *human* being, much less as a Divine existence. With a view, therefore, to do away any misconception of this nature which may have prevailed, I beg leave to submit the following considerations.

“Hindoos of the present age, with a very few exceptions, have not the least idea that it is to the attributes of the Supreme Being, as figuratively represented by shapes corresponding to the nature of those attributes, they offer adoration and worship under the denomination of gods and goddesses. On the contrary, the slightest investigation will clearly satisfy every inquirer, that it makes a material part of their system, to hold as articles of faith all those particular circumstances which are essential to a belief in the independent existence of the objects of their idolatry, as deities clothed with divine power. Locality of habitation, and a mode of existence analogous to their own views of earthly things, are uniformly ascribed to each particular god. Thus, the devotees of Siva, . . . not only place an implicit credence in the separate existence of Siva, but even regard him as an omnipotent being, the greatest of all the divinities who inhabit, as they say, the northern mountain of Cailas; and that he is accom-

panied by two wives and several children, and surrounded with numerous attendants. In like manner, the followers of Vishnu, (mistaking the allegorical representations of the Sastras for relations of real facts,) believe him to be chief over all other gods, and that he resides with his wife and attendants on the summit of heaven. . . . The same observations are equally applicable to every class of Hindoo devotees in regard to their gods and goddesses. And so tenacious are those devotees in respect to the honour due to their chosen divinities, that, when they meet in such holy places as Haridwar, Pryag, Siva-canchi, or Vishnu-canchi in the Deccan, the adjustment of the point of precedence not only occasions the warmest verbal altercations, but sometimes even blows and violence. Neither do they regard the images of those gods merely in the light of instruments for elevating the mind to the conception of those supposed beings: they are simply in themselves made objects of worship. For, whatever Hindoo purchases an idol in the market, or constructs one with his own hands, or has one made up under his own superintendence, it is his invariable practice to perform certain ceremonies, called *Prán Pratishtha* or the endowment of animation; by which he believes that its nature is changed from that of the mere materials of which it is formed, and that it acquires not only life, but supernatural powers.* Shortly afterwards, if the idol be of the masculine gender, he marries it to a feminine one, with not less pomp and magnificence than he celebrates the nuptials of his own children. The mysterious process is now complete, and the god and goddess are esteemed the arbiters of his destiny, and continually receive his most ardent adoration. At the same time, the worshipper of images ascribes to them at once the opposite natures of human and of superhuman beings. In attention to their supposed wants as living beings, he is seen feeding, or pretending to feed them every morning and evening; and as, in the hot season, he is careful to fan them, so, in the cold, he is equally regardful of their comfort, covering them by day with warm clothing, and placing them at night

* To this notion there is an evident allusion at Rev. xiii. 15.

in a snug bed. But superstition does not find a limit here: the acts and speeches of the idols, and their assumption of various shapes and colours, are gravely related by the Brahmins, and with all the marks of veneration are firmly believed by their deluded followers. Other practices they have with regard to those idols, which decency forbids me to explain."

"Many learned Brahmins are perfectly aware of the absurdity of idolatry, and are well informed of the nature of the purer mode of Divine worship. But as in the rites, ceremonies, and festivals of idolatry they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they not only never fail to protect idol-worship from all attacks, but even advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by keeping the knowledge of their scriptures* concealed from the rest of the people. Their followers too, confiding in these leaders, feel gratification in the idea of the Divine Nature residing in a being resembling themselves in birth, shape, and propensities; and are naturally delighted with a mode of worship agreeable to the senses, though destructive of moral principles, and the fruitful parent of prejudice and superstition."†

The learned Hindoo Theist contends, that the idolatrous worship adopted by his countrymen in general for the propitiation of the deities, is in opposition to the pure worship inculcated by the Vedas; but the fact is, that the language and directions of the Vedas are, in this respect, alike mystical and contradictory. According to the learned Writer and others of his school, "the whole body of the Hindoo theology, law, and literature, is contained in the Vedas;" it is from the *Pooranas* and *Tantras*, however, that the popular superstition is chiefly derived. It will be necessary, therefore, briefly to explain the nature of each of these three classes of sacred books.

I. *The Vedas*.—The following is the account given by Rammohun Roy of these ancient and venerated writings.

"The Ved, from which all Hindoo literature is derived, is,

* The learned Hindoo means the Vedas, which nevertheless countenance idolatry.

† Rammohun Roy's Translation of the Veds, pp. 88—91.

in the opinion of the Hindoos, an inspired work coeval with the existence of the world. It is divided into four parts, viz. *Rig*, *Yajur*, *Sam*, and *At'harva*: these are again divided into several branches, and these last are subdivided into chapters. It is the general characteristic of each Ved, that the primary chapters of each branch treat of astronomy, medicine, arms, and other arts and sciences. They also exhibit allegorical representations of the attributes of the Supreme Being, by means of earthly objects, animate or inanimate, whose shapes or properties are analogous to the nature of those attributes, and pointing out the modes of their worship, immediately, or through the worship of fire. In the subsequent chapters, the Unity of the Supreme Being is plainly inculcated, and the mode of worshipping Him particularly directed. The doctrine of a plurality of gods and goddesses laid down in the preceding chapters, is not only controverted, but reasons are assigned for its introduction; for instance, that the worship of the Sun and Fire, together with the whole allegorical system, were only inculcated for the sake of those whose limited understandings rendered them incapable of comprehending and adoring the invisible Supreme Being; so that such persons might not remain in a brutified state, destitute of all religious principles. Should this explanation given by the Ved itself, as well as by its celebrated commentator, Vyas, not be allowed to reconcile those passages which are seemingly at variance with each other, as those that declare the Unity of the invisible Supreme Being, with others which describe a plurality of independent visible gods, the whole work must, I am afraid, not only be stripped of its authority, but be looked upon as altogether unintelligible.*

Supposing that this explanation were admissible, it would only prove, that the esoteric doctrine of the Vedas is the same as that of the Buddhist philosophy, while they countenance and prescribe idolatry as the religion of the vulgar. It is difficult, however, to discriminate the text of the Vedas, or what may be termed the Hindoo *Mishna*, from the comments of the Vedantu philosophers. The collection and division of the

* Rammohun Roy, pp. 45, 46.

Vedas into books and chapters, is ascribed to that "greatest of Indian theologists, philosophers, and poets," Vyas, (Byas, or Vyasa,) who flourished upwards of 2,000 years ago. With a view to reconcile the discordancies in these voluminous writings, (the production, probably, of very distinct times,) he composed a complete and compendious abstract of the whole, termed "*The Vedantu*," i. e. the Resolution of the Vedas, which has continued to be most highly revered by all the Hindoos, and "in place of the more diffuse arguments of the Vedas, is always referred to as of equal authority." The Vedantu consists of ten *Oopunisheds*, (or *Upanishad*,) of which "the *Shareeruk-meemangsa*, commonly called the *Vedant-Durshun*, composed by the celebrated Vyas, is explanatory."* These *durshunus* more especially inculcate the pantheistic doctrine, and make known the process of abstraction by which the ascetic may obtain absorption into Deity. The following passages, adduced by Rammohun Roy to prove that the adoration of the Supreme Being in spirit is prescribed by the Veda to men of understanding, and the worship of the celestial bodies and their images only to the ignorant, will sufficiently illustrate the true nature of the esoteric philosophy.

"Those that neglect the contemplation of the Supreme Spirit, either by devoting themselves solely to the performance of the ceremonies of religion, or by living destitute of religious ideas, shall, after death, assume the state of demons, such as that of the celestial gods, and of other created beings, which are surrounded with the darkness of ignorance.

"He who perceives the whole universe in the Supreme Being, and who also perceives the Supreme Being in the whole universe, does not feel contempt towards any creature whatsoever.

* The real name of Vyasa was Badayarana. He is said to have appeared at the period intervening between the third and fourth ages of the world. The work ascribed to him is a collection of succinct aphorisms, intitled *Brahma súira*, or *S'ariraca mimansa*; and sometimes, *S'arira-suíra*, or *Vedanta-suíra*. It is also distinguished as the *uttara* (later) *mimansa*, in contradistinction from the *purva* (prior) *mimansa*, the work of his predecessor, Jaimini. Mr. Colebrooke renders Vedanta, "Conclusion of the Vedas," implying "their end and scope."—See *Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindoos*, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. Part V. *Trans. of Royal Asiat. Soc.* vol. ii. Art. 1.

“Those observers of religious rites that perform only the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, without regarding the worship of celestial gods, shall enter into the dark regions; and those practisers of religious ceremonies who habitually worship the celestial gods only, disregarding the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, shall enter into a region still darker.* . . . Whosoever performs them both, will, by means of the latter, surmount the obstacles presented by natural temptation, and will attain the state of the celestial gods through the practice of the former.

“Those observers of religious rites who worship *Prakriti* (Nature) alone, shall enter into the dark region; and those practisers of religious ceremonies that are devoted to worship solely *the prior operating sensitive particle allegorically called Brahma*, shall enter into a region much more dark. . . . Whatever person, knowing that the adoration of *Prakriti* and that of *Brahma* should be together observed, performs them both, will, by means of the latter, overcome indigence; and will attain the state of *Prakriti*, through the practice of the former.”†

“He who believes that, from the highest state of Brahma to the lowest state of a straw, all are delusions, and that the One Supreme Spirit is the only true Being, attains beatitude.”

“Those who believe that the Divine nature exists in an image made of earth, stone, metal, wood, or of other materials, reap only distress by their austerities; but they cannot, without a knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, acquire absorption.”‡

* Here the existence of the Magian, Buddhic, and Subian idolatry is obviously indicated, and there seems an attempt to combine them.

† Ish-upanishad of the Yajur Veda.—*R. Rammohun Roy's Transl.* pp. 101—104.

‡ Mahanervana, in *Ibid.* p. 167. Udwayanundu, a *Sunyasee*, and the compiler of “The Essence of the Vedantu,” says, “*Brumhu* and life are one. That which, pervading all the members of the body, gives to them life and motion, is called *jeevu*, life: that which, pervading the whole universe, gives life and motion to all, is *Brumhu*; therefore these two are one. Every kind of matter is without life; that which is created cannot possess life; therefore all life is the creator, or *Brumhu*. God is the soul of the world. This is the substance of the Vedantu

This contemplative mysticism, which the learned Hindoo Theist terms, "the adoration of the Invisible Supreme Being," although, as he contends, exclusively prescribed by the Vedantu, has been totally neglected and discountenanced in practice; "the idol worship which those authorities permit only to the ignorant, having been substituted for that pure worship." In fact, "from its being concealed within the dark curtain of the Sungscrit language, and the Brahmins permitting themselves alone to interpret or even to touch any book of the kind," he remarks, "the Vedantu, although perpetually quoted, is little known to the public, and the practice of few Hindoos indeed bears the least accordance with its precepts."*

2. *The Pooranas*.—"To know the Hindoo idolatry *as it is*," remarks Mr. Ward, "a person must wade through the filth of the thirty-six *pooranas* and other popular books." These works contain the traditional legends of the Hindoo pantheon. The authorship of the principal *Pooranas* is ascribed to the same learned Brahmin (Vyasa) who first arranged the Vedas;† a proof that their real history is lost, and that they are of high antiquity. The principal *Pooranas* are, the great epic romance of the *Maha-Bharat*, the *Rama-yana*, the *Shree-Bhagavat*, and the *Vishnoo-poorana*. Rammohun Roy, in contending that these histories of the gods are to be understood *allegorically*, refers to the grossness of the fictions as a reason against admitting the worship of the deities as distinct existences. For example, "the creating attribute, or Brahma, is represented, in one instance, as attempting to commit a rape on his own daughter; the protecting attribute, or Vishnoo, is, in another place, affirmed to have fraudulently violated the chastity of Brinda, in order to kill her husband. A thousand similar

philosophy." The Vedantu philosophers say, that "God exists in millions of forms, from the ant to Brumha, the grandfather of the gods, as the moon is seen at once in different pans of water."—Ward's *View of the Hindoos*, 8vo. pp. i. iii.

* Rammohun Roy, pp. 181, 184.

† "Hindoos are persuaded to believe that Vyas, considered as an inspired writer among the ancients, composed and left behind him numerous and voluminous works under different titles, to an extent that no man, during the ordinary course of life, could prepare: these, however, with a few exceptions, exist merely in name, and those that are genuine bear the commentaries of celebrated authors."—Rammohun Roy, p. 264.

examples," he adds, "must be familiar to every reader of the *Pooranas*." The learned Theist refers more particularly to the tenth division of the *Bhagavat*, to the *Huribungsu*, or last book of the *Maha-Bharat*, and to the *Negums* and *Agums*, for a detailed account of the lewdness and debauchery of these and the other gods. As to falsehood, their favourite deity, Krishna, is conspicuous above the rest. Crimes of a deeper dye might easily be added to the list. "May God," he exclaims, "speedily purify the minds of my countrymen from the corruptness which such tales are too apt to produce!"*

The mythology of the Hindoos, like that of the Greek and Roman Pantheon, to which it bears a close affinity, is evidently of a composite character; historical legends having become blended with philosophical fables, the deeds of heroes with the emblematic language of the old astronomy. There can be no doubt that the worship of the Sun and the heavenly bodies, to which, all over the world, the days of the week are dedicated, formed the basis of the complex superstructure. In Sanscrit, the first day of the week is called *Rupee-varu*, literally Sunday; (*Rupee* or *Ravi* being the same as *Soorya*, the Sun;) the second day is *Somu-varu*, Moon-day; and the rest of the days bear the names of *Mungalu* (the planet Mars), *Boodhu* (Mercury), *Vrihusputee* (Jupiter), *Shookru* (Venus), and *Shunee* (Saturn). The periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies, the appearances of nature, and the absurd theories of the heathen cosmogony, are evidently intended by some of the mythological fables. Hindoo geography having divided the earth into ten parts, mythology has assigned a deity to each; namely, *Indra*, the king of heaven, answering to Jupiter; *Ugnee*, Fire; *Yama*, the Indian Pluto; *Noiritu*; *Varoonu*, answering to Neptune; *Vayoo*; *Kooveru*, Plutus; *Eeshu*; *Brumha*; and *Ununtu*.† Upon this primary system appears to have been superinduced the philosophical mythology (if it may be so termed) embodying the theory of the periodical

* Rammohun Roy, pp. 147, 188. For further details, the reader may be referred to Mr. Ward's View of the Hindoo Pantheon.

† Ward, vol. i. p. 34.

creation and destruction of the world, which personified the triple principle of Divine energy in three new gods, *Brumha*, *Vishnoo*, and *Shivu* (or *Seeva*), into which all the other gods and goddesses ultimately resolve themselves. The doctrine of incarnations or *avatars* is evidently related to the esoteric philosophy; but, in the mythology, it has served the double purpose of connecting the celestial gods of the older idolatry with the Brahminical Triad, and of blending with both the legends which disguise historical facts. Thus, the first three incarnations of Vishnoo, the Preserver, are evidently allegorical, relating to the Creation and the Deluge; the next three, which are said to have taken place in the *satya-yuga*, must be deemed, from their very absurdity, mythic. The seventh incarnation, that of Rama the destroyer of Ravana, which is the subject of the Ramayana, refers, unquestionably, to historical transactions. So do the eighth and ninth, in which Vishnoo appeared as Bala Rama, and as Boodhu, to destroy the power of the giants. The tenth incarnation (like the fifth Buddha) is *still to come*.*

The appearance of Vishnoo as Krishna is called the descent of Vishnoo himself, and not an avatar or incarnation. Krishna, Rama, and other terrestrial gods, are, confessedly, deified heroes; yet, Krishna is also the Apollo of the Hindoo pantheon; and it is impossible exactly to say, (as in the case of the astronomical and the historical Hercules of the Greeks,) where the legendary story ends, and the mythic fiction begins. This only is certain; that, by his worshippers, the whole history is taken literally. Krishna is the hero of the *Pooranas*, and the favourite deity of the people. Six-tenths of the whole population of Bengal are supposed by Mr. Ward to rank as his votaries; but they are chiefly of the lower orders, few of them being Brahmins. Rammohun Roy refers to the worship of "this most adored of all the Incarnations" as too gross for description. "His devotees very often personify (in the same manner as European actors upon stages do) him

* Ward, vol. i. pp. 3—10. The *Shree Bhagavat* mentions various other incarnations of Vishnoo in the person of different ascetics, among whom Vyasa is enumerated; but these do not belong to mythology.

and his female companions, dancing with indecent gestures, and singing songs relative to his love and debaucheries." * "The images of this lascivious and blood-stained hero are worshipped by the Hindoos," says Mr. Ward, "with an enthusiasm which transforms them into the very image of Krishna himself." † The temples dedicated to him are numerous, and various festivals are celebrated in his honour. He is, in fact, the patron deity of licentious merriment, intrigue, and impurity. Still grosser abominations and deeper shades of wickedness are connected, however, with the scarcely less popular worship of *Doorga* in her various forms, and with the rites prescribed in the *Tantras*.

3. The *Tantras* (or *Tuntrus*) are supposed to have been composed by Shiva; which may be presumed to indicate that they are, to the votaries of Shiva, what the *Pooranas* are to the worshippers of Vishnu. They appear to be of comparatively modern date; and the obscene worship which they prescribe, has confessedly been introduced subsequently to the Pooranic idolatry. "The *Tuntras* or works ascribed to Shiva as their author," says the learned Apologist for the Vedantic Theism, "are esteemed as consisting of innumerable millions of volumes, although only a very few comparatively are to be found. Debased characters among this unhappy people, taking advantage of this circumstance, have secretly composed forged works and passages, and published them as if they were genuine, with the view of introducing new doctrines, new rites, or new prescripts of secular law." ‡ The advocates for the burning of widows have had recourse to this base artifice. But the character of those which are received as genuine Shasters, is sufficiently infamous. "It is impossible," says the same authority, "to explain in language fit to meet the public eye, the mode in which *Mahadeva*, or the Destroying Attribute (*Shiva* or *Seeva*), is worshipped by the generality of the Hindoos: suffice it to say, that it is altogether congenial with the indecent nature of the image under whose form he is most commonly adored. The stories

* Rammohun Roy, p. 150.

† Ward, vol. i. p. 195.

‡ Rammohun Roy, p. 264, note.

respecting him which are read by his devotees in the *Tuntras*, are of a nature that, if told of any man, would be offensive to the ears of the most abandoned of either sex. In the worship of Kali, human sacrifices, the use of wine, criminal intercourse, and licentious songs are included. The first of these practices has become generally extinct; but it is believed that there are parts of the country where human victims are still offered. Debauchery, however, universally forms the principal part of the worship of her followers. The *Nigam* and other *Tuntras* may satisfy every reader of the horrible tenets of the worshippers of the latter two deities. The modes of worship of almost all the inferior deities are pretty much the same." *

The *Shaktus*, or worshippers of *Bhagavatee* (the same as *Doorga*), derive the principles of their sect, and the forms used in their religious ceremonies, wholly from the *Tuntras*. Spirituous liquors are directed, in these works, to be placed among the offerings to the goddess of Nature, and numbers of her worshippers partake to intoxication of the libation. The *Vamacharees* belong to this sect, who realize, in their rites of unutterable wickedness, all that is told of the secret orgies of the vilest of the Grecian mysteries. The rules of this order, the proselytes to which are chiefly Brahmins, are to be found more or less in all the *Tuntras*, but particularly in the *Neelu*, *Roodru-yamulu*, *Yonee*, and *Unnuda-kulpu*. The ceremonies of initiation and the rites of worship are of too infernal a nature to bear description. They partake at once of the character of incantations and of the filthiest excesses of vice; having for their professed object, to extinguish passion by excess of indulgence, and to release the disciple from all prejudices, all sense of defilement, all susceptibility of compunction or of shame." †

It is unnecessary to pursue the disgusting subject any further, in order to show that the Hindoo idolatry is the chief source of that impiety and corruption of manners which have overspread all classes of the population; and that to the deluded victim of these infernal superstitions, his very religion is his

* Rammohun Roy, p. 150.

† Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. p. li.—liv.; 247, 248.

greatest bane. The delusive representations of the mildness, inoffensiveness, and purity of the Hindoos, with which the credulity of the European public was some years ago abused by the enemies of Christian Missions, have long ceased to obtain currency. Yet, that no doubt may remain upon the mind of any reader as to the true character of the Brahminical idolatry, the testimonies of two or three unimpeachable witnesses shall be subjoined.

“The chief cause of depravity in the Bengalee character,” says Mr. Tytler, (formerly assistant judge in the twenty-four *pergunnahs*,) “is to be found in the nature of their religion. . . . In the *Tuntra* shasters, (which, as inculcating a less rigid and austere doctrine, and pointing out an easier way to heaven, have of late come into fashion,) there are *munters* (*mantras*, prayers) for all professions, all situations, and all actions. Strange to relate, there are *munters* for thieves, burglars, and robbers, with forms of invocation to the deities for success in their schemes of plunder, as well as consecrations of their various weapons.* . . . The penance prescribed for telling a lie, is the repetition of the name of Vishnoo once for each offence.† Thus we may often observe the religious Brahmin counting his beads, and repeating the name of his god, while under examination in our courts. Can we be surprised at the total disregard of truth which pervades all ranks among the followers of such doctrine? . . . There can be very little doubt that to the Shasters is chiefly to be attributed this horrid vice. The influence of the various filthy stories which, in the Shasters, are related of the Hindoo deities, and the immoral tendency of the abominable songs so common among the natives, and which are sung at the worship of their gods, must be very great. . . . Of late years, it has been taught by the *Tantrica* Brahmins, that the gods have

* The details of the ceremony, and the invocation to the house-breaking instrument, are given in Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. i. pp. 151—153.

† “He who pronounces *Doorga*, though he constantly practise adultery, plunder others of their property, or commit the most heinous crimes, is freed from all sins. Vide *Doorga nám Mahatmya*. A person pronouncing loudly, *Reverence to Huri*, even involuntarily, purifies himself from the foulest crimes. Vide *Bhagavat*.”—*Rammohun Roy*, p. 187.

now become fond of the bottle ; and, consequently spirits are offered up at their shrine. Where these offerings go, it is not very difficult to conceive ; and I am told, that the fervour of the priests at the temple of Kalighaut, is not a little owing to this circumstance. Kali is the goddess of thieves ; and spirits always form a part of the articles offered up to this goddess."*

The amiable Bishop Heber formed a favourable estimate of the native character, and speaks of the Bengalees as a lively, intelligent, interesting people ; but says : " Their own religion is, indeed, a horrible one ; far more so than I had conceived. It gives them no moral precepts ; it encourages them in vice by the style of its ceremonies and the character given of its deities ; and, by the institution of caste, it hardens their hearts against each other to a degree which is often most revolting. . . . Many of the crimes which fall under the cognizance of the magistrates, and many of the ancient and sanctified customs of the Hindoos, are marked with great cruelty.† . . . I need say nothing of the burning of widows ; but it is not so generally known, that persons now alive remember *human sacrifices* near Calcutta. A very respectable man of my acquaintance, himself, by accident, and without the means of interfering, witnessed one of a boy of fourteen or fifteen ; in which nothing was so terrible as the perfect indifference with which the tears, prayers, and caresses even, which the poor victim lavished on his murderers, were regarded. . . . For all these horrors, their system of religion is mainly answerable ; inasmuch as whatever moral lessons their sacred books contain, are shut up from the mass of the people, while the direct tendency of their institutions is to evil."‡

" The very extravagance of the Hindoo idolatry," says the Abbé Dubois, " the whole ritual of which is nothing less than

* Tytler's Considerations, vol. i. pp. 212, 223, 242, &c.

† " When the object is to procure the death of any one, the boiled rice offered up must be sprinkled with blood. And, upon the same principle, when the utmost effect is required from a magical operation, a human victim is sacrificed, and particularly a young girl."—*Dubois on the Manners and Customs of the Hindoos*, p. 346.

‡ Heber's Journal, vol. i. pp. 316, 317.

the subversion of common sense, serves to give it deeper root in the hearts of a people sensual, enthusiastic, and fond of the marvellous. Infatuated with their idols, they shut their ears to the voice of nature, which cries so loudly against it. But the Hindoos are still more irresistibly attached to the species of idolatry which they have embraced, by their uniform pride, sensuality, and licentiousness. Whatever their religion sets before them, tends to encourage their vices; and consequently all their senses, passions, and interests are leagued in its favour. . . . Those who are at the head of this extravagant worship, most of them quite conscious of its absurdity, are the most zealous in promoting its diffusion, because it affords them the means of living."*

The tribe of Kurradee Brahmins in the Mahratta country, had formerly a custom of annually sacrificing to the *Sactis* (infernal goddesses) a young Brahmin, on the tenth day of the *Dusrah* festival. This custom was kept up at Poonah, till put down, at the beginning of the last century, by Balajee Badjee Rao, who made an example of one of these murderers, and banished the whole sect. The Kurradee Brahmins now content themselves with sacrificing a sheep or buffalo, as do the priests of Kali at Calcutta. Recent discoveries have brought to light the astounding fact, that an entire caste, widely dispersed over India, and known under the name of Thugs or Phansigars, have long been in the practice of strangling travellers, not merely for the sake of plunder, but as an act of religious worship, in sacrifice to their goddess,

* Dubois's "Description of the People of India," &c. pp. 390, 391. This volume, published in 1817, under the sanction of the East India Company, exhibits as dark and awful a picture or view of Hindoo society, from actual observation, as is to be found in the writings of the Missionaries whom the poor old priest was afterwards suborned to charge with exaggeration.—See *Ecl. Rev.* 2d Series, vol. xx. pp. 289, *et seq.* Col. Vans Kennedy, a zealous *phil-Hindooist*, who defends even Suttees, on the ground that "morality is determined by sentiment,"—is consistently indignant that Mr. Mill, in his History of India, should assert that the Hindoo religion has served to degrade morality. "That the religion of the Hindoos is a heterogeneous and monstrous compound," he says, "I do not deny; but I at the same time know that the religion of Greece and Rome was equally heterogeneous and monstrous." (*Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. Art. 7.) This is true; and its moral results are described by the pen of an inspired apostle, in the 1st chapter of Romans, in strict agreement with the testimony of Juvenal.

Kali. The licentiousness and horrible fanaticism which take place at the great festival of Juggernaut, are too notorious to require particular description. One circumstance attending it is highly remarkable: all distinctions of castes are suspended during the *jatra*; and Buddhists from Thibet and other distant parts unite with Jains and Hindoos of all sects in its celebration; a presumptive proof of the high antiquity of the festival. It has been surmised, with some probability, that Juggernaut is the same as Buddha. The Pooranas, however, have connected the shapeless deity, by an absurd legend, with the feats of their favourite Krishna.*

Such, then, are the practical character and result of the Hindoo polytheism; and that such a system should be regarded by any European Christians with a sentimental admiration of its "beautiful" mythology, is perhaps a more striking evidence of the strong magic which Idolatry exerts over the imagination, than even the worship which the ignorant heathen pay to their "dumb idols."† How inadequately is the essential character of idolatry appreciated, as itself an enormous sin, as well as the source of every other crime! By "changing the truth of God into a lie," to the infinite dishonour of the Creator,—by thus degrading the Divine Nature, so far as this is possible,—how can it fail to produce the degradation of man? Surely it was not in reference to an idolatry less venerable, less graceful and fascinating, that the Apostle Paul declared, "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God."

"Their gods are hieroglyphics of the heart:

To fashion them their guilt and fears combine.

The heart loves sin, but fears its after smart:

This gall, deep mingled in their maddening wine,

* See a paper by Sir John Malcolm in vol. iii. of Bombay Transactions.

† The Author of "Indian Antiquities," an English clergyman, compares the Hindoo religion to "a beautiful and radiant cherub from heaven, bearing on his persuasive lips the accents of pardon and peace, and on his silken wings satisfaction and blessing." Mr. Halhed, the Author of the "Code of Gentoo Laws," rejected the Mosaic History for the fabulous chronology of the Hindoo Scriptures: he subsequently became, it is said, a firm believer in the insane Richard Brothers!

They neutralize by pouring on the shrine
 Of Pleasure, decked in many a changing mode,
 Libations varied as their hearts incline ;
 And, rather than forsake their 'customed road,
 Make idols of their lusts and every crime a god." *

In India, however, the monstrous and heterogeneous superstition, undermined by the patient and long despised labours of Christian Missionaries, and by the reflex operation of Christian knowledge and European civilization, is everywhere exhibiting symptoms of decay and approaching dissolution. That which neither the sword of the Mogul nor the equivocal policy of an Imperial Reformer † could achieve, is taking place without an effort on the part of the Governing Power to which Divine Providence has committed the political destiny of more than a hundred millions of human beings. It is a striking fact, that no new temples are to be seen rising to the gods of the Pantheon ; but everywhere are to be found ruined and deserted shrines. The prejudices of caste, the ascendancy of the Brahmin aristocracy, and the hold of idolatry upon the native mind, are fast giving way. ‡ New sects are springing up, to compete with the ancient superstition, and to give the lie to the notion of the unchangeable character of the Hindoo customs. " Those who defend idolatry under the shield of custom," says Rammohun Roy, " have been violating

* "Idolatry, a Poem," by the Rev. William Swan, Missionary.

† The Emperor Akbar, who ascended the throne of Hindostan in 1555, appears to have formed the design of establishing a new religion, in place of the Mohammedan creed of his ancestors, and the gross idolatry of his pagan subjects. By various ordinances, he abrogated all the institutions peculiar to Islamism, and substituted for the era of the Hejira his own accession ; but the institutions of the Hindoos were left unchanged, and idolatry was tolerated by the Imperial Philosopher, in accommodation to the gross ideas of the people. His own creed seems to have been that of the Sooffee Deists, or those of the Vedantu school. During thirty-one years, he laboured to establish the *Ilahi* religion, as the new Court faith was styled ; but no sooner did Jehanguire succeed to the throne, than Islamism was quietly re-established, and the Akbaric creed was abandoned and forgotten. See Trans. of the Lit. Society of Bombay, vol. ii. Art. 11.

‡ The influence of caste appears to have been greatly exaggerated. No such quadruple division of the community as has been represented, now exists, if it ever did exist. All the greater princes of India, except the Peishwa, have been of the inferior castes. Sudra rajahs and Brahmin sepoy and cultivators are common. The whole Hindoo community now consists of the Brahminical class and of the mixed tribes.

those customs almost every twenty years, for the sake of convenience, or to promote their worldly advantage. The whole community in Bengal, with very few exceptions, have, since the middle of the last century, forsaken their ancient modes of the performance of ceremonial rites of religion, and followed the precepts of the late Raghunandan; and consequently differ in the most essential points of ceremonies from the natives of Bahar, Tirhoot, and Benares. The system of their subdivisions in each caste, with the modes of marriage and inter-marriage, is also a modern introduction altogether contrary to their law and ancient customs." *

The chief part of the theory and practice of Hindooism at present, according to the same unimpeachable authority, is made to consist in the adoption of a peculiar mode of diet; the least aberration from which entails loss of caste upon the offender, and exclusion from the society of his family and friends; while the rigid observance of this grand article of Hindoo faith is held to compensate for every moral defect. "Murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of caste, is visited with no peculiar mark of disgrace." † But even the dietary laws of the Hindoos are undergoing a change. The mixed tribes composing the great mass of the Hindoo population, are under no legal restraints in this respect; and though many, from affectation of Brahminical purity, content themselves with simpler food, the custom of eating animal food is so general in some parts, that, at Bombay, in the public bazaar, mutton, kid, lamb, and fish are daily sold for Hindoo consumption. Bishop Heber says: "Those who can afford it, are hardly less carnivorous than ourselves; and even the purest Brahmins eat mutton and venison." European luxuries of all descriptions are in fact daily becoming more popular among the natives of all castes. A Brahmin assured

* Rammohun Roy, p. 95. Other deviations from long established customs are particularized by the learned author. The toleration of female schools is one of the most remarkable triumphs over native prejudice.

† Rammohun Roy, p. 98. "A trifling present to the Brahmin, commonly called *prâyaschît*, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, is held as a sufficient atonement for all these crimes."

the late Mr. Ward, that "nine parts in ten of the whole Hindoo population have abandoned all conscientious regard to the forms of their religion;" * and the statement of the learned Hindoo Theist seems to bear out the representation, at least so far as regards the Bengal territory.

Of the various Hindoo sects which have originated in an attempt to reform the popular system, the most recent is that of the followers of the Pundit, Swaamee Narain, whose doctrines Bishop Heber describes as a strange mixture of pure Theism and Hindooism, such as might be supposed to have been put forth by the jesuits of the Madura school. In his interview with the Bishop, the Pundit professed to believe in one only God, the Maker of all things in heaven and earth, who upholds and governs all things, and dwells in the hearts of them that diligently seek him;" whom he styled *Brihm*. But, he added, "There is a spirit in whom God is more especially, and who cometh from God, and is with God, and is likewise God, who hath made known to men the will of the God and Father of all, whom we call Krishna, and worship as God's image, and believe to be the same as *Surya*, the Sun." He subsequently displayed a large picture representing the form in which they worshipped him. It is impossible not to be struck with the coincidence between this obscure faith in an imaginary Krishna, and the Christian doctrine respecting the Incarnate Word who is "the Brightness of the Father's Glory" and "the Image of the Invisible God."† The Pundit does not appear, however, to have been in possession of any true Christian knowledge, but expressed his belief that there had been many avatars of God in different lands; one to the Christians, another to the Mussulmans,

* Ward, vol. i. p. lxxx.

† Heber's Journal, vol. iii. p. 34. "Traits of resemblance to the history of Our Lord," the Bishop remarks, "are in fact to be found in the midst of all the uncleanness and folly in the popular legends concerning Krishna." Sir W. Jones inferred from the motley story of Krishna, "that the spurious Gospels which abounded in the first age of Christianity, had been brought to India, and the wildest parts of them ingrafted upon the old fable of the Apollo of Greece." The confusion may, however, have had its source in much more recent attempts to accommodate the facts of the Gospel to Hindoo notions.

another to the Hindoos in time past. He condemned theft and bloodshed, rejected the yoke of caste, and inculcated a degree of moral purity far superior to any that can be learned from the Shasters. His disciples amounted at that time to about 50,000 in Gujerat alone.

Another sect who have rejected the Hindoo idolatry for a species of deism, is that of the *Saadhs*, who are found at Delhi, Agra, Jyepore, and Furrukhabad. In their plainness of attire, their refusing to make an obeisance or salam, their objection to take an oath, their abstinence from all luxuries and amusements, their industry, and even their discipline, they are represented as bearing a very remarkable resemblance to the Quakers.* According to their own account, the sect originated about 200 years ago; but considerable obscurity hangs over the history of its founder. They have a religious book called *Pothee*, written in a kind of verse in the Hindee dialect: their only public worship consists in the chanting of a hymn. They are chiefly engaged in trade.

But the most important offset from Hindooism is the sect founded by Nanak, or Nanūkū, a native of the Punjaub, born in 1469; whose disciples, known under the name of Seiks or Shikhs, (from *shishyu*, a disciple,) are said to have amounted to not fewer than 100,000 before his death, and have, by subsequent political events, been raised from a sect of mendicants to a powerful nation. The object of Nanak was to reconcile the jarring creeds of the Hindoos and the Moslem; or, rather, to teach the inefficacy of all outward rites. He taught that "Compassion is the true mosque; righteousness the true seat for worship; bashfulness, the true circumcision; holiness, the true fasting; proper conduct, the true pilgrimage to Mecca; speaking truth, the true *Kulma* or *Gayutree*; excellent conduct, the true praise of God: these form the true Mussulman." Again: "A pure body is," he said, "the true *Veda*; the mind, the true sacrificial garment; wisdom, the true *poita*; meditation on God, the proper vessel for worship; and the only true prayer, that in which the worshippers desire to be incessantly employed in repeat-

* See Miss. Reg. for 1819, pp. 86—91; *Ib.* for 1820, pp. 294—296.

ing the name of God. He who observes these rules will attain absorption."* Other excellent sentiments occur in his writings; and though something of the Jain philosophy, or perhaps a tinge of Sooffeism, may be discovered in his language, there can be no doubt that he aimed at producing an important and beneficial reformation in the creed and morals of his countrymen.

Nanak was followed by nine successors in his office as head or patriarch of the sect, during whose time the Seiks led peaceable and inoffensive lives. But Teeg Bahadoor, the tenth in order, having united himself to a Mussulman fakeer, commenced a system of depredation, which at length drew down the vengeance of the Mogul government; and the two leaders being taken, the Mussulman was banished, and the Hindoo put to death. The son of Teeg, being then raised to the supremacy, under the name of Gooroo Govindu, instructed his followers to provide themselves with arms; and under him and his successors, the Seiks commenced that warlike struggle with the Mogul government, which has, after various political vicissitudes, made them, under their Maha-rajah, masters of the Punjaub, and the most powerful of the independent Hindoo states. The creed of Nanak has long since, however, been generally abandoned, although a portion of the sect, (distinguished by the name of *Khoolasas*) are said still to adhere to it. Gooroo Govindu (or Govindū Singhu) even set up the worship of Doorga, and offered bloody sacrifices at her festivals; and a pile of weapons, in lieu of an image, serves as the representation of the goddess to her warlike votaries. In other respects, also, the Seiks appear to have relapsed into Hindooism; and an unmeaning worship of their shasters has taken the place of the reverence formerly paid to their religious leaders, and of the purer faith taught by their founder.† They are now a nation, or tribe, rather than a sect. "The genuine *Khalsa*, or Singh," says a recent traveller, "knows no occupation but war and agriculture. Their ascendancy as a nation continues to increase the numerical strength of the

* Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 287.

† Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 270—289. Mill's *India*, vol. ii. pp. 377—379. Malcolm's *Account of the Sikhs*.

tribe; and actuated in the common cause by common principles, they are certainly a powerful people."*

Having now laid before the reader this general view of the systems of false religion which have from time immemorial been established in India,—the fountain-head of the Buddhic faith embraced by the nations of Eastern Asia, as well as of the grosser paganism of the Polytheistic tribes,—we shall very briefly advert to the leading diversities of the same idolatry as slightly modified by national character and circumstances in the other countries of the East, and to the illiterate superstitions of the African and Polynesian tribes.

I. *Lamaism*.—That modification of Buddhism which is called Lamaism, consists in the recognition of the Lama, or supreme Pontiff, as an incarnation of Buddha, or the deified imaum of the Buddhic church. The origin of this superstition is stated to be as follows. When the last Buddhic patriarch resident in India was compelled to withdraw himself from that country, he embarked for China, and fixed his residence near the celebrated mountain of Soung, in the vicinity of the city of Honan. At his death, A. D. 495, Buddhi-dharma bequeathed his office to a Chinese disciple, who assumed the mystic name of Tsoui-kho (skilful penetration), with the title of *moonee*, which was borne also by his three next successors. In the year 713, having acquired a greater degree of political influence, the Buddhic patriarch was dignified with the titles of great master and spiritual prince of the law. The Mongol princes, following up the system, attached to their throne this representative of Buddha, under the high titles of director of the conscience, chief of spiritual affairs, master of the kingdom, master of the emperor, and, at length, as the sovereign, immaculate, immortal, divine nonentity, the Grand Lama. There are at present two Lamas, the recognised heads of rival sects; the Dalai Lama, whose residence is near Lahassa, the capital of Great Tibet; and the Teshoo Lama, who resides at Teshoo Loomboo, to the south-east of Lahassa, a Buddhic monastery, comprising between three and four hundred stone houses, inhabited by *gellongs*, or Buddhic monks, besides

* Burnes's Bokhara, vol. iii. p. 285.

numerous temples, and the palace of the sovereign pontiff.* The priests of the Dalai Lama are distinguished by wearing a red cap; those of the Teshoo Lama wear a yellow one. The Teshoo Lama is recognised by the Mantchoo dynasty of the Celestial Empire, as the head of Buddhism; and the living idol is the ecclesiastical puppet of the Chinese emperor.

II. *Religion of China.*—The most ancient religion of China, of which any trace or record remains, appears to have been a species of Sabianism, the worship of the heavens and elements; but this has been smothered under the various sects that have been grafted upon it. “In no age,” remarks the late Dr. Milne, “has China been free from idolatry; but it greatly increased after the time of Laou-tsze, B.C. 500, the restorer of the religion of Taou, and especially after the introduction of the superstition of Fuh (Buddh) A.D. 81. This last dragged in with it from the West, a sacred language, the doctrine of a non-entity, the transmigration of souls, the final absorption of good men into deity; also, a degrading idolatry and superstitions without number. We recognise in this sect, Indian deities, Indian doctrines, an Indian language, and Indian canonicals. It has carried the Chinese nation further off from the fountain of life than it was before.”† The religion of the Mantchoo dynasty is a more recent importation. The prevailing belief among the mass of the people, is a species of pantheism, but little removed from atheism. The religious honours paid to their deceased ancestors, form a prominent trait of the national superstition. But they worship any thing; and their religious ceremonies are of the most puerile, frivolous, and superstitious description. An idol of wood or stone, a picture, or a rude block serves them equally for a symbol of the object of worship, to which Divine honours are paid by various genuflexions and gesticulations, by the burning of incense, by occasional

* When Captain Turner was sent on an embassy to the Teshoo Lama from the British Government of India in 1783, the establishment consisted of 3,700 monks.

† Milne's *First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, p. 28. The sacred character of the Tibetans, called the *Tangud*, is formed upon the Sanscrit alphabet, and the sacred language is a mixture of Sanscrit with the Bhotanta.

offerings of food, to be afterwards eaten by the worshipper, by prayers, and by fire-works. This unintelligent service has little influence on their sentiments, and less on their practice. Dr. Morrison, in summing up the Chinese character, while he gives them credit for their mildness and urbanity, their docility and industry, their subordination to authority and reverence for age, and those virtues which are enforced by public opinion,—is compelled to place to their account on the darker side, insincerity and deceit, an atheistic spirit, ill concealed by a little frigid ratiocination, and a puling morality, cold-blooded selfishness, and revolting inhumanity. One of the darkest traits in the national character is the prevalence of at least *female* infanticide. Suicide is notoriously frequent; and the State proclamations furnish abundant proof, that fraud, vexatious litigation, theft and robbery, exaction and oppression, as well as sensuality and gambling, are not less characteristic of Chinese society than of other Asiatic or European communities.

III. *Religion of Japan*.—The government of Japan consists, like that of Tibet, of a sovereign pontiff, called the *Dairi*, answering to the Lama, and the nominal vizier, styled the *Kubo*, who is the actual hereditary sovereign. The *dairi* holds his court in the city of Meaco, but Jeddo is the secular capital. The religion may therefore be considered as a sort of Buddhism or Lamaism. The feasts and ceremonies which constitute a principal part of it, are extremely pompous, numerous, and childish. A profound disregard of life and contempt for death, imbibed from their earliest years, and extending to even the lowest classes, is the most striking national feature. Suicide is preferred to the slightest disgrace; while pain and even torture are endured with Indian fortitude. All military men, and persons holding office under Government, possess the highly-rated privilege of being, in case of having been convicted of any crime, their own executioner. Between 1549 and 1638, the Jesuit Missionaries were engaged in attempts to establish Christianity in Japan; but twice (in 1590 and 1638) an exterminating persecution was excited against their converts; and since the last epoch, every

foreign nation, except the Chinese and the Dutch, have been jealously excluded from the Japanese ports.

IV. *Religion of Birmah and Siam.*—The religion of all the Indo-Chinese nations is pure Buddhism. Gaudama Buddha is recognised as the object of worship under his various *aliases** by the Birmans, Siamese, Cingalese, and Nepalese, as well as in Tibet, Japan, and China. The introduction of Buddhism into Indo-China appears to have taken place through different channels. The Birman era ascends no higher than A.D. 638; the era also used by the astronomers of Siam, and probably derived originally from China. The Birmans, however, consider Ceylon as the quarter from which they derived their laws and sacred literature; and they have a tradition, that, about A.D. 107, a brahmin named Buddha Ghosha was sent to Ceylon, to copy the *Vishooddhimargu*, which includes all the *jatus* or histories of the incarnations of Buddha. Since then, many Birmans have translated and commented on these writings. In a work entitled, “The Great History of the Birman and Pegu Kings,” it is recorded that, during the *T’hiooru-kshutriyu* dynasty, no fewer than fifty-five translations were made, and as many comments written on these books. But the Birmans are believed to possess works of higher antiquity than the *jatus*. Within the last fifty years, the Burmese sovereigns have sent, at two separate times, persons of learning to Ceylon, to procure the original books on which their tenets are founded.† Whatever be the national origin of the Burmese, or the quarter from which their religion was first introduced into their country, the identity of their superstition with the Cingalese Buddhism is unquestionable.

The resemblances between some of the institutions of the Burmese religion and the rites and regulations of the Romish

* He is styled Godūmū or Goutūmū in Assam and Birmah; Shūmūnū (or Sommono-Kodam) in Siam; Amida Buth in Japan; Fohe in China; Sakya-munee (Shak-moony) in Ceylon. Boodh, Buth, Phoodh, Phut, Fohi, are the same word under different forms. The Tamul, adding the termination *en*, converts it into Pooden, whence Woden. *Amita*, in Chinese O-mee-too, is Sanscrit, meaning immeasurable, answering to the Greek ἀμετρον.

† Ward’s Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 211.

Church, are so striking as to suggest the idea that one must have been copied from the other, or both from a common model. Father Boori, a Portuguese Missionary, who visited Cochin China in the sixteenth century, protests, in his Narrative, that "there is not a dress, office, or ceremony in the Church of Rome, to which the devil has not here provided some counterpart. Even when he began to inveigh against the idols, he was answered, that these were the images of departed great men, whom they worshipped exactly on the same principle and in the same manner as the Catholics did the images of the apostles and martyrs."* The priests of Gaudama in Birmah, called *rahaans*, are all members of some *kioum* (monastery), which has its superior, called *zara*, answering to an abbot. They are under vows of celibacy, and are supported by alms or presents. The *phonghi*, or novice, is instructed that his first duty consists "in eating that food only which is procured by the labour and motion of the muscles of his feet." Every morning, the *rhahaans* issue from their convents, and spread themselves over the neighbouring streets and villages. As they pass along, they stop at the different doors, but without saying a word. After standing for a few minutes, if no person comes out to bestow the usual portion of ready-dressed provisions, they proceed on their rounds. They observe a species of Lent, which is followed by a month of public festivity. In their prayers, they use rosaries, made sometimes of beads, sometimes of the seeds of the *Canna Indica*, a plant sacred to Buddha, and supposed to have sprung from his blood, when once upon a time he cut his foot against a stone. The *rhahaans* are in possession of one very extraordinary privilege: no criminal can be put to death, should a *rhahaan* touch him when being led to execution. Colonel Symes was informed, that there were formerly nunneries of virgins, who, like the *rhahaans*, wore yellow garments, cut off their hair, and devoted themselves to religious duties; but these have been suppressed; and at present, "there are only a few old women, who shave their heads, wear a white dress, follow funerals, and carry water to the

* Murray's History of Discoveries in Asia, vol. iii. p. 249.

convents, and have some portion of respect shown to them." The Birmans are very fond of processions and shows. Scarcely a week passes at Rangoon, in which there is not a religious spectacle of some kind, either a pompous funeral, or rather incineration,* or some festival or ceremony. Great respect is generally shown to the *rhahaans* by the people. The road is on all occasions yielded to them, and they are always addressed by the titles of *phongi* (or *pun-jee*, eminence,) and *bura* (or *prâ*, lord). But, although thus honoured, they retain the greatest simplicity in their manners, the dress of the high *zarado* (arch-abbot) not differing from that of the multitude prostrate before him. A very singular rule or ordinance prohibits any *rhahaan* to pretend to any preternatural gift or attainment in sanctity, such as those of *meipo* or *zian*, (degrees of abstraction or absorption,) or to have arrived at *nieban*, under penalty of being excluded for his ambition from the priestly order. On days of public worship, the people assemble in *zayats* (or sheds) contiguous to some pagoda of importance, when the *rhahaans* repeat some liturgy or form of service, in which the audience take part by regular responses. Sometimes a portion from their sacred writings is recited; and there are Birman preachers of this kind who have attained to popularity. Many of them are no mean proficient in the art of casuistry; and numbers who seem to be Buddhists *par excellence*, are secret despisers of Gaudama and the established religion of Birmah. But both the priests and the civil authorities are jealous to detect, and relentless in punishing, any individuals who depart from the national faith. They are slaves of the Emperor, and it is treason to depart in this respect from his will.† It is very apparent that the Buddhist superstition has been shaped and modified in this country (and the remark will equally apply to Siam) by a subtle State policy; and it may be suspected that the labours

* Infants, criminals, and the poor are buried; but burning the dead is the general practice, being deemed the more honourable mode of disposing of the body.

† For authorities, see *Mod. Trav.*, vol. xi. pp. 75—137; and for further details, the reader may be referred to Mrs. Judson's interesting Narrative, and the Missionary Journals.

of the Jesuit Missionaries have had some influence, direct or indirect, in producing the apparent approximation to European modes and Romish institutions. The machinery of instruction in Birmah may hereafter be turned to a valuable account, and the *zayats* may serve the same purpose as the synagogues in the Apostolic age. In Ceylon, Buddhic priests have, in many instances, been converted into Christian clergymen; the sacred language has, for the first time, been made to speak the oracles of God; and the Indo-Chinese nations may be indebted to that island which they have been accustomed to regard as the mother-land of their laws, literature, and religion, for missionaries of a purer faith.

V. *African and American superstitions*.—Of the multifarious superstitions which are found existing among the pagans of Africa, beyond the limit of Arabian or Mohammedan civilization, and among the islanders of the Asiatic and Polynesian archipelagoes, it would be impossible to give a distinct account without extending the present work to inconvenient limits. In some parts of Africa, human sacrifices are still offered to the mis-shapen idols representing their sanguinary deities; and the bestial idolatry of ancient Egypt is realized in the worship of the snake, the hyena, and the crocodile.* In other parts, the spirits of the dead are the chief objects of fear and reverence, and the vague terrors of our childhood form the only religion of the people. The Timmanees, before eating or drinking, invariably devote a small portion of what they are about to consume as a libation or offering to the dead. Small houses, containing shells, skulls, images, &c., are always placed about three or four hundred yards from the different entrances to the towns, which are supposed to be the residence of the *Greegrees* who take care of them. Almost every house has its protecting spirits, which are frequently invoked in a manner adapted to excite the commiseration of an enlightened spectator.† Among other tribes, the only religion consists of a belief in magic and witchcraft; and though the existence of a Supreme Being is very generally recognised, he is not

* In Ashantee, Dahomey, and Ahanta.

† Mod. Trav. (Africa,) vol. xxii. p. 198.

regarded as accessible to prayer or worship. The *fetishes* whom it is sought to control by charms or to propitiate by offerings, are the imaginary demons who reside in animals, trees, or stones; and the classical superstition of Greece is travestied in the childish creed of the African negroes. Among the Caffer tribes of Southern Africa, the practice of circumcision, the funeral rites, the notions of ceremonial defilement, and some remarkable usages, are evidently the relics of ancient civilization; but all that has survived of religion, is the obscure tradition of a Supreme Being, and a belief in the existence of separate spirits, the only worship being the offerings made to the spirits of their deceased warriors and ancestors. Of a similar character is the superstition of the North American Indians. In their strong attachment to the spots where the bones of their fathers repose, Humboldt finds a striking resemblance between the aboriginal Americans and the Chinese, who never change their dwelling, without carrying with them the bones of their ancestors. "Take from the savages of America the bones of their fathers," says Chateaubriand, "and you take from them their history, their laws, and their very gods." Some singular approximations to Jewish notions in the customs and traditions of the Red Tribes of the New World, have afforded imaginary support to the romantic hypothesis which would deduce their origin from the Ten Tribes of Israel; but these coincidences are not more close than may be detected in the rites and customs of the Mandingoes and other nations in the heart of Africa.* A species of fetishism is also common among the American tribes. "Every savage," says Chateaubriand, "has his *manitou*, as every negro has his *fetish*: it is either a bird, a fish, a quadruped, a reptile, a stone, a piece of wood, a bit of cloth, any coloured object, or a European or American ornament."† Charlevoix states, that when the Huron (or

* The Writer must be excused for again referring to Mod. Trav. (America), vol. xxiv. pp. 251—261, for a further illustration of this fact.

† Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. p. 37. Dr. James, describing the religion of the Missouri tribes, says: "Their *Wahconda* (Master of Life) seems to be a Protean god: he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms.

Iroquois) goes to battle or to the chase, the image of his *okki* or tutelary spirit is as carefully carried with him as his arms." The Moravian Missionaries give a similar account of the customs prevailing among the Delaware Indians. "The *manittoes* are considered as tutelary spirits. One Indian has, in a dream, received the sun as his tutelary spirit; another, the moon; a third, the owl; a fourth, the buffalo." When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, representing in wood the head of a man as large as life, is put upon a pole in the midst of the house. The same sort of household image, in miniature, is carried about with them, either suspended round the neck or in a bag. The description given by Peter Martyr, who was the companion of Columbus, of the worship found to prevail among the aborigines of Cuba, perfectly agrees with these statements.*

Still more remarkable are the religious customs and notions of the Minnetaree tribe. "Annually, in the month of July, the Minnetarees celebrate their great medicine-dance, or dance of penitence, which may well be compared with the *currak-pooja*, or expiatory tortures of the Hindoos." The same tribe occasionally resort to a Medicine-stone,—a large, insulated, naked rock, for the purpose of propitiating the *Man-ho-pa*, or Great Spirit, by presents, and by fasting and lamentation during the space of from three to five days. Both the Minnetarees and the Mandans have a tradition respecting the narrow bridge which their spirits must pass over, in order to reach the mansions of their departed ancestors, and from which all worthless Indians will slip off into a raging torrent; a notion which recalls at once the bridge *Chinevad* of the Zendavesta, and the *Alsirat* of Mohammed. The affinities which the aboriginal inhabitants of the New Continent exhibit to the nations of the Old World, in their traditions, religious notions and usages, as well as in their dialects and physiognomy, are indeed alike numerous and curious, but irregular,

All those who are favoured with his presence become medicine-men, or magicians. He appeared to one in the shape of a grisly bear; to another, in that of a bison; to a third, in that of a beaver, an owl, &c."

* Mod. Trav., vol. xxiv. pp. 256—259.

and related to very different races and countries. If their medicine-men and magicians, their mystic societies and colleges, their sobriquets and *totems*, or clan-names, are all African, still more than Asiatic, in their character, reminding us of the customs of the Mandingoes, the Timmanees, and the Soosoos of Senegambia; the best defined specimens of art among the antiquities of Ohio and Kentucky are of a Polynesian character, and favour the opinion that America has received some tribes of the widely scattered Malay family. The more complicated social systems and terrible superstitions of Central and Southern America point to a different source of civilization. The Mexican calendar and zodiac are the same as those of Eastern Asia; the sciences and arts of the Aztecs and Toltecs were clearly Asiatic; and historical tradition, as well as their institutions, symbols, and monuments, connect the imperfect civilization of Mexico and Peru with Tibet, Mongolia, and Japan. The Sioux, again, who are spread over a vast tract of country between the Mississippi and the Pembina, along the banks of the Missouri, and towards the Saskashawan, present, in their ceremonies and customs, the unequivocal indication of their Tatar origin.* Among the traditions of the Polynesian tribes, there are some notions closely allied to the Hindoo cosmogony; a fact the more deserving of notice, as Bishop Heber was struck with a strong resemblance in the Cingalese and Bengalese to the South Sea Islanders. Even in the secluded islands of the Great Ocean, an idolatry has been found to exist, comprehending every thing that is cruel, tyrannical, and impure, and upheld by a detestable priesthood. Human sacrifices alone could propitiate the Moloch of the Polynesian warriors; while, in the voluptuous Cythera of the Pacific, the "new gardens of the Hesperides," which the imagination of the earlier voyagers peopled with the blameless children of nature, rites and orgies were practised, rivalling the worst impurities of the worship of the Hindoo Belial; and with this abandonment of morals were connected unnatural cruelty and the Chinese infanticide.

* See West's Journal during a Residence at the Red-River Colony, pp. 86—88.

But a change has passed over the Queen of the Pacific. "Tahiti has lost its dances, its songs, its voluptuous manners." Such is the exclamation of the imaginative Author of the "Beauties of Christianity;"* and for a long time, the wonderful revolution which has converted the inhabitants of these numerous groupes of islands from a savage idolatry to the Christian faith, was regarded by the European public with unintelligent scepticism or derision. The means by which it has been effected, still more than the event itself, perplexed the philosopher, and offended the pride of the bigot, who had been accustomed to look down upon the Missionary enterprise as sheer fanaticism. The better spirit of the age, however, is beginning to prevail over the infidelity and sordid practical atheism against which it has had to struggle. What has been already achieved, confessedly on a small scale, yet under every variety of circumstance, is sufficient to prove that there is no physical or moral obstacle to the conversion of the heathen, that may not be surmounted.

When, indeed, we contemplate simply the immense masses of population which have for ages remained impervious to the light of Christian knowledge, and find that, in the nineteenth century since the advent of Him who came to be "a light to lighten the Gentiles," the Pagan world doubles in its numbers the population of nominal Christendom; it requires some firmer ground of confidence than ordinary principles of calculation, to feel assured of the final triumph of the kingdom of Christ. The Chinese empire alone contains, according to official returns, a population of 362,500,000;† of which very nearly the whole are idolaters. If to these we add the Buddhic tribes of Japan, the Indo-Chinese states, and Hindostan, we shall have an aggregate of at least 400 millions professing the Buddhic faith under its different modifications. The Brahminical Hindoos we may perhaps set down at 120 millions; and the heathen of all other descriptions and countries may be conjecturally estimated at 30 millions. The

* Chateaubriand.

† A third more than all Europe, and exceeding, by 100,000,000, the supposed total number of Christians throughout the world.

tremendous aggregate will amount to 550 millions of heathen, who, being "without God" in the world, are "without hope." The Mohammedans, Magians, and Jews, according to a mean estimate, number about 120 millions; and the various denominations of Christendom, to about 260 millions; the total population of the globe being supposed to be about 950 millions. But how large a portion of Christendom is overspread with a moral darkness approaching to the utter night of heathenism itself! The pale of evangelical Protestantism does not include fifty millions of souls.

If, viewed in this light, the survey is most appalling, there are not wanting considerations, on the other hand, to alleviate the darkness of the prospect. Considering the distribution of political power as designed to be subservient to the final triumph of the Christian faith, it is a remarkable fact, that the Protestant States of Europe and America, which, a hundred years ago, could not number altogether 35 millions of subjects, including their colonies, now extend their rule, in both hemispheres, over six times that number. Within less than a hundred years, the population under the sceptre of Britain has, by the expansion of her Indian empire, risen from thirteen millions to upwards of a hundred and fifty millions, or more than a sixth portion of the human race. A hundred years ago, the Mohammedan powers of Turkey, Persia, and India, still ranked among the most potent arbiters of the destinies of mankind. The Mogul empire is now extinct; the Persian is smit with incurable weakness; and the Ottoman is trembling on its basis. The Mohammedan sword is broken; and the Christian Governments to whom have been consigned almost the whole of what the Mussulman and Pagan powers have lost, are either Protestant or Greek.

But the immense political facility thus afforded for the extension of Christianity, is incalculably increased by the spirit of commercial enterprise which forms so distinguishing a feature of the times, and which gives an ascendancy to Britain far beyond the confines of her actual dominion. There is no nation under heaven with which we are not now in actual or indirect contact. For every moral purpose, the

maritime empire of Great Britain is universal;* and by this means it has become, for the first time since the decline of the Roman empire, actually possible to make the knowledge of the true faith universal. The essentially pacific character of a commercial empire wonderfully harmonizes with this purpose, and adapts it to become the medium of the bloodless triumphs of Truth. And since the temple of Janus was closed in the reign of Augustus, there has been no period in history of so general and long continued peace.

Not less remarkable is the extraordinary progress which has been made in overcoming the physical obstacles to the diffusion of Christianity created by difference of language. The achievements of Protestant Missionaries in Oriental philology have commanded the astonishment and admiration of European literati; and the Bible is now for the first time rendered accessible and intelligible in almost all the dialects of the world. The discovery of the art of printing produced the Reformation, and gave its death-blow to the supremacy of Rome. The simple apparatus of the Bible Society, in connexion with the philological labours of our Missionaries, has had all the effect of a new mechanical discovery; and it will form the era of the downfall of Pagan superstition.

Other propitious signs of the times might be adverted to, which warrant the most sanguine expectations of success in an aggressive conflict with the decrepit and tottering hierarchies of idolatry and atheism. To advert to only one consideration more; the experiment has hitherto been made under every possible disadvantage, yet everywhere it has succeeded, at least to a limited extent. But the history of the Polynesian Mission exhibits a very extraordinary instance of *national* conversion. The sudden and spontaneous abandonment of idolatry by the chiefs and people of Tahiti, at a time when no European teacher was on the island, is in itself a most impressive event. Still more striking is the superior success which has subsequently crowned the artless efforts of the native converts, in islands where no European teachers had set their

* Even in territorial extent, the British empire, inferior only to that of Russia, is almost three times as vast as that of Imperial Rome.

foot.* The Missionary who comes as a foreigner, is happy in seeing the labours of years crowned with the conversion of a few individuals as "first-fruits unto God." From the greater aptitude of native converts for the work of evangelizing their countrymen, it may be anticipated that it will be chiefly by *their* instrumentality that the leaven will spread itself till the whole mass be leavened. When the native mind begins to wake and to act, it will act in masses. The law of human sympathy will become subservient to the operation of the power of truth and the concurrence of Divine Influence. India, China, Central Africa, must be evangelized by native teachers. The preparatory labour only devolves upon the Church. It is impossible then to calculate from the past, the rapidity with which the conversion of the nations will hereafter take place, when the requisite instrumentality shall have been put in operation. The event will probably take the Christian world by surprise, yet without having a more miraculous character than the occurrences which have recently taken place in the Polynesian archipelago, and which, interesting as they are in themselves, acquire an almost infinite interest, if regarded as a specimen and earnest of what may rationally be looked for on a far larger scale among the millions of "the Outer East."

* See "A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands; by John Williams, of the London Missionary Society." 8vo. 1837. One of the most interesting biographical narratives in the language.

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 * * * Professor Hahn, in a learned dissertation on Rationalism, identifies it with the earlier Naturalism, which, in the sixteenth century, was a term applied to the opinions of those who admitted no other religious knowledge than every man may acquire by his natural powers. As to the different forms of Naturalism, theologians distinguish three;—the refined, which they call Pelagianism; the Low Naturalism, which denies a special revelation; and the lowest of all, which holds the world itself to be God,—or Pantheism. The term Rationalism was already used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of those who declared reason to be the only source and standard of faith. It seems to have been first so employed by Amos Comenius, in 1661, and was never used in a good sense. In the eighteenth century, it became customary to give the name of Rationalists to those who had previously been called Low Naturalists. Professor Hahn recognises Kant as the founder of the modern Rationalism, as he was the first who formally proposed the neological system of biblical interpretation, or that of interpreting "the ecclesiastical faith," or revelation, by "the practical rules of a religion of pure reason." The theory of interpretation which represents the sacred writers as *accommodating* themselves to the preju-

- dices of those whom they addressed, was first explicitly taught by Semler, Prof. of Theology at Halle.
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 SUBLAPSARIANS. The name given to those Calvinistic theologians who maintained, in opposition to Calvin and Beza, that the Divine decree of election was *not* antecedent to any consideration of man as fallen, or irrespective of his obedience or disobedience; but that God, in his decree, had respect to his lapsed condition. This modification of the Calvinistic doctrine was first advanced by two of the ministers at Delft, Arnold Cornelius, and Renier Dunteklok, in a work entitled, "Answer to some Arguments of Calvin and Beza, on the subject of Predestination," which appeared about A.D. 1590. The views of Calvin and Beza in respect to the Absoluteness of the Divine Decree (*Decretum absolutum*), became distinguished as *Supralapsarian*.
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ERRATA.

- Page 102 line 7, for Joan read Ivan.
 — 183 — 2, *dele* not.
 — 217 — 4, for 1748 read 1548.
 — 224 note † for monarch read family.
 — 659 line 1 of note *, for Subian read Sabeian.

THE END.

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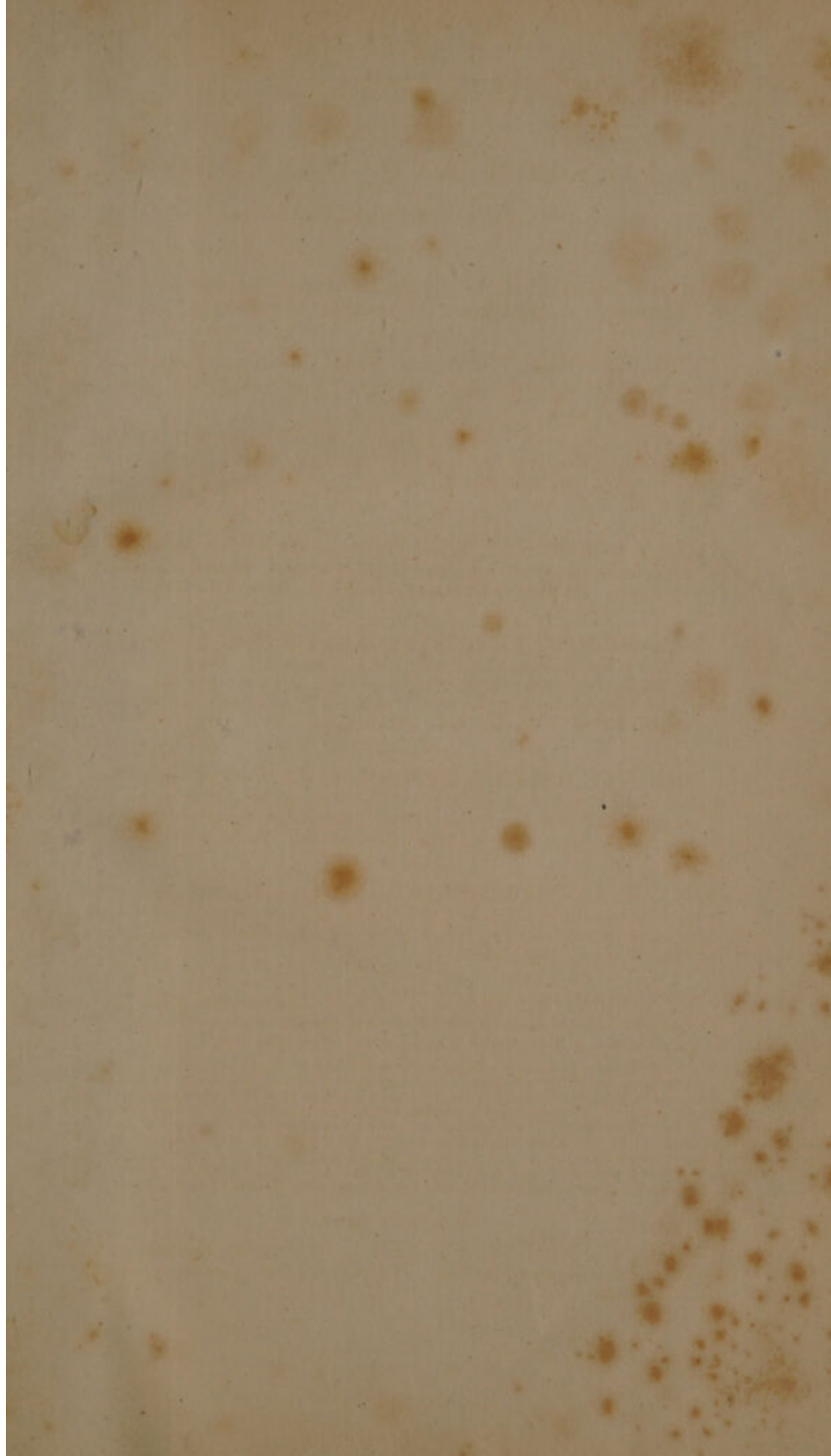
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